THE NEW BOOK of MARTYRS, or CHRISTIAN MARTYROLOGY.

CONTAINING AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES, PERSECUTIONS and SUFFERINGS of the HOLY MARTYRS; And the many dreadful Persecutions against the Church of CHRIST in all Parts of the World, by PAGANS, JEWS, TURKS, PAPISTS, AND OTHERS, From the earliest ages of the church to the present period. Including the Life, Sufferings, and Martyrdom of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST; With the Martyrdom of the APOSTLES, EVANGELISTS, and other PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS. Including most Things worthy of Notice in FOX's BOOK OF MARTYRS, But likewise the Essence of other Works on that Subject that have appeared since that Publication.

By the **REV. HENRY SOUTHWELL**, LL.D. LATE OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; RECTOR of ASTERBY, in LINCOLNSHIRE; and Author of the UNIVERSAL FAMILY BIBLE. LONDON: PRINTED FOR C. COOKE, No. 17, PATERNOSTER ROW. 1793 Edition

Including The Ten Great Persecutions under the Roman Emperors.

The Persecutions in Persia, under Sapores: and the Persecutions under the Arian Vandals.

The Martyrdoms of the Roman Missionaries in China: The Persecutions in the East Indies: The Barbarities exercised by the Spaniards in

America: And the Cruelties practised on the Christians of Abyssinia and Georgia.

The Persecutions exercised by the Papacy in various Parts of Europe, viz.

The horrid Persecutions under the Papacy; particularly the Martyrdoms of the Waldenses and Albigenses in France; the Persecutions in Germany and Poland; and the Cruelties exercised in Bohemia and Lusatia. The shocking Barbarities practised by the Inquisitions of Spain, Portugal, &c. and the Martyrdoms in Italy. The Popish Persecutions of the Protestants during the Massacre of Paris. Likewise the English Martyrdoms; particularly those in the Times of Henry VIII. and Queen Mary, wherein are represented the Tortures, &c. exercised by the papists against the Protestants in the Reign of that

tyrannical King and cruel Queen.

The Persecutions in Holland, Flanders, Scotland &c. The dreadful Massacre in Ireland when Forty Thousand Persons were cruelly put to Death at one Time. The late Persecutions in France against the Calas Family, &c.

WITH A SKETCH OF THE MARTYRDOM of the FAITHFUL and VIRTUOUS in the first Ages of the World;

The Persecutions of the MACCABEES by the Greeks; of the HEBREWS by the Egyptians; and of the CHILDREN of ISRAEL by the Philistines, and other barbarous Nations.

THE WHOLE INTERSPERSED WITH

Accounts of several singular JUDGMENTS against PERSECUTORS, a great Variety of Original ANECDOTES, and many Curious Observations.

FORMING, AT ONCE, A HISTORY OF PERSECUTIONS, AND A BIOGRAPHY OF MARTYRS. Calculated to promote the PROTESTANT RELIGION, and expel SUPERSTITION.

Digital Versions Restored, Corrected and Reset by Central Highlands Congregation of God 26th April, 2023 Revised 25 June

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Digital Edition Foreword

Though it is 230 years since the edition this work is based on was printed, it remains valuable for God's children to understand the price that was paid to preserve God's Word for them, and the price that many who clung to Jesus and the Bible as their true source of understanding paid for their faith. It is also a unique record of Christian history which has largely been erased from secular sources. The original Title claimed this was "The New and Complete Book of Martyrs" but as it was clearly not complete, nor could it be, that part of the Title has been removed. Today the enemies of Christ are often far more subtle, and therefore perhaps even more dangerous. And Christians are suffering and being martyred in many countries even today. We too need to hold fast to Christ, and follow His Instructions to the end of our days. May the examples given in this work strengthen your faith, especially if you find yourself threatened with such viciousness in the coming Great Tribulation.

The s's that were printed as f's have been modernised, as have some of the punctuation and spelling, making it easier to read.

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ADDRESS TO THE READER.

THE History of the Sufferings of the Martyrs may be considered, by every candid Person, as a strong presumptive evidence for the truth of the Christian Religion: for, whatever a few enthusiasts might have done to establish a sect, it is highly improbable that so many thousands, of both sexes, of all ranks and professions, rich and poor, learned and simple, should, at such distant times and places, have conspired, as it were, against their own lives, to establish a faith of whose truth they were not fully convinced.

THE greatest enemies to Christianity cannot deny but that there have been hundreds. I might say thousands, among the sufferers for the truth of Christ's doctrine, who were very competent judges of the degree of evidence offered in support of it, and sufficiently independent to be uninfluenced either by rewards or threats. Many of them were also sufficiently learned to enquire into the stability of the scripture proofs brought to prove Jesus to be actually the expected Saviour of Mankind, which entirely sets aside the adversary's plea against some few, that they were ignorant, weak people, who took their faith upon the credit of others. We know, on the contrary, and shall see proved, in the following History, that men of the strongest sense, and brightest parts, were converts to Christianity; and having once believed from conviction, arising from a fair examination of its internal and external evidence were too honest and impartial to deny what they had openly professed to believe.

EVERY one who is acquainted with the history of St. Paul, must know from his writings that he was a very learned man, and from his whole conduct, both before and after his conversion, that he possessed a truly brave and independent spirit, far above any connivance at the establishment of a sect; so far from it that he confesses, in his speech before Felix, that, as he had always acted from principle as a Jew, so he should now, upon better information, act as impartially in regard to Christianity: and if we follow him through all his dangers and difficulties, we shall see none of the fool-hardiness of the enthusiast, but every mark of the most noble fortitude, invincible resolution, and settled love of truth.

THERE is a wide difference between an intemperate, misguided zeal, which rushes into perils without sufficient reason, and that calm and steady courage which meets danger with temperance, when unavoidable. Our Saviour himself gave an example of this prudential conduct, by oftentimes retiring from imminent danger: and he gave it as a charge to his first followers, "When they persecute you in one city, flee to another." So that those brave men, who sealed the testimony of the Gospel with their blood, if they followed their Blessed Master's advice, cannot be ranked with the hot-headed zealot who bled for the Mahometan faith. Besides, it is the cause, in fact, which makes the holy martyr: and whoever will candidly consider the heavenly doctrines of Christianity, in respect to the present life, and the glorious rewards it promises in the future state, will acknowledge that the truth of such tenets, and the prospect of such rewards, are deserving of our attention and pursuit, even at the utmost hazard and peril of our lives.

THOSE who lived nearest the times when Christ established his Religion upon earth, must undoubtedly have had the advantage in point of external evidence, in regard to the miracles, and other remarkable circumstances, related concerning him; and as St. Polycarp actually conversed with St. John, it is no wonder if his conviction amounted almost to demonstration; and his disciples could scarcely be less strongly influenced; so that the courage of the earliest Martyrs may perhaps be accounted for from their seeing, as it were, "The heavens open, and Jesus (their Master) standing at the right hand of God," to reward their constancy. But when we read of the patient sufferings of those of latter times, attested by evidences which we cannot dispute, we must certainly believe that they were assisted, at the times of their martyrdom, with the inward presence and support of their Lord. It was the express promise of Christ, that he would "be with his Disciples unto the end of the world;" and surely at no season could this Divine assistance be more necessary than at such trying moments.

IN the present happy establishment of Christianity, thanks be to God, we have none of those fiery trials to undergo for the cause of our Blessed Master, which afflicted the first Christians; yet still, the truly good and zealous followers of Christ suffer a kind of martyrdom through life, from the enticements of bad example, the scoffs and opposition of unbelievers, and the daily affronts offered to religion by the general conduct of the world. Those are thorns and briars in that blessed way which was intended to be the path of pleasantness and peace: and never was more occasion for Christians to rouse themselves in there defence of their faith and hopes, than in the present age. To this end, every publication which tends to promote virtue and decry vice, ought to meet with the warmest encouragement, as a proper balance to that load of trash and infidelity which the liberty of the press, and the indulgence of a free country, unfortunately suffers to escape correction. The Gospel makes no distinction of persons; the meanest man on earth is concerned in the accomplishment of its blessed promises, and is therefore bound in honour and conscience, to receive it with candour, and defend it with a becoming spirit; especially when every half-learned witling is uttering his stale jokes against it, and pretending to discover fallacies in the Christian evidence, which escaped the penetrating eyes of Newton, Locke, Addison, Barrow, &c. and many other celebrated characters equally remarkable for discernment, learning, and piety.

IT is no wonder that the first Christians highly esteemed the memories of those distinguished brethren who nobly stood their ground, and bid defiance to racks and flames, in the defence and profession of the truth. It was a confirmation of their own hopes, and the strongest encouragement to follow their example. Upon this account they gave them the name of Martyrs, or Witnesses to the Gospel, and believed (for which, indeed, they have authority from scripture) that they should immediately enter into the presence of Christ, and partake of an instant passport to everlasting blessedness. To keep up the remembrance of their virtues, they set apart those days, whereon they suffered, to religious exercises and godly meetings of the brethren; and though these innocent memorials were afterwards improperly raised to adoration by the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, yet certainly, in their first institution, they tended to promote an emulation in the breasts of Christians, and a gratitude to their Saviour, for the wonderful strength and assistance afforded to their departed brethren in their sufferings. This is the use we may still make of the following Publication. We see what good men can perform through faith and strength in the Lord; and we see their wisdom in preferring a glorious eternity, to a short, chequered, and uncertain life. We see that it is not impossible even to tender women and children to glorify God by their deaths. Surely we may in this, our day, glorify him by our good lives; especially as goodness will not now, as formerly, provoke danger, but ensure our happiness.

THE progress of Popery has so greatly encreased that there is an absolute necessity for using every effort to suppress such dangerous and contagious principles, and to exert ourselves, and carry into execution every means that can be concerted for promoting the cause of Protestantism; which endeavours form the design of the following sheets.

FROM the tenets of the Holy Martyrs we may acquire the principles of the Christian religion, from their morals we may learn how to live, from their fortitude, how to suffer, and from their deaths how to die.

READER! Whosoever thou art, take example, in thy station of life, from the integrity and resolution of these thy departed brethren in Christ; and if thy heart and good sense approve their noble conduct, be ready in whatever sense your Lord requires a sacrifice, to go and do likewise.

I HAVE observed, in the former part of this Address, the necessity of such a Publication as this at the present time; to which may be added, that preceding works on the subject are incomplete for several reasons, but more especially because most of them relate only to particular countries, or particular periods. Such as are of a general nature are confused in the method, and inelegant in the manner; and none bring down the Martyrology to the present time.

IN this Work I have treated the Persecutions of the glorious Martyrs from the first ages of the world to the present period: their sufferings I have described with accuracy; the narratives I have related with simplicity and candour; a tedious prolixity I have carefully avoided; and I have endeavoured to enforce the power of precept by the beauties of diction.

H. SOUTHWELL. A.D. 1765

THE NEW BOOK OF MARTYRS.

BOOK I.

The History of Martyrdom, from the Creation to the End of the Ten Great Persecutions under the Roman Emperors.

CHAP. I.

Of the Persecutions in the first Ages of the World.

AMONG PRIMITIVE PERSECUTIONS, of an individual nature, we may reckon that of ABEL, who was persecuted and slain by his brother CAIN; the persecution of the righteous NOAH, by the accursed HAM, his son; the persecution of LOT, at SODOM; and that of JOSEPH by his brethren.

In these early ages, the first general persecutions may be deemed that of the children of Israel by Pharaoh. This tyrant not only afflicted both sexes, of all ages, by means of the most cruel task-masters, but even ordered the new-born male infants of the Hebrew women to be murdered. He was, however, punished for his persecutions: first, by ten dreadful plagues; and afterwards by being swallowed up in the Red Sea, with all his host.

The children of Israel, after being freed from bondage, were successively persecuted by the Philistines, Ammonites, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Arabians, and Assyrians; and many of the prophets, and chosen of God, were persecuted by several of the kings of Judah and Israel.

The three righteous children were thrown into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar; Daniel was cast into the lions den by order of Darius; and Mordecai was persecuted by the malicious Haman: but these were all respectively saved by the Almighty, and their persecutors punished for their perfidy.

The Jews were persecuted by the neighbouring idolaters during the time of their building and fortifying Jerusalem, till that great work was finished by the care of Nehemiah: but, after its completion, they were frequently disturbed by the Persians, and the successors of Alexander the Great, though that monarch himself had granted the most unlimited favours.

But a little more than a century and a half before the birth of Christ, Antiochus seized upon and sacked, the city of Jerusalem; plundered the temple; and murdered many of the Jews who refused to conform to his idolatry, by scourging, strangling, crucifying, and stifling them, and by closing up the mouths of the caves to which they fled for shelter.

Antiochus and his idolatrous tormentors were, however, at length, bravely opposed by Matthias, a priest, and his valiant sons, the principal of whom was Judas Maccabeus. This able commander, Judas, with his brave brothers, inspired the dispirited Jews with new courage, defeated the generals of Antiochus, freed their country from bondage, and afterwards turned their arms against the Edomites and Ammonites, over whom they were equally successful.

At length Antiochus died a terrible death, his flesh having been for some time before quite putrid, and producing maggots; so that he became loathsome to himself, and nauseous to all about him. His successors, however, continued their enmity to the Jews; but they were opposed, with various success, by the Maccabees.

The Jews now entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with the Romans; but soon after lost their worthy champion Judas Maccabeus, who was slain in a bloody battle fought with the Greeks, under the command of their general Bacchides.

Antiochus Epiphanes now reigning in Syria, and having some success against the Jews, went to Jerusalem, where he ordered Eleazar, the priest, to be put to death in the most cruel manner, for refusing to eat swine's flesh. Then seizing on a family of Maccabees, consisting of a matron, named Salamona, and her seven sons, he carried them all to Antioch. Here he would fain have persuaded them to embrace his idolatry, which they nobly and unanimously refused, he ordered them all to be put to death.

Maccabeus, the eldest, was accordingly stripped, stretched on the rack, and severely beaten. He was next fastened to a wheel, and weights hung to his feet till his sinews cracked. Afterwards his tormentors threw him into a fire till he was dreadfully scorched; then they drew him out, cut out his tongue, and put him into a frying-pan, with a slow fire under it, till he died. As long as he had life, and power of expression, under these exquisite torments, he fervently called upon God, and exhorted his brothers to a similar perseverance.

After the second son had his hands fastened with chains, with which he was hung up, his skin was flayed off from the crown of his head to his knees. He was then cast to a leopard, but the beast refusing to touch him, he was suffered to languish till he expired with the excruciating pain, and loss of blood.

Machir, the third son, was bound to a globe till his bones were all dislocated; his head and face were then flayed, his tongue cut out, and being cast into a pan he was fried to death.

Judas, the fourth son, after having his tongue cut out, was beaten with ropes, and then racked upon a wheel.

Achas, the fifth son, was pounded in a large brazen mortar.

Areth, the sixth son, was fastened to a pillar with his head downwards, slowly roasted by a fire kindled at some distance; his tongue was then cut out, and he was lastly fried in a pan.

Jacob, the seventh and youngest son, had his arms cut off, his tongue plucked out, and was then fried to death.

They all bore their fate with the same intrepidity as their elder brother, and called upon the Almighty to receive them into heaven. Salamona, the mother, after having in a manner died seven deaths in beholding the martyrdom of her children, was, by the tyrant's order, stripped naked, severely scourged, her breasts cut off, and her body fried till she expired.

The tyrant, who inflicted these cruelties, was afterwards struck with madness; and then his flesh became corrupted, and his bowels mortified, which put an end to his wicked life.

Thus the afflicted innocent expire, Calm in their suff'rings, chearful in the fire; Expecting, for a momentary pain, Eternal joys, and everlasting gain: While the tyrannic and the wicked find A tortur'd body, and tormented mind; and when their vile atrocious lives, they close, A hell of horrors, and eternal woes.

CHAP. II.

The Life of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST; with his Dreadful Sufferings, and Cruel Martyrdom.

HAVING briefly brought down accounts of the earliest persecutions, from the remotest periods to the time of Our Saviour's birth, we shall now enter into the most important point of human and divine history. But it is necessary, ere we engage in delineating the birth, actions, sufferings, and death of the REDEEMER OF THE WORLD, to mention some circumstances, which are either introductory to our subject, or should be preliminary to it, in order not to break in upon the uniformity of the narrative.

Herod the Great being informed that a King of the Jews should be born in Bethlehem, sent a number of troops to destroy all the children, under two years of age, in that place, and throughout the neighbouring area. By this cruel order he hoped to destroy the child Jesus; but in this he was not only disappointed, but punished with such a spirit of lunacy that he slew his own wife, children, relations, friends, &c. He was afterwards visited by the most grievous maladies, particularly an inward burning, slow but unremitting; an uncommon appetite, continually craving, but ever unsatisfied; a cramp that racked him with pain; a flux that reduced him to weakness; worms that bred in him and gnawed him; vermin that engendered about him and devoured him; a general putrefaction that consumed him; and in fine, all those complicated disorders which could possibly render him hateful to himself, and odious to others. His torments at length became so intolerable, that not having either the comforts of religion, or the support of a good conscience, to sustain his sinking spirits, he attempted to lay violent hands upon himself. Being prevented in this attempt by

those about him, he at last sunk under the oppression of his afflictions, and expired in the most miserable manner.

Herod the Less, having married the daughter of the king of Arabia, repudiated her, and espoused Herodias, his brother Philip's wife: for which marriage, full of incest and adultery, John the Baptist boldly and severely reproved him. This freedom greatly incensed Herodias: for we are informed by St. Matthew, in the XIVth chapter of his gospel, that when Herod's birth-day was kept, the daughter of Herodias danced before them, and pleased Herod; whereupon he promised, with an oath, to give her whatsoever she would ask. And she being before instructed by her mother, said, Give me here John Baptist's head in a charger. And the king was sorry; nevertheless, for the oath's sake, and them which sat with him at meat, he commanded it to be given her. And he sent and beheaded John in the prison. And his head was brought in a charger, and given to the damsel: and she brought it to her mother. The authors of this cruelty were, however, all severely punished: for the daughter of Herodias, being afterwards dancing upon the ice, it broke, and she falling in had her head severed from her body by its again closing; and Herod, with the incestuous adulteress Herodias, falling under the displeasure of the Roman emperor, were banished, and died miserably in exile. As this martyr's nativity happened on the 24th of June, the church celebrates his memory on that day.*

But to proceed to the history of Our Blessed Redeemer: In the reign of Herod the Great, already mentioned, the angel Gabriel was sent, by the Almighty, to a holy Virgin called Mary. This maiden was betrothed to a carpenter, named Joseph, who resided at Nazareth, a city of Galilee; but the consummation had not then taken place: for it was the custom of the eastern nations to contract

^{* [}CHCoG: It is very unlikely that this was John's birth-day. And there is often little to no evidence to support the days conventionally observed as various other commemorations, such as the deaths of saints, etc.]

persons of each sex from their childhood, though the cohabitation was not permitted till after marriage in their years of maturity.

The angel informed Mary how highly she was favoured of God, and that she would conceive a son by the Holy Spirit, which happened accordingly: for travelling to Bethlehem, to pay the capitation-tax then levied, the town was so crowded that they could only get lodgings in a stable, where the Holy Virgin brought forth Our Blessed Redeemer, which was announced to the world by a star and an angel. The wise men of the east saw the first, and the shepherds the latter. After Jesus had been circumcised, he was presented in the temple by the holy Virgin; upon which occasion Simeon broke out into the celebrated words mentioned in the Liturgy; *Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation*. Luke ii. 29, 30.

Jesus, in his youth, disputed with the most learned doctors in the temple; and after was baptized, at the river Jordan, by John, 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.*

Christ afterwards fasted forty days and nights in the wilderness, when he was tempted by the Devil, but resisted all his allurements. He then performed his first miracle at Cana, in Galilee. He likewise conversed with the good Samaritan; and restored to life a nobleman's dead child. Travelling through Galilee, he restored sight to the blind, cured the lame, the lepers, &c.

Among other benevolent actions, at the pool of Bethseda, he cured 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.

Having chosen his twelve apostles, he preached the celebrated sermon upon the Mount; after which he performed several miracles, particularly the feeding of the multitude, and the walking on the surface of the water. At the time of the Passover Jesus supped with his disciples and informed them that one of them would betray him, and another deny him, and preached his farewell sermon. Soon after, a multitude of armed men surrounded him, and Judas kissed him, in order to point him out to the soldiers, who did not know him personally. In the scuffle, occasioned by the apprehending of Jesus, Peter cut off the ear of Malchus, the servant of the highpriest, for which Jesus reproved him, and healed the wound by touching it. Peter and John followed Jesus to the house of Annas, who refusing to judge him, sent him bound to Caiaphas, where Peter denied Christ, as the latter had predicted; but, on Christ's reminding him of his perfidy, Peter went out and wept bitterly.

When the council assembled in the morning, the Jews mocked Jesus, and the elders suborned false witnesses against him; the principal accusation against him being that he had said, *I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands*; Mark xiv. 58. 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 solicitation of the Jews, and condemned him to be crucified.

Prior to the crucifixion, the Roman soldiers, by way of derision, cloathed 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, spit in his face, slapped his cheeks, and taking the reed out of his hand they struck him with it upon the head. Pilate would fain have released him; but the general cry was, *Crucify him, Crucify him*; which occasioned the governor to call for a basin of water, and having washed his hands, he declared himself innocent of the blood of Christ, whom he justly termed a just person. The Jews, however, said *let his blood be upon us, and our children*; which wish has manifestly taken place, as they have never since been a collected people.

In leading Christ to the place of crucifixion, they obliged him to bear the cross, which he being unable to sustain, they compelled one Simon, a native of Cyrenia, to carry the cross the rest of the Mount Calvary was the place of execution, where after wav. arriving, the soldiers offered him a mixture of gall and vinegar to drink, which he refused. Having stripped him, they nailed him to the cross, and crucified him between two malefactors. After being fastened to the cross, he uttered this benevolent prayer for his enemies: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The soldiers who crucified him, being four in number, now divided his garments 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." Indeed, one of the malefactors, who was crucified with him, cried out, and said, "If you are the Messiah, save yourself and us." but the other malefactor, having the greatest reliance upon Jesus, exclaimed, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." To which Christ replied, "Thou shall be with me in Paradise."

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

[CHCoG: But he could not be held by death, and was resurrected to everlasting life three days later in a wonderfully transformed body. Luke xxiv. Contrary to the Roman Catholic myth, Jesus was actually crucified on the Wednesday, buried at dusk that day and rose from the grave at dusk on the Saturday, thus precisely fulfilling the sign of three nights and three days in the heart of the earth as prophesied in Matthew 20:17-19 and Mark 10:34. This is explained in *God's Calendar and the Sign of Jonah*.]

CHAP. III.

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

I. ST. STEPHEN, the proto, or first, martyr, was elected with six others as a deacon, out of the Lord's seventy disciples. Stephen was an able and successful preacher. The principal persons belonging to five Jewish synagogues entered into many altercations with him; but he, by the soundness of his doctrine, and the strength of his arguments, overcame them all, which so much irritated them that they suborned false witnesses to accuse him of blaspheming God and Moses. Being carried before the council, he made a noble defence; but that so much exasperated his judges that they resolved to condemn him. At this instant Stephen saw a vision from Heaven of Jesus, in his glorified state, sitting at the right hand of God. This vision so greatly rejoiced him, that he exclaimed in raptures, "Behold! I see the Heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." [Acts 7:56] They then condemned him, and having dragged him out of the city, stoned him to death. On the spot where he was martyred, Eudocia, the empress of the emperor Theodosius, erected a superb church; and the memory of him is annually celebrated on the 26th day of December

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

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

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

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

Much 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 honoured with several important commissions by Christ, and being deputed to preach in Upper Asia, laboured very diligently in his apostleship. He then travelled into Phrygia, and arriving at Heliopolis, was greatly grieved to find the inhabitants so sunk in idolatry as to worship a large serpent. St. Philip, however, converted many of them to Christianity, and even procured the death of the serpent. This so enraged the magistrates that they committed him to prison, had him severely scourged, and afterwards crucified. His friend, St. Bartholomew, found an opportunity of taking down the body, and burying it; for which,

however, he was very near suffering the same fate. His martyrdom happened eight years after that of St. James the Great, A.D. 52; and his name, together with that of St. James the Less, is commemorated on the 1st of May.

IV. ST. MATTHEW. This evangelist, apostle, and martyr, was born at Nazareth, in Galilee, but resided chiefly at Capernaum, on account of his business, which was that of a toll-gatherer, to collect tribute of such as had occasion to pass the Sea of Galilee. On being called as a disciple, he immediately complied, and left everything to follow Christ. After the ascension of his master, he continued preaching the gospel in Judaea about nine years. Designing to leave Judaea, in order to go and preach among the Gentiles, he wrote his gospel in Hebrew,* for the use of the Jewish converts; but it was afterwards translated into Greek by St. James Going to Ethiopia, he ordained preachers, settled the Less. churches, and made many converts. He then proceeded to Parthia, where he had the same success; but returning to Ethiopia, he was slain by a halbert 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 remarkably inoffensive in his conduct, and temperate in his mode of living. Hence we may say,

Well might this great apostle mend the age, Whose life was but a comment on his page.

V. ST. MARK. This evangelist and martyr was born of Jewish parents, of the tribe of Levi. It is imagined that he was converted to Christianity by St. Peter, whom he served as an amanuensis, and whom he attended in all his travels. Being entreated by the converts at Rome to commit to writing the admirable discourses they had heard from St. Peter and himself, this request he complied with, and composed his gospel accordingly, in the Greek language.

^{* [}CHCoG: Or more likely in Aramaic.]

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He then went to Egypt, and constituted a bishopric at Alexandria. Afterwards he proceeded to Libya, where he made many converts. Returning to Alexandria, some of the Egyptians, exasperated at his success, determined on his death. To accomplish this they tied his feet, dragged him through the streets, and left him to remain, bruised as he was, in a dungeon all night, and the next day burnt his body. This happened on the 25th of April, on which day the church commemorates his martyrdom. His bones were carefully gathered up by the Christians, decently interred, and afterwards removed to Venice, where he is considered as the titular saint, and patron of the state.

VI. ST. JAMES THE LESS. This apostle and martyr was called so to distinguish him from St. James the Great. He was the son, by a first wife, of Joseph,* the reputed father of Christ. He was, after the Lord's ascension, elected bishop of Jerusalem.† He wrote his general epistle to all Christians, and converts where-ever, to suppress a dangerous error then propagating, viz. "That a faith in Christ was alone sufficient for salvation, without good works."‡ The Jews being, at this time, greatly enraged that St. Paul had

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^{* [}CHCoG: There is no record that Joseph had any wife other than Mary. Indeed, the Bible records that James was Jesus's brother, and often travelled with their mother Mary. This claim is a Catholic myth intended to support their anti-biblical idea that Mary remained a virgin all her life. Matthew 1:24-25 tells us that they had sexual relations after Jesus was born, which is confirmed by 1 Cor 7: to 5 and Heb 13:4. It is odd that Southwell endorses such destructive myths in a 'protestant' work.]

[†] Bishop is a title of the Catholic hierarchy. He was appointed as an overseer, or $\dot{\epsilon}\pi$ ίσκοπος (episkopos), a person who guides and supports the congregation, NOT an overlord.

[‡] [CHCoG: Though this is partly true, the quote is from Luther, not Paul. Paul was being falsely accused of essentially teaching this. Paul taught that faith was essential, and so was keeping God's Laws, but also that some aspects of the Law, such as physical circumcision, did not apply to gentile converts. See Acts chapters 15 & 21, etc.]

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 1st of May.

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

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

IX. ST. PETER. This great apostle and martyr was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, being the son of Jonah, a fisherman, which employment St. Peter himself followed. He was persuaded, by his brother, to turn Christian, when Christ gave him the name of

Cephas, implying, in the Syriac language, a *rock*. He was called at the same time as his brother to be an apostle, gave uncommon proofs of his zeal for the service of Christ, and often appeared as the principal speaker among the apostles. He had, however, the weakness to deny his master, after his apprehension, though he defended him at the time; but the sincerity of his repentance made an atonement for the atrociousness of his crime.

The Jews, after the death of Christ, still continued to persecute the Christians, and even went so far as to order 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 Christ.

Herod Agrippa, having caused St. James the Great to be put to death, and finding that it pleased the Jews, resolved, in order to ingratiate himself further with the people, that Peter should fall the next sacrifice to his malice. He was accordingly apprehended, and thrown into prison; but an angel of the Lord released him, which so enraged Herod, that he ordered the sentinels, who guarded the dungeon in which he had been confined, to be put to death. St. Peter, after various other miracles, retired to Rome, where he defeated all the artifices, and confounded the magic, of Simon, the magician, a great 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 out from thence for execution, when, after being severely scourged, he was crucified, with his head downwards, which position, however, was at his own request. His festival is observed on June 29th, on which day he, as well as St. Paul, suffered. His body being taken down, embalmed, and buried in the Vatican, a church was afterwards erected on the spot; but this being destroyed by the emperor Heliogaibalus, the body was

removed, till the twentieth bishop of Rome, called Cornelius, conveyed it again to the Vatican.* Afterwards Constantine the Great erected one of the most stately churches in the world over the place. Before we quit this article, it is requisite to observe that, previous to the death of St. Peter, his wife suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ, and was exhorted, when going to be put to death, to remember the Lord Jesus.

X. ST. PAUL, the 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 preacher of Christ's gospel. At Iconium, St. Paul and St. Barnabas were near being stoned to death by the enraged Jews, wherefore they fled to Lyconia. At Lystra, St. Paul was stoned, dragged out of the city, and left for dead. He, however, happily revived, and escaped to Derbe. At Philippi, Paul and Silas were imprisoned and whipped; and both were again persecuted at Thessalonica. Being afterwards taken at Jerusalem, he was sent to Cæsarea, but appealed to Caesar at Rome. Here he continued prisoner at large for two years. Being released, he visited the churches of Greece and Rome, and preached in France and Spain. Returning to Rome, he was again apprehended, and by the order of Nero, martyred by being beheaded. Two days are dedicated to the commemoration of this apostle; the one for his conversion, the other for his martyrdom; the first being on the 25th of January, and the latter on the 29th of June.

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

^{* [}CHCoG: There is no evidence that Peter was ever in Rome, let alone that his body is interred under the Vatican.]

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

XIII. ST. THOMAS, as he was called in Syriac, but Didymus in Greek, was an apostle and martyr. He 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 and martyr, was the author of a most excellent gospel. He travelled with St. Paul to Rome, and preached to diverse barbarous nations, till the priests in Greece hanged him on an olive-tree. The anniversary of his martyrdom is on the 18th of October.

XV. ST. SIMON, the apostle and martyr, was distinguished by the name of Zelotes, from his zeal. 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 by the then barbarous inhabitants of this island in A.D. 74; and the church, joining him with St. Jude, commemorates his festival on the 28th day of October.

XVI. ST. JOHN. This saint was at once a prophet, apostle, divine, evangelist; and martyr. He is called the Beloved Disciple, and was brother to James the Great. He was previously a disciple of John the Baptist, and afterwards not only one of the twelve apostles, but one of the three to whom Christ communicated the most secret

passages of his life. The churches in Asia founded by St. John were Smyrna, Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea and Thyatyra, to whom he directs his book of Revelations. Being at Ephesus, he was ordered, by the emperor Domitian, to be sent bound to Rome, where he was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil. But here a miracle appeared in his favour; the oil did him no injury; and Domitian, therefore, not being able to put him to death, banished him to Patmos to work at the mines. He was, however, recalled by Nerva, who succeeded Domitian after his decease, but was deemed a martyr on account of having undergone the mode of an execution, though it did not take effect. He wrote his epistles, gospel, and revelations, all in a different style; but they are all equally admired. He was the only apostle who escaped a violent death; lived the longest of any one of them, being near 100 years of age at the time of his death; and the church commemorates the 27th day of December to his memory.

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



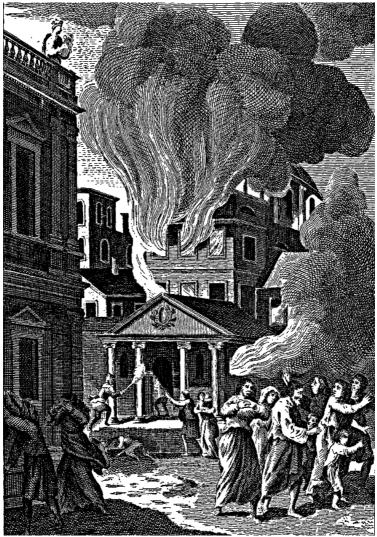
CHAP IV.

The First Persecutions which began in the Year of Our Lord 67, under the Reign of Nero, Emperor of Rome.

IN the primitive ages of the church, the first persecution was begun by that cruel tyrant Nero, the sixth emperor of Rome. This monarch reigned for the space of five years, with tolerable credit to himself, but then gave way to the greatest extravagancy of temper, and to the most atrocious barbarities. Among other diabolical whims, he took it into his head to order that the city of Rome should be set on fire, which was done by his officers, guards and servants accordingly. While the imperial city was in flames, he went up to the tower of Macenas, played upon his harp, sung the song of the burning of Troy, and openly declared, "that he wished the ruin of all things before his death." Among the noble buildings burnt was the Circus, or place appropriated to horseraces: 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. Besides this noble pile, many other palaces and houses were consumed; and several thousand perished in the flames, were smothered with the smoak, or buried beneath the ruins

This dreadful conflagration continued nine days; when Nero, finding that his conduct was greatly blamed, and a severe odium cast upon him, determined to lay the whole upon the Christians, at once to excuse himself, and have an opportunity of glutting his sight with new cruelties. This was the occasion of the first persecution; and the barbarities exercised upon the Christians were such as even excited the commiseration of the Romans themselves. Nero even refined upon cruelty, and contrived all manner of punishments for the Christians that his most infernal imagination could design.

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The Burning of the City of Rome

By order of the Emperor Nero, who saw the Conflagration from the top of the Tower of Macœnas, & played on his harp while the city was in flames, after which he laid the blame upon the Christians, which caused the first General Persecution.

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In particular, he had some sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and then worried by dogs till they expired; and others dressed in shirts made stiff with wax, fixed to axle-trees, and set on fire in his gardens, in order to illuminate them. This persecution was general throughout the whole of the Roman empire; but it rather encreased than diminished the spirit of Christianity. In the course of it, St. Paul and St. Peter were martyred, (as we have already mentioned in our account of *The Lives, Sufferings, and Martyrdom of the Apostles, Evangelists, &c.* in the foregoing Chapter); and besides many others, whose names have not been transmitted to posterity, were some of their converts and followers, the circumstances concerning the principal of whom we shall here relate.

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

ARISTARCHUS, the Macedonian, was born in Thessalonica, and being converted by St. Paul, became his constant companion.

He was with that apostle at Ephesus, during a commotion raised in that city by Demetrius, the silversmith. They both received several insults upon the occasion from the populace, which they bore with a true Christian patience, giving good advice in return for ill usage, and not in the least resenting any indignity put upon them.

From Ephesus, Aristarchus accompanied St. Paul into Greece, where they were very successful in propagating the gospel, and bringing over many from ignorance to a saving knowledge, and from Pagan darkness to the glorious light of Christianity. Leaving Greece, they traversed a great part of Asia, and made a considerable stay in Judaea, where they were so successful in making converts in those parts that idolatry seemed to fly before them, and truth to diffuse its rays wherever they came. Aristarchus afterwards 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.

After his conversion, he accompanied his master in his voyages and travels; and upon his account the Jews raised a great disturbance in' the temple at Jerusalem, the last time St. Paul was in that city. They proceeded so far in their malice against the apostle that they attempted to murder him for having introduced a Greek into the temple; for Trophimus, being a Greek, was looked upon by the Jews with detestation, Lysias, the captain of the guard, however, interposed his authority, and by force rescued St. Paul from the hands of the Jews.

On quitting Jerusalem, Trophimus followed his master to Rome, and did him every essential service in his power. He then attended him to Spain, and passing through Gaul, the apostle made him bishop of that province, and left him behind in the city of Arles.

About a twelve-month after he paid a visit to St. Paul in Asia, and went with him, for the last time, to Rome, where he was witness to the martyrdom of his master, which was but the forerunner of his own; for being soon after seized on account of his faith, he was beheaded by the emperor Nero's express orders.

JOSEPH, commonly called BARSABAS, was a primitive disciple, and is usually deemed one of the seventy. He was, in some degree, related to our *Blessed Redeemer*, and became a candidate, together with Matthias, to fill the vacant place of Judas Iscariot, the traitor.

The gospel and ecclesiastical writers make very little other mention of him; but Papias informs us that he was once compelled to drink poison, which did not do him the least injury, agreeable to the promise of the Lord to those who believe in him.

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

ANANIUS, bishop of Damascus, is celebrated in the Sacred Writings for being the person used to cure St. Paul of the blindness with which he was struck by the amazing brightness which happened at his conversion. He was one of the Seventy, and 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.

CHAP. V.

The Second Primitive Persecution, under the Emperor Domitian.

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

Among the numerous martyrs that suffered during this persecution was SIMEON, bishop of Jerusalem, who was crucified; and St. JOHN,* who was boiled in oil, and afterwards

^{*} Some of the fathers of the church relate the following very singular circumstance, in which St. John was materially concerned. Being in the Christian church at Smyrna, he beheld a comely young man among the congregation. As he was particularly struck with his appearance, he fervently recommended him to the bishop of Smyrna, in the name of Christ. St. John went to Ephesus; and the bishop taking home the young man, instructed him in every Christian duty, and made him a pastor. The youth, however, falling into bad company, grew debauched, associated with thieves, and became the captain of a band of robbers. When St. John came again to Smyrna, he enquired after the young man, and was told, by the bishop, that he was dead. "Dead, (said he); of what disease did he die?" To which the bishop replied, with tears, "He is dead to God; has turned not only libertine, but a thief, and has committed many robberies and murders in the neighbouring mountains, where he

banished to Patmos. Flavia, the daughter of a Roman senator, was likewise banished to Pontus; and a law was made, "that no Christian, once brought before the tribunal, should be exempted from punishment without renouncing his religion."

A variety of fabricated tales were, during this reign, composed in order to injure the Christians. Among other falsehoods, they were accused of indecent nightly meetings, of a rebellious

commands a most desperate gang." The apostle was greatly afflicted at this intelligence; but immediately ordered a horse and a guide to conduct him to the mountains. Arriving at a very desolate part, he was suddenly surrounded by a detachment of the robbers, who were roaming after prey. "This is the very thing I wanted (said St. John, very calmly;) shew me the way to your captain; 'tis with him I have business." and by his venerable appearance, (for the saint was now upwards of ninety years of age) they immediately complied, and treated him with a peculiar degree of reverence, for which they could not account. When the captain of the robbers first saw him, he darted a fierce look at him; but, in a few minutes, recollecting the holy apostle, he changed colour, was filled with confusion, and so overwhelmed with shame that he hastily fled. The aged apostle followed as quick as possible, and called to him in these soothing words: "Stay, my son; why do you fly from your father, who loves you? Let not an armed man fly from one that is unarmed, a young man from an old man. Have pity upon me, son; fear not, there is yet hope of salvation: I will answer for thee to Christ; I will die for thee, as Christ died for us all: I will, if occasion requires, give my life for thee. Believe me, it is Christ himself that has sent me." On hearing these words, the astonished robber stopped, dropped his weapons, stood mute for some time, and at length bursting into tears, he ran and embraced the apostle; but, at the same time, covered his right hand, which had committed murder, that it should not touch the holy man. St. John, however, told him that if he sincerely repented, Christ would pardon him; pointed out several texts of scripture to confirm what he said; prayed for him heartily; and even kissed his murdering hand which he assured him would be forgiven on his real penitence. The robber now became a second time a convert, but with better success than at first; for he continued stedfast in his faith, and in the practice of every virtue, till

turbulent spirit, of being pernicious to the Roman empire, of murdering their children, and even of being cannibals. Such was the infatuation of the Pagans that if famine, pestilence, or earthquakes afflicted any of the Roman provinces, it was laid upon the Christians. These persecutions among the Christians encreased the number of informers; and many, for the sake of gain, swore, away the lives of the innocent.

Another hardship was that when any Christians were brought before the magistrates, a test oath was proposed, when, if they refused to take it, death was pronounced against them; and if they confessed themselves Christians, the sentence was the same. The various kinds of punishments, and inflicted cruelties were, during this persecution:

Imprisonment, Racking, Searing, Broiling, Burning, Scourging, Stoning, Strangling, Hanging and Worrying.

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

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

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

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

his death. Another advantage accrued from his second conversion; his companions and associates in wickedness, struck by his example, and persuaded by his discourses, reformed their lives, embraced the Christian faith, and became useful members of society.

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worthy Pagan magistrate to the pious Christian pastor: for even while involved in the darkness of idolatry, he was as just as the gross errors of Paganism would permit.

His words were bonds; his oaths were oracles; His love sincere; his thoughts benevolent; His tears pure messengers lent from his heart; His heart as far from fraud as heav'n from earth.

It is easy to be imagined that a soul, which could appear with some lustre while loaded with original sin, and tainted with superstition, must, when illuminated with the light of the gospel, shine with the most splendid brilliancy.

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

NICOMEDES, a Christian of some distinction at Rome, during the rage of Domitian's persecution, did all he could to serve the afflicted; comforting the poor, visiting those confined, exhorting the wavering, and confirming the faithful. For those and other pious actions he was seized as a Christian, and being sentenced, was scourged to death.

PROTASUS and GERVASIUS were martyred at Milan; but the particular circumstances of their deaths 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 being a Gentile, and his mother a Jewess. But both his parents and his grandmother embraced Christianity, by which

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means young Timothy was taught the precepts of the gospel from his infancy.

St. Paul, coming to Lycaonia, ordained Timothy, and then made him the companion of his pious labours. It appears that while he attended the apostle, his zeal could be only equalled by his fidelity; for St. Paul mentions him with peculiar respect; and declares that he could find none so truly united to him, both in heart and mind, as Timothy. Indeed, the apostle, upon various occasions, speaks of him in the most affectionate terms, which is a sufficient proof of his great merit, and evinces that he was a devoted and diligent servant of Christ.

Timothy attended St. Paul to Macedonia, and there, with the apostle and Silas, he laboured with assiduity in the propagation of the gospel. When St. Paul went to Achaia, Timothy was left behind to strengthen the faith of those already converted, or to induce others to quit the darkness of ignorance for the light of gospel knowledge.

At length St. Paul sent for Timothy to Athens, and then dispatched him to Thessalonica, to strengthen the suffering Christians there against the terrors of the persecution which then raged.

When Timothy arrived at the place of his destination, he did all that a zealous Christian could for the service of his Redeemer, 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 St. Paul to Corinth, Jerusalem and Ephesus.

After performing several other commissions for St. Paul, and attending him upon various other journeys, the apostle constituted him bishop of Ephesus, though he was only thirty years of age; and in two admirable epistles gave him proper instructions for his conduct in so important a charge. Timothy was so very temperate in his living that St. Paul blames him for being too abstemious, and recommends to him the moderate use of wine to recruit his strength and spirits.

St. Paul sent to Timothy while he was in his last confinement at Rome to come to him; and after that great apostle's martyrdom, he returned to Ephesus, where he zealously governed the church till A.D. 97. At this period the Pagans were about to celebrate a feast called Catagogion, the principal ceremonies of which were that the people should carry batons in their hands, go masked, and bear about the streets the images of their gods.

Timothy, meeting the procession, severely reproved them for their ridiculous idolatry, which so exasperated the people that they fell upon him with their clubs, and beat him in so dreadful a manner, that he expired of the bruises two days after.



CHAP. VI.

The Third Primitive Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

NERVA succeeding Domitian, gave a respite to the Christians; but reigning only thirteen months, his successor, Trajan, in the 10th year of his reign, and in A.D. 108, began the third persecution against the Christians. While the persecution raged, Plinius Secundus, a heathen philosopher, wrote to the emperor in favour of the Christians; to whose epistle Trajan returned this indecisive answer; "The Christians ought not to be sought after; but when brought before the magistracy, they should be punished."

This absurd reply made Tertullian exclaim in the following words, "O, confused sentence! he would not have them sought for as innocent, and yet would have them punished as guilty." The emperor's incoherent answer, however, occasioned the persecution in some measure to abate, as his officers were uncertain, if they carried it on with severity, how he might chuse to wrest his own meaning. Trajan, however, soon after wrote to Jerusalem, and gave orders to his officers to exterminate the flock of David; in consequence of which, all that could be found of that race were put to death.

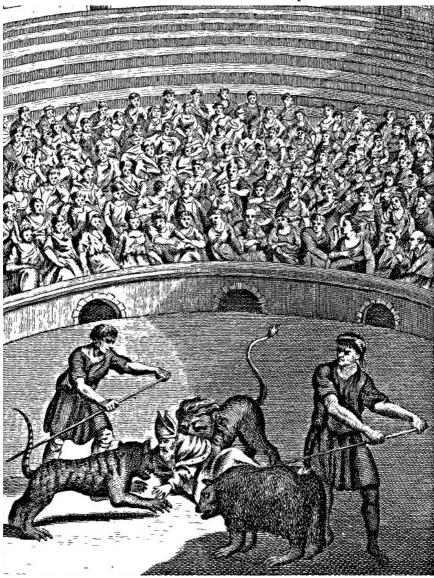
SYMPHOROSA, a widow, and her seven sons, were commanded by the emperor to sacrifice to the heathen deities. Unanimously refusing to comply with such an impious request, the emperor, in a rage, told her that, for her obstinacy, herself, and her sons, should be slain, to appease the wrath of his offended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

The emperor, being greatly exasperated at this, ordered her to be carried to the temple of Hercules, where she was scourged, and hung up, for some time, by the hair of her head; then being taken down, a large stone was fastened to her neck, and she was thrown into the river, where she expired. With respect to the sons, they were fastened to seven poles, 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.

PHOCAS, bishop of Pontus, refusing to sacrifice to Neptune, was, by the immediate order of Trajan, cast first into a hot limekiln, 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 was the person whom, when an infant, Christ took into his arms, and shewed 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. He boldly vindicated the faith of Christ before the emperor, for which, being cast into prison, he was tormented in a most cruel manner; for, after being dreadfully scourged, he was compelled to hold fire in his hands; and at the same time, papers dipped in oil were put to his sides, and set on light. His flesh was then torn with red hot pincers; and at last he was dispatched by being torn to pieces by wild beasts.

Trajan being succeeded by Adrian, the latter continued this third persecution with as much severity as his predecessor. 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.



Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch Torn to Pieces by Wild Beasts

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

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

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

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

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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 in an underhand manner.

CHAP. VII.

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

ANTONINUS PIUS was succeeded by MARCUS-AURELIUS-ANTONINUS PIHILOSOPHUS, who, being a strong Pagan, began the fourth persecution, in which many Christians were martyred, particularly in several parts of Asia, and in France.

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

GERMANICUS, a young man, but true Christian, being delivered to the wild beasts on account of his faith, behaved with such astonishing courage, that several Pagans became converts to a faith which inspired such fortitude. This enraged others so much that they cried he merited death, as they did also of POLYCARP, the pious and venerable bishop of Smyrna.

POLYCARP, hearing that persons were after him 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 that he should seal his faith with martyrdom. He therefore would not attempt to make a second escape, when he had an opportunity of so doing. Those who apprehended him were amazed at his serene countenance, and comely gravity. After

feasting them, he desired an hour in prayer, which being allowed, he prayed with such fervency that his guards repented they had been instrumental in taking him. He was, however, carried before the pro-consul, condemned, and conducted to the market-place. Wood being provided, the holy man earnestly prayed to heaven, after being bound to the stake; and as the flames grew vehement, the tormentors gave way on each side, the heat now becoming intolerable. In the meantime the bishop sang praises to God in the midst of the flames, but remained unconsumed therein; and the burning of the wood spreading a fragrancy around, the guards were much surprized. Determined, however, to put an end to his life, they struck spears into his body, when the quantity of blood that issued from the wounds extinguished the flames. After considerable attempts, however, they put him to death; and burnt his body when dead, not being able to consume it while living. Twelve other Christians, who had been intimate with Polycarp, were soon after martyred.

METRODORUS, a minister, who preached boldly, and PIONIUS, who made some excellent apologies for the Christian faith, were likewise burnt. CARPUS and PAPILUS, two worthy Christians; and AGATHONICA, a pious woman, suffered martyrdom at Pargamopolis, in Asia.

FELICTATIS, an illustrious Roman lady, of a considerable family, and the most shining virtues, was a devout Christian. She had seven sons, whom she had educated with the most exemplary piety. The empire having been, about this time, grievously troubled with earthquakes, famine, inundations, &c. the Christians were accused as the cause, and Felicitatis was included in the accusation. The lady and her family being seized, the emperor gave orders to Publius, the governor of Rome, to proceed against her. Publius began with the mother, thinking that if he could prevail with her to change her religion, that the example would have great influence with her sons. Finding her inflexible, he turned his entreaties to menaces, and threatened her with destruction to herself and family. She despised his threats as she had done his promises; on which he changed his battery, and began with the sons, whom he examined separately. They all, however, remained stedfast in their faith, and unanimous in their opinions, on which the whole family were ordered for execution.

Januarius, the eldest, was scourged, and pressed to death with weights; Felix and Philip, the two next, had their brains dashed out with clubs; Silvanus, the fourth, was murdered by being thrown from a precipice; and the three younger sons, viz. Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial, were all beheaded. With respect to the mother, she suffered the same fate, and was beheaded with the same sword as the three latter.

JUSTIN, the celebrated philosopher, fell a martyr in this persecution. He was a native of Neapolis, in Samaria, and was born A.D. 103. He had the best education those times 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 everything 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; but the behaviour of one of its professors disgusting him, he applied himself to the Platonic, in which he took great delight. About the year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he became a convert to Christianity, and then, for the first time, perceived the real nature of truth.

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

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

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

Soon after he entered into frequent contests with Crescens, a person of a vicious life and conversation, but a celebrated Cynic philosopher; and his arguments appeared so powerful, yet disgusting, to the Cynic, that he resolved on, and in the sequel accomplished, his destruction.

Justin's second apology was occasioned by the following circumstances: a man and his wife, who were both bad livers, resided at Rome. The woman, however, becoming a convert to Christianity, attempted to reclaim her husband; but not succeeding, she sued for a divorce, which so exasperated him that he accused her of being a Christian. Upon her petition, however, he dropped the persecution, and levelled his malice at Ptolemeus, who had converted her. Ptolemeus was condemned to die; and one Lucius, with another person, met with the same fate, for expressing themselves too freely upon the occasion.

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

Of the writings of this celebrated martyr, and great philosopher, only seven pieces 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.

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

Some of the northern nations being in arms against Rome, the emperor marched to encounter them. He was, however, drawn into an ambuscade, and dreaded the loss of his whole army. Enveloped with mountains, surrounded by enemies, and perishing with thirst, the troops were driven to the last extremities. All the Pagan deities were invoked in vain; when the men belonging to the militine, or thundering legion, who were all Christians, were commanded to call upon their God for 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, afforded a sudden and astonishing relief. The emperor, in his epistle to the Roman senate, wherein the expedition is described, after mentioning the difficulties to which he had been driven, thus speaks of the Christians:

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

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 with ease 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 tortures to which many of the Christians were put almost exceed the powers of description. The aspersions, false accusations, taunts, threats, revilings, menacings, which were but forerunners to all manner of punishments, torments, and painful deaths; such as being banished, plundered, beaten, imprisoned, stoned, assassinated, hanged, burnt, &c. and even the servants and slaves of opulent Christians were racked and tortured, to make them accuse their masters and employers. The principal of these martyrs were the following:

VETIUS AGATHUS, a young man, who having boldly pleaded the Christian cause, was asked if he was a Christian. To which, answering in the affirmative, he was condemned to death, and suffered the crown of martyrdom accordingly. Many, animated by this young man's intrepidity, boldly owned their faith, and suffered as he had done.

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

SANCTUS, a deacon of Vienna, was put to the torture, which he bore with great fortitude, and only cried, "I am a Christian." Red-hot plates of brass were placed upon those parts of the body that were tenderest, which contracted the sinews; but he remaining inflexible, was re-conducted to prison. Being brought out from his place of confinement a few days afterwards, his tormentors were astonished to find his wounds healed, and his person as perfect as before they tormented him. They, however, again proceeded to torture him; but not being able, at that time, to take away a life which was miraculously preserved, they only remanded him to prison, where he remained for some time after; and having had this respite, received the crown of martyrdom by being beheaded.

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

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

The torments were various; and exclusive of those already mentioned, the martyrs of Lyons were compelled to sit in red-hot iron chairs till their flesh broiled. This was inflicted with peculiar severity on Santus, already mentioned, and some others. Some were sewed up in nets, and thrown on the horns of wild bulls; and the carcases of those who died in prison, previous to the appointed time of execution, were thrown to dogs. Indeed, so far did the malice of the Pagans proceed, that they set guards over the bodies while the beasts were devouring them, lest the friends of the deceased should get them away by stealth; and the offals left by the dogs were ordered to be burnt.

The martyrs of Lyons, according to the best accounts we could obtain, who suffered for the gospel, were forty-eight in number, and their executions happened in the year of Christ 177. They all died with great fortitude and serenity of mind, evidently evincing that they preferred the everlasting pleasures of an immortal and happy life to the transitory scenes of one that was precarious, dashed with afflictions, and at best but short and fleeting.

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Like to the falling of a star, Or as the flights of eagles are; Or like the fresh spring's gaudy hue, Or silver drops of morning dew; Or like the wind that chases the flood; Or bubbles which on water stood; Ev'n such is man, whole borrow'd light Is straight call'd in, and paid to night. The wind blows out; the bubble dies; The spring entomb'd in autumn lies; The dew dries up; the star is shot; The flight is past, and man forgot. Bishop of Chichester's Poems.

Besides the above martyrs of Lyons, who are usually enumerated together, some others suffered in that city, and in the different parts of the empire, soon after. Of these the principal were,

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

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

As they were eminent persons, the malice of their persecutors sought after them with indefatigable industry, and pursued them to their place of concealment with unremitting assiduity. Dragged from their retirement, they were committed to prison without examination: but their misfortunes did not oppress their spirits; for, shielded by the gospel, they were secure against the woes incident to this life.

> "The gospel 'tis which streaks the morning bright; "Tis this which gilds the horrors of the night. "When wealth forsakes us, or when friends are few; "When friends are faithless, or when foes pursue; "Tis this which wards the blow, or stills the smart, "Disarms affliction, or repels its dart; "Within the breast bids purest raptures rise, "Bids awful conscience spread her cloudless skies. "When the storm thickens, and the thunders roll, "When the earth trembles to th' affrighted pole, "The virtuous mind, nor doubts, nor fears assail; "For storms are zephyrs, or a gentler gale; "But when disease obstructs the lab'ring breath, "When the pulse thickens, and each gasp is death, "Ev'n then religion shall sustain the just, "Grace their last moments, nor desert their dust."

Being, at the expiration of three days, brought before the governor, they were examined in the presence of a crowd of Pagans. They confessed the divinity of Christ; when the governor, being enraged at what he termed their insolence, absurdly said, "what signifies all the former executions, if some yet remain who dare acknowledge Christ?"

Having separated them, that they should not console with, or fortify each other, he began to tamper with Epipodius, the youngest of the two. With a dissembled kindness, 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 people? Then quit a profession of such austerity, and enjoy those gratifications which the world affords, and which your youthful years demand."

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

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

ALEXANDER, the companion of Epipodius, was brought before the judge two days after the execution of that excellent young man. On his absolute refusal to renounce Christianity, he was placed upon the rack, and beat by three executioners, who relieved each other alternately. He bore his sufferings with as

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^{* [}CHCoG: Actually, we are composed of body, soul and spirit. This is explained in *Spirit, Soul and Body*, at chepublications.net.]

much fortitude as his friend had done, and at length received the conclusion of his glorious martyrdom, by being crucified. These martyrs suffered A.D. 179; the first on the 22nd of April, and the other on the 24th of the same month.

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, of which we are not informed, they made their escape, and travelled different ways. Marcellus made several converts in the territories of Besancon and Chalons, but being apprehended, was carried before Priscus, the governor of those parts.

That magistrate, knowing Marcellus to be a Christian, ordered him to be fastened to some branches of a tree, which were drawn down for that purpose. When he was tied to different branches, they were let go, with a design that the suddenness of the jerks might tear him to pieces.

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

VALERIAN was soon after apprehended, and by the order of Priscus, was first put to the rack, and then beheaded, in the same year. as his friend and relation.

Much about the same time the following martyrs suffered, but we have not any circumstantial or particular accounts of their deaths.

Benignus at Dijon. Speusippus, and others at Langres. Androches, Thyrseus & Fexlic at Salieu Sympoviam & Florella at Antun. Severinus, Felecian & Exuperus at Vienna.

The New Book of Martyrs

Cecilia, the virgin at Sicily. Thraseus, Bishop of Phrygia at Smyrna.

The emperor ANTONINUS dying, was succeeded A.D. 180, by his son *Commodus*, who did not seem to copy his father in any particular. He had neither his virtues or his vices; he was without his learning and morality, and at the same time, without his prejudices against Christianity. His principle foible was pride, and to that we chiefly ascribe the errors of his reign; for having taken it into his head to fancy himself Hercules, he sacrificed those to his vanity who refused to subscribe to his absurdity.

APOLLONIUS, a Roman senator, became a martyr in his reign. This eminent person was, at once, skilled in all the polite literature of those times, and in all the purest precepts taught by our Blessed Redeemer. He was, indeed, an accomplished gentleman, and a sincere Christian.

This worthy person was accused, by his own slave Severus, upon an unjust and contradictory, but unrepealed, edict of the emperor Trajan's. This inconsistent law condemned the accused to die unless he recanted his opinion; and at the same time, ordered the execution of the accuser for calumny.

Upon this ridiculous statute was Apollonius 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 ruin. The accused Apollonius refusing to recant his opinions, was, by order of his peers, the Roman senators, to whom he had appealed, condemned to be beheaded. The sentence was executed on the 18th day of April, A.D. 186; his accuser having previously had his legs broken, and been put to death.

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EUSEBIUS, VINCENTIUS, POTENTIANUS, and PEREGRINUS, were all martyred for refusing to worship Commodus as Hercules.

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 cudgels. Virtue, whose essence is religion, supported him, however, to the last, and he died a glorious martyr to the truth.

Thine, virtue! thine is each persuasive charm, Thine ev'ry soul with heav'nly raptures warm; Thine all the bliss that innocence bestows. And thine the heart that feels another's woes. What tho' thy train neglected, or unknown, Have fought the silent vale, and sigh'd alone? Tho' torrents stream'd from ev'ry melting eye? Tho' from each bosom burst th' unpity'd sigh? Tho'oft, with life's distracting cares opprest, They long to sleep in everlasting rest? O envy'd misery!—what soft delight Breath'd on the mind, and smooth'd the gloom of night, When nobler prospects, an eternal train, Made rapture glow in ev'ry beating vein; When heav'n's bright domes the smiling eye survey'd, And joys that bloom'd more sweetly from the shade! Ogilvie's Day of Judgment.

CHAP. VIII.

The Fifth General Persecution, under the Roman Emperors.

THE emperor COMMODUS dying in the year 191, was succeeded by the short-reigned PERTINAX; and he was again succeeded by the still shorter-reigned JULIANUS. On the death of the last, in the year 192, SEVERUS became emperor.

SEVERUS having been recovered from a severe fit of sickness by a Christian, became a great favourer of Christians in general; and even permitted his son Caracalla to be nursed by a female Christian. Hence, during the reigns of the two emperors already mentioned, who successively succeeded Commodus, and some years of the latter's reign, the Christians were not persecuted; for we find that they had a respite of several years.

At length, however, the prejudice and fury of the ignorant multitude prevailed, and obsolete laws were revived, and put in execution against the Christians.

The progress of Christianity alarmed the Pagans, and they revived the stale calumny of placing accidental misfortunes to the account of its professors. Fire, sword, scourges, wild beasts, and cruel imprisonments were now used; and even the dead bodies of Christians were torn from their graves with Pagan prejudice, to be mangled by popular fury.

But though persecuting malice raged, yet the gospel shone with resplendent brightness; and firm as an impregnable rock, withstood the attack of its boisterous enemies with success. TERTULLIAN, who lived in this age, informs us that if the Christians had collectively withdrawn themselves from the Roman territories, the empire would have been greatly depopulated. VICTOR, bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom in the first year of the third century, viz. A.D. 201, though the circumstances are not particularized.

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

POTAMIENA, the sister of Rhais, was executed in the same manner as Rhais had been; but Basilides, an officer belonging to the army, and one ordered to attend her execution, became her convert.

BASILIDES being, as an officer, required to take a certain oath, refused, saying, that he could not swear by the Roman idols, as he was a Christian. Struck with surprize, the people could not, at first, believe what they heard; but he had no sooner confirmed the same, than he was dragged before the judge, committed to prison, and speedily afterwards beheaded.

IRENÆUS, bishop of Lyons, was born in Greece, and received both a polite and a Christian education. It is generally supposed that the account of the persecutions at Lyons was written by himself. He succeeded the martyr Pothinus as bishop of Lyons, and ruled his diocese with great propriety: he was a zealous opposer of heresies in general, and about A.D. 187, wrote a celebrated tract against heresy. Victor, the bishop of Rome, wanting to impose their mode of keeping Easter there, above all other places, it occasioned some disorders among the Christians. In particular, Irenæus wrote him a synodical epistle, in the name of the Gallic Churches.* This zeal in favour of Christianity, pointed him out as an object of resentment to the emperor; and in A.D. 202, he was accordingly beheaded.

The persecutions now extending to Africa, many were martyred in that quarter of the globe; the most particular of whom we shall mention.

PERPETUA, a married lady, of about twenty-two years of age, with a young sucking child at her breast, was seized upon for being a Christian. During her confinement, the father, who tenderly loved her, went to console with her; and at the same time would fain have persuaded her to renounce Christianity. Perpetua, however, preserving all the respect due to a parent, maintained the character of a Christian.

Her resolution so much incensed her father, that he beat her unmercifully, and did not visit her for some days after. This gave her, and some others who were confined at the same time, an opportunity of being baptized, as they were before only Catechumens.

Being carried before the pro-consul Minutius, she was commanded to sacrifice to idols; but refusing, she was ordered to a dark dungeon. The gloom of this place was of itself disagreeable, but she being deprived of her child was much more so. Two deacons, however, Tertius and Pomponius, who had the care of persecuted Christians, procured her some few hours daily to breathe the fresh air, during which time she had the satisfaction of being allowed to suckle her child. Foreseeing, however, that she

^{* [}CHCoG: This topic, and its great significance, is explored in <u>God's</u> <u>Calendar and the Sign of Jonah</u>, at chcpublications.net.]

should not long be permitted to take care of it, she recommended it strongly to her mother's care. The father of Perpetua paid her a second visit, and again besought her to renounce Christianity. His behaviour now was all paternal tenderness, and endearing humanity. If anything worldly could have softened her, this would; but inflexible to all things of Christ, she knew she must leave everything for his sake; and she only said to him, "God's will must be done." With a heart almost bursting he left her, and found his only consolation in his tears.

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

The judge, at the same time, entreated her to consider her father's tears, her infant's helplessness, and her own life; but triumphing over the softer sentiments of nature, she forgot the ideas of both mental and corporeal pain; and determined to sacrifice all the feelings of human sensibility to that immortality offered by Christ. In vain did they attempt to persuade her that their offers were gentle, and her own religion severe: she well knew the contrary; for

True religion Is always mild, propitious, and humble; Plays not the tyrant, plants no faith in blood, Nor bears destruction on her chariot-wheels; But stoops to polish, succour, and redress, And builds her grandeur on the public good.

Finding that she must die, the father's parental tenderness returned, and in the fury of his anxiety, he attempted to carry her off; on which account he received a severe blow from one of the officers. Irritated at this, the daughter shewed that the had not lost all natural sentiments of filial duty; for she immediately declared, that she felt that blow more severely than if she had received it

herself. Being conducted back to prison, she remained for the day of execution, when several other persons were to be executed with her, of whom we must now proceed to give an account.

FELICITAS, a married Christian lady, was big with child at the time of her being apprehended. The procurator, when he examined her, begged that she would have some pity upon herself and the child within her, and consider the condition she was in; but she replied that his compassion was thrown away, for no thought of self-preservation could ever induce her to submit to any idolatrous terms. She was delivered in prison of a girl, which was adopted by a Christian woman as her own, and brought up by her accordingly.

REVOCATUS was a Catechumen of Carthage, and a slave. The names of the other prisoners who were to suffer upon this occasion were SATURNINUS, SECUNDULUS, and SATUR.

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

Felicitas and Perpetua were stripped, in order to be thrown to a mad bull: but some of the spectators, through decency, desired that they might be permitted to put on their cloaths, which was complied with.

The bull made his first attack upon Perpetua, and stunned her: he then attacked Felicitas, and wounded her much; but not killing them, the executioner did that office with a sword. Revocatus and Satur were destroyed by wild beasts; Saturninus was beheaded; and Secundulus died in prison. These executions were in the year 205, on the 8th day of March.

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

CECILIA, a young lady of a good family in Rome, was married to a gentleman named VALERIAN. Being a Christian herself, the soon persuaded her husband to embrace the same faith; and his conversion was speedily followed by that of his brother TIBURTIUS.

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

The lady, being apprehended, was doomed to death; the manner of which was thus: she was placed naked in a scalding bath, and having continued there a considerable time, her head was struck off with a sword, A.D. 222.

CALISTUS, bishop of Rome, was martyred A.D. 224; but the manner of his death is not recorded: and URBAN, bishop of Rome, met the same fate, A.D. 232.

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

Rous'd from their sleep unnumber'd myriads come, All wak'd at once, and burst the yielding tomb; O'er the broad deep the loosen'd members swim; Each sweeping whirlwind bore the flying limb; The living atoms with peculiar care, Drawn from their cells, came speeding thro' the air; Whether they lurk'd thro' ages undecay'd, Deep in the rock, or cloath'd some smiling mead; Or in the lily's snowy bosom grew; Or ting'd the sapphire with its lovely blue: Or in same purling stream refresh'd the plains; Or form'd the mountain's adamantine veins; Or, gaily sporting in the breathing spring, Perfum'd the whisp'ring zephyr's balmy wing: All heard; and now, in fairer prospect shewn, Limb clung to limb, and bone rejoin'd its bone; Here stood, improv'd in strength, the graceful frame; There flow'd the circling blood, a purer stream; The beaming eye its dazzling light resumes, Soft on the lip the tinctur'd ruby blooms; The beating pulse a keener ardor warms, And beauty triumphs in immortal charms. Ogilvie's Day of Judgment.

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CHAP. IX.

The Sixth General Persecution, under the Roman Emperors.

IN A.D. 235, Maximinus being emperor, raised a persecution against the Christians. In Cappadocia, the president, Seremianus, did all he could to exterminate the Christians from that province.

A ROMAN SOLDIER, refusing to wear a laurel crown bestowed on him by the emperor, and confessing himself a Christian, was scourged, imprisoned, and afterwards put to death.

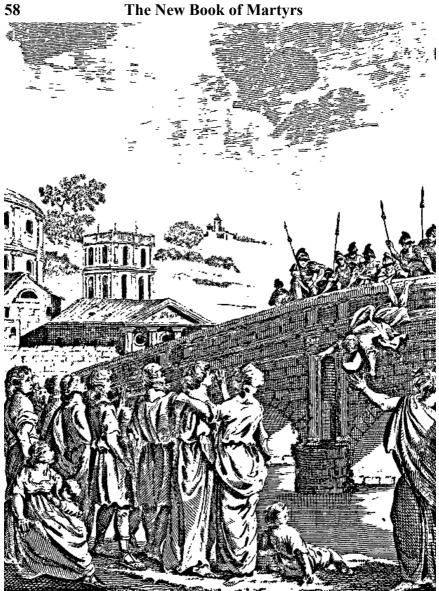
PONTIANUS, bishop of Rome, for preaching against idolatry, was banished to Sardinia, and there slain.

ANTEROS, a Grecian, who succeeded the last mentioned bishop in the see of Rome, gave so much offence to the government, by collecting the acts of the martyrs, that he suffered martyrdom himself, after having held his dignity only forty days.

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

SIMILICIUS, another senator, met with exactly the same fate.

CALEPODIUS, a Christian minister, after being inhumanly treated, and barbarously dragged about the streets, had a millstone fastened about his neck, and was thrown into the river Tyber.



Calepodius, a Christian Minister, Thrown in the River Tyber, with a Millstone fastened to his Neck.

QUIRITUS, a Roman nobleman, with his family and domestics, were, on account of being all Christians, put to the most excruciating tortures, and then to the most painful deaths. Thus this nobleman suffered the confiscation of his effects, poverty, revilings, imprisonments, scourgings, tortures, and the loss of his life for the sake of his blessed Redeemer; well knowing that

Our Saviour came not with a gaudy shew, Nor was his kingdom of the world below: Patience in want and poverty of mind, These marks of church and churchmen he design'd, And living taught, and dying left behind. The crown he wore was of the pointed thorn; In purple he was crucify'd, not born: They who contend for place and high degree, Are not his sons, but those of Zebedee.

MARTINA, a noble and beautiful virgin, likewise suffered martyrdom for the sake of Christ, being variously tortured, and afterwards beheaded.

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

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

The tyrant Maximinus dying, A.D. 238, was succeeded by Gordian, during whose reign, and that of his successor Philip, the church was free from persecution for the space of more than ten years; but in A.D. 249, a violent persecution broke out in Alexandria. It is to be observed, however, that this was done at the

instigation of a Pagan priest, without the knowledge of the emperor.

The popular fury being let loose against the Christians, the mob broke open their houses, stole away the best of their property, destroyed the rest, and murdered the owners: the universal cry being, "Burn 'em, burn 'em; Kill 'em, kill 'em." The names of the martyrs (three excepted) and the particulars of this affair, however, have not been transmitted to posterity. The three martyrs alluded to were the following:

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

QUINTA, a Christian woman, being carried to the temple, and refusing to worship the idols there, was dragged by her feet over sharp flint stones, scourged with whips, and at last dispatched in the same manner as Metrus.

APOLLONIA, an ancient maiden lady, confessing herself a Christian, the mob dashed out her teeth with their fists, and threatened to burn her alive. A fire was accordingly prepared for the purpose, and she fastened to a stake; but requesting to be unloosed, it was granted on a supposition that she meant to recant, when, to their great surprize, she immediately threw herself into the flames, and was there consumed; which plainly evinced that she contemned the fears of death, and trusted to a lasting future reward, for a temporary punishment in this life.

Submit thy fate to heav'n's indulgent care; Tho' all seem lost, 'tis impious to despair; The tracks of Providence, like rivers wind, Here run before us, there retreat behind: And tho' immerg'd in earth from human eyes,

Again break forth, and more conspicuous rise.

CHAP X.

The Seventh General Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

DECIUS being now emperor of Rome, began a dreadful persecution against the Christians, A.D. 249. This was occasioned partly by the hatred he bore to his predecessor Philip, who was deemed a Christian, and partly to his jealousy concerning the amazing encrease of Christianity; for the heathen temples began to be forsaken, and the Christian churches thronged.

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

The heathens, in general, were ambitious to enforce the Imperial decrees upon this occasion, and looked upon the murder of a Christian as a merit in themselves. The martyrs, upon this occasion, were innumerable; but the principal ones we shall give some account of in order.

FABIAN, the bishop of Rome, was the first person of eminence who felt the severity of this persecution. The deceased emperor Philip had, on account of his integrity, committed his treasures to the care of this good ran. But Decius, not finding as much as his avarice made him expect, determined to wreak his vengeance on the good prelate. He was accordingly seized; and on the 20th of January, A,D, 350, suffered martyrdom by being beheaded.

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

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

Finding the endeavours to make him recant his religion ineffectual, he was brought before his judge, stripped, and whipped in a most dreadful manner. He was then put into a leathern bag, together with a number of serpents and scorpions, and in that condition thrown into the sea.

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

Optimus, on hearing this, ordered the prisoner to be stretched upon a wheel, by which all his bones were broken.

His torments, however, 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.

The pro-consul, at length, tired out with tormenting him, ordered him to be beheaded; which command was executed immediately.

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

DENISA, a young woman of only sixteen years of age, who beheld this terrible judgment, suddenly exclaimed, "O, unhappy wretch, why would you buy a moment's ease, at the expense of a miserable eternity?" Optimus hearing this, called to her, and asked if she was a Christian. She replied in the affirmative; and being commanded to sacrifice to the idols, absolutely refused.

Provoked at her resolution, Optimus gave her up to two libertines, to become the object of their lust. These took her to their own home, and made many attempts upon her chastity, but without effect. At midnight they were deterred from further attempts by a frightful vision, which so amazed them that they fell at the feet of Denisa, and implored her prayers, that they might not feel the effects of divine vengeance for their brutality. This deliverance, however, did not soften the heart of Optimus, for the damsel was beheaded, by his order, soon after.

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, in A.D. 251, they suffered martyrdom by stoning, and expired calling on their Blessed Redeemer.

ALEXANDER and EPIMACHUS, of Alexandria, were apprehended for being Christians; and confessing the accusation, were beat with staves, torn with hooks, and at length burnt in the fire; and we are informed, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius, that four female martyrs suffered on the same day, and at the same place, but not in the same manner; for they were beheaded.

LUCIAN and MARCIAN, two wicked Pagans, though skilful magicians, becoming converts to Christianity to make amends for their former errors, lived the lives of hermits, and subsisted upon bread and water only.

After some time spent in this manner, they reflected that their lives were inefficacious, and determined to leave their solitude in order to bring others to Christianity. Pursuant to this resolution, they became zealous preachers and made many converts.

The persecution, however, raging at this time, they were seized upon and carried before Sabinus, the governor of Bithynia. On being asked by what authority they took upon themselves to preach, Lucian answered, "That the laws of charity and humanity obliged all men to endeavour the conversion of their neighbours, and to do every thing in their power to rescue them from the snares of the devil."

Lucian having answered in this manner; Marcian said that "their conversion was by the same grace which was given to St. Paul, who, from a zealous persecutor of the church, became a preacher of the gospel."

The pro-consul, finding that he could not prevail with them to renounce their faith, condemned them to be burnt alive, which sentence was soon after executed. TRYPHO and RESPICIUS, two eminent men, were seized as Christians, and imprisoned at Nice. They were soon after put to the rack, which they bore with admirable patience for three hours, and uttered the praises of the Almighty during the whole time. They were then exposed naked to the severity of the open air, which benumbed all their limbs, as it was the very depth of the winter.

Being remanded to prison, they remained there for a considerable time; and then the cruelties of their persecutors were again evinced. Their feet were pierced with nails; they were dragged through the streets, scourged, torn with iron hooks, scorched with lighted torches, and at length beheaded on the first day of February, A.D. 251.

AGATHA, at Sicilian lady, was not more remarkable for her personal and acquired endowments, than her piety: her beauty was such that Quintain, governor of Sicily, became enamoured of her, and made many attempts upon her chastity.

As the governor was reputed to be a great libertine, and a bigoted Pagan, the lady very discreetly thought it proper to withdraw from two such dangerous enemies as lust and superstition. She accordingly retired from the town, but being discovered in her retreat, she was seized, and brought to Catana.

Finding herself thus 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 as a relief from heir miseries.

The governor, in order to gratify his passions with the greatest conveniency, put the virtuous lady into the hands of Aphrodica, a very infamous and licentious woman. This wretch tried every artifice to win her to the desired prostitution; but found all her efforts were vain; for her chastity was impregnable, and she well knew that virtue alone could procure true happiness.

Know then this truth (enough for man to know)

Virtue alone is happiness below! That only point where human bliss stands still, And tastes the good, without the fall to ill; Where only merit constant pay receives, Is bles'd in what it takes, and what it gives; The joy unequall'd, if its end it gains, And if it lose, attended with no pain; Without satiety; though e'er so bless'd, And but more relish'd, as the more distress'd: The broadest mirth unfeeling folly wears; Less pleasing far than virtue's very tears: Good from each object, from each place acquir'd, Forever exercis'd, yet never tired, Never elated, while one man's oppress'd; Never dejected while another's bless'd; And where no wants, no wishes can remain, Since but to wish more virtue, is to gain.

Aphrodica acquainted Quintain with the inefficacy of her endeavours, who, enraged to be foiled in his designs, changed his lust into resentment. On her confessing that she was a Christian, he determined to gratify his revenge; as he could not his passion.

Pursuant to his orders she was scourged, burnt with red hot irons, and torn with sharp hooks. Having borne these torments with admirable fortitude, she was next laid naked upon live coals, intermingled with glass, and then being carried back to prison, she there expired on the 5th of February, 251.

CYRIL, bishop of Gortyna, was seized by order of Lucius, the governor of that place, who, nevertheless, exhorted him to obey the Imperial mandate, perform the sacrifices, and save his venerable person from destruction, for he was now eighty-four years of age. The good prelate replied that he could not agree to

any such requisition, for as he had long taught others to save their souls, should he now only think of his own salvation?

The governor, finding all his persuasions in vain, pronounced sentence against the venerable Christian, in these remarkable words:

"I order and appoint, that Cyril, who has lost his senses, and is a declared enemy of our gods, shall be burnt alive."

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

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

The principal Cretan martyrs whose names have been transmitted to us are the following:

THEODULUS, SATURNIUS and EUROPUS, were inhabitants of Gortyna, who had been grounded in their faith by Cyril, bishop of that city; and EUNICIANUS, ZETICUS, CLEOMENES, AGATHOPAS, BASTIDES, and EUARISTUS were brought from different parts of the island on accusations relative to their professing Christianity.

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

His threats failing, the judge 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 to the absurdity of such

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fictions, and of pointing out the folly of paying adoration to idol deities and images.

Irritated to hear his favourite idols ridiculed, the governor ordered them all to be put to the rack; the tortures of which they sustained with surprising fortitude. They at length suffered the period of their martyrdom, A.D. 251: being all beheaded on the same day.

BABYLAS, a Christian of a liberal education, became bishop of Antioch, A.D. 237, on the demise of Zebinus. He acted with inimitable zeal, and governed the church with admirable prudence during the most tempestuous times.

The first misfortune that happened to Antioch during his mission was the siege of it by Sapor, king of Persia; who having 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, pursued into their own country, and several places in the Persian territories fell into the emperor's hands.

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

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

As they went to the place of execution, the bishop exclaimed, "Behold me and the children that the Lord has 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 by the severity of his confinement.

SERAPIAN, being apprehended at Alexandria, had all his bones broken, and was then thrown from a high lost, when he was killed by the fall.

JULIANUS, an old man lame with the gout; and CRONION, another Christian, were bound on the backs of camels, severely scourged, and then thrown into a fire and consumed. A person who stood by, and seemed to commiserate them, was ordered to be beheaded as a punishment for entertaining sentiments of too tender a nature.

MACAR, a Libyan Christian, was burnt; HERON-ATER and ISIDORUS, Egyptians, with DIOSCHORUS, a boy of fifteen, after suffering many other torments, met with a similar fate; and NEMESION, another Egyptian, was first tried as a thief; but being acquitted, was accused of Christianity, which confessing, he was scourged, tortured, and burnt.

ISEHYRIAN, the Christian servant of an Egyptian nobleman and magistrate, was run through with a pike by his own master, for refuting to sacrifice to idols; VENANTIUS, a youth of fifteen was martyred in Italy; and FORTY VIRGINS at Antioch, after being imprisoned and scourged, were burnt.

In the year of our Lord 251, the emperor Decius, having erected a Pagan temple at Ephesus, commanded all who were in

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that city to sacrifice to the idols. This order was nobly refused by seven of his own soldiers, viz.

MAXIMIANUS, MARTIANUS, JOANNES, MALCHUS, DIONYSIUS, SERAION and CONSTANTINUS.

The emperor, wishing to convince these soldiers to renounce their faith by his entreaties and lenity, gave them a considerable respite till he returned from an expedition.

During the emperor's absence, they escaped and hid themselves in a cavern; which the emperor being informed of at his return, the mouth of the cavern was closed up, and they all perished with hunger.

THEODORA, a beautiful young lady of Antioch, on refusing to sacrifice to the Roman idols, was condemned to the stews, that her virtue might be sacrificed to the brutality of lust. *Didymus*, a Christian, disguised himself in the habit of a Roman soldier, went to the house, informed Theodora who he was, and advised her to make her escape in his cloaths.

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

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

SECUNDIANUS having been accused as a Christian, was conveyed to prison by some soldiers. On the way, VERIANUS and MARCELLINUS said, "where are you carrying the innocent?"

This interrogatory occasioned them to be seized, and all three, after having been tortured, were hanged; and when dead, their heads were cut off.

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

Gallus, the emperor, having concluded his wars, a plague broke out in the empire. Sacrifices to the Pagan deities were ordered by the emperor, and superstition immediately bowed the knee to idols.

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

CORNELIUS, the Christian bishop of Rome, was, among others, seized upon this occasion; He was first banished to Centum-Cellæ or Civita Vecchia, as it is now called; and after having been cruelly scourged, was, on the 14th of September 252, beheaded, after having been bishop fifteen months and ten days. LUCIUS, who succeeded Cornelius as bishop of Rome, was the son of Porphyrius, and a Roman by birth. His vigilance as a pastor rendered him obnoxious to the foes of Christianity, which occasioned him to be banished; but in a short time he was permitted to return from exile.

Not long after, however, he was apprehended, after having been bishop about six months, and beheaded March 4, A.D. 253. This bishop was succeeded by Stephanus, a man of a fiery temper, who held the dignity a few years, and might probably have fallen a martyr, had not the emperor been murdered by his general Æmilian, when a profound peace succeeded throughout the whole empire, and the persecution of course ceased.

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

Dim as the borrow'd beams of moon and stars, To lonely, weary, wand'ring travellers, Is reason to the soul; and as on high, Those rolling fires discover but the sky, Nor light us here; so reason's glim'ring ray Was lent, not to assure our doubtful way, But guide us upward to a better day. And as those nightly tapers disappear, When day's bright lord ascends our hemisphere, So pale grows reason at religion's sight; So dies, and so dissolves in supernatural light.

CHAP. XI.

The Eighth General Persecution, under the Roman Emperors.

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

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

Edicts being published, the ungovernable rage of ignorance and superstition was let loose against the Christians, The persecution began in the month of April, and continued for three years and six months.* The martyrs that fell in this persecution were innumerable, and their tortures and deaths were various and painful. The most eminent martyrs were the following, though neither rank, sex, or age were regarded.

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

The suitors at the time of the persecution's commencing, were both Christians; but when danger appeared, to save their fortunes, they renounced their faith. They took great pains to persuade the ladies to do the same, but failed in their purpose. Rufina and

^{*} The prophecy in the Revelations, Chap. xiii. v. 5, is said by Dionysius to allude to this persecution, as the time exactly agrees. The words are: *To whom was given a mouth, speaking great things and blasphemies; and power was given to him to continue forty and two months.*

Secunda, though too just to change their religious sentiments, were too diffident of their own strength to remain longer the objects of such solicitations; on which account they left the city.

Disappointed in their purpose, the lovers were base enough to inform against the ladies, who being apprehended as Christians, were brought before Junius Donatus, governor of Rome.

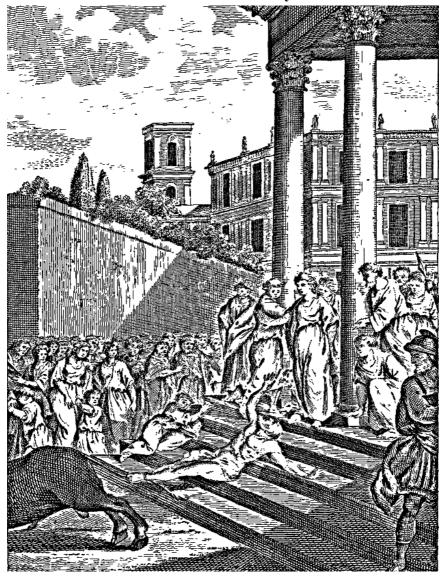
Being inflexible to all remonstrances, and having passed through several tortures, they, in A.D. 257, sealed their martyrdom with their blood by being beheaded.

STEPHEN, bishop of Rome, was beheaded in the same year; and about that time SATURNIUS, bishop of Thoulouse, was set upon and seized by the rabble of that place for preventing, as they alledged, their oracles from speaking. On refusing to sacrifice to the idols, he was treated with all the barbarous indignities imaginable, and then fastened by the feet to the tail of a bull. Upon a signal given, the enraged animal was driven down the steps of the temple, by which the worthy martyr's brains were dashed out. The small number of Christians in Thoulouse had not courage sufficient to carry off the dead body, till two women conveyed it away, and deposited it in a deep ditch.

This martyr was a most orthodox and worthy primitive Christian.

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

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



Saturnius, Bishop of Thoulouse. Fastened by the feet to the Tail of a Bull, and dragged down the steps of the Temple, &c. by which his brains were dashed out.

The senate testifying their obedience to the Imperial mandate, SEXTUS was one of the first who felt the severity of the rescript. Cyprian tells us that he was beheaded August 6, A.D. 258. We are likewise informed 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, three days after, meet him in heaven.

Laurentius, looking upon this as a certain indication of his own approaching martyrdom, at his return gathered together all the Christian poor, and distributed the treasures of the church which had been committed to his care, among them; thinking the money could not be better disposed of or less liable to fall into the hands of the Pagans.

This liberality alarmed the persecutors, who seized on him to make a discovery from whence it arose, and commanded him to give an immediate account to the emperor of the church treasures. He promised he would do this, but begged a short respite to put things into proper order; when three days being granted him he was suffered to depart; whereupon, with great diligence, he collected together a great number of aged, helpless, and impotent poor, he repaired to the magistrate, and presenting them to him, said, "These are the true treasures of the church."

Incensed at the disappointment, and fancying the matter was meant in ridicule, the governor ordered him to be immediately scourged. He was then beat with iron rods, set upon a wooden horse, and had his limbs dislocated.

These tortures he endured with fortitude and perseverance; then he was ordered to be fastened to a large gridiron, with a slow fire under it, that his death might be the more lingering. His astonishing constancy during these trials, and serenity of countenance while under such excruciating torments, gave the spectators so exalted an idea of the dignity and truth of the Christian religion that many became converts upon the occasion.

After laying, for some time, upon this *burning bed*, the martyr called out to the emperor, who was present, in a kind of jocose distich, made extempore, which may be thus translated:

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

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

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

The brave Romanus, when the martyr *Laurentius* was remanded to prison, took that opportunity of fully enquiring into the nature of the Christian faith; and being entirely satisfied by Laurentius, became firmly a Christian, received his baptism from the captive, and seemed to have his mind impressed with a lively idea of the kingdom of Christ; a kingdom replete with eternal joys and everlasting happiness: the vision of which is finely represented in Revelations, Chap. xxi, and has been thus elegantly paraphrased by a pious and reverend divine.

Lo, what a glorious sight appears

To our believing eyes! The earth and seas are pass'd away, And the old rolling skies:

From the third heav'n, where God resides, That holy, happy place, The New Jerusalem comes down, Adorn'd with shining grace.

Attending angels shout for joy, And the bright armies sing; "Mortals, behold the sacred feat, "Of your descending king.

"The God of Glory down to men "Removes his bless'd abode; "Men, the dear objects of his grace, "And he the loving God.

"His own soft hand shall wipe the tears "From ev'ry weeping eye; "And pains and groans, and griefs and fears, "And death itself shall die."

How long, dear Saviour, O how long! Shall this bright hour delay? Fly swiftly round, ye wheels of time, And bring the welcome day.

The change of Romanus was soon known, when he was apprehended, scourged severely, and afterwards beheaded.

HYPOLITUS was another, who, for the same crime, was seized in a like manner, and suffered a similar death.

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In Africa the persecution raged with peculiar violence; many thousands received the crown of martyrdom, among whom the following were the most distinguished characters:

CYPRIAN, bishop of Carthage, was an eminent prelate, and a pious ornament of the church. The brightness of his genius was tempered by the solidity of his judgement; and with all the accomplishments of the gentleman he blended the virtues of the Christian. His doctrines were orthodox and pure; his language easy and elegant; and his manners graceful and winning: in fine, he was both the pious and polite preacher. Indeed, an easy delivery and polished manner are requisite in every preacher who would make an impression on the hearts of his audience. This was the practice of St. Paul, and this was the accomplishment of Cyprian.

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

In his youth he was educated in the principles of Gentilism, and having a considerable fortune, he lived in the very extravagance of splendour, and all the dignity of pomp. 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.

> "Pleasure but cheats us with an empty name, "Still seems is to vary, yet is still the same;

"Amusements all its utmost skill can boast, "By use it lessens, and in thought is lost,"

About the year 246, Cœlius, a Christian minister of Carthage, became the happy instrument of Cyprian's conversion; on which account, and for the great love that he always afterwards bore for the author of his conversion, he was termed *Cœcilius Cyprian*.

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

He was soon after made a presbyter; and being greatly admired for his virtues, and his works, on the death of Donatus, in A.D. 248, he was almost unanimously elected bishop of Carthage.

Cyprian's care not only extended over Carthage, but to Numidia and Mauritania. In all his transactions he took great care to ask the advice of his clergy, knowing that unanimity alone could be of service to the church; this being one of his maxims, "That the bishop was in the church, and the church in the bishop; so that unity can only be preserved by a close connection between the pastor and his flock."

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

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

During his retirement he wrote thirty pious and elegant letters to his flock; but several schisms that then crept into the church gave him great uneasiness. The rigour of the persecution abating, he returned to Carthage, and did everything in his power to expunge erroneous opinions. A terrible plague breaking out at Carthage, it was, as usual, laid to the charge of the Christians; and the magistrates began to persecute accordingly; which occasioned an epistle from them to Cyprian, in answer to which he vindicates the cause of Christianity.

A.D. 257, Cyprian was brought before the pro-consul Aspasius Paternus, when being commanded to conform to the religion of the empire, he boldly made a confession of his faith, and owned himself a Christian. This confession, however, did not occasion his death, but an order for his banishment, which exiled him to a little city on the Lybian 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; which sentence was executed on the 14th of September, A.D. 258.

This bishop was certainly a most valuable pastor of the church, a pious Christian, an excellent philosopher, and an accurate preacher. Before we quit this article, we think it necessary to insert his own account of his conversion.

"While (says he) I laid in darkness and uncertainty, I thought on what I had heard of a second birth, proposed by the divine goodness; but could not comprehend how a man could receive a new life from his being sprinkled with water;* cease to be what he was before, and still remain the same body. How, said I, can such a change be possible? How can he who is grown old in a worldly way of living, strip himself of his former inclinations and inveterate habits? Can he who has spent his whole time in plenty, and indulged

^{* [}CHCoG: Indicating that believer's baptism by full immersion, which clearly signified our agreement to the death of our sinful nature, the complete washing away of our sins and our rebirth with Christ, had already been supplanted by mere sprinkling in many churches.]

his appetite without restraint, ever be transformed into an example of frugality and sobriety? Or he who has always appeared in splendid apparel, stoop to the plain, simple, and unornamented dress of the common people? It is impossible for a man, who has borne the most honourable posts, ever to submit to lead a private and an obscure life? Or that he who was never seen in public without a crowd of attendants, and persons who endeavoured to make their fortunes by attending him, should ever bear to be alone? This (continues he) was my way of arguing; I thought it was impossible for me to leave my former course of life, and the habits I was then engaged in and accustomed to. But no sooner did the life-giving water wash the spots off my soul, than my heart received the heavenly light of the holy spirit, which transformed me into a new creature; all my difficulties were cleared, my doubts dissolved, and my darkness dispelled. I was then able to do what before seemed impossible. I could discern that my former life was earthly and sinful, according to the impurity of my birth; but that my spiritual birth gave me new ideas and inclinations, and directed all my views to God."

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

At Utica a most terrible tragedy was exhibited: three hundred Christians were, by the orders of the pro-consul, placed round a burning lime-kiln. A pan of coals and incense being prepared, they were commanded either to sacrifice to Jupiter, or to be thrown into the kiln. Unanimously refusing, they bravely jumped into the pit, and were immediately suffocated. FRUCTUOSUS, bishop of Tarragon in Spain, and his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, were burnt for being Christians.

Alexander, Malchus, and Priscus, three Christians of Palestine, with a woman of the same place, voluntarily accused themselves of being Christians; on which account they were sentenced to be devoured by tygers, which sentence was executed accordingly.

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

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 lastly thrown into the river; and Protus and Hyacinthus likewise suffered martyrdom for the sake of Christ.

It is here proper to take notice of the singular but miserable fate of the emperor *Valerian*, who had so long and so terribly persecuted the Christians.

This tyrant, by a stratagem, was taken prisoner by Sapores, 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."

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

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

A.D. 260, GALLIENUS, the son of Valerian, succeeded him; and during his reign, the empire suffered many commotions, particularly earthquakes, pestilence, inundations, incursions of barbarians, and intestine boils. Gallienus upon this reflection, that when his father favoured the Christians he prospered, and that when he persecuted them he was unsuccessful, he determined to relax the persecution; so that (a few martyrs excepted) the church enjoyed peace for some years. The chief of the few martyrs alluded to was the following:

MARNIUS, a Centurion, who being apprehended as a Christian, had but three hours allowed him to deliberate whether he would sacrifice to the Pagan deities or become a martyr? Being wavering during this interval, a Christian prelate placed the gospel and a sword before him, and demanded which he would chuse, Marnius, without hesitation, took the sword. Going again to the governor, he made a noble confession of his faith, and was speedily after beheaded, in the year 262.

The wav'ring who their duty thus regain, A double martyrdom for God sustain.

CHAP. XII.

The Ninth General Persecution, under the Roman Emperors.

A.D. 274, the emperor Aurelian commenced a persecution against the Christians; the principal sufferers being

FELIX, bishop of Rome. This prelate was advanced to the Roman see in 274. He was the first martyr to Aurelian's petulancy, being beheaded on the 22d of December, in the same year.

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

These are the only martyrs left on record during this reign, as it was soon put a slop to by the emperor's being murdered by his own domestics at Byzantium.

Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, who was followed by Probus, as the latter was [followed] by Carus: this emperor being killed by a thunder-storm, his sons, Carnius and Numerian, succeeded him; and during all these reigns the church had peace.

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

FELICIAN and PRIMUS, two brothers. These Christians were seized by an order from the Imperial court: they owned themselves Christians, and were accordingly scourged, tortured, and at length beheaded.

MARCUS and MARCELLIANUS were twins, natives of Rome, and of a noble descent. Their parents were heathens, but the tutors to whom the education of the children were entrusted brought them up as Christians. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were severely tortured, and then condemned to lose their heads.

Their friends obtained for them the respite of a month, when their father, mother, and all their relations attempted to bring them back to Paganism, but in vain. The calls of nature were overcome by piety, and religion got the better of worldly feelings.

Their constancy at length subdued their persuaders, and their parents and whole family became converts to a faith they had just before reprobated.

The father of the two young men, named Tranquillinus, was sent for by the præfect to give him an account of the success of his endeavours. Appearing before the magistrate he confessed that so far from having persuaded his sons to forsake the faith they had embraced, he was himself become a Christian.

Here he stopped till the magistrate had overcome his surprize, and then resuming his discourse, he used such powerful arguments that he made a convert of the præfect, who soon after sold his estate, resigned his command and spent the remainder of his days in a pious retirement.

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

ZOE, the wife of the gaoler who had the care of the before mentioned martyrs, being greatly edified by their discourses, had a desire to become a Christian: this, as she was dumb with a palsy, she could only express by gestures. Pitying her condition, they gave her full instructions in the faith, and told her to pray in her heart to God to relieve her from her disorder. She complied with their request, and was at length relieved, for her paralytic disorder by degrees left her, and her speech was restored.

This enforced her belief, and confirmed her a Christian; and her husband finding her cured, soon became a convert to Christianity. These conversions made a great noise, and the converts were soon apprehended. Zoe was commanded to sacrifice to mass, which refusing, she was hanged upon a tree, and a fire of straw lighted under her. When her body was taken down it was thrown into a river with a large stone tied to it, in order to sink it.

TIBERTIUS, a native of Rome, was descended from a considerable family; not that any merit was due to him on that account, for

"Those who on glorious ancestry enlarge, "Produce their debt instead of their discharge."

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

In the year of Christ 286, a most remarkable affair occurred: a legion of soldiers, consisting of 6,666 men, contained none but Christians. This legion was called the Theban legion, because the men had been raised in Thebaus: they were quartered in the east till the emperor Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to assist him against the rebels of Burgundy.

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They passed the Alps into Gaul, under the command of MAURITIUS, CANDIDUS, and EXUPERNIS, their worthy commanders, and at length joined the emperor.

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

Alarmed at these orders, each individual of the Theban legion absolutely refused either to sacrifice or take the oaths prescribed. This so greatly enraged Maximian, that he ordered the legion to be decimated, that is, every tenth man to be selected from the rest, and put to the sword.

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

This second severity made no more impression than the first had done; the soldiers preserved their fortitude and their principles; but by the advise of their officers, drew up a remonstrance to the emperor, in which they told him,

"that they were his subjects and his soldiers, but could not at the same time forget the Almighty; that they received their pay from him, and their existence from God. While your commands (said they) are not contradictory to those of our common master, we shall always be ready to obey, as we have been hitherto; but when the orders of our prince and those of the Almighty differ, we must always obey the latter. Our arms are devoted to the emperor's use, and shall be directed against his enemies; but we cannot submit to stain our hands with effusion of Christian blood: and how, indeed, could you, O emperor, be secure of our allegiance and fidelity, should we violate our

obligation to our God, in whose service we were solemnly engaged before we entered in the army? You command us to search out and to destroy the Christians: it is not necessary to look any farther for persons of that denomination, we ourselves are such, and we glory in the name. We saw our companions fall without the least opposition or murmuring, and thought them happy in dying for the sake of Christ. Nothing shall make us lift up our hands against our sovereign; we had rather die wrongfully, and by that means preserve our innocence, than live under a load of guilt; whatever you command we are ready to suffer; we confess ourselves to be Christians, and therefore cannot persecute Christians, nor sacrifice to idols."

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

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

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

ALBAN, from whom St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, 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 for many years after.

Alban was originally a Pagan, but being naturally of a very humane and tender disposition, he sheltered a Christian ecclesiastic named Amphibalus when some officers were in pursuit of him on account of his religion. The pious example, and edifying discourses of the refugee, made a great impression on the mind of Alban; he longed to become a member of a religion which charmed him, and to imitate what he admired, the fugitive minister, happy in the opportunity, took great pains to instruct him; and before his discovery, perfected Alban's conversion.

Alban now took a firm resolution to preserve the sentiments of a Christian, or die the death of a martyr. The enemies of Amphibalus having intelligence of the place where he was secreted, came to the house of Alban in order to apprehend him.

Alban, desirous of protecting his guest and convert, changed cloaths with him, in order to facilitate his escape; and when the soldiers came, offered himself up as the person they were seeking.

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

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

Unterrified by these menaces, he declared that he would not comply with such idolatrous injunctions, but freely professed himself to be a Christian; and breathed out such sentiments as these:

The Christian beam Illuminates my faith, and bids me trust All that may happen to the will of heaven.

New force inspires me, and my strengthen'd soul Feels energy divine: the fair example Of stedfast martyrs, and of dying saints, Has warm'd me to better thoughts: I now Can with a smile behold misfortune's face, And think the weight of miseries a trial.

The heavenly precepts brighten to my mind: No useful part of duty left behind: Here the consenting principles unite, A beam divine directs our steps aright, And shows the moral in the Christian light.

The governor ordered him to be scourged, which he bore with great fortitude, and seemed to acquire new resolution from his sufferings; he then was sentenced to be beheaded.

The venerable Bede assures us 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 of executioner. This happened on the 22d of June, A.D. 287, at Verulam, now St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, where a magnificent church was erected to his memory, about the time of Constantine the Great. This edifice being destroyed in the Saxon wars, was rebuilt by Offa, king of Mercia, and a monastery erected adjoining to it, some remains of which are still visible, and the church is a noble Gothic structure.

FAITH was a Christian female of Acquitain, in France. Dacian, the Roman governor of Gaul in the time of Maximian,

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resided at Agen, in Acquitain, and was very active in persecuting the Christians.

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

CAPACIUS was one who had concealed himself from the persecutors of Christianity, 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 determined to attempt the propagation of the gospel in Gaul. He accordingly went to Picardy, attended by one Lucian: they preached together at Amiens; after which Lucian went to Beawaris, where he was martyred.

Quintin remained in Picardy, and was very zealous in his ministry. His continual prayers to the Almighty were to encrease his faith, and strengthen his faculties to propagate the gospel. The breathings of his soul might be well expressed in the following lines:

Awful heaven:

Great ruler of the various hearts of man! Since thou hast rais'd me to conduct thy church Without the base cabal too often practis'd, Beyond my wish, my thought, give me the lights, The virtues, which that sacred trust requires; A loving, lov'd, unterrifying power, Such as becomes a father; humble wisdom; Plain, primitive sincerity; kind zeal For truth and virtue rather than opinions;

And above all, the charitable soul Of healing peace and Christian moderation.

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.

Varus, the governor, being obliged to repair to Vermandois, ordered Quintin to be conducted thither under a strong guard, where he died of the barbarities he had suffered, on the 31st of October, A.D. 287; and his body was sunk in the Somme.

CHAP. XIII.

The Tenth General Persecution under the Roman Emperors, commonly called the Era of the Martyrs.

MANY reasons have been assigned for the occasion of this persecution, particularly the great encrease of the Christians, whose numbers rendered them formidable; many of them having lost their humility, and given themselves up to vanity by dressing gayly, living sumptuously, building stately edifices for churches, &c. which created envy; and the hatred of Galerius, the adopted son of Diocletian, who being stimulated by his mother, a bigoted Pagan, never ceased persuading the emperor to enter upon the persecution, till he had accomplished his purpose.

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

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

The whole of this transaction was in the presence of Diocletian and Galerius, who not contented with burning the books, had the church levelled with the ground. This was followed by a severe edict commanding the destruction of all other Christian churches and books; and an order soon succeeded to render Christians of all denominations outlaws, and consequently to make them incapable of holding any place of trust, profit, or dignity, or receiving any protection from the legal institutions of the realm.

The publication of this edict occasioned an immediate martyrdom; for a bold Christian not only tore it down from the

place to which it was affixed, but execrated the name of the emperor for his injustice.

A provocation like this was sufficient to call down Pagan vengeance upon his head; he was accordingly seized, severely tortured, and then burnt alive.

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

A general sacrifice was commanded, which occasioned various martyrdoms. Among others, a Christian named PETER was tortured, broiled, and then burnt; several DEACONS and PRESBYTERS were seized upon and executed by various means; and the bishop of Nicomedia, named ANTHIMUS, was beheaded.

No distinction was made of age, or sex; the name of Christian was so obnoxious to the Pagans that all fell indiscriminately as sacrifices to their opinions. Many houses were set on fire and whole Christian families perished in the flames; and others had stones fastened about their necks, and being tied together were driven into the sea. The persecution became general in all the Roman provinces, but more particularly in the east; and as it lasted ten years it is impossible to ascertain the numbers martyred, or to enumerate the various modes of martyrdom: 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 several in Mesopotamia were hung with their heads downwards over slow fires, and suffocated.

In Pontus, a variety of tortures were used, in particular, pins were thrust under the nails of the prisoners, melted lead was poured upon them; and various modes were adopted in tormenting the Christians, the indecency of which could be only equalled by the savage barbarities practised in their execution.

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

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

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

> Naked as from the earth we came, And crept to life at first, We to the earth return again, And mingle with our dust.

The dear delights we here enjoy, And fondly call our own, Are but short favours borrow'd now, To be repaid anon.

'Tis God that lifts our comforts high, Or sinks them in the grave; He gives, and blessed be his name, He takes but what he gave. Tired with slaughter, at length, several governors of provinces represented to the Imperial court, that "it was unfit to pollute the cities with the blood of the inhabitants, or to defame the government of the emperors with the death of of many subjects." Hence many were respited from execution, but though they did not put them to death, as much as possible was done to render their lives miserable.

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

It is necessary now to particularize the most conspicuous persons who laid down their lives in martyrdom in this bloody persecution.

SEBASTIAN, a celebrated martyr, was born at Narbonne in Gaul, instructed in the principles of Christianity at Milan, and afterwards became an officer of the emperor's guard at Rome. He remained a true Christian in the midst of idolatry; unallured by the of court, untainted by splendors evil examples. and uncontaminated by the hopes of preferment. Esteemed by the most eminent, beloved by his equals, and admired by his inferiors, he lived happily, and kept his faith and place, till the rigour of the persecution deprived him of the latter with his life, though not of the former.

He was informed against, and betrayed to Fabian the Roman praetor, 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 whole affair.

The emperor, on hearing the accusation, sent for Sebastian, and charged him with ingratitude in betraying the confidence reposed in him, and being an enemy to the gods of the empire and to himself. Sebastian replied that his religion was of a good, not a pernicious, tendency and that it did not stimulate him to anything against the welfare of the empire in general, or the emperor in particular, and that the greatest proof he could give of his fidelity was the praying to the only true God for the health and prosperity of his Imperial person. Incensed at this reply, the emperor ordered him to be taken to a field near the city, termed the Campus Martius, and there to be shot to death with arrows; which sentence was executed accordingly.

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

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

As soon as Diocletian had overcome his surprize, he ordered Sebastian to be seized, carried to a place near the palace, and beat to death; and that the Christians could not either use means again to recover, or bury his body, he ordered that it should be thrown into the common sewer. Nevertheless, a Christian lady, named Lucina, found means to recover it from the sewer, and bury it in the catatombs, or repositories of the dead.

The Christians, about this time, upon mature considerations, thought it unlawful to bear arms under a heathen emperor. Their reasons were many and substantial; the principal being,

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

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

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

These reasons induced many to refuse to enter into the Imperial army when called upon so to do; for the Roman constitution obliged all young men, of such 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, in order to be enlisted in the service. Maximilian, however, absolutely refused to be enlisted, and boldly declared himself a Christian.

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

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

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

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

Dion then seeming to soften, represented to him that it was a great pity he should be lost in the prime of his years. Maximilian

replied that he might die, but should not be lost; for though he left the world, his immortal soul would reside eternally with the Almighty. On which the pro-consul pronounced this sentence upon him, "that for disobedience in refusing to bear arms, and for professing the Christian faith, he should 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 glory. Turning to his father then with a chearful countenance, he desired that the military habit intended for his wearing might be given to the executioner; and after taking leave of him, said he hoped they would meet again in the other world, and be happy to all eternity. He then received, at once, the fatal stroke, and the crown of martyrdom.

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

VITUS, a Sicilian of a considerable family, was brought up a Christian; when his virtues encreased with his years, his constancy supported him under all afflictions and his faith was superior to the most dangerous perils.

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

Failing in his design, he forgot all the feelings of a parent and informed against his son to Valerian, governor of Sicily, who was very active in persecuting the Christians. Vitus, at the time of his being apprehended upon the information of his father was little more than twelve years of age. Valerian, therefore, on account of his tender age, thought to frighten him out of his faith. He was accordingly threatened with great anger, and he ordered him to be scourged severely.

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

Vitus, on being apprized of his design," escaped to Lucania, where being seized, he was, by order of Valerian, put to death, June 14, A.D. 303; but in what manner we are not informed.

CRESCENTIA, the nurse who brought him up as a Christian, and a person who escaped with him, called MODESTUS, were martyred at the same time.

VICTOR was a Christian of a good family at *Marseilles* in France; he spent a great part of the night in visiting the afflicted, and confirming the weak; which pious work he could not, consistent with his own safety, perform in the daytime; and his fortune he spent in relieving the distresses of poor Christians, thinking that riches were useless unless subservient to works of charity, and otherwise employed, were a bane to mankind.

Mark where yon' mines their radiant stores unfold, Peru's rich dust, or Chile's beds of gold: Insidious bane, that makes destruction smooth; Thou foe to virtue, liberty and truth: Whose arts the fates of monarchies decide, Who gild'st deceit the darling child of pride: How oft allur'd by thy persuasive charms, Have earth's contending powers appear'd in arms?

What nations brib'd have own'd thy pow'rful reign, For thee what millions plow'd the stormy main, Travell'd from pole to pole, with ceaseless toil, And felt their blood alternate freeze and boil? Ogilvie's *Day of Judgement*.

He was at length, however, seized by the emperor's orders, and being carried before two præfects, they advised him to embrace Paganism, and not forfeit the favour of his prince on account of a dead man, as he styled Christ. In answer to which he replied,

"that he preferred the service of that dead man, who was in reality the Son of God, and was risen from the grave, to all the advantages he could receive from the emperor's favour: that he was a soldier of Christ, and would therefore take care that the post he held under an earthly prince should never interfere with his duty to the King of heaven; and that as for the gods, whose worship they recommended to him, he could not think them any better than evil spirits."

He was loaded with reproaches for this reply, but being a man of rank he was sent to the emperor to receive his final sentence. The emperor, under the severest penalties, commanded him to sacrifice to the Roman idols.

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

Remaining still inflexible, his courage was deemed obstinacy, and Christian confidence called ill-grounded and irrational: to which he replied, "that the ready disposition of the disciples of Christ to undergo any sufferings on that score, and the joy with which they met the most ignominious and painful deaths, were a sufficient proof of their assurance of the object of that hope." And added that he "was ready to give an example of what he had said in his own person."

Being by order stretched upon the rack, he turned his eyes towards heaven, and prayed to God to endue him with patience; after which he underwent the tortures with most admirable fortitude. After the executioners were tired with inflicting torments on him, he was taken from the rack, and conveyed to a close dark dungeon.

His confinement, however, became a fortunate circumstance, for he converted his gaolers, named ALEXANDER, FELICIAN and LONGINUS. This affair coming to the ears of the emperor, he ordered them immediately to be put to death, and the gaolers were accordingly beheaded.

Victor was then again put to the rack, and unmercifully beaten with batons, and then again remanded to prison. Being a third time examined concerning his religion, he persevered in his principles. A small altar was then brought, and he was commanded to offer incense upon it immediately. Fired with indignation at the request, he boldly stepped forward, and with his foot overthrew both altar and idol.

This so enraged the emperor Maximian, who was present, that he ordered the foot with which he had kicked the altar to be immediately cut off; and Victor was afterwards sentenced to be thrown into a mill, and crushed to pieces with the stones. This cruel sentence was in some measure put into execution; Victor was thrown into the mill, but part of the apparatus breaking, he was drawn from it terribly bruised; and the emperor not having patience to stay till it was mended, ordered his head to be struck off, which was executed accordingly, in A.D. 303.

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

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TARACHUS being the eldest, and first in rank, was addressed first by Maximus, who asked him what he was? The prisoner replied, "*A Christian*." This reply offended the governor, he again made the same demand and was answered in a similar manner. The governor then told him that he ought to sacrifice to the gods, as that was the only way to promotion, riches, and honours; and that the emperors themselves did what he recommended to him.

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

But with respect to the emperors themselves being Pagans, he plainly said that they were superstitiously deceived in adoring senseless idols, and evidently misled by the machinations of the devil himself.

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

PROBUS was then brought before Maximus, who, as usual, asked him his name? The prisoner boldly replied, the most valuable name he could boast of was that of a Christian; but that the usual appellation by which he was distinguished was Probus; that his father was a Thracian, and that himself was born at Sida, in Pamphylia. Maximus replied to this in the following words: "Your name of Christian will be of little service to you, be therefore

guided by me; sacrifice to the gods, engage my friendship, and the emperor's favour."

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

He was, by the governor's order, then scourged; and Demetrius, the officer, observing to him how his blood flowed, advised him to comply; but his only answer was that those severities were agreeable to him. What! cries Maximus, does he still persist in his madness? To which Probus rejoined, "That character is badly bestowed on one who refuses to worship idols, or what is worse, devils."

Having been only scourged on the back, he was now scourged on the belly, which he suffered with as much intrepidity as before, still repeating, "the more my body suffers, and loses blood, the more my soul will grow vigorous, and be a gainer." He was then committed to gaol, loaded with irons, and his hands and feet stretched upon the stocks.

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

After being confined some days, the three prisoners were brought before Maximus again, who began first to reason with Tarachus, saying that as old age was honoured from the supposition of its being accompanied by wisdom, he was in hopes that what had already past must, upon deliberation, have caused a change in his sentiments. Finding himself, however, mistaken, he ordered him to be tortured by various means; particularly fire was

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placed in the palms of his hands; he was hung up by his feet, and smoakd with wet straw; a mixture of salt and vinegar was poured into his nostrils; and he was then again remanded to prison.

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

The governor then attempted to reason with him on religious subjects; for having a slender education, he was proud of showing his talents; for those who know little are fond of talking much, and by mistaking casuistry for reason, would fain deceive others as they do themselves. He launched forth into the most extravagant praises of the Pagan deities, and as he enumerated them, described their respective powers and separate virtues; and inferred, from what he had said himself, that such deities, possessed of such admirable qualities, ought to be worshipped. However, continues he, as your chief objection is against a plurality of Gods, I will not press you to sacrifice to all of them: sacrifice only to Jupiter, the chief, the most powerful, and most invincible of our deities.

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

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

Andronicus being again brought before Maximus, the latter attempted to deceive him by pretending that Terachus and Probus had repented of their obstinacy, and owned the gods of the empire. To this the prisoner answered; "Lay not, O governor, such a weakness to the charge of those who have appeared here before me in this cause, nor imagine it to be in your power to shake my fixed resolution with artful speeches. I cannot believe that they have disobeyed the laws of their fathers, renounced their hopes in our God, and obeyed 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."

This answer occasioned him to be cruelly scourged, and his wounds were afterwards rubbed with salt. Being perfectly well again in a short time, the governor reproached the gaoler for having suffered some physician to attend him. The gaoler, in his own defence, declared that no person whatever had been near him, or the other prisoners, and that he would willingly forfeit his head if any allegation of the kind could be proved against him. Andronicus corroborated the testimony of the gaoler, and added that the God whom he served was the most powerful of physicians, and the plant of grace the most salutary of vegetables.

> "The sick and weak the healing plant shall aid, "From storms a shelter, and from heat a shade; "No sigh, no murmur, the glad world shall hear, "From ev'ry eye he wipes off ev'ry tear. "The dumb shall speak, the lame his crutch forego, And leap exulting like the bounding roe; "In adamantine chains shall death be bound, "And hell's grim tyrant feel th' eternal wound." Pope's *Messiah*.

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

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

Finding the design of destroying them by the means of wild beasts ineffectual, Maximus ordered them to be slain by a sword, which was accordingly executed on the 11th of October, A.D. 303. They all declared, previous to their martyrdom, that as death was the common lot of all men, they wished to meet that for the sake of Christ, which they must of course fall a victim to on account of nature and to resign that life to faith, which must otherwise be the prey of disease. These sentiments are noble, Christian-like, and philosophical; for as death is certain, the time and mode is not of that importance commonly imagined. Even the world itself will meet with death in its general dissolution.

Now in a broader range the deluge raves, And rolls triumphant thro' the boiling waves; O'er all the hills the rising flames aspire, The mountains blaze a mighty ridge of fire, Where stood the snow crown'd Alps (an awful name!) Now roll'd the doubling smoak, a spiry flame; While o'er the Andes, in a whirlwind driven, Burst the blue gleam, and darkness wrapt the heav'n. Ev'n Ætna rocks with a reluctant groan, Sunk in a flame more dreadful than its own:

A fiery stream the deep volcano pours, And from its mouth incessant thunder roars. Each humbler vale partakes the gen'ral doom, The smiling means resign their lovely bloom; Not Asia's fields th' impetuous flood retain; It bounds with fury o'er the wide champain; Whate'er to view revolving seasons bring, Each opening flower, the painted child of spring, Bleak winter's snow, with summer's rosy pride, And autumn's ripening stores, augment the tide; On its broad wave it bears the shining spoil, Hills burst, rocks melt, woods blaze, and oceans boil. Ogilvie's *Day of Judgement*.

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

Reprehending some of the recreant Christians for their conduct, he was informed against to the emperor, and soon after apprehended. Being brought to the tribunal, he boldly confessed himself a Christian, and said he was ready and willing to suffer anything which he inflicted upon him on account of his faith.

Being 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 very calmly thanked him for what he had done, and for having opened so many mouths to preach the doctrines of Christianity; for, says he, every wound is a mouth, to sing the praises of the Almighty.

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The following circumstances, which happened upon this occasion, are related by Prudentius, and other authors:

Romanus offered to stand to the decision of a young child, whose age must be free from malice, or any other vices; and to put the truth of the Christian religion upon that test. Asclepiades (they add) accepted of the proposal, and agreed to put the merits of the cause to that issue; accordingly, a child of 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 certainly, 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 young traitor, asked him who learned 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 horsed and most severely whipt; insomuch that the beholders could not restrain from tears, the mother of the child only excepted, who chid him for asking for a draught of water to be given to him, charging him to thirst for that cup which the infants of Bethlehem had drank of and bidding him remember Isaac, who willingly offered his neck for the sacrifice to his father's sword. Whilst the woman was giving her son this lesson, the merciless executioner plucked the skin and hair from the crown of his head; his mother at the same time saving 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 man-like patience.

Soon after Romanus was ordered to be strangled, and the child to be beheaded; which sentences were 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 beheaded there accordingly.

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

Much about this period SMARAGDUS, LARGUS, and CYRIACUS, a deacon of the Christian church, were martyred; but the mode of their deaths is not specified by martyrologists.

SUSANNA, the niece of Caius, bishop of Rome, was pressed by the emperor Diocletian to marry a noble Pagan, who was nearly related to him. Susanna, however, refused the honour intended her on account of her religion, which was that of a Christian, which so greatly enraged the emperor that she was beheaded by his order.

DOROTHEUS, the high chamberlain of the household to Diocletian, was a Christian, and took great pains to make converts. In his religious labours, he was joined by GORGONIUS, another Christian, and one belonging to the palace. They were both high in the emperor's favour, but soon had an opportunity of evincing that worldly honours and temporary pleasures were nothing when set in competition of 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 modesty and humility. His humility caused him to undertake any menial office to serve the afflicted; and his benevolence occasioned him to give whatever he possessed, to those who needed assistance; convinced that riches did not constitute happiness, and that want could give instructions which wealth could never bestow.

Being informed against as a Christian, and confessing the charge, he was scourged till his flesh was torn in a most terrible manner; and then salt and vinegar were thrown upon the wounds.

Having endured these tortures with the utmost tranquillity, he was laid on a gridiron and broiled over a slow fire till he expired.

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

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

In the course of time he became acquainted with JUSTINA, a young lady of Antioch, whose birth, beauty, and accomplishments rendered her the admiration of all who knew her. This lady had been educated in idolatry; but being happily converted to Christianity, she induced her father and mother to embrace the same faith. Her modesty was remarkable; and her prudence, in avoiding the carnal conversation of men, was extremely commendable.

A Pagan gentleman falling in love with her, and not being able to obtain a favourable return to his addresses, applied to Cyprian for assistance. Cyprian undertook the design, 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, and essayed a variety of infernal contrivances; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he was fully convinced that a superior power protected her from his machinations. His reflections, on this account, awakened him to search into the truths of Christianity; and his research became so beneficial, that he renounced the errors of Paganism, and embraced a faith, of the excellency of which he could not fail to be convinced.

The repentance of Cyprian was sincere: he determined to reform his conduct, and to make every amends, in his power for the crimes he had committed. Eusebius, a Christian, confirmed him in this resolution, and prevented him from falling into despair for his past follies. Cyprian burnt his books of astrology and magic, received baptism and became animated with a powerful spirit of grace.

The conversion of Cyprian had a great effect on the Pagan gentleman who paid his addresses to Justina, and he, in a short time, embraced Christianity.

During the persecution of Diocletian, Cyprian and Justina were seized upon as Christians; then 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. Refusing to perform any such idolatrous command, he was stripped of his military habit, and by way of derision, dressed in women's cloaths. He then was forced to walk a considerable way with nails in his sandals, and had a conclusion put to his sufferings by being beheaded.

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

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

Her sides were accordingly torn by hooks, and her breasts burnt in the most shocking manner, till the fire catching her head and face, she expired by the violence of the flame, in December, A.D. 303.

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

VINCENT, a Spanish Christian, was 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.

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

Dacian, in a rage at his freedom of speech, declared that unless he immediately burnt incense to the gods he despised, he should fall as a sacrifice to the contempt he expressed.

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

These torments neither destroying him, or changing his resolutions, he was remanded to prison, and confined in a small loathsome dark dungeon, which, to make it the more disagreeable, was strewed with sharp flints, and pieces of broken glass. Orders were given not to suffer him to have any provisions whatever, and that the news of his death should be carried to Dacian as soon as known.

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

This speedy recovery and preservation had such an effect upon the keepers that it became the happy means of their conversion. Dacian, however, abandoned to the hardness of his heart, and impenetrable to conviction, instead of being softened by these uncommon circumstances, was enraged at the triumph of Vincent over his cruelties; and gave orders for new tortures to be prepared for him, of so severe a nature, as to make him sink under them.

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

The inveterate hatred conceived by Dacian against Vincent did not conclude with his death; for he ordered that his body should be exposed in the open 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, in A.D. 304; his death happening on the 22d of January in that year.

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The persecution of Diocletian began particularly to rage in Africa in A.D. 304, when many Christians were put to cruel tortures; and the most painful and ignominious deaths; the most eminent and particular of whom we shall enumerate.

SATURNINUS, a priest of Albitina, a town of Africa, used to officiate in his clerical capacity, 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 were such that they could not publicly perform their religious duties.

Being 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 all Africa, where they were examined before Anulinus, the proconsul of that quarter of the globe.

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

> O heav'n born patience, source of peace and rest, Descend; infuse thy spirit thro' my breast, That I may calmly meet the hour of fate, My foes forgive, and triumph o'er their hate. This body let their engines tear and grind, But let not all their racks subdue my mind.

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

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

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

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

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

Hence they retired to a solitary place, and spent their hours in performing religious duties. Being, however, discovered and seized, they renounced their former timidity, blamed themselves for being so fearful, and begged of God to strengthen them against the great trial they had to undergo. Agape, being examined before Duleatius, the governor, was asked whether she was disposed to comply with the laws of the land and obey the mandates of the emperor? She answered, "that being a Christian, she could not comply with any laws which recommended the worship of idols and devils; that her resolution was fixed, and nothing should deter her from continuing in it to the last moment of her life."

Chionia, being next examined, replied in the same manner as her sister had done; when the governor, not being able to draw them from their faith, pronounced sentence of condemnation on them; pursuant to which they were burnt, and received a crown of martyrdom in the flames, March 25, A.D. 304.

Irene was then brought before the governor, who fancied that the death of her sisters would have an effect upon her fears, and that the dread of similar sufferings would engage her to comply with his proposals. He therefore exhorted her to acknowledge the heathen deities, to sacrifice to them, to partake of the victims, and to deliver up her books relative to Christianity.

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

The governor, finding that he could make no impression on her, ordered her to be exposed naked in the streets, which shameful order having been executed, she was burnt April 1, A.D. 304, at the same place where her sisters suffered.

AGATHO, a man of a pious turn of mind, with CASSICE, PHILLIPPA, and ETUTYCHIA, were martyred about the same time; but the particulars have not been transmitted to us.

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

In this situation his conduct was steady, his constancy immoveable, and his patience great. He suffered martyrdom, by a variety of tortures, in the year 304; comforting his soul till he expired, with the prospect of those glorious rewards he would receive by the tortures suffered in the body. This brings to our remembrance an excellent little poem, called the *Dying Christian to his Soul*, which we shall here insert:

I.

Vital spark of heav'nly flame, Quit, on quit this mortal frame. Trembling, hoping, ling'ring, flying; Oh the pain, the bliss of dying: Cease fond nature, cease thy strife; Let me languish into life.

II.

Hark! they whisper, angels say, Sister spirit come away. What is this absorbs me quite, Steals my senses, shuts my sight, Drowns my spirits, draws my breath? Tell me, my soul; can it be death?

III.

The world recedes, it disappears; Heaven opens on my eyes, my ears, With sounds seraphic ring; Lend, lend your wings, I mount, I fly. Oh grave! where is thy victory? Oh death, where is thy sting?

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. He assisted the sick in body, and converted the sick in soul; so that he was in every capacity a true servant of Christ.

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

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

During these critical times, Theodotus did all that he could to comfort the imprisoned, and buried the bodies of several who had been martyred; though it was forbidden on pain of death. He likewise privately assisted many with such food as they might use with a safe conscience; for, having laid in a great stock of corn and wine, he sold it out at prime cost. A Christian, named Polychronicus, being seized, forfeited his faith, in order to preserve his life, and compounded for a frail existence by informing against his friend Theodotus, who hearing of this treachery, voluntarily surrendered himself to the governor.

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

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

Theodotus, in his answer, discovered great courage and eloquence. He absolutely refused to renounce his faith, declined the friendship of the governor, and protection of the emperor, upon the terms proposed, and treated the Pagan idols with the greatest ridicule.

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

At the expiration of five days, he was brought from prison, tortured, and then beheaded, in A.D. 304.

VICTOR, a native of Ancyra, was accused by the priests of Diana of having abused their goddess. For this imputed crime he

was seized upon, committed to prison, his house plundered, his family turned out of doors and his estate confiscated.

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

SEVEN AGED WOMEN of Ancyra, being apprehended for their faith, were examined before the governor, who, on finding them stedfast in their religious principles; reviled their belief, ridiculed their age and ordered them to be delivered over to some young libertines, that their virtue might be insulted.

One of the debauchees, more bold and forward than the rest, seized upon the eldest of the women, whole name was TECUSA, who thus addressed him: "What designs, child, can you have on us, who are worn out with age and infirmities? I am now more than threescore and ten years old; my companions are not much younger. You may look on us as so many rotten carcases, as we shall soon be; for the governor after death refuses us burial." Then lifting up her veil, she shewed him her grey-hairs, and then went on: "You may, perhaps, have a mother of nearly the same age as myself; this should give you some respect to us." The young men, though entire libertines, were so effected with this speech that they desisted, and went their ways.

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

These seven Christian women, whose names were TECUSA, PHAMME, CLAUDIA, ALEXANDRIA, JULITTA, EUPHRASIA and MATRONA, were forced to the temple; but absolutely

refusing to wash the idols, the governor was so enraged that he ordered them all to have stones tied about their necks, and to be pushed into the water intended for the washing, in which they gloriously expired.

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

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

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

> Him fortune cannot sink, nor much elate, Whose views extend beyond this mortal state: By age when summon'd to resign his breath, Calm and serene he sees approaching death; As the safe port, the peaceful silent shore, Where he may rest, life's tedious voyage o'er. He, and he only, is of death afraid, Whom his own conscience has a coward made; Whilst he, who virtue's radiant course has run, Descends like a serenely setting sun; His thoughts triumphant heav'n alone employs, And hope anticipates his future joys.

Soame Jennyns.

An officer named Aristomachus, being employed to shut up the Christian churches in Heraclea, Philip took great pains to convince him that the shutting up of 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 him.

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

These things caused him to be seized and carried before the governor, who severely reprimanded him, and then continued to speak sternly in these words: "Bring all the vessels used in your worship, and the scriptures which you read and teach the people, and surrender them to me, before you are forced thereto by tortures."

"If," replied the bishop, "you take any pleasure in seeing us suffer, we are prepared for the worst you can do. This infirm body is in your power; use it as you please. The vessels you demand shall be delivered up; for God is not honoured by gold and silver, but by the fear of his power: the ornaments of the souls of his servants are more pleasing to him than the decorations of churches: but as to the sacred books, it is neither proper for me to part with them, or for you to receive them."

This answer so much incensed the governor that he ordered one Mucassor, a person particularly distinguished for inhumanity, to torture the prelate. Hermes, expressing himself freely against such barbarities, was likewise ordered to be scourged.

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

Philip, being taken to the market-place, was ordered to sacrifice to the Roman deities in general, and to a very handsome image of Hercules in particular; to which command "Alas!"

replied the prelate, "how unhappy are you, who are thus grossly mistaken in the nature of the deity, and so ignorant in the truth, as to worship your own workmanship. What value is there in gold, silver, brass, iron, or lead, which are dug out of the earth? You are unacquainted with the divinity of Christ, which is incomprehensible to human capacities: but what power can your idols boast, which are made by base mechanics, a drunken statuary, or a debauched carver, and tricked up by the arts of the taylor and the goldsmith? And yet these are your gods." And after some other observations on the absurdities of the Pagan religion, he concluded that from what he had already said, it appeared that the heathens worshipped what might lawfully be trod on, and made gods of such things as Providence had designed for their 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 these parts being expired, a new governor, named Justin, arrived; but he was to the full as cruel as his predecessor.

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

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

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

AGRICOLA, as we are informed by St. Ambrose, was a Christian of so very amiable a disposition that he even gained the esteem and admiration of many Pagans. Being apprehended as a Christian, he was crucified, in imitation of the death of our Saviour; and his body, together with the cross, was buried in one grave at Bologne, in Italy.

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

VICTORIUS, CARPOPHORUS, SEVERUS, and SEVERIANUS were brothers, and all four employed in places of great trust and honour in the city of Rome. Having exclaimed against the worship of idols, they were apprehended, and scourged with the plumbetæ, or scourges, to the ends of which were fastened leaden balls. This punishment was exercised with such excess of cruelty that the pious brothers fell martyrs to its severity.

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

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

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

Publius, however, dying soon after, his wife was released; but continuing to perform many charitable actions to distressed Christians, she was again apprehended, and delivered up to Florus, 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 sentence was put in execution on December 25, A.D. 304, the event taking place about a month after the martyrdom of Chrysogonus, her instructor.

MOURIS and THEA, two Christian women of Gaza, were martyred in that city some time in the year 304. The former died under the hands of her tormentors; and the latter perished in prison of the wounds she had received in being tortured.

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

Timothy, being apprehended as a Christian, was carried before Arrianus, the governor of Thebais, who did all in his power to allure him from his faith, and induce him to embrace idolatry. Finding his endeavours were 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, being much incensed at this reply, ordered his eyes to be put out with red-hot irons, saying, "The books shall at least be useless to you; for you shall not see to read them."

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

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

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

Being conducted to him, she assailed his constancy with all the persuasive language of real affection. When the gag was taken out of his mouth, in order to give him an opportunity of replying, instead of consenting to his wife's entreaties, as they expected, he greatly blamed her mistaken love, and declared his resolution of dying for the faith. The consequence of which was, that Maura repeated her importunities, till the martyr, her husband, reproached her so strongly with her weakness, that she returned to his way of thinking, and resolved to imitate his courage and fidelity, and either to accompany or follow him to glory. Timothy advised her to repair her fault by declaring that resolution to the governor, by whose order she had undertaken that shameful and sinful commission. Maura made some difficulty, at the first, to comply with his advice, to undertake this dangerous and arduous talk!

However, being farther 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 anything to atone for her late crime, in wishing to make him an apostate.

The governor, after trying in vain to alter her resolution, ordered her to be tortured, which was executed with great severity. After this Timothy and Maura were crucified near each other, in A.D. 304, both receiving the crown of martyrdom with the greatest intrepidity.

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

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

The fervency with which he spoke convinced Sabinus of his sincerity. Having received proper instructions concerning the principles of Christianity, he was baptized, and the disorder in his eyes soon disappeared. The conversion of the governor was followed by that of his whole family, and some of his friends.

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The tyrant Maximian, being informed of these circumstances, immediately sent one of his principal officers, named Lucius, to Assisium, who, according to his instructions, ordered the governor and all his family to be beheaded. Soon after their execution, Sabinus himself was scourged to death, in the month of December, A.D. 304.

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

Tired with the farce of state and public business, the 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 equally remarkable for his cruelty and tyranny.

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

With respect to the Christians, to whom Galerius bore a most prejudiced and implacable hatred, we are informed, that "he not only condemned them to tortures, but to be burnt in slow fires, after this horrible manner. They were first chained to a post, then a gentle fire put to the soles of their feet, which contracted the callus till it fell off from the bone: 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 of cold water in their faces, and giving them some thereof to wash their mouths, lest their throats should be dried up with thirst, and choke them. Thus their miseries were lengthened out whole days, till, at last, their skins being consumed, and they just ready to

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

Among the many martyred by the order of Galerius, we shall enumerate the most eminent.

AMPHIANUS was a gentleman of eminence in Lucia, and a scholar to Eusebius. Pressing through the crowd while the proclamation for sacrificing to idols was read, he caught the governor Urbianus by the hand and severely reproved him for his impiety. The governor, being highly incensed at this freedom, ordered him to be put to the torture, and then thrown into the sea, in the waves of which he expired.

ÆDESIUS, brother to the above martyr, was, for nearly the same offence, much about the same time, martyred in a singular manner, at Alexandria.

JULITTA, a Lyconian of royal descent, but more celebrated for her virtues than noble blood, was a Christian lady of great humility. When the edit for sacrificing to idols was published at Iconium, she withdrew from that city to avoid the bigoted rage of Domitian, the governor, taking with her only her young son, Cyricus, and two women 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 put to the rack and tortured with great severity; but she bore all her sufferings with a true Christian fortitude.

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The New Book of Martyrs



MARTYRDOM OF JULITTA

A Lyconian who was Racked to Death, & her Child hurled on the ground before her Face, by which his Brains were dashed out.

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

The mother, who, from the rack, beheld the whole transaction, thanked the Almighty that her child was gone before her; and she should be without any anxiety concerning his future welfare, and certain that now no advantage could be taken of his tender years, to pervert his principles and defraud him of his salvation.

To complete the execution, Julitta had boiling pitch poured on her feet, her sides torn with hooks, and received the conclusion of her martyrdom by being beheaded on April 16, A.D. 305.

PANTALEON, a native of Nicomedia, was taught most branches of human learning by his father, who was a Pagan; and the precepts of the gospel by his mother, who was a Christian. Applying to the study of medicine, he became eminent in the knowledge of physic, and in process of time, was appointed physician to the emperor Galerius.

His name, in Greek, signifies humane; and the appellation well suited his nature, for he was one of the most benevolent men living. He assisted the poor, to the utmost, with his fortune; and by the help of God, his skill in physic was attended with the most astonishing success. His reputation roused the jealousy of the Pagan physicians, who accused him to the emperor. Galerius, finding him a Christian, which he had not before known, ordered him to be tortured, and then beheaded, which was done on July 27, A.D. 305.

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

JULITTA, of Cappadocia, 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 us the following particulars:

"She had a troublesome law-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 a plain and an ingenuous account of her title. When the cause came to be tried, the defendant, instead of supporting his claim, or giving any answer to the plaintiff's plea, urged that the law would not suffer him to engage at that bar with one of a different religion; so that he could not proceed in his defence, unless the lady, who was the plaintiff, renounced Christianity.

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

"The usurper, who was an heathen, immediately complied; but Julitta made it appear that her faith was much dearer to her than her goods, or even than life itself. "No, (said she) my affection to what is undoubtedly my own, shall never hinder me from sacrificing my all, and even my life, if required, rather than violate my fidelity to my God and Saviour." This declaration greatly incensed the judge; but Julitta went on with the same intrepidity, and thanked God for the assurance she had of an eternal inheritance, while what was her own upon earth was disputed, and unjustly taken from her. The magistrate made several attempts to persuade her to renounce her faith, but was always answered that she was the servant of Christ, and as such she could not listen to his proposals without horror; upon this she was condemned to be burnt; which sentence was executed accordingly in A.D. 305.

EUSTRATIUS, secretary to the governor of Arminia, was thrown into a fiery furnace for exhorting some Christians who had been apprehended to persevere in their faith. AUXEUTIUS and EUGENIUS, two of Eustratius's adherents, were burnt at Nicopolis. MARDARIUS, another friend of his, expired under the hands of his tormentors: and ORESTES, a military officer, was, for wearing a golden cross at his breast, broiled to death on a gridiron.

THEODORE, a Syrian by birth, a soldier by profession, and a Christian by faith, set fire to the temple of Cybele, in Amasia, through an honest indignation at the idolatrous worship practised therein; for which, being apprehended, he was severely scourged, and then burnt in February 18, A.D. 306.

DOROTHY, a Christian of Cappadocia, was, by the governor's order, placed under the care of two women who had become apostates to the faith, with a view that she might be induced to follow their example. Her discourses, however, had such an effect upon the two apostates that they became reconverted, and were put to death for not succeeding. Soon after which Dorothy herself was tortured and then beheaded.

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PANCRATIUS, or PANCRASS, was a native of Phrygia, but being made a Christian, and brought to Rome by his uncle, he there suffered martyrdom, being beheaded soon after the decease of his uncle, who died a natural death.

BASILIDES, NABOR, NAZARIUS, and CYRINUS, four worthy Christian officers at Rome, were thrown into prison for their faith, and being condemned, were scourged with rods of wire, and then beheaded.

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

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

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In the kingdom of Naples several martyrdoms took place: in particular JANUARIUS, bishop of Beneventum; SOSIUS, deacon of Misene; PROCULUS, another deacon; EYTYCHES and ACUTIUS, two laymen; FESTUS, a deacon; and DESIDERIUS, a reader; were all, on account of being Christians, condemned by the governor of Campania, to be devoured by wild beasts. The savage 138

animals, however, not touching them, they were ordered to be beheaded, which sentence was put into execution immediately.

MARCELLUS, a centurion of the Trajan legion, was posted at Tangier, and being a Christian, suffered martyrdom, of which we have the following account: "It happened that while he was there, the emperor's birth-day was kept with great solemnity, and the sacrifices to the Pagan idols made a considerable part of that solemnity. All the subjects of the empire were expected, on that occasion, to conform to the blind religion of their prince; but Marcellus, who had been well instructed in the duties of his profession expressed his detestation of those profane practices by throwing away his belt, the badge of his military character, at the head of his company, declaring aloud that he was a soldier of Christ, the eternal king. He then guitted his arms, and added that, from that moment, he ceased to serve the emperor; and that he thus expressed his contempt of the gods of the empire, which were no better than deaf and dumb idols: "If (continued he) their Imperial majesties impose the obligation of sacrificing to them and their gods, as a necessary condition of their service, I here throw up my commission, and quit the army."

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

CASSIAN, secretary to the court which tried Marcellus, expressing his disapprobation of such severe proceedings, was ordered into custody. When avowing himself a Christian, he met with the same fate, and suffered martyrdom in a similar manner.

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. To which he replied, "The emperors insist upon our sacrificing to their deities, against the express prohibition of God; to deities which we can by no means own, because they are, in reality, nothing: whereas the power that I serve is everywhere, above all things: supports, governs, and disposes of all things, as he pleases; for he is the sovereign master, and sole author of the universe." For this speech he was ordered to be severely beaten.

While he was under the hand of the executioner, the 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 (says he) scarce feel my torments, and am ready to suffer still greater, that my example may shew those whom God has committed to my care, the way to the glory we wish for."

The governor, perceiving his constancy, sent him to gaol, and ordered him to be heavily ironed; flattering himself that the hardships of a gaol, and the weight of his chains, might overcome his resolutions. Being deceived in his expectations, he was sent to Amantius, the principal governor of Parmonia, now Hungary, who loaded him with chains, and carried him through the principal towns of the Danube, exposing him to ridicule wherever he went.

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

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

On pronouncing the last words, he immediately sank and died, June 4, A.D. 308; and his body was afterwards taken up and buried by some pious Christians.

FIVE EGYPTIAN CHRISTIANS, who were upon a visit to their afflicted brethren in Cæsarea, were apprehended and carried before Firmilian, the governor of Palestine, who, on questioning them concerning whence they came, and what they were, was answered by one, in the name of the rest, that they were Christians, and belonged to the glorious city of Jerusalem, speaking allegorically of the heavenly Jerusalem. The 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 therefore enquired more particularly CAPITOLINA. He concerning it. The Christian who had spoken before again replied, and pursuing the allegory, described, with great force of imagination, the great beauty, riches, and strength of the place. Firmilian. still mistaking the Christian's meaning, hv understanding his words in a literal sense, was dreadfully alarmed; for not dreaming that a heavenly city was alluded to, he fancied that the Christians were strengthemng and fortifying some place in order to revolt from their allegiance to the emperor. Full of this mistake, and enraged at the supposed disloyalty, he condemned the five prisoners to be cruelly tormented and then beheaded; which sentence was executed Feb. 16, A.D. 309.

PAMPHILUS, a native of Phoenicia, of a considerable family, was a man of such extensive learning that he was called A SECOND ORIGEN. He was received into the body of the clergy at Cæsarea, where he established a public library, and spent his time in the practice of every Christian virtue. He copied the greatest part of the works of Origen with his own hand; and assisted by Eusebius, gave a correct copy of the Old Testament, which had suffered greatly by the ignorance or negligence of former transcribers. 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.

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

Pamphilus maintaining his resolution, was ordered to be tortured severely, and then sent to prison, which was immediately put into execution. 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. Under the new governor Pamphilus suffered martyrdom, by being beheaded; together with VALENS, a deacon of the church of Jerusalem; and PAUL, a layman of Jamnia, in Palestine.

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

THEODULUS, a venerable and faithful servant to Firmilian, the governor, being accused as a professor of the Christian faith, confessed the charge, and was, by order of his cruel master, crucified on February 17, A.D. 309; and JULIAN, a Cappadocian, was burnt on the same day.

MARCELLUS, bishop of Rome, being banished on account of his faith, fell a martyr to the miseries he suffered in exile, on the 16th of January, A.D. 310.

PETER, the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, was martyred November 25, A.D. 311, by order of Maximus Caesar,* who reigned in the east.

LUCIAN, a learned and eloquent Syrian, was a man of so benevolent a temper that he disposed of the greatest part of his fortune in charitable actions. Being advanced to the clerical character in Antioch, he became a true servant of Christ, and a zealous pastor of the church. At length he was apprehended as a Christian, imprisoned for the space of nine years, put to the rack,

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

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

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

Yet all this did not avert the judgments of God from Galerius, who, a few days after, died, leaving the empire divided among four: Constantine had Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Germany; Licinius the provinces of Illyricum, Greece, and Asia Minor; Maximus Cæsar, Egypt, and the east; and Maxentius, the tyrant, Italy and Africa; though the latter was partly possessed by an usurper named Alexander.

rolled upon sharp flints, nails, &c. and then being tortured to death, his body was thrown into the sea; but it was afterwards cast on shore, and received Christian burial.

AGNES, a virgin of only thirteen years of age, was beheaded for being a Christian: 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 for being a Christian: BARBARA, a young lady, was martyred at Nicomedia: LUCY, a Christian virgin, was put to death at Syracuse: and even SERENA, the empress of Diocletian, was beheaded for being a Christian.

GORDIUS, a native of Cæsarea, and a centurion in the Roman army, was first tormented, and then burnt: MENAS, an Egyptian soldier, was beheaded: and BARLAAM, a noble martyr, as we are informed by Basilius, having endured the torments of the executioners even to the very point of death, the tormentors at last brought him, and laid him upon the altar, where they used to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put frankincense into his hand which they lighted, imagining that the heat and force of the fire would oblige him to scatter the burning incense on the altar, that they might thereby say that he had sacrificed. But in this they were disappointed; for the flame went round his hand which appeared as if it had been covered with hot embers, while he uttered this exclamation of the Psalmist "Blessed is Jehovah my God, who teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight." After which he surrendered his soul into the hands of Christ his Saviour.

Power being given to the Pagans to use the Christians as bad as they thought proper, the doors of a church in which was a Christian congregation, were shut up, and the building being set on

fire, every person perished in the flames. Many were severely beaten with sticks, cords, rods, whips, scourges, &c. At length, Constantine the Great determined to redress the grievances of the Christians; for which purpose he raised an army of 30,000 foot, and 8000 horse, with which he marched towards Rome, against Maxentius, the emperor. But, previous to his entering upon this expedition, we are informed, "that he considered that it was necessary to have some superior Being to confide in besides his own strength; and as, at that time, there were many deities in the world, he was studious to learn which was the most worthy for him to fix upon as his protector, and titular guardian. He reflected on the fatal miscarriages of his predecessors, who had so violently maintained a multiplicity of gods, and reposed an entire confidence in their assistance. On the other hand, he considered that while his own father adored only one God he continually prospered, and had peace of mind. Hence he rejected the adoration of idols, and implored the assistance of the only true God, who heard his prayers, and answered them in a manner so surprising and miraculous, that Eusebius, who relates this history. acknowledges that it would not have been credible, had he not received it from the emperor's own mouth, who publicly and solemnly ratified the truth upon his oath. The circumstances thus asserted are these.

"The army being advanced near Rome, and the emperor employed in his devout ejaculations, on the 27th day of October, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the sun was declining, there suddenly appeared to him, a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross, with this plain inscription on or about it, TOYTQ NIKA: *In this overcome*. Constantine was greatly surprized at this strange sight, which was visible to the whole army, who equally wondered at it with himself. The officers and commanders, prompted

by the augurs and auruspices, or soothsayers, looked upon it as an inauspicious omen, portending an unfortunate expedition. The emperor himself did not understand it, till at night our Blessed Saviour appeared to him in a vision, with the cross in his hand which he had shewed him in the day before, commanding him to make a royal standard like that he had seen in the heavens, and cause it to be continually carried before his army, as an ensign both of victory and safety.

Early the next morning, Constantine informed his friends and officers of what he had seen in the night, and sending for proper workmen, sat down by them, and described to them the form of the standard, which he then ordered them to make with the greatest art and magnificence; and accordingly they made it after this manner: a long spear, plated over with gold, with a transverse piece at the top, in the form of a cross, to which was fastened a four square purple banner, embroidered with gold, and beset with precious stones, which reflected an amazing lustre: towards the top was depicted the emperor betwixt his two sons: on the top of the shaft, above the cross, stood a crown, overlaid with gold and jewels; within which was placed the sacred symbol, namely, the two first letters of the name of Christ in Greek, X and P, struck one through the other. This device he afterwards bore not only upon his shields, but also upon his coins, many of which are still extant."

Then engaging 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, who was a bigotted Pagan, greatly disliked the edict, but being afraid of Constantine, did not openly avow his disapprobation. Maximus at length invaded the territories of Licinius, but being defeated, he was so mortified that he put an end to his life by poison.

Licinius, however, was not a real Christian in his heart, but rather affected to appear as such, through the dread of Constantine's power; for even after publishing several edicts in favour of the Christians, he took occasion to 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, and sealed their faith in the flames.

These things offending Constantine the Great, he marched against Licinius, who was defeated by him and afterwards slain by his own soldiers. We shall conclude our account of the tenth and last general persecution with the death of:

ST. GEORGE, the titular saint and patron of England. St. George was born in Cappadocia of Christian parents, 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 she claimed a patrimonial estate, which afterwards descended to her son. St. George, being strong, active, and of a great spirit, took up the profession of a soldier, and was made a tribune or colonel. In this post he exhibited great proofs of his courage, and was accordingly promoted in the army of the emperor Diocletian.

During the persecution St. George threw up his command; went boldly to the senate house, and avowed his being a Christian; taking occasion, at the same time, to remonstrate against Paganism, and point out the absurdity of worshipping idols. This freedom so greatly provoked the senate that St. George was ordered to be tortured, which he underwent with great constancy, and without any change in his religious principles. Exasperated at his fortitude and resolution, he was, by the emperor's orders, dragged through the streets, and beheaded the next day. The calendar commemorates him on the 23d of April.

Many churches have been dedicated to him, and he is considered as the titular saint and patron of England. The Order of the Garter, instituted by Edward III. is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, St. George, and St. Edward the confessor. This saint is represented on horseback, tilting at a dragon, which is only allegorical, and implies that he had, by his *Christian fortitude* and *faith*, conquered the *devil*, or the *dragon*.

BOOK II.

The Persecutions of the Christians in Persia under Sapores; the Persecutions under the Arian Christians; those under Julian the Apostate, the Goths, Vandals, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Persecutions Against the Christians in Persia.

THE gospel having spread itself into Persia, the Pagan priests were greatly alarmed, and dreaded the loss of that influence which they had hitherto maintained over the people's minds and properties. Hence they thought it expedient to complain to the emperor that the Christians were enemies to the state, and held a treasonable correspondence with the Romans, the great enemies of Persia.

The emperor, [Shapur II, aka Sapores] being naturally averse to Christianity, easily believed what was said against the Christians, and gave orders to persecute them in all parts of his empire. On account of this mandate, many fell martyrs to the ignorance and ferocity of the Pagans, the sufferings of the most eminent of whom we shall enumerate.

SIMEON, archbishop of Seleucia, with many other ecclesiastics, to the number of an hundred and twenty-eight, 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 worthy archbishop coming into his presence, boldly acknowledged his faith, and nobly defended the cause of Christianity. The emperor, being offended at his freedom, not only reproved him for it, but ordered him to kneel before him, as he had always done heretofore.

Simeon answered, "that before, having the free admittance to his presence, he did not scruple to conform to the customary salutation of the country; but 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 to betray his faith, which he was fully resolved to defend with his last breath."

The emperor then 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, and told him that he would abide the consequences. On this reply the emperor ordered him to be sent to prison, till he had considered in what manner to punish him.

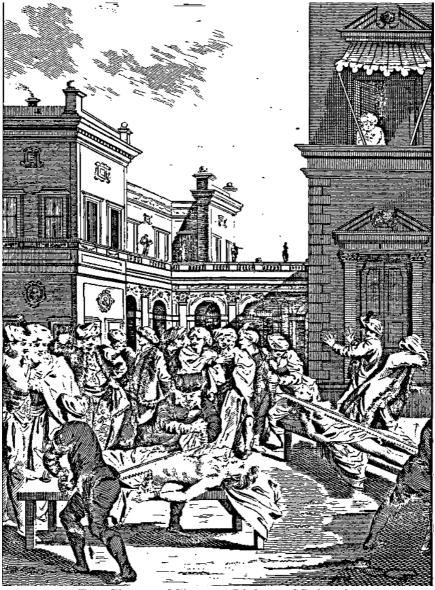
A short time after, Simeon, with his fellow prisoners, was again examined, and commanded to worship the sun, agreeable to the Persian custom; but this they all unanimously refused. The emperor then sentenced them to be beheaded, and they were executed accordingly.

USTHAZARES, an aged eunuch, who had been tutor to the emperor, and was in great estimation at court, on observing Simeon, the foregoing martyr, leading to prison, saluted him. Simeon, however, (as Usthazares had formerly been a Christian and turned apostate from the faith to oblige the emperor) would not return his salute, but sharply reproved him for his apostacy. This so affected the eunuch that he burst into ears, and exclaimed, "Ah, woe is me! 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, being told that his ancient tutor was greatly afflicted, sent for him, and asked whether he desired or wanted anything which could be conferred upon or 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 dissemblingly worshipped the sun, against his own conscience! For which, continued he, I am deserving of a double death; first, for denying Christ; and secondly, for dissembling with my king; at the same time solemnly protesting that he would never more forsake the Creator of the world, to worship the creatures which he had made.

The emperor, being greatly offended at the explanation of the cause of his grief, ordered Usthazares to be beheaded. While he was going to the place of execution, he desired that a messenger might be sent to the emperor, to request the favour that it might be proclaimed, "That Usthazares did not die a traitor for any crime against the king or the state, but only that, being a Christian, he would not deny his God." This petition, we are informed, was granted, and accordingly performed; which was a great satisfaction to Usthazares, whose chief reason for desiring it was because his falling off from Christ had caused many others to follow his religion, they might learn, like him, to return to Christ, and become fervent and constant in the faith. Usthazares, being thus satisfied, yielded his neck to the stroke of the executioner, and joyfully received his crown of martyrdom.

On the Good Friday after the above executions, an edict was published to put to death all who confessed themselves Christians, on which occasion great multitudes suffered.





Two Sisters of Simeon, Bishop of Salencia, in Persia, sawed into quarters, which were hung up in Different Parts of the City.

About this time the empress of Persia falling sick, the sisters of Simeon, the archbishop, were accused by some of the magi of being the occasion. This absurdity being believed, they were, by the emperor's order, sawed in quarters, and their quarters fixed upon poles, between which the empress past as a charm to recover her.

ACEPSIMUS, and many other clergymen, were seized upon and ordered to adore the sun; which refusing, they were scourged, and then tormented to death, or suffered to remain in prison till they perished.

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 fine, by this edict, above 16,000 either suffered miserably by the torture, or were put to death.

Constantine the Great, being informed of the persecutions in Persia, was exceedingly concerned, and began to ruminate in what manner he should redress their grievances, when an ambassador arrived from the Persian emperor upon some political concerns.

Constantine received the ambassador civilly, granted his demands, and wrote a letter to the Persian monarch in favour of the Christians, in which he recounts the vengeance that had fallen on persecutors, and the great success which had attended those who restrained from persecuting the Christians; and then referring to the tyrants and persecuting emperors of his own time, he said, "I subdued those solely by faith in Christ; for which God was my helper, who gave me victory in battle, and made me triumph over my enemies; and has enlarged to me the bounds of the Roman empire; that it extends from the Western Ocean to almost the uttermost parts of the East: for which purpose I neither offered sacrifices to the ancient deities, or made use of charm or divination, but only prayers to Almighty God, and followed the

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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 them, and they with you, may enjoy all the felicity your souls could desire, as no doubt but you would, as God, the Almighty Creator of all things, would become your protector and defender.

"These men I commend to your kingly honour: I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace them according to your humanity; for in so doing, you shall procure to yourself grace through faith, and shall bestow on me a benefit worthy of my thanks."

The persecutions by this means ended during the life of Sapores; but it was again renewed under the lives of his successors; the following being the principal sufferers.

HORMISDAS, a Persian nobleman, on being convicted of professing Christianity, was ordered to attend on the emperor's elephants naked. This ignominious 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, and perceived that he was prodigiously shamed. Determining to try him once more, he gave orders that a shirt should be put on him, and that he should be brought before him.

When he came to the imperial throne, the emperor asked him if he would now deny Christ. On this question being put, Hormisdas tore off his shirt, and said, "If you think I'll deny my faith for the sake of a shirt, take your gift again." The emperor, on hearing this expression, banished him from Persia; and he died in exile.

SUENES, a Christian nobleman, refusing to deny Christ, had his wife taken from him, and given to one of the meanest of the emperor's slaves; and what added to his mortification was that he was ordered to wait upon his wife and the slave, which at length broke his heart.

THEODORET, a deacon, was imprisoned for the space of two years, and being released, was ordered not to preach the doctrine of Christ. Disregarding, however, the order, he did his utmost to propagate the gospel of Christ; for which, being seized upon, he was miserably tormented by having sharp reeds thrust under his nails; and then a knotty branch of a tree was forced up his body, and he expired in the greatest agonies.

BADEMUS, a Christian of Mesopotamia, gave away his fortune to the poor, and determined to devote his life to religious retirement; being filled with the humble sentiments thus finely described by the poet:

Bless'd be his name, whose matchless goodness sends A fund of blessings, and a choice of friends; Unaw'd by custom, tyrant of mankind, Faithful to reason, sov'reign of the mind, Serene I steer through life's tempestuous sea, My pilot faith, my chart Christianity. The wrecks of pride, the insolence of pow'r, Earth's transient glitt'ring bubbles of an hour; Envenom'd tongue; law with its mazy snares, The din of folly, and the broil of wars, Proclaim to all, with one united voice, That humble virtue is the wisest choice.

This inoffensive Christian, together with seven others, were seized upon and cruelly tortured for being Christians. The seven Christians who were apprehended with Bademus received the crown of martyrdom, though the particular manner is not recorded, and Bademus himself, after having been four months in prison, was brought to the place of execution, and beheaded by Narses, an apostate Christian who was ordered to act as the executioner of this worthy man, in order to convince the emperor that he was sincere in the renunciation of his faith.

CHAP. II.

The Persecutions under the Arians.

THE author of the Arian 'heresy' was Arius, a native of Lybia, and a priest of Alexandria, who, in A.D. 318, began to publish his errors.* He was condemned by a council of the Lybian and Egyptian bishops, and that sentence was confirmed by the Council of Nice, A.D. 325. After the death of Constantine the Great, the Arian Christians 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, and their sees filled with Arians.

^{* [}CHCoG: In this chapter, and parts of the following chapters, Southwell entirely accepts and regurgitates the misinformation of 'orthodox' Roman Catholicism, exaggerating the violence of the Arians, and entirely avoids reporting the horrific persecution of the Arian Christians by the trinitarian catholics, including the poisoning of Arius himself. To some extent this is understandable as the 'orthodox' Christians destroyed virtually all of the Arian records, but his anti-Arian bias is odd given his later exposure of the Papacy as Babylon the Great and the Great Whore. The bias is consistent with his apparent acceptance of Athanasius's unbiblical three-persons-in-one Godhead. Another view of the controversy is that Arius was actually defending the original apostolic understanding of the Christian godhead, while Athanasius was attempting to replace it with a repackaged pagan trinity. Note that the Bible *never* says that the Godhead is a trinity, and the only passage that appears to support the concept is in 1 John 5:7&8, which is now known to be a fifteenth century forgery. Arianism is dealt with more honestly in Jeshua the Messiah: Son of God or Part of the Trinity, available at chcpublications.net. Though there is no reliable record of Arius endorsing violence, some of his followers were less scrupulous.]

In Egypt and Lybia thirty bishops were martyred, and many other Christians cruelly tormented; and A.D. 336, George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, under the authority of the emperor, began a persecution in that city and its environs, and carried it on with the most infernal severity. He was assisted in his diabolical malice by Catophonius, governor of Egypt; Sebastian, general of the Egyptian forces; Faustinus, the treasurer; and Heraclius, a Roman officer.

The persecution now raged in such a manner that the clergy were driven from Alexandria, their churches were shut, and the severities practised by the Arian heretics were as great as those which had been practised by the Pagan idolaters. If a man accused of being a [Catholic] Christian, made his escape, then his whole family were massacred, and his effects confiscated. The orthodox Christians, being now deprived of all places of public worship in the city of Alexandria, used to perform their devotions in a desert place at some distance from it. Assembling for this purpose on a Trinity Sunday, George, the Arian bishop, engaged Sebastian, the general, to fall upon them with his soldiers, while they were at prayers. On this occasion several fell a sacrifice to the popular fury of the troops, and received the crown of martyrdom for no other offence than performing necessary acts of piety. The modes of cruelty were various, and the degrees different; for they were beaten over their faces till all their features were disfigured; then they were lashed with twigs of palm trees newly cut, with such violence, that they expired under the blows, or by the mortification of the wounds.

Many whose lives had been spared were, however, banished to the deserts of Oasis, where they suffered unspeakable hardships; but their exile admitted of their indulgence of the most pious thoughts, and their sorrows were of a salutary nature.

> Alas! how vain is happiness below, Man soon or late must have his share of woe;

Slight are his joys, and fleeting as the wind, His griefs wound home, and leave a sting behind; His lot distinguish'd from the brute appears, Less certain by his laughter than his tears; For ignorance too oft our pleasure breeds, But sorrow from the reas'ning soul proceeds. LISLE.

SECUNDUS, an orthodox priest, differing in point of doctrine from a prelate of the same name; the bishop, who had imbibed all the 'heretical' opinions of Arianism, determined to put Secundus to death for rejecting opinions which he had thought proper to embrace. Taking one Stephen with him, who was as much an Arian as himself, they sought out Secundus privately, and being unable to make him change his opinion, they fell upon and murdered him; when the holy martyr, just before he expired, called upon Christ to receive his soul, and to forgive his executioners.

Not content with the cruelties exercised upon the orthodox Christians in Alexandria, the principal persecutors applied to the emperor for an order to banish them from Egypt and Lybia, and to put their churches into the possession of the Arian Christians. They obtained their request, and an order was sent for that purpose to Sebastian, the commander in chief of the Roman forces in those provinces. As soon as the general received the order, he signified the emperor's pleasure to all the sub-governors and officers and commanded that the mandate should be immediately put into execution. Hence a great number of the clergy were seized and imprisoned for examination. When it appeared that they adopted the opinions of Athanasius, an order was signed for their banishment into the most wild, uncultivated, and desert places. Thus were the orthodox clergy used, and many of the laity were condemned to the mines, or compelled to work in the quarries. Some few indeed escaped to other countries, and several were

weak enough to renounce their faith in order to avoid the severities of the persecution.

PAUL, the bishop of Constantinople, was a Macedonian by birth, and was designed, from his birth, for a clerical life. When Alexander, the predecessor of Paul, was on his death-bed, he was consulted by some of the clergy on the choice of a successor, when, we are informed, he told them, "that if they were disposed to chuse a person of an exemplary life, unexceptionable character, and thoroughly capable of instructing the people, Paul was the man, who, though young, had all the prudence and gravity of more advanced age; but if they had rather have a person of a wellcomposed appearance, acquainted with worldly affairs, and fit for the conversation of a court; they might then chuse Macedonius, who had all the proper qualifications.

Macedonius was a deacon in the church of Constantinople, in which office he had spent many years, and gained great experience; and the dying prelate did both him and Paul justice in their different characters. Nevertheless the Arians, with their accustomed disingenuousness, gave out that Alexander had bestowed great commendations on Maicedonius for sanctity, and had only given Paul the reputation of eloquent, and a capacity for business. It is true, indeed, he was a master in the art of speaking and persuading; but the sequel of his life and sufferings sufficiently evinced the absurdity of their deeming him a man formed for the world. However, after some struggle, the orthodox carried their point, and Paul was consecrated."

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

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

II. 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.

To support these accusations, Eusebius 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 room.

Paul having thus lost all his authority in the east, retired to the territories of Constans in the west, where he was well received by the orthodox prelates and clergy. 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 Arian Christians, however, constituting Macedonius their bishop, by the title of bishop of Constantinople, a sedition, and a kind of civil war ensued, in which many lost their lives.

The emperor Constantius, who was then at Antioch, hearing of these matters, laid the whole blame upon Paul, and ordered that he should be driven from Constantinople. 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 in a scuffle that ensued.

This transaction greatly exasperated the emperor, who left Antioch, though in the depth of winter, and immediately returned to Constantinople, with a design to severely punish the Catholic Christians. But their submission and entreaties softened him, and he contented himself with banishing Paul and suspending Macedonius.

Paul retired again to the territories of Constans, implored the protection of that emperor, and by his intercession, was again invested in his see. On this occasion, we are informed, that "his reestablishment did but exasperate his enemies, who were at that time constantly employed both in secret and open attempts against his life, against whom the affections of his people were his only security; and being convinced that the emperor had no other motive for allowing his stay at Constantinople but the dread of disobliging his brother, Paul could not think himself wholly restored to his bishopric while things were in this situation; and being very 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."

A council was accordingly held at Sardica, in Illyrium, in the year 347, at which were present one hundred bishops of the western, and seventy-three of the eastern empire. But disagreeing in many points, the Arian bishops of the east retired to Philippolis in Thrace; and forming a meeting there, they termed it the *council of Sardica*. From which place they pretended to issue out an excommunication against Julius, bishop of Rome; Paul, bishop of Constantinople; Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria; and several other prelates. In A.D. 350, the emperor Constans died, which gave the Arians fresh courage, and they immediately applied to the emperor Constantius, who being an Arian Christian in his heart, wrote an order the prefect Philip, to remove Paul from the bishopric of Constantinople, and banish him again, to restore Macedonius.

Being exiled to Cucucus, he was confined in a small, loathsome, dark dungeon, where he was kept six days without food and then strangled. He met death with fortitude, as he was always perfectly resigned in misfortunes,* and convinced of the vanity of

^{*} Of the manner of Paul's apprehension and banishment, the following singular circumstances are related.

Philip, remembering the ill-effect of open force in the case of Hermogenes, he thought it the safest way to have recourse to artifice. He took no notice of the emperor's order, but went to one of the public baths in the town; from whence he sent a complaisant message to Paul, desiring he would come to him upon some urgent business. The prelate

this transitory life, for reasons similar to those given by Solomon, in the expressive passages, which have been thus finely paraphrased:

Ye sons of men, with just regard attend, Observe the preacher, and believe the friend, Whose serious muse inspires him to explain, That all we act and all we think is vain. That in this pilgrimage of seventy years, O'er rocks of perils and thro' vales of tears, Destined to march, our doubtful steps we tend, Tir'd with the toil, yet fearful of its end. That from the womb we take our fatal shares Of follies, passions, labours, tumults, cares: And at approach of death shall only know The truths which from these pensive numbers flow, That we pursue false joy and suffer real woe. Prior's *Solomon*

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obeyed his summons, and went to him. Then Philip shewed the emperor's commission, to which he submitted, though his condemnation was both illegal and irregular.

The people, suspecting something, were by this time got together at the door of the bath, when Philip, to prevent a disturbance, broke a passage through a window on the other side of the building, and sent Paul, under a strong guard, to the palace, which was not far off. From thence he was shipped off to Thessalonica; and at first, was allowed to chuse the place of his exile; either in Illyria, or any other part of the west; but this was afterwards thought too great a favour, and he was soon after loaded with chains, and sent to Singara in Mesopotamia, from whence he was carried to Emesa in Syria, and afterwards to Cucucus, a miserable and disconsolate town on the confines of Cappadocia and Armenia, and remarkable for a bad air, and a wretched situation.

The Arian party, now prevailing, made Gregory of Cappadocia, a very 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, the governor of Egypt, who was an apostate, and who suffered them to commit all manner of outrages. Hence arming themselves with swords, clubs, &c. they broke into one of the principal churches of Alexandria, where great numbers of orthodox Christians were assembled at their devotions: and falling upon them in a most barbarous manner, without the least respect to sex or age, the principal part of them were murdered.

POTAMO, the 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 expired of his wounds.

The Arian mob then broke into many places, public and private, under a pretence of searching for Athanasius, and committing innumerable butcheries and barbarities; robbing orphans, plundering the houses of widows, dragging devoted virgins to private places to be the sacrifices of lust; imprisoning the clergy, and burning churches and dwelling houses belonging to orthodox Christians, &c. &c.

CHAP. III.

The Persecution under Julian the Apostate.

JULIAN, commonly called the Apostate, was the Son of Julius Constantius, and the nephew of Constantine the Great. He studied the rudiments of grammar under the inspection of Mardonius, an eunuch, and an heathen of Constantinople. His father sent him some time after 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 Ecebolius the rhetorician, and Maximus the magician.

Constantius dying in the year 361, Julian succeeded him, and had no sooner attained the Imperial dignity than he renounced Christianity and embraced paganism, which had for some years fallen into great disrepute. But he again restored idolatrous worship by opening the several temples that had been shut up, rebuilding such as were destroyed, and ordering the magistrates and people to follow his example. He, however, made no public edicts against Christianity, but tried to do that privately which other emperors had done openly. He recalled all banished pagans, allowed the free exercise of religion to every sect, but deprived all Christians of offices at court, in the magistracy, or in the army. He was chaste, temperate, vigilant, laborious, and seemingly pious, so that by his hypocrisy and pretended virtues he for a time did more mischief to Christianity than the most profligate libertine of his predecessors. Thus he attempted to undermine Christianity by artifice instead of expelling it by force; and to make his measures the more effectual, he prohibited any Christian from keeping a school or public seminary of learning, and deprived all the Christian clergy of the privileges granted them by Constantine the Great

Hence was this persecution more dangerous than any of the former, as Julian aimed to sap the foundation of Christianity, instead of attacking the superstructure, and under the mask of clemency, practised the greatest cruelty in wishing to delude many thousands of their eternal salvation.

The Christian faith was thus in more danger of being subverted than ever it had been before by the means of a monarch, at once witty and wicked, learned and hypocritical; who, at first, made his attempts, not by the means of fire, sword, and poison, but by flatteries, gifts, and favours; not by using racks and tortures, but by bestowing offices and dignities; and then, by prohibiting Christian schools, he compelled the children of the gospel either to remain illiterate, or become idolators.*

Other methods taken by Julian were to order that Christians might be treated coldly upon all occasions and in all parts of the

^{*} When Julian came to Constantinople, he offered sacrifice to the goddess Fortune in the cathedral church, at which time, Maris, the blind bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia, caused himself to be led to the emperor, whom he sharply rebuked, calling him an impious person, and an apostate; in return to which he called the bishop a blind fool, telling him, "that his God of Gallilee would not restore him his sight again." To which Maris replied, "I thank God who has made me blind, lest I should behold such an ungraceful countenance as thine."

In several cities, Julian placed his own statue among those of the heathen gods, it being then customary for people to bow to the emperor's statues, in respect to the emperor, whom they represented. This was a politic trick of Julian's to draw in the Christians, that if they paid their usual respect to the emperor, in his image, they might do the same to the Heathen deities. If they neglected, they were accused of irreverence to the emperor.

Another device of the same kind was, he had an altar erected near his throne, with fire burning on it, and a table with incense thereon, placed by it; and when he distributed any gifts to his officers or soldiers, every one was obliged to throw some of the incense upon the coals, before they could receive his favour, by which means he circumvented many before they perceived his drift to draw them into idolatry.

empire, and to employ several 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 them for their murders, he never offered to punish them for their delinquency. We shall recount the names, sufferings, and martyrdoms of such as have been transmitted to the present times, that their example may inspire fortitude, and their lives give an useful lesson to mankind in general.

BASIL made himself first famous by his opposition to Arianism, which brought upon him the vengeance of the Arian bishop of Constantinople, who issued out an order to prevent his preaching. He continued, however, to perform his duty at Ancysa, the capital of Galatia. Enraged at his orthodox and manly proceedings, 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 disappointed.

Basil continued to preach strenuously 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 Arian Christians were exasperated against him, and appeared equally desirous of accomplishing his destruction.

Meeting one day with a number of Pagans going in procession to a sacrifice, he boldly expressed his abhorrence of such idolatrous proceedings, and inveighed against such absurd worship, at once in a manly and decent manner. This freedom caused the people to seize him, and carry him before Saturninus, the governor, where they brought three accusations against him, viz.

1. Reviling the gods.

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2. Abusing the Emperor.

3. Disturbing the peace of the city.

On hearing these accusations, which were equally malicious as groundless, Saturninus desired to know his sentiments from his own mouth; when finding him a strenuous Christian, he ordered him first to be put to the rack, and then he committed him 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, upon receiving the letter, sent Pagosus and Elpidius, two apostates, to Ancyra, the city where Basil was confined, to employ both promises and threats to engage him to renounce his faith, and in case of their failure, to give him up totally to the power of the governor; for it was the policy of Julian to appear all moderation and clemency, and to suffer others, as much as possible, to seem the ostensible persons in acts of cruelty. In this affair, however, a future circumstance made the emperor forego his usual policy, and sacrifice his affected mercy to his resentment.

The emperor's agents in vain tampered with Basil by means of promises, threats and racks; he was firm in the faith, and remained in prison to undergo some other sufferings, when the emperor came accidentally to Ancyra.

The people no sooner knew of Julian's approach, than 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 how firm he had been. Julian, on this, determined to examine Basil himself, and when that holy man was brought before him, the emperor did everything in his power to dissuade him from persevering in the faith. Basil not only continued as firm as ever, but, with a prophetic spirit, foretold the death of the emperor, and that he should be tormented in the other life. Enraged at what he heard, Julian lost his usual affectation of clemency, and told Basil, in great anger, that though he had an inclination to pardon him at first, yet he had now 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. This inhuman sentence was executed with rigour, and the martyr expired under its severities on the 28th day of June, A.D. 362.

DONATUS, bishop of Arezzo, and HILARINUS, a hermit suffered about the same time for the faith; the first being beheaded, and the latter scourged to death.

GORDIAN, a Roman magistrate, having a Christian brought 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 præfect that he ordered him to be scourged and beheaded; which sentence was executed in A.D. 362.

JOHN and PAUL, two brothers 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. Making choice of the latter alternative, they were both beheaded, A.D. 362.

ARTEMIUS, commander in chief of the Roman forces in Egypt, being a Christian, had these two charges exhibited against him by the Pagans.

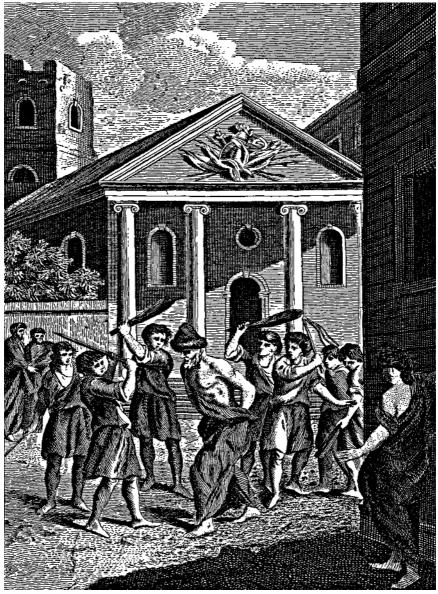
1. That he had formerly demolished several idols in the reign of Constantine the Great.

2. That he had assisted the bishop of Alexandria in plundering the temples.

On the exhibition of these charges, Julian, who was then at Antioch, ordered the general to repair thither, in order to answer to them. On Artemius's arrival, he owned the charges, and his faith. He was first deprived of his commission, then of his estate, and lastly of his head.*

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

^{*} The sedition which happened at Alexandria soon after this general's death was a sufficient proof of the intention of the Pagans of that city in taking him off; and his power was so considerable that the apostate ironically styled him the king of Alexandria. Julian, writing an account of his proceeding against Artemius, lays the death of his brother Gallus to his charge, but it is well known that the artful prince usually forged imaginary articles against such as he intended to destroy on the account of religion, and that Gallus had been beheaded by the express order of the emperor Constantius, who always looked upon him as an hot-headed insolent commander, ripe for rebellion.



CASSIAN, a CHRISTIAN SCHOOLMASTER of Imola, scourged and beat to Death by his own Scholars, for Refusing to Sacrifice to Idols.

BONOSUS and MAXIMILIAN, two officers of the Herculean guards, upon Julian's taking away Constantine the Great's standard of the cross of Christ threw up their commissions. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were carried before the governor of the east, who commanded them to sacrifice to the gods and obey the emperor's orders; but they replied that as they were no longer his soldiers, but the soldiers of Christ, they would do neither. The governor then had them separately examined, and finding them as inflexible when asunder as when together, he ordered Bonasus to be beaten with whips that had leaden bullets at the ends of the thongs, and Maximilian to be scourged.

Being remanded back to prison, they were allowed nothing but bread and water for subsistance, and the bread was marked with the seal of the emperor, the impression of which was an idol; on which account they refused to eat it. They were soon afterwards again examined, and then, according to the sentence pronounced upon them, 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, thinking her too long at dying, had her beheaded.

Bibiania, and her sister Demetria, after the death of their parents, were stripped of all their effects, and being brought before the governor, were ordered to renounce their religion. Demetria suddenly dropped down dead in the governor's presence, and Bibiania resolutely refused to renounce her faith; on which account she was scourged to death, December 2, A.D. 362.

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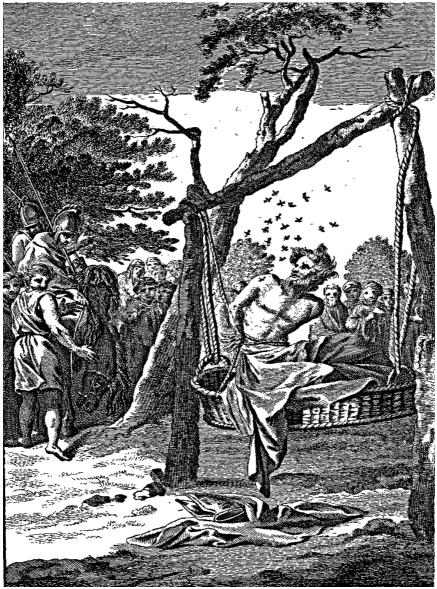
The persecution raged dreadfully about the latter end of the year 363; but as many of the particulars have not been handed down to us it is necessary to remark in general, that in *Palestine* many were burnt alive, others were dragged by their feet through the streets naked till they expired; some were scalded to death, many stoned, and great numbers had their brains beaten out with clubs. In ALEXANDRIA innumerable were the martyrs who suffered by the sword, burning, crucifixion, and being stoned. In *Arethusa* several were ripped open, and corn being put into their bellies, swine were brought to feed therein, who, in devouring the grain, likewise devoured the entrails of the martyrs; and in *Thrace*, EMILIANUS was burnt at a stake, and DOMITIUS murdered in a cave whither he had fled for. Refuge.

* * * * * * *

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

MARCUS, bishop of Arethusa, having destroyed a Pagan temple in that city, erected a Christian church in its room, on which account he was accused to Julian, the emperor, as a Christian. Being apprehended, his persecutors had no respect to his venerable person, but stripping him naked, most cruelly beat him.

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MARCUS BISHOP of ARETHUSA Rubbed with Honey, hung up in a Basket, and stung to Death by Wasps.

He was then thrust into a filthy jake, or sink, till he was almost suffocated; afterwards he was goaded with sharp-pointed sticks; and lastly, he was hung up in a basket in the heat of the sun, after having been smeared all 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 dreadful stings of those troublesome insects.

MAXENTIUS and JUVENTIUS, two Christian officers, were put to death for reproving the emperor on account of his idolatries; but the manner of their deaths is not known.

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We shall now enter into some detached particulars necessary to be preserved, and finish this chapter with the conclusion of the persecutions under Julian the apostate.

Julian intending an expedition against the Persians, set a large fine upon everyone who refused to sacrifice to the idols, and by that means got a great sum towards defraying his expenses from the Christians.

In collecting these fines, many of the officers exacted more than their due, and some of them tortured the Christians to make them pay what they demanded, at the same time telling them in derision, "that when they were injured, they ought to take it patiently, for so their god had commanded them."

The inhabitants of Cæsarea were fined 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, Apollo, and Fortune.

At Meris, in Phrygia, the governor 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 was going to execute several innocent persons. But those who really perpetrated the fact, being too noble and just in their sentiments to suffer such an injustice, voluntarily delivered themselves up; when they were first of all scourged severely and then broiled to death upon gridirons.

The emperor, Julian the apostate, died of a wound which he received in his Persian expedition, A.D. 363, and even while expiring uttered the most horrid blasphemies. He was succeeded by Jovian, who restored peace to the church.

After the decease of Jovian, Valentinian succeeded to the empire, and associated to himself Valens, who had the command of the east.

Valens was a great favourer of Arianism, and so incensed against the [catholic] Christians, that he ordered, on a certain day, all of them in Edessa to be slain while they were at their devotions in their churches. The officers, however, being more compassionate than the emperor, privately gave notice to these Christians not to assemble on the day appointed, so that they might escape death, and themselves be excused for non-performance of duty.

The Christians thanked the officers for their advice, but disregarded both that and the emperor's menaces, sooner than they would neglect their duty. They accordingly repaired to church, and the troops being compelled by the positiveness of the command 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 whither she was going? She replied, to church, whither others were making all the haste they could. "Have you not heard (says the officer) of the emperor's order, to put to death all who are found there?" I have, said she and for that cause I make the more haste.



FOURSCORE CHRISTIAN MINISTERS Burnt together in a Ship by order of the Emperor Valens.

And whither, said the officer, do you lead that child? I take him, replied she, with me, that he may also be reckoned in the number of 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, and represented to him how rash it would be to murder so great a multitude, and entreated the emperor to drop the design, at least for the present, which he at length complied with.

MENEDEMUS, URBANUS, and THEODORUS, with several other orthodox clergymen, to the number of fourscore, at Constantinople, petitioned the emperor, in a most humble manner, to relieve them from the oppressions, persecutions, and cruelties of the Arians. But the tyrant, instead of redressing their grievances, ordered them to be all embarked in a ship, and the ship set fire to. When this infernal and inhuman order was executed, they all perished in the flames.



CHAP. IV.

The Persecutions of the Christians by the Goths, &c.

MANY Scythian Goths having embraced Christianity about the time of Constantine the Great, the light of the gospel spread itself considerably in Scythia,* though the two kings who ruled that country, and the majority of the people, continued Pagans. Fritegern, king of the West Goths, was an ally to the Romans; but Athanarick, king of the East Goths, was at war with them. The Christians in the dominions of the former lived unmolested; but the latter, having been defeated by the Romans, wreaked his vengeance on his Christian subjects.

SABAS, a worthy Christian, upon this occasion, was one who felt the enraged king's misplaced resentment. Sabas was humble and humane, mild and modest, yet fervent in worship, and zealous for the advancement of the church. Remarkable for his contempt of riches, and singular in shunning every sensual enjoyment; the sanctity of his life, and purity of his manners were such as gave the greatest force to his doctrines. He convinced the rational, and confounded the obdurate: hence he became, at once, famous for his piety and doctrines.

Athanarick, in the year 370, gave orders that all persons in his dominions should sacrifice to the Pagan deities, and eat the meat which had been offered to the idols, or be put to death for disobedience. Some humane Pagans, who had Christian relations, endeavoured to save them by offering them meat which had not received the idolatrous consecration, while the magistrates were to be imposed on, and made to believe that all had been done according to their direction. But Sabas too well knew St. Paul's

^{* [}CHCoG: The Christian Goths spreading the light of the Gospel were mainly Arians, as was Eusebius of Caesarea, a highly esteemed and prolific historian of these times.]

principles to imagine that the sin lay in eating: he knew that scandalizing the weak, and giving the enemies of the faith an advantage over them, was all that made that action criminal in Christians, neither of which consequences would have been avoided by this disguise. He not only refused to comply with what was proposed to him, but publicly declared that those who sheltered themselves under that artifice were not worthy to be called Christians.

Sabas being soon after apprehended on account of his faith, was carried before a magistrate, who enquired into his fortune and circumstances. Finding that what he had upon his back was the principal part of what he possessed, he was dismissed as a person of little or no consequence.

Sabas went to spend the ensuing Easter with Sanfala, a Christian priest of great piety: they lived in great tranquillity for three days, but on the third night 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 cloaths behind him, and to walk; and during the journey, they drove him through thorns and briers, beating him with great violence almost continually. This cruelty he bore without a single murmur, and in the evening they extended him between two beams, fastening his legs to the one, and his arms to the other; and in that posture left him for the night, while they retired to repose. The woman of the house, however, hearing how ill he had been used, went and released him; but though he was now at liberty, and his persecutors asleep, he did not avail himself of the opportunity to make his escape. The next morning the persecutors began to practise on these two worthy Christians, and tampered with them to renounce their religion, and eat the meat consecrated to the idols. This, however, they jointly refused, and positively declared that they were ready to meet the most cruel death, rather than comply with such detestable idolatry. Sanfala was at length discharged, and Sabas ordered to be

drowned; which sentence was put into execution April 12, A.D. 372.

NICETAS was of Gothic extraction, born near the banks of the Danube, and though he had been long a Christian, he never met with any molestation on that account, till the above mentioned persecution began by Athanarick. That monarch ordered an idol to be drawn about on a chariot, through all the places where the Christians lived: the chariot stopped at the door of everyone who professed the gospel, and the Christian inhabitants were ordered to pay it adoration. Upon a refusal, the house was immediately set on fire, and all within were burnt. This was the case with Nicetas, who, on account of his religion, refusing to pay the respect demanded to the idol, had his house burnt, and himself consumed in it, September 15, A.D. 372.

EUSEBIUS, bishop of Samosata, makes a most distinguished figure in ecclesiastical history, and was one of the most eminent champions of Christ against the Arian heresy. The Arian Christians having advanced Miletus to the see of Antioch, thinking him of their party, the instrument of his advancement was placed in the care of Eusebius. When Miletus preached his first sermon, the Arians, to their surprize, found they had been greatly mistaken in him, for his doctrines were purely orthodox.

Enraged at their disappointment, they 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. Eusebius's answer was that he could not give up a trust reposed in him by so great a number, without the express consent of all concerned in it. The emperor, incensed at this reply, wrote to him on that subject, and assured him he had commissioned the bearer of his letter to cut off his right hand if he refused to surrender the instrument in question; which threat was artfully added only to awe him into a

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compliance. Eusebius, however, knew the party was capable of any cruelty to promote their cause; but, without the least emotion, offered his hands, and declared he would lose them both rather than part with so flagrant a proof of Arian injustice. The emperor could not but be surprized at his resolution, and professed a high esteem for him ever after: so true it is that virtue can sometimes force even its declared enemies to love and praise it.

The Arians from this time looked upon Eusebius as a most 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.

When the see of Cesaræ became vacant, Eusebius was greatly 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 Arian Christians were the most vigilant to propagate their heresy, Eusebius was exceedingly assiduous in taking measures to prevent their success; and his zeal was always so governed by the rules of prudence, that his attempts seldom failed of success. It was not enough for our excellent prelate to screen his own flock from the insults of the common enemy, and maintain the faith in its purity against all the endeavours of such as would corrupt the people; but knowing that several churches were, by the iniquity of the times, deprived of their pastors, he disguised himself; and thus made the tour of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine; fortified the 'pure' against the solicitations of the heretics; ordained several priests and inferior ministers, wherever they were wanting; and when he found any orthodox prelates in his travels, assisted them in consecrating bishops for the use of the widowed churches.

It was impossible to conceal the hand that every day gave some fresh stroke to the Arian party, and sunk their interest wherever it was employed; so that the emperor, at their instigation, granted an order for banishing him into Thrace. He was at Samosata when the messenger came with this commission; it was late in the evening, and Eusebius, who was very well beloved by his people, begged he would make no noise, but conceal his business; "for, says he, if it takes air, the people will fall on you, throw you into the river, and then I shall be charged with your death." Eusebius was calm enough to go through his usual devotions, and when the night was far advanced he left his house on foot, attended only by one trusty servant who carried a pillow and one book after him. Thus accommodated he took a boat, and went to Zeugma, about seventy miles down the river.

The people, however, next day, missing Eusebius, and hearing which way he was gone, followed in a great number of boats, and overtaking, would have rescued him, at the same time entreating him with tears in their eyes not to abandon them.

Eusebius was greatly touched with their affection, but said he must go according to the emperor's order, putting them in mind of the authority of St. Paul, for paying a due reverence, and proper submission to the civil power. Finding they could not prevail, they accommodated him with everything that could comfort him in his journey, and then left him to pursue his way to the place of destination.

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

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MARCELLUS, bishop of Apamea, a prelate of great merit, was very active in attempting to suppress idolatry in his diocese, on which account his life was in continual danger, till Cynegius, the præfect, arrived with a considerable body of troops, which kept the Pagans in awe. This officer's design was totally to abolish idolatry, to effect which he determined to destroy the temple of Jupiter; he however, found this a more difficult attempt than he had imagined, for the building was so strong, the stones so unwieldy, the cement so durable, and the iron cramps so massy, that he despaired of being able to accomplish the work. Then a poor labouring Christian, recommended by Marcellus, undertook to go through with what the præfect had given up, and the business was executed in the following manner:

This person examined the situation of the edifice, and finding it surrounded by a gallery, supported by stately pillars ten yards in circumference, he judged it would be more to his purpose to weaken the foundation than pretend to attack the body of the building directly; with this view he dug at the bottom of the said pillars, and shored them with timber beams. When he had thus undermined three of the most considerable pillars, he set fire to the wood, which burning in sunder, the pillars fell, and drew twelve more with them, and brought down one whole side of the building; upon which the people flocked together from all parts of the town, and praised God, who had thus triumphed over his enemies.

The bishop and præfect 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 bishop; and burnt him, in A.D. 393.

CHAP. V.

The Persecutions of the Christians under the Arian Vandals.

THE Vandals passing from Spain to Africa in the fifth century, under their leader Genseric, committed the most unheard of cruelties. They persecuted the Christians wherever they came, and even laid waste the country as they passed, that the Christians left behind, who had escaped them, might not be able to subsist. They plundered the churches, and murdered the bishops and ministers by a variety of tortures. In particular, they poured stinking oil and vinegar down the throats of some till they expired; suffocated others by filling their mouths with mud, and martyred many by stretching their limbs with cords till the veins burst and sinews cracked. They also wreaked their vengeance on several of the clergy and nobility, whom they loaded with heavy burdens, and obliged them to carry their baggage; and if they did not travel fast enough, they pricked them on with sharp goads, insomuch that several died under their burdens. Reverend grey hairs found no instances of mercy, and guiltless infants felt the rage of their barbarity.

Stately buildings were burned or levelled with the earth; and the chief churches in Carthage employed to their own 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 dead bodies lying under the walls, that the stench thereof might force the besieged to surrender. Having seized and plundered the city of Carthage, they put the bishop, and all the clergy, into a leaky ship, and committed it to the mercy of the waves, thinking that they must all perish of course; but providentially the vessel arrived safe at Naples. Innumerable orthodox Christians were beaten, scourged, and banished to Capsur, where it pleased God to make them the means of converting many of the Moors to Christianity; but this coming to the ears of Genseric,* he sent orders that they and their new converts should be tied by their feet to chariots, and dragged about till they were dashed to pieces.

PAMPINIAN, the bishop of Mansuetus, was tortured to death with plates of hot iron; the bishop of Urice was burnt; the bishop of Habensa was banished for refusing to deliver up the sacred books which were in his possession, and a whole congregation, who were assembled in a church at their devotions, together with the clergyman who was preaching to them, were murdered by these barbarians breaking in upon them, and exercising the most indiscriminate cruelties.

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The Vandalian tyrant Genseric, having made an expedition into Italy, and plundered the city of Rome, returned to Africa, flushed with the success of his arms. The Arian Christians took this occasion to persuade him to persecute the orthodox Christians, as they assured him that they were friends to the people of Rome.

^{*} The following affair is related of the inhuman Genseric: There was a nobleman of Carthage, of great wisdom and courage, named Sebastian, whom Genseric much feared, and would willingly have put to death. In order to find a plea for so doing, he set one of his Arian chaplains to persuade him to turn Arian. Sebastian, calling for a piece of fine bread, gave the chaplain the following answer; "This loaf of bread, said he, is made of the finest flour, and in the best manner, and is now fine and white; if you break it in pieces, soak it in water, and re-make it, if it turns whiter and better than it now is, then will I do as you desire me." Genseric well understood his meaning, but could not tell directly what to answer; he therefore let him alone for the present, though he afterwards caused him to be put to death.

ARMOGASTUS was one who felt the rage of this persecution; Victor, the learned bishop of Vita, who was personally acquainted with Armogastus, and who likewise wrote the history of this persecution, informs us that "his legs were tied, and his forehead bound with cords several times; which, though applied with no gentle hand made not the least impression on his flesh, nor left any mark on his skin. After this, he was hung up by one foot; but in that posture seemed as much at his ease as if he reposed on a soft 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, an Arian priest, dissuaded him from that resolution, by telling him it would be much better to destroy him by slow and imperceptible means, and wear him out by degrees; whereas a violent death would procure him the reputation of a martyr among those of his own opinion, which could be of no service to the opposite cause. The prince sent him to the mines, and some time after removed him to a place near Carthage, where he was employed in looking after cattle. While Armogastus was thus engaged, he grew exceeding 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 him he received some consolation; but his disorder increasing daily soon deprived him of life, and he was buried by Felix according to his own direction

ARCHINIMUS was a devout Christian, upon whom all manner of 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 passed sentence upon him to be beheaded. He, however, privately ordered the executioner to really perform his office, if the prisoner seemed intimidated and afraid: "for then (said he) the crown of martyrdom will be lost to him; but if he seems courageous, and willing to die, (continued the king) strike not the stroke; for I do not intend that he shall have the honour of being deemed a martyr." The executioner, when they came to the place appointed, finding Archinimus resolved, and happy in the thought of dying for the sake of Christ, brought him back again unhurt. He was soon after this banished, and never heard of [any] more, though it is conjectured that he was murdered privately by the king's order, as he thought the glory of dying publicly for the faith too great a favour.

EUGENIUS, bishop of Carthage, was eminent for his learning and piety, which brought upon him the hatred of the Arians in general, who took great pains to set the king Huneric* against him, and the orthodox Christians. They succeeded but too well, for he banished above five thousand into a dreadful desert, where many perished through hunger, or the inclemency of the weather. Being bent on persecuting the whole body of the orthodox Christians, he sent an edict to Eugenius, which he commanded that he should read it in the cathedral on Ascension Day, A.D. 483.

As this edict ordered that all the orthodox bishops should meet at Carthage on the first of the ensuing February, for the purpose of

^{*} Upon the death of Genseric he was succeeded by his son Huneric, in the year 477. At the beginning of his reign he was very moderate toward the [catholic] Christians, and at the intreaty of Zeno, emperor of the east, and Placidia, widow of Olybrisus, emperor of the west, allowed them to chuse a bishop of Carthage, on condition that the Arian clergy should receive no molestation in the exercise of their religion in the other provinces of the empire. This declaration being read on the eighteenth of June 481, in the presence of some African bishops, they testified their dislike to it, told the king's commissary that the church of Carthage had better remain under the immediate protection of Jesus Christ than accept of a bishop upon such bad terms. The officer took no notice of this protest, and the people, desirous of having a pastor at any rate, pressed the election with great earnestness. They were transported with joy when they saw Eugenius raised to the vacant see; for he was a man of known sanctity, and every way qualified for the post.

disputing with the Arian prelates, the king's stratagem evidently appeared to Eugenius, and several other bishops, particularly to Victor, bishop of Vita, the learned author of the original account of this persecution; for they well knew that he artfully meant to establish Arianism under the appearance of candour and justice.

After a considerable deliberation they determined to send a petition to the king; which was written by Eugenius accordingly, and presented by a person who had great interest at court. The substance of this petition was that the African prelates did not decline the proposed conference out of a sense of the weakness of their cause, or a distrust of their own abilities to maintain the orthodox 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. To this Huneric replied that what they proposed was impossible, unless the whole world was in his hands. Upon which Eugenius desired his majesty would be pleased to write to Odoacer king of Italy, and other princes in his interest; and allow him to send to the bishops, that the common faith might be thus authentically declared.

The king, however, disregarding this remonstrance, insisted upon being obeyed; and then, previous to the time appointed, very artfully took an occasion to banish several of the most able and learned orthodox prelates on various pretences; that the cause of truth might be weakened, and the Arian Christians have the greater advantage. When the appointed time for the conference arrived, the orthodox clergy appointed ten of their number to act in the name of the rest. Cyrila, an Arian, took the stile of patriarch upon the occasion, and was seated on a magnificent throne. The Arian prelates were allowed to sit near him, but the orthodox bishops were obliged to stand. They complained of this partial mode of behaviour, as an evident infringement of their liberty on which the Arians took occasion to abuse them in a most illiberal manner. Eugenius, perceiving that they did not intend to come to any candid decision, proposed to adjourn to some future day; but instead of complying with this, each orthodox prelate, by the king's order, as Cyrila asserted, received an hundred blows with a stick. 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 seized upon.

Soon after, they were compelled to quit Carthage, when they lay without the walls of that city, exposed to all the inclemencies of the open air. 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.

Huneric, instead of redressing their grievances, ordered his guards to fall on them and chastise them for their insolence, as he termed it. The soldiers complied with the tyrant's request, and treated them as unmercifully as he could wish. The king then ordered them to appear on a certain day at a place which he named.

At the appointed time they assembled on the spot accordingly, when one of the king's officers shewed them a folded paper, and informed them that the king was inclined to forget what was past, and to restore them to their livings, provided they would swear to the truth of what that paper contained. The prelates, surprized at this unreasonable proposal, declared that they could not in conscience think of swearing 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 readily take the oath.

The officer replied that was unnecessary; for he would tell them the contents, which were not of a religious but of a political nature, and only required them to swear that they were willing prince Hilderic should succeed his father in the throne. Several of the prelates, innocently thinking that there could be no harm in swearing they were willing a son should succeed his father, as that was but a piece of natural justice, offered to comply. But the rest with greater precaution, and well knowing the Arian wiles, refused to take the oath, as they justly judged so simple a proposal would never have been made them, unless some deep artifice was concealed beneath it.

While they were disagreeing upon this head, the officer took an 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. They had not been long in confinement before the mystery was unravelled, and the whole artifice explained by an order from the king for the banishment of both parties. Those who had been willing to swear were banished, under the pretence of offering to break an established precept of the Scripture, viz. Swear not at all, Matt. V. 34. And those who had refused to swear, were banished as enemies to the regal sucession. Thus did the crafty Arians accomplish the ruin of the prelates, by wresting a text of the Gospel to a wrong sense, and putting a piece of political sophistry to an improper use. The former were obliged to work as slaves in distant colonies, and the latter were sent to the island of Corsica to cut timber. Tripoli was the place to which Eugenius was banished; where Anthony, a violent Arian bishop, threw him into a loathsome dungeon, and made him suffer every hardship that cruelty could devise, 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 in a very weak condition laying on the floor, he poured some strong vinegar down his throat, with a design to have choked him. It had, however, a contrary effect; for, instead of suffocating, it promoted an immediate and copious perspiration, which was essentially serviceable in curing his palsy, and restoring him to health

After the decease of Huneric, his successor recalled Eugenius, and the rest of the orthodox clergy; but the Arian Christians taking the alarm, persuaded him to banish them again, which he complied with. Eugenius, being exiled to Languedoc in France, died there of the hardships he underwent on the 6th of September, A.D. 505.

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DIONYSIA, a lady of fortune, and a widow, being apprehended as an orthodox Christian, was stripped naked, exposed in a most indecent manner, and severely scourged. Her son, a young lad, being seized at the same time, seemed afraid of the torture, and looked pitifully at his mother, who ordered him not to fear any torments that could be inflicted on him, but to be constant to the faith in which she had brought him up. When he was upon the rack, she again comforted him in these words.

"Remember, O my child, that we were baptized in the name of the ever sacred Trinity, let us not lose the benefit thereof, lest it should hereafter be said, cast them into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth; for that pain which never endeth is, indeed, to be dreaded, and that life which endureth to eternity to be desired."

Whereupon the youth patiently persevered, and from the force of his torments resigned his soul to his God. The pious mother saw the death of her son with pleasure, and soon after received the crown of martyrdom herself.

The Arian bishop of Carthage, named Cyrilla, was a most furious heretic, and a very great enemy to those Christians who professed the faith in its purity. Having gained the ear of the king, he persuaded him that he could never expect prosperity in his undertakings, or hope to enjoy his kingdom in peace; while he suffered any of the orthodox Christians to live.

The weak monarch, believing all that Cyrilla told him, sent to several of the most eminent Christians, who were particularly obnoxious to that prelate. He, at first, attempted to draw them from their faith by flattery, and to bribe them from the hopes of future salvation, by the promise of immediate worldly rewards. Being firm and constant in their faith, they were proof against the former, and despised the latter; declaring resolutely against Arianism, and saying, "We acknowledge but one Lord, one faith, and one baptism; 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 torments."

The king, being greatly exasperated at this freedom, sent them to a filthy dark dungeon, and ordered them to be put into irons. The keeper, however, not being of the savage disposition too common to such as are entrusted with the care of gaols, suffered their friends to have access to them; by which they received great consolation, and became daily more and more confirmed in their resolution of dying for the sake of Christ.

The king hearing of the indulgence given them by their keepers was exceedingly angry, and sent orders that they should be more closely confined, and loaded with still heavier fetters. He then began to ruminate in his mind by what means he should put them to death, and after revolving over and over all the modes of cruelty that he could recollect, he at length determined to imitate the monstrous barbarity of the emperor Valens, who, as we have already related, caused fourscore clergymen to be burnt together in Fixing upon this infernal precedent, he ordered these a ship. Christians to be put onboard a ship filled with combustible materials, and the vessel being set fire to they received the crown of martvrdom. The names of seven of the principal of these Christians RUSTICUS, SEVERUS, LIBERATUS, were BONIFACE, SEPTIMUS, SERVUS, and ROGATUS.

Thus in the pangs of death, amidst the flames, A glorious crown each pious martyr claims; And while his body scorns the fiercest fires, His soul to heav'n's immortal joys aspires.



BOOK III.

A Miscellaneous Account of Martyrs, or the Persecutions of the Church, in various Parts of the World, from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century.

CHAP. I.

From the Middle of the Fifth, to the Conclusion of the Seventh Century.

PROTERIUS was made a priest by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who was well acquainted with his virtues before he appointed him to preach. On the death of Cyril, the see of Alexandria was filled by Dioscorus, an inveterate enemy both to the memory and family of his predecessor. Dioscorus, however, knowing the reputation of Proterius, did the utmost in his power to gain his confidence and interest; as he thought he might be of singular service to him in carrying on his designs. Proterius, however, was not to be corrupted, the welfare of the church sat next his heart, and no prospect of worldly preferment could bribe him to forego his duty.

Dioscorus being condemned by the council of Chalcedon for having embraced the errors of Eutyches, was deposed, and Proterius chosen to fill the vacant see, and approved of by the emperor. This occasioned a dangerous insurrection, for the city of Alexandria was divided into two factions, the one to espouse the cause of the old and the other of the new prelate. A great deal of mischief was done on both sides, and Proterius was in the most imminent personal danger from a set of schismatics, who would neither obey the decisions of a council or the emperor's decree. As these disorders became serious, the governor of Thebais marched at the head of a body of troops in order to quell the sedition. The people, however, had worked up their imaginations to 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; the appearance of whom, and the prudence of the governor of Alexandria, whose name was Florus, soon restored peace to the city.

The discontented party, however, still beheld Proterius with an eye of resentment; so that he was obliged to have a guard out of respect to his personal safety, and at length, though naturally of a sweet and mild temper, was compelled to excommunicate some of them, and obtain their banishment from Alexandria. Ecclesiastical history, however, informs us that, "When the emperor Marcian's death, which happened two years after, gave a new turn to affairs, the exiles returned to Alexandria, engaged in their usual cabals against Proterius, and seemed resolved to be revenged on him for what they had suffered in the last reign. Timothy, a priest, who was at the head of all the designs that had been formed against Proterius, employed every art to ruin his credit, drawing the people from his communion, and raising himself to that see. At last, taking the advantage of the absence of Dionysius, who commanded the forces of that province, and was then in the Upper Egypt, he seized on the great church, and was uncanonically and sacrilegiously consecrated by two bishops of his faction that had been deposed for heresy. The usurper went on in the exercise of all the episcopal functions, and used the whole rigour of his pretended authority to oppress the orthodox, till the commander's return, who, upon hearing the disorders that had been committed, and that Timothy was the chief author of them, drove that incendiary out of the town.

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

JULIA, a Carthaginian lady, was taken prisoner when the Vandals sacked that city. After being sold and resold as a slave, she became the property of a Syrian Pagan, named Eusebius. Her master could not but admire a religion which inspired such resignation and patience in vassallage, and the most painful employments: thus it is plain that the humility and purity prescribed by Christianity will attract even the admiration of heathens.

The master of Julia 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 at a distance. 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 that 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 had proved too weak to prevail with her to renounce her religion; but that as she was a very diligent and faithful servant, he could not think of parting with her.

Felix then pressed him to exert himself on this occasion, and either to oblige her to assist at the Pagan worship, or to part with her; and offered to give him his own price, or four of his best female slaves in exchange for her, which Eusebius absolutely refused, saying that he would not part from her at any price.

Felix finding the master inflexible, determined to get her into his power by artifice. To effect this, he invited Eusebius to an entertainment, and having intoxicated him, he sent for Julia in the name of her master.

The innocent slave not suspecting the trap laid for her, came immediately, when the governor told her that he would procure her liberty, if she would sacrifice to the heathen gods. To which Julia replied that while she was permitted to enjoy her religion; she was as free as she desired to be.

Felix, not being able to prevail, ordered her to be severely beaten, which she bore with the utmost patience. Finding her still resolute, he commanded that the hair of her head should be pulled up by the roots. This barbarity having no greater effect than the former, he sentenced her to be hanged, which sentence was immediately put in execution.

Julia was scarce dead when Eusebius recovered from his intoxication. As soon as he understood, what had passed, he was greatly afflicted, and in the first transports of his resentment had thoughts of complaining to the emperor, who being a Christian, would have punished the perfidy of the governor. But reflecting again, that Felix had only acted with a zeal for the deities that he himself adored, he determined to put up with the loss, and retire from a place which was become so disagreeable to him.

HERMENIGILDUS was a Gothic prince, being the eldest son of Leovigildus,* king of the Goths, in Spain. This prince, who was

^{*} Liuba, who had shared the royal power with his brother Leovigildus, died in 542, and left him sole master of a very large dominion. The crown had hitherto been at the disposal of the grandees; but Leovigildus was resolved to secure it to his successors. To inure them to government, and enable them to make good their claim, if ever disputed after his decease, he gave each of them a sort of royal dignity in his life-time, assigned them subjects and places to keep their several courts. The city of Sevile fell to the share of Hermenigildus, who was infected with Arianism, the reigning heresy among the Goths, when he married Ingonda in the year 579. That princess was an orthodox Christian, and had suffered very much for her profession.

originally an Arian, became a convert to the orthodox faith by means of his wife Ingonda. When the king heard that his son had changed his religious sentiments, he stripped him of the command at Seville, where he was governor, and threatened to put him to death unless he renounced the faith he had newly embraced.

The prince,* in order to prevent the execution of his father's menaces, began to put himself into a posture of defence; and many of the orthodox persuasion in Spain declared for him. The king, exasperated at this act of rebellion, began to punish all the orthodox Christians who could be seized by his troops; and thus a very severe persecution commenced: he likewise marched against his son at the head of a very powerful army. The prince, knowing that he was unable to oppose the formidable force that his father was bringing against him, implored the assistance of the Roman troops that were left to garrison those parts of Spain which the emperor still possessed. The Roman commander engaged to assist Hermenigildus, but being bribed by the king, he broke his promise. Leovigildus then made it his business, as much as possible, to detach the orthodox Christians from the interest of his son; and in this he had great success, for it was effected in 581 by convening the Arian prelates at Toledo, who abolished the practice of rebaptizing those that came over to their beliefs, and drew up a captious profession of faith which deceived many, and prevailed upon them to quit the interest of Hermenigildus.

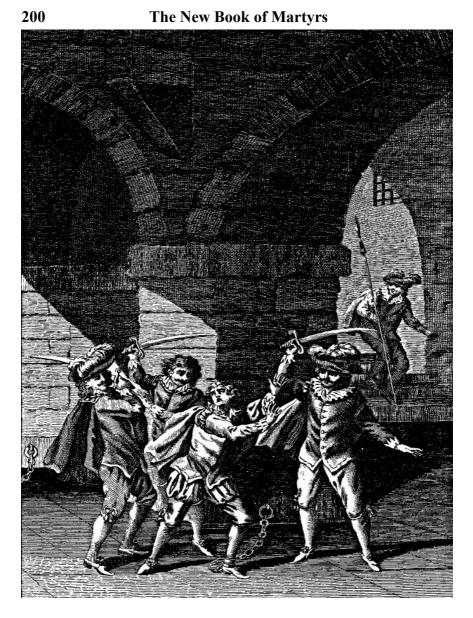
The prince, thus forsaken by numbers of those whom he most confided in, was obliged to retreat towards Seville, in which city he soon after shut himself up, and sent to Constantinople for assistance from the emperor. The death of that monarch, however,

^{*} This action of the prince is far from being justifiable, and cannot be excused on any principle but that of a mistaken conscience, acting with sincerity and zeal for religion; for in reality heresy, or any difference of opinion, can never privilege rebellion against a prince and a father. Gregory of Tours seems to insinuate that all his ensuing calamities were but the just punishment of this at in the order of God's providence.

prevented him from receiving any relief; for Maurice, who succeeded him, found his own hands too full to afford any succour to Hermenigildus. The king, who had information of every step which his son took, proceeded to Seville, and laid siege to it. The prince defended the place with great bravery, and even held out for the space of twelve months; but finding that the city must soon be taken, he privately made his escape, and fled to the Roman troops to beg protection. Being informed that they intended to give him up, he precipitately retired to Corduba, and from thence went to Asseto, which he fortified.

After the escape of the prince from Seville, that city surrendered, and the king having properly garrisoned it, pursued his son, laid siege to Asseto, and soon obliged it to surrender. The unfortunate prince being driven to this distress, flew to a church for sanctuary. The king having too much respect for the sanctity of the place to force him from it, sent an officer named Reccaredus, to assure him of his pardon, upon his submitting to ask it. The prince, believing his father to be sincere, immediately went to him, and threw himself most submissively at his feet. The king, however, instead of forgiving him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Seville, where he endeavoured, both by promises and menaces, to make him renounce the orthodox faith.

The prince remained constant to his beliefs; and at the feast of Easter, when the king sent an Arian bishop to him to administer the eucharist, Hermenigildus absolutely refused to receive it, which so enraged the king that before he gave himself time to reflect, he ordered some of his guards to go and cut the prince to pieces, which they punctually performed April 13, A.D. 586.



HERMENIGILDUS

Prince of the Goths, and an Orthodox Christian, hewn to pieces by order of his Father, for Refusing to Change his Religion.

ANASTASIUS, a Persian, was brought up a Pagan, and bore arms as a soldier under Cosroes, king of Persia, at the time that monarch plundered Jerusalem; and among other things, carried off the very cross on which Christ was crucified.* Anastasius could not imagine why the Christians had such a veneration for a person who had died so mean a death as that of being crucified; for that mode of death was, by the Persians, held in the greatest contempt, and none but the very lowest and most despicable malefactors were executed in that manner. Applying to some Christian captives, he was instructed in the whole Christian mystery, and being charmed with the purity of a faith which inspired such fortitude, he left the army and retired to Syria. Here he learned the trade of a goldsmith, and then going to Jerusalem, he supported himself by that business; was baptized by Modestus, vicar-general of Jerusalem; and staid a week with Elias, his godfather.

When that time was over, and he was now to quit the white cloaths which he wore at his baptism, according to the then practice of the church, he desired the priest would put him in a way of renouncing the world entirely, and fulfilling the obligations of his profession without interruption. Elias recommended him to Justin, abbot of a seminary four miles from Jerusalem, who employed a proper person to instruct him in the Greek tongue and teach him the Psalms; and then admitted him into his religious community. Anastasius passed seven years in that house, where he divided his time between the most humble domestic employments, and the truly Christian entertainments of the word of God, the lives of the fathers, and the acts of the martyrs. He was most sensibly affected with those monuments of Pagan barbarity, and Christian courage; and conceived a strong desire to lay down his life for Jesus Christ.

^{* [}CHCoG: It is sad that almost six hundred years later, such a preposterous myth as the 'true cross', is presented here as truth.]

Going to Cæsarea, which was then in the hands of the Persians, he was taken up as a spy, and brought before Marzabanes, governor of that city, to whom he owned that he was a Christian; and was on that account sent to prison. When he had lain there some time, Marzabanes sent for him, and gave him fresh assurances of favour and promotion, if he would but renounce his religion: but he despised and rejected every mark of friendship and respect that would endeavour to divorce him from his God; and the governor ordered him to be beaten till he should agree to his proposals. He then remanded him to prison, where he spent his time in prayer, and such labours as were imposed on him as part of his punishment. Justin, being apprized of his sufferings, recommended him to the prayers of the whole community, and sent two of his people to encourage him to perseverance.

At length, the governor wrote to the king concerning Anastasius, and on receiving an answer, told the prisoner that he would give him his liberty if he would renounce the Christian religion; only before him and two witnesses, and that his renunciation should not be known. Anastasius heard this proposal with horror, and rejected it with disdain. Then the governor sent him bound in chains to Persia, there to be dealt with as the king should direct.

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

MARTIN, bishop of Rome, was born at Todi, in Italy. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and his parents bestowed on him an admirable education. He had every liberal endowment that the sciences could bestow, and all the worthiness that a mortal could derive from the saving grace of the gospel. 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 praises, and admitted that he well merited a trust of such great consequence. His character has been thus drawn by a masterly hand:

"His compassion for the poor appeared in large contributions for their relief, and the offices of hospitality, which he performed in favour of strangers. His fasts were rigorous and frequent, and prayer employed a very considerable part of his time. He was always ready to receive returning sinners; took no small pains to lead such through the paths of repentance as testified their sorrow by tears; and comforted them by letting them see what reason they had to confide in God's infinite goodness. He loved his clergy with a brotherly tenderness, and honoured the episcopal character wherever it was found.

The first trouble he received in his episcopal capacity was from a set of heretics called Monothelites; who not daring, after the express decisions of the council of Chalcedon, to maintain the unity of nature in Christ, asserted artfully that he had but one will and operation of mind. This sect was patronized by the emperor Heraclius; and the first who attempted to stop the progress of these errors was Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem.

Martin, who perfectly coincided in sentiments with the bishop of Jerusalem, called a council, which consisted of 105 bishops, and they unanimously condemned the errors in question.

Incensed at these proceedings, the emperor ordered Olympius, his lieutenant in Italy, to repair to Rome, and seize the bishop, provided it could be done without causing an insurrection. The lieutenant performed the journey; but on his arrival at Rome, he found the people too unanimous in their opinions, and the prelate too much beloved, to attempt any thing by open violence. Hence he had recourse to treachery, and suborned a ruffian to assassinate the bishop at the altar; but the fellow, after promising to execute the bloody deed, was seized with such horrors of mind that he had not the power to perform his promise. Olympius, finding it would be very difficult to perform anything against Martin, withdrew from Rome, and putting himself at the head of his troops, marched against the Saracens, who had made some inroads into Italy, but he died in the expedition.

Olympius was succeeded by Calliopas, who received express orders to seize the person of Martin, which, with the assistance of a considerable body of troops, he performed; at the same time shewing the clergy the Imperial mandate, which commanded him to dispossess Martin of his bishopric, and carry him to Constantinople as a prisoner.

After a very tedious voyage, and enduring innumerable hardships, he reached the Imperial city of Constantinople, and was immediately thrown into prison. While in confinement, he wrote two epistles to the emperor to refute the calumnies forged against him with respect to his faith and loyalty. The substance of which was that for a proof of the soundness of the former, he appeals to the testimony of the whole clergy, and his own solemn protestation to defend the truth as long as he lived. In answer to such objections as had been made against the latter, he declares he never sent either money, letters or advice to the Saracens, but only remitted a sum for the relief of poor Christians among those people. He concludes with saying that nothing could be more false than what the heretics had alledged 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 gives a particular account of his being seized at Rome, as already related, and his indisposition and ill usage since he was dragged from that city: and ends with wishing and hoping his persecutors would repent of their conduct, when the object of their hatred was removed from this world.

The fatigues that Martin had undergone were so many, and his infirmities so great, that on the day appointed for his trial, he was

forced to be brought out of prison in a chair, as he was unable to walk. When he was before the court, the judge ordered him to stand, which not being able to do, two men were ordered to hold him up. Twenty witnesses were produced against him, who swore as they were directed, and charged him with pretended crimes that had been invented for the purpose. Martin began his defence, but as soon as he entered upon an investigation of the errors which he had combated, one of the senators stopped him, and said that he was only examined respecting civil affairs, and consequently that ecclesiastical matters had nothing to do in his defence. The judge then prevented him from going on, and having broke up the court, went and reported the progress of the proceedings to the emperor.

Martin was now ordered to be exposed in the most public places of the town, to the ridicule of the people; to be divested of all episcopal marks of distinction, and to be treated with the greatest scorn and severity. All these rigours he bore with a Christian-like patience, and a degree of fortitude that only heaven can inspire; and trusted to Christ as his strength, agreeable to the prophecy, Isaiah XL. 27, 30. which has been thus beautifully paraphrased by a learned divine.

I.

Whence do our mournful thoughts arise? And where's our courage fled? Has restless sin, and raging hell, Struck all our comforts dead?

II.

Have we forgot th' Almighty name That form'd the earth and sea? And can an all creating arm Grow weary, or decay?

III.

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Treasures of everlasting might In our Jehovah dwell, He gives the conquest to the weak, And treads their foes to hell.

IV.

Mere mortal pow'r shall fade and die, And youthful vigour cease; But we that wait upon the Lord, Shall feel our strength encrease.

V.

The saints shall mount on eagles wings, And taste the promis'd bliss, Till their unwearied feet arrive, Where perfect pleasure is.

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

JOHN, bishop of Bergamo, in Lombardy, was a learned man, and a good Christian. He did his utmost endeavours to clear the church from [what he thought was] the errors of Arianism, and joining in this holy work with John, bishop of Milan, he was very successful against the 'heretics'. Grimoald, however, an Arian, having usurped the throne of Lombardy, the orthodox Christians feared that Arianism would gain footing, once more, in Lombardy; but the bishop of Bergamo used such persuasive arguments with Grimoald, that he brought him from Arianism to profess the orthodox faith.

After 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 orthodox clergy. The bishop of Bergamo exerted himself strenuously to prevent the

heresy from spreading, on which account he was assassinated on July 1, A.D. 683.

KILIEN was born in Ireland and received from his parents a pious and Christian education. His favourite study was theology, and he took great delight in perusing the Holy Scriptures. Hence an ardent affection for the glory of God glowed within him, and he took great pains to bring many to the light of the gospel.

As the narrow limits of his native island seemed too small for his unbounded zeal, he crossed the sea together with eleven other persons, in order to make converts on the continent. On landing they directed their course to what is now called the Circle of Franconia, in Germany. Coming to the city of Wurtzbourg, they found the people in general, and their governor Gozbert, to be Pagans; but from their good dispositions, conceived great hopes of converting them from idolatry and superstition 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, Killien returned to Wurtzbourg, where he opened his mission. He had not been long employed in those

^{* [}CHCoG: Though Ireland was a Christian nation at this time, it was vehemently **not** Roman Catholic, and taught doctrines derived from the Bible, not Rome. And Jesus Christ Himself gave us **all** this commission: "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them. . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you." (Mat 28:19-20). So why would Kilien—or anyone else—seek the pope's approval to preach the gospel? It appears to be yet another instance of the papacy rewriting history to glorify itself.]

evangelical labours when Gozbert sent for him, and desired to know the nature and tendency of this new religion which he recommended so vigorously, and proposed so boldly. Our holy bishop had several conferences with the governor on that subject, and God gave such a blessing to his endeavours that Gozbert received the faith, was baptized, and gave him free leave to preach wherever he had any power.

As the example of great men seldom fails of influencing those of an inferior rank, that of Gozhert went very far in commanding the attention of his Pagan subjects to what our prelate had to offer; and in less than two years much the greatest part of them became Christians.

It is to be observed that Gozbert had married his brother's widow, for which Kilien, though he knew the sinfulness of the thing, did not chuse to rebuke him till he was thoroughly confirmed in his faith.* When he thought him fully instructed in the principles of Christianity, and well-grounded in the purity of its precepts, he entreated the governor, as the last proof of the sincerity of his conversion, to quit that person who he had hitherto looked upon as a wife, as he could not cohabit with her without committing sin. Gozbert, surprized 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 governor's wife, being informed of this affair, determined to be revenged on those who had persuaded Gozbert into such a resolution. The missionaries were sensible of that wicked

^{* [}CHCoG: This is not a sin. Though the Bible teaches that it is wrong for a brother to take his brother's wife (Leviticus 20:21), this does NOT apply to his widow. Instead, it says he should marry his brother's widow and raise up sons for his brother with her in Deuteronomy 25:5, which is repeated in Matthew 22:23-28, Mark 18:19 and Luke 20:28. As Jesus says, "they err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God." (Mat. 22:29)]

woman's design; and the only shield they had consisted of prayer, patience, and resignation. She sent accordingly to the place where they usually assembled, and had them all beheaded.

Kilien and his companions submitted without resistance, the former telling them that they need not fear those who had no power over the soul, but could only kill a body, which, in a short time, would of itself decay. This happened in A.D. 689, and the martyrs were privately buried in the night, together with their cloaths, books, &c.

Some writers add what follows, as the sequel of this bloody affair: "Some days after this impious tragedy was acted, Gozbert, surprized that he had not seen Kilien lately, ordered diligent search to be made for him. Geilana, to stop the enquiry, gave out that he and his companions left the town, without giving any account of their motions. But the instrument of her revenge, (the executioner) violently racked with remorse of conscience, ran about like a madman, and declared that Kilien burnt him. Thus discovered, he was seized; and Gozbert was considering what to do with him, when a creature of the governess, a man of great eloquence and artifice, and a pretended convert, advised him to leave the God of the Christians the task of doing 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. The murderer, being set at liberty, went raving mad, tore his own flesh with his teeth, and died in this miserable condition. Geilana was so perplexed in her conscience, that it tormented her till she expired; Gozbert's rashness and criminal condescension was punished by violent death, and his whole race cut off in a few years.

Conscience, the guilty will control, And waken horrors in the soul; Pursue the bloody murd'rers feet, At ev'ry turn the villain meet;

The New Book of Martyrs

And do that justice law denies, With dreadful stings, and glaring eyes.

CHAP. II.

Persecutions from the Early Part of the Eighth; to near the Conclusion of the Tenth Century.

BONIFACE, archbishop of Mentz; and father of the German church, was an Englishman, and is, in ecclesiastical history, looked upon as one of the brightest ornaments of the nation. Originally his name was Winfrid or Winfrith, and he was born at Kirton, in Devonshire, then part of the West-Saxon kingdom. When he was only about five years of age, he began to discover a propensity to reflection, and seemed solicitous to gain information on religious Soon after, some evangelical missionaries came by subjects. chance to Kirton, and happened to fix their abode at his father's From these he understood that the principle step to house. salvation was to deny himself and follow Christ. He considered seriously of what he heard, and in process of time, determined to devote himself to a religious life. When he informed his father of his resolution, the latter would willingly have dissuaded him from it; but finding him fully resolved, he permitted him to go and reside at a monastery in the city of Exeter. Wolfrad, the abbot, finding that he possessed a bright genius, as well as a strong inclination to study, had him removed to Nutscelle, a seminary of learning in the diocese of Winchester, where he would have a much greater opportunity of attaining improvement than in Exeter. The abbot of Nutscelle, who was as much celebrated for his great learning as his Christian virtues, took uncommon pains with the young pupil, who, in time, became a prodigy in profound literature, and divine knowledge; and was, at length, employed at Nutscelle as a principle teacher.

The ancient Saxon historians, who speak highly in his praise tell us, that, "those who studied under him had no need to remove to any other place to finish what they had begun, for he gave them lessons in grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy; and explained the Holy Scriptures in the literal, moral, and mystical senses. But his example was as instructive as his lectures, and while he formed his scholars to learning by his dictates, he encouraged them to the practice of virtue, by the prudent conduct of his life.

"The abbot of Nutscelle, seeing him thus qualified for the priesthood, obliged him to receive that holy order, when he was about thirty years old. From that time he began to preach and labour for the salvation of his fellow-creatures; in the progress of which he gave the first proofs of that apostolical zeal that afterwards made such glorious conquests in a barbarous part of the world."

There being an important occasion to assemble a synod of bishops in the kingdom of the West Saxons, it was judged expedient to depute one of their body to the archbishop of Canterbury, to inform him of the exigency of affairs. Upon considering who was proper to be charged with such a commission, Boniface was proposed, and unanimously chosen by the synod; and the choice was approved of and confirmed by the then reigning king of the West-Saxons.

Boniface discharged this trust with great prudence, and obtained the applause of every member of the synod; but far from being vain of the reputation he had acquired, he proposed to forsake his country, relations, and friends, in order to be of service to the faith, and extend Christianity on the Continent. At first, the abbot and monks of Nutscelle would have dissuaded him from his purpose; but finding him resolute, two of their number were ordered to assist him.

He accordingly left Nutscelle, and arrived in Friezland about the year 716; but found that country in the utmost disorder and confusion. It had belonged to the crown of France, but was at that time in the possession of prince Radbord, who had established

Paganism in it, persecuted the Christians, and was at war with Charles Martel, mayor of the palace of Austrastia.

He, however, went to Utrecht, where he found the Infidel prince, and made him a tender of the gospel; but he being obdurate, Boniface perceived that the happy time of converting that nation was not yet come, and therefore returned to his monastery in England.

He had not been many months there when the abbot died, and left the monks inconsolable, because they thought it would be impossible to repair their loss. Boniface too had his share in this affliction, but arising above his passions, he undertook to comfort his brethren under that calamity, and made them several forcible exhortations to perseverance, and a conformity to the rule of their order, and the canons of the church.

He discovered so much zeal and charity on this occasion that they desired he would supply the place of their deceased father and friend; but he either never accepted of that post, or quitted it very soon; for he obtained letters from Daniel, bishop of Winchester, his diocesan; which recommended him to the pope, and all the bishops, abbots and princes he should find in his way to Rome, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 719.

Gregory II. who then sat in "Peter's chair", received him with great friendship, and after several conferences with him, finding him full of zeal, piety, wisdom, and all the virtues that compose the character of an apostolical missionary, he dismissed him with a commission at large to preach the gospel to the Pagans, where ever he found them.

Passing through Lombardy and Bavaria, he came to Thuringia, which country had before received the light of the gospel: but at the time that Boniface arrived there, that light burnt very dim. The first exertions of Boniface, therefore, were to bring the corrupted Christians back to a profession of the gospel in its purity; which gave him no small trouble, as the people in those parts were irregular and vicious, and the clergy illiterate and [dis]interested. Having, with great assiduity, completed this pious work, and hearing that Radbord, whom he had formerly, in vain, attempted to convert, was dead, he repaired to Utrecht, to assist Willebrod, the first bishop of that city, in his evangelical labours.

These worthy pastors laboured in conjunction, for the space of three years, in extirpating idolatry; and propagating the faith; and so far succeeded that most of the people, received baptism, and many of the Pagan temples were converted into Christian churches.

Willebrod, being now very old and infirm, thought he could not do better than to appoint Boniface to succeed him, and to resign his charge into such pious hands; but this the English missionary absolutely refused, saying he could not sojourn so long in any place, as he had many evangelical labours to perform. Willebrod, on hearing this, consented to his departure; and Boniface repaired to Hesse, where he brought to a knowledge of the real truth two brothers, who, though they called themselves Christians, were sunk into most of the errors of Paganism. They became such sincere converts that they gave their estate to Boniface, who did not apply its revenues to his own use, but built and endowed a religious community; after which he proceed to Saxony, where he converted some thousands to Christianity.

After having laboured 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. who was still in possession of that see, sent him a letter desiring him to repair to that city; in consequence of which he set out for Rome with all possible expedition. On his arrival, the bishop treated him as his character deserved, gave him all marks 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. Thus qualified for forming his new church, he left Rome, well provided with such books as would be necessary for his flock, or those to whom he should think fit to commit their in instruction.

He had with him six letters from the pope; one to Charles Martel; a second to all bishops, priests, dukes, counts, &c., a third to the clergy and people under his more immediate direction; a fourth to the five princes of Thuringia and their Christian subjects, a fifth to the Pagans in their dominions; and a sixth to the whole body of Saxons. The purport of all which was, to recommend him to the protection of the Christian powers, and exhort the Pagans to hear him, and quit their errors.

After making many converts in different parts, he returned to his mission in Germany, and was very successful, though he met with many that would willingly have been Christians only by halves; they were ready enough to acknowledge Christ, but did not care to adhere strictly to his precepts: in fine, they liked the name, but had not resolution enough to conform to the practices [of Romanism]; and some were so far deluded as to fall back into their former superstition and idolatries. These were exceedingly fond of worshipping a large oak tree, which had, time immemorial, been dedicated to Jupiter. This tree Boniface ordered to be cut down. When the Pagans, finding that Jupiter did not take any notice of those who had cut it down, began to own the weakness of such pretended deities, and desired to be baptized.

Boniface, being naturally diffident of his own abilities, had frequent recourse to such persons as he thought might be of any service to him in his present difficult station. Pope Gregory and Daniel, his old diocesans; were his most considerable counsellors. But indeed he had more need of assistance than advice, and therefore by the care of the bishop of Winchester, received large supplies of Missionaries from this island.

Pope Gregory III. succeeded to the chair in 731, upon whose accession Boniface sent proper persons to Rome to acquaint him with the success of his labours, testifying his obedience, and desiring assistance in some difficulties which occurred in his mission. The pope not only answered the message by assuring him of the communion and friendship of the see of Rome, but of his respect for our missionary, sent him the Pallium, granted him the title of archbishop or metropolitan of all Germany, and empowered him to erect new bishoprics.

Boniface went to the utmost extent of every religious duty, and not only erected new bishoprics, but built several monasteries. He then made a third journey to Rome in 738, when pope Gregory III. who had as much affection for him as his predecessor, felt an extraordinary pleasure at his appearing in that city, and detained him there the greatest part of the year.

When Boniface left Rome, he went directly for Bavaria, upon the invitation of Odillo, duke of that country, where his business was to reform some abuses introduced by persons who had never received holy orders;* and yet exercised the functions of the priesthood, and even such as were peculiar to the episcopal character, to the no small prejudice of the poor deluded inhabitants.[†]

^{* [}CHCoG: This another of Southwell's strange chapters in which Roman catholicism is 'transformed' into actual Christianity, even though it was heavily contaminated with pagan practices by this time. And so we see the papal hierarchy persecuting what may well be scriptural Christians, just as the Pharisees and Levitical priesthood persecuted Jesus and his apostles, who likewise had NO authority from them. Remember, Christian authority comes from Jesus, who is the **real** head of the church, not the pope.]

[†] [CHCoG: *The Bloody Theatre* details two of these 'deluded' persons. They were Albert of Gaul and his disciple Clement of Scotland. These 'heretics' taught "that priests or teachers should not be prohibited from marrying; that the relics, or bones, of the saints ought not to be venerated; that images should not be worshiped or saluted as a religious service, and that the Pope has no right to the primacy (or supremacy) over the church. [They also] condemned the masses for the dead, purgatory, etc., as [human] inventions." They were both condemned by

Bavaria had at this time only one bishop. He, therefore, pursuant to his commission from Rome, erected three new bishoprics, one at Saltzbourg, a second at Freisingen, and a third at Ratisbon, and thus all Bavaria was divided into four dioceses. This regulation was soon after confirmed by the pope, who at the same time thanked God for the prodigious success of Boniface's ministry, and desired him not to confine himself to one place, but to carry the divine message into such parts of Germany as wanted the light of the gospel.

He now established four bishoprics, viz,

At Erford, for Thuringia;

At Barabourg, for Hesse;

At Wurtzburg, for Franconia;

At Achstat, for Bavaria.

N.B. 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 first bishop of Achstat.

Gregory III. was succeeded in the popedom by Zachary, A.D. 741, and the latter confirmed Boniface in his power; and approved of all he had done in Germany, making him at the same time archbishop of Mentz, and metropolitan over thirteen bishoprics; He did not, however, lose his simplicity in grandeur, or forget his innocence in the parade of ecclesiastical dignity: but studied to preserve that humility which is so simply recommended in Matt. V. 3, 12. and so beautifully described by a worthy divine, in the following stanzas.

I. Bles'd are the humble souls, that see Their emptiness and poverty; Treasures of grace to them are giv'n,

Boniface in 750 for the 'abuses' they were introducing, when he was still the Papal Legate. Albert was starved to death in prison, while Clement was burned alive. So much for the 'meek prelate,' and his beliefs.]

The New Book of Martyrs

And crowns of joy laid up in heav'n.

II.

Bless'd are the men of broken heart, Who mourn for sin with inward smart: The blood of Christ divinely flows, A healing balm for all their woes.

III.

Bless'd are the meek, who stand afar From rage and passion, noise and war: God will secure their happy state, And plead their cause against the great.

IV.

Bless'd are the souls that thirst for grace, Hunger and long for righteousness; They shall be well supplied and fed, With living streams, and living bread.

V.

Bless'd are the men whose bowels move, And melt with sympathy and love; From Christ, the Lord, shall they obtain Like sympathy and love again.

VI.

Bless'd are the pure whose hearts are clean, From the defiling pow'r of sin; With endless pleasure they shall see, A God of spotless purity.

VII. Bless'd are the men of peaceful life,

The New Book of Martyrs

Who quench the coals of glow'ng strife; They shall be call'd the heirs of bliss, The sons of God, the God of peace.

VIII.

Bless'd are the suff'rers who partake Of pain and shame, for Jesu's sake; Their souls shall triumph in the Lord, Glory and joy are their reward.

During the ministry of this meek prelate,* Pepin was declared king of France. It was that prince's ambition to be crowned by the most holy prelate he could find, and Boniface was pitched on to perform that ceremony, which he did at Soissons in 752. The next year his great age, and many infirmities lay so heavy on him that with the consent of the new king, the bishops, &c, of his diocese, he consecrated Lullus, his countryman, and faithful disciple, and placed him in the see of Mentz. When he had thus eased himself of his charge, he recommended the church of Mentz to the care of the new bishop in very strong terms, desired he would finish the church at Fuld, and see him buried in it, for his end was near.

Having left these orders, he took boat to the Rhine; and went to Friezland where he converted and baptized several thousand of the barbarous natives, demolished the temples, and raised churches on the ruins of those superstitious structures.

Having appointed a day for confirming a great number of new converts, he ordered them to assemble in an open plain near the river Bourde. Thither he repaired the day before, and pitching a

^{*} Boniface being one day asked whether it was lawful to make use of wooden chalices in the celebration of the Sacrament? He very calmly replied, "That formerly the church was happy in golden priests, who offered the sacrifice of the altar in wooden chalices; but, in his times, things were unhappily altered, and wooden priests made use of golden chalices.

tent, determined to remain on the spot all night, in order to be ready early in the morning.

Some Pagans, who were his inveterate enemies, having intelligence of this, poured down upon him and the companions of his mission, in the night in such a manner as sufficiently evinced their design of massacring them. The servants of Boniface were for repelling the barbarians by force of arms; but he opposed the motion, told them and his clergy that the moment he had long wished for was now come, and exhorted his assistants in the ministry to prepare themselves for martyrdom. While he was thus employed, the Pagans rushed in upon him, and killed him and fifty-two of his companions and attendants on June 5, A.D. 755. Thus fell the great father of the Germanic church, the honour of England, and the glory of the age in which he lived.

* * * * * * * *

FORTY-TWO PERSONS of Armorian, in Upper Phyrgia, were martyred in the year 845 by the Saracens, the circumstances of which transaction are as follow:

In the reign of Theophilus, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eastern empire, gained several considerable advantages over the Christians; and at length laid siege to the city of Armorian, The garrison bravely defended the place for a considerable time, and would, in all probability, have obliged their enemies to raise the siege, when the place was basely betrayed by a renegado. Great numbers were put to the sword; and two general officers, with some other persons of distinction, were carried prisoners to Bagdat, where they were loaded with heavy chains and thrown into a dark dungeon.

They continued in prison for a considerable time without seeing any persons but their gaolers, or receiving any allowance greater than what would barely subsist them; the bare ground was their bed, and hope their only consolation. During this time,

however, they only considered themselves as prisoners of war; but 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 a very great zeal for their welfare; and declared that he looked upon *converts* in a more glorious light than *conquests*; and the gaining of *souls* of much greater importance than subduing kingdoms. Agreeable to these maxims after they had suffered all the hardships of a dark and noisome prison, and were reduced to a state that might oblige them to accept of relief on any terms, he sent some of the most ingenious and artful of the Mahometans, with money and cloaths, and the promise of other advantages they might secure to themselves by a bare abjuration of Christianity; which, according to the corrupt casuistry of those infidels, might be made without quitting their faith. But our martyrs, well instructed in the simplicity and sincerity of the gospel, 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 their monstrous absurdities! They were desired to judge of the merits of the cause by the success of those that were engaged in it; and chuse 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. But our noble prisoners were proof against all these temptations; and argued strenuously against the authority of their false prophet. This incensed the Mahometans, and drew greater hardships upon the Christians during their confinement, which lasted seven years.

At the end of that time Boidizius; the renegado that had betrayed Armorion, brought them the welcome news of their sufferings being to conclude in martyrdom the next day: To which he added his advice to them to save their lives by dissimulation, a fault very excusable, he said, in their circumstances. But they knew what curse was denounced by Christ against such as deny him before men; and were therefore prepared to meet death in any shape, rather than commit that horrid crime.

As soon as they were brought from their dungeon, they were again solicited to embrace the tenets of Mahomnet; but neither threats nor promises, the denunciations of malice, nor allurement of rewards could induce them to forsake the true faith, or prevail on them to espouse the doctrines of an impostor.

Finding their resolution, and that their faith would not by any means be shaken, the caliph ordered them to be executed. Theodore, one of the number, had formerly received priests orders and officiated as a clergyman; but afterwards quitting the church, he had followed a military life, and raised himself by the sword to some considerable posts, which he enjoyed at the time of his being 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 naturally 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 with the world? Would you not act more conformable to your own principles, and make your conduct all of a piece, if you came to a resolution of saving your life by owning our great prophet?"

Theodore, covered with a religious confusion at this strong reproach, but still full of courage and unshaken in his faith, made the following answer: "It is true, says he, I did in some measure abandon my God when I engaged in the army, and scarce deserve the name of a Christian. But the Almighty has given me the grace to see myself in a true light, and made me sensible of my fault; and I hope he will be pleased to accept my life, as the only sacrifice I can now offer to expiate my guilt. His mercies are infinite, and therefore I have room to hope my blood may be allowed to wash

away my crimes. And in this I appeal to your own sentiments. If, in the same case, any one that had left your service, and rambled negligent of his duty for some time, should at last return and offer to lay down his life for you, would not you be inclined to forget all that was past, and receive him into your family again?"

This pious and manly answer confounded the officer, who only answered that he should presently have an opportunity of giving that proof of his zeal for, and fidelity to, his master. Upon which, Theodore and the rest, to the number of forty-two, were beheaded.

FLORA and MARY, two ladies of distinction, suffered martyrdom at the same time. Flora was the daughter of an eminent Mahometan at Seville, in Spain: from whence he removed to Corduba, where the Saracen king resided, and kept his court. Her father dying while 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. A priest of Corduba, who personally knew both her and her mother, and who wrote the account of her martyrdom, has given us the following portrait of her character:

"Flora, (says he) was a great proficient in the spiritual life at an age when little is thought of but the world and its vanities; her whole thoughts seemed turned to Jesus Christ; her whole discourse was inflamed with the divine love; God was her sole care: her fasts were rigorous; her devotion full of fervour; her concern for the poor most surprising and edifying; and the precepts of the gospel were her constant study.

Her brother being a professed enemy to Christianity, with the addition of a barbarous and savage temper, Flora was for some time obliged to use no small caution in the practice of such virtues, as must have exposed her to a domestic persecution at least. 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 its 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.

Flora being informed of these proceedings, considered herself as the cause of what the Christians had suffered at Corduba, and having an interior conviction that God called her to fight for her faith, she returned to that city, and made her way directly to the persecutors, among whom she found her brother. "If, said our glorious martyr, I am the object of your enquiry, if the servants of God are tormented on my account, I now freely offer my self to your disposal. I declare, I believe in Jesus Christ, glory in his cross, and profess the doctrine which he taught. This now is my confession; and I hope through the divine mercy that nothing you can do to me will be able to make me retract or alter it."

None of the company seemed so much enraged at this declaration as her brother, who, after some threats, struck her. This violent proceeding was followed by attempts of a softer nature; for he endeavoured to gain her by expressions of concern. and pretended kindness. Finding her equally insensible to all he could say, he then informed against her, and undertook to prove her a Christian before the judge. He insinuated that Flora had been educated in the religion of Mahomet, but had renounced it at the suggestion of some Christians, who inspired her with the utmost contempt for the great prophet. When she was called to answer to the charge, she declared she had never owned Mahomet, but sucked the Christian religion in with her milk, and was entirely devoted to the Redeemer of mankind. The magistrate, finding her resolution, delivered her to her brother, and gave him orders to use his utmost endeavours to make her a Mahometan. She, however soon found an opportunity of escaping over a wall in the night, and of secreting herself in the house of a Christian. At length she withdrew to Tucci, a village of Andalusia, where she met with her sister, and they never separated again till her martyrdom.

Mary, who was martyred at the same time, was the daughter of a Christian tradesman at Estremadura, who afterwards removed to a town near Corduba.

When the persecution began under Abderrama, king of the Saracens in Spain, Mary's brother was one who fell a victim to the rage of the Infidels on that occasion. Mary, hearing of his martyrdom, and full of a generous confusion at being left behind by one so much younger than herself, gave a free loose to her grief, which proceeded not so much from the loss of her brother, as her not being allowed to enjoy the happiness then in his possession.

Full of these thoughts, she went to Corduba, where going into a church, she found Flora, who had left her retreat on the same motive, and was there recommending herself to the author and rewarder of such Victories as Christians then gained over Infidels. Upon conversing together, and finding they acted on 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, without farther hesitation, they proceeded to the magistrate, when Flora boldly told him she looked on Mahomet as no better than a false prophet, an adulterer, and a magician.

Mary then told the magistrate that she possessed 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 much enraged the magistrate that he ordered them to be committed to close confinement for some time, and then to be beheaded: which sentence was executed on the 4th of November, A.D. 850.



FLORA and MARY, Two Young Ladies BEHEADED by the Saracens at Corduba in Spain, for professing CHRISTIANITY.

PERFECTUS was born at Corduba, in Spain, and brought up in the Christian faith. Having a quick genius, he made himself master of all the useful and polite literature of that age; and at the same time, was not more celebrated for his abilities than admired for his piety. At length he took priest's orders, and performed the duties of his office with great assiduity and punctuality.

Walking one day in the streets of Corduba, some Arabians entered into conversation with him, and among other questions, asked him his opinion both of Jesus Christ, and of Mahomet.

Perfectus gave them a very exact account of the Christian faith, respecting the divinity of Christ, and the redemption of mankind; but begged to be excused from delivering his sentiments concerning Mahomet. The Arabians pressed him to speak freely: but he declined it, saying that what he should utter would not be agreeable to their ideas, and consequently that it would be disgusting to their ears; he therefore thought best to be silent, as he wished not to offend any one. Dissatisfied with this answer, they still entreated him to speak his thoughts, declaring at the same time that they would not be offended at anything he should say.

Believing them sincere, and hoping this might be the favourable time allotted by God for their conversion, Perfectus let them know 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 placed before them some of the actions of that grand impostor; endeavoured to shew them the impious doctrines and abominable absurdities of the Alcoran: and ended with exhorting them, in very strong terms, to quit the miserable state in which they then were, and which would certainly be followed by eternal misery.

It may easily be imagined that the Infidels could not hear a discourse like this without feeling some warmth, and conceiving an indignation against the speaker. They thought proper, however, to disguise their resentments at that time, but were resolved not to let him escape without punishment. At first, indeed they were unwilling to use any violence to him, because they had given him a solemn assurance he should come to no harm for the liberty he took at their request; but zeal for their law, and its author, soon eased them of that scruple. They watched for a favourable opportunity, seized on him, hurried him away to one of their chief magistrates, and accused him of blaspheming their great prophet and legislator.

The whole allegation having been heard, the judge ordered him to be put in chains, and closely confined in prison till the feast of their Ramadan, or Lent, when he should be made a victim to Mahomet. He heard the determination of the judge with joy, and prepared for his martyrdom with great fervency.

When the time arrived, he was led to the place of execution, where he again made a confession of his faith, declared Mahomet an impostor, and insisted that the Alcoran was filled with absurdities and blasphemies. In consequence of this he was sentenced to be beheaded, and was accordingly executed, A.D. 850; after which his body was honourably interred by the Christians.

WINCESLAUS, duke of Bohemia, was brought up in the faith of Christ, for his father Wrattislaus, the preceding duke, was a valiant prince and a good Christian; but Drahomira, his mother, was a Pagan whose morals were as bad as her sentiments of religion. She consented, however, to entrust her mother, Ludmilla, with the education of her eldest son. That holy woman had resided at Prague ever since the death of Borivor, her husband, the first duke of Bohemia who embraced the faith of Christ, and Winceslaus was sent to that city, to be brought up as she pleased. Ludmilla undertook to form his heart to devotion and the love of God, and was assisted in that work by Paul, her chaplain, a man of great sanctity and prudence who likewise endeavoured to cultivate his mind with the first rudiments of learning. The mind of the young prince corresponded with their endeavours; and the grace of God, who had prepared him for their instructions, made the task very easy. At a convenient age he was sent to a college at Budweis, about sixty miles from Prague, where several young persons of the first rank were placed for their improvement in virtue and learning, and studied under the direction of an excellent master, a native of Neisse, in the duchy of Silesia.

At the death of Wrattislaus, his son Winceslaus was very young; on which account Drahomira, his mother, declared herself regent during his minority. This princess, not having anyone now to control her, gave a free vent to her rage against Christianity; and began her administration with an order for shutting up the churches. She repealed the laws in favour of the Christians and removed all magistrates of that denomination, supplying their places with Pagans. Finding themselves thus encouraged, the Pagans, upon any frivolous pretence, would murder the Christians with impunity; and if a Christian in his own defence killed a Pagan, his life, and that of nine other Christians, were to be the forfeit.

The venerable Ludmilla was sensibly touched at these proceedings; and could not without affliction, behold a religion trampled on which she professed, and which her consort had established with so much difficulty.

Ludmilla could not think of any expedient to prevent the total extirpation of Christianity in Bohemia but persuading Winceslaus, young as he was, to assume the reins of government. Winceslaus at first declined engaging in this task till maturer years had rendered him better qualified; but upon his grandmother's promising to assist him with her advice, and direct him in his conduct, he complied with her request; and to prevent all future disputes, divided the country between himself and his younger brother Bolislaw, whose name a town in, and a considerable district of that country, still retains. On this change of affairs Drahomira attached herself to Bolislaw, who, like herself was a Pagan, and followed implicitly her maxims. With respect to the behaviour of Winceslaus after his assuming the sovereignty, and the fate of the aged and worthy Ludmilla, the annuls of Bohemia furnish us with these particulars:

"Winceslaus, pursuant to the impressions of virtue which he had received from his grandmother, and others employed in his education, was more careful than ever to preserve the innocence of his morals, and acquired some new degree of perfection every day. He was as humble, sober, and chaste, when master of his own motions, and in full possession of sovereign authority, as when under the government of those on whom he was taught to look as his superiors. He spent great part of the night in prayer, and the whole day in acts of piety; directing all his views to the establishment of peace, justice and religion in his dominions. He was assisted in these charitable and truly Christian labours by able ministers; and nothing of consequence was done without the advice of Ludmilla. That excellent princess being informed that Drahomira, transported with rage at the success of her directions, had formed a design on her life, and that it would hardly be in her power to avoid the blow, was so far from being disturbed at the apprehensions of death, or desisting from what had made her odious to that wicked woman. that she exerted herself more vigorously than ever for the maintainance of religion, and confirming the prince in his resolutions.

Being now assured that her death was near, and that several persons were actually employed to dispatch her the first convenient opportunity, she called all her servants together, acknowledged their fidelity in her service with a liberal hand and distributed her goods and money among the poor. Thus divested of all she possessed in the world, she went to her chapel, received the holy eucharist, and then employed herself in prayer, recommended her soul to God, and expected his will with the utmost tranquillity and resignation. This was her situation when two ruffians entered the chapel, seized on her, and strangled her with her own veil."

The young duke felt severely for the loss of his grandmother; and the more so as he did not chuse to punish the offenders, well 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 stirred up in his dominions by means of his mother and brother, and as Winceslaus himself seemed of an unwarlike disposition, a neighbouring prince determined to invade that part of Bohemia which belonged to him. This was Radislaus, prince of Gurima, who entered Bohemia at the head of a considerable army and immediately commenced hostilities. Winceslaus, 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, and leave him at his repose.

Radislaus, mistaking the temper of Winceslaus, looked upon this message to proceed from timidity; he therefore answered in a very haughty manner, made some frivolous excuses for having commenced the quarrel, and concluded by insisting that Winceslaus should surrender to him all his dominions.

This unjust and insolent demand obliged Winceslaus to appear in arms in defence of himself and his people. He accordingly raised a considerable body of forces, and marched to oppose the enemy. When the two armies were drawn up near to each other, and ready to engage, Winceslaus desired a conference with Radislaus, which being complied with, he observed, that as it would be unreasonable and unjust to hazard the lives of so many innocent men, the most eligible method of putting an end to the dispute would be by single combat between themselves.

Radislaus heard this proposal with pleasure, and accepted it 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 was declared in favour of Winceslaus. His antagonist was obliged, according to previous agreement, to relinquish his pretended claim and retire into his own country.

Being thus freed from the fears of a foreign enemy, Winceslaus had leisure to turn his thoughts to domestic reformation. He removed corrupt judges and venal magistrates, and filled their places with persons of integrity. He put an end to oppression in all its branches, and punished such nobles as tyrannized over their vassals. These regulations, though they relieved the poor and helpless, gave great offence to the great and rich, as they abridged their power of using those who depended on them ill, and in some degree, took from them that self-importance, and assumed consequence which is the pride of little minds. Hence many became factious and ripe for mischief. The malcontents gave an odious turn to all his best actions; spoke slightingly, and even contemptibly, of his application to prayer, fasting, and other acts of religion, which they endeavoured to insinuate 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, who could not bear to see this growing prosperity of the patron of religion and enemy of idolatry; and therefore resolved to take him off at any rate. Drahomira and Bolislaw were concerting measures for executing their black design when they understood

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that Winceslaus 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 this affair did not come to a conclusion so soon as was necessary for satisfying their ambitious views, they re-assumed their criminal practices against him, and gained their ends in the following very black and treacherous manner:

Bolislaw, having been some time married, his princess proved pregnant, and at length, brought him forth a son. This circumstance, which should have diffused joy throughout the family, furnished Drahomira and Bolislaw with an idea of the most horrid nature, and the innocent infant was made the object for perpetrating a deed of unexampled cruelty. The scheme concerted between the bigoted Bolislaw and his wicked mother, was to get Winceslaus into their power. The birth of the child furnished them with a fair pretence; and a polite message was dispatched to the unsuspecting duke, to partake of an entertainment given upon the Winceslaus, not having the least surmise of their occasion. barbarous intent, repaired to the court of Bolislaw, where he was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality. He partook of the entertainment, and wore the face of festivity till it grew rather late at night, when he thought proper to retire before the rest of the company, as he was not fond of late hours, and as he never neglected his devotions to the Almighty, previous to his laving down to sleep.

As soon as he was withdrawn, Drahomira urged Bolislaw not to trust their revenge to another hand, but to follow his brother instantly, and murder him. The bloody prince took his mother's sanguinary advice, and repairing to his brother's chamber, he found him kneeling and in fervent prayer to the Almighty. Unmoved by that pious appearance, he rushed upon him and plunged a dagger into his heart. Thus, in A.D. 929, fell

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Winceslaus, the third duke of Bohemia, by as infernal an act of treachery as ever was recorded in the annals of any nation.

ADALBERT, bishop of Prague, was a Bohemian by birth. His parents were persons of rank, but more distinguished for their virtue and piety than for their opulence or lineage. They were happy in a son whose dawning perfections gave them a pleasing hope that he would one day become a shining ornament to his family. That he might fulfil their expectations, they 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 he was effectually cured, they sent him to Magdaburg, and committed him to the care of the archbishop of that city, who completed his education and confirmed him in piety and virtue. 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 for his amiable pupil.

Having spent nine years at Magdaburg, 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 expiring moments, expressed such contrition for having been ambitious, and solicitous of worldly honours and riches, as surprised every one who heard it. Adalbert, who was among the number present, was so sensibly affected at the bishop's dying sentiments that he received them as an admonition to the strict practice of virtue, which he afterwards exercised with the greatest attention, spending his time in prayer, and relieving the poor with a chearful liberality.

A few days 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 quality of Bohemia. Adalbert's character for every virtue that important post required soon determined them to raise him to the vacant see, which they did on the 19th of February

983. Messengers were immediately dispatched to Verona, to desire Otho II. would confirm the election. The emperor granted the request, ordered Adalbert to repair to court for investiture, gave him the ring and crosier, and then sent him to the archbishop of Mentz for consecration. That ceremony was performed on the twenty-ninth of June the same year; and he was received at Prague with all possible demonstrations of public joy. He divided the revenue of his see into four parts, according to the direction of the canons extant in the fifth century. The first was employed in the fabric and ornaments of the church; the second went to the maintenance of the clergy; the third was laid out for the relief of the poor and the fourth reserved for the support of himself and family; which was always made to include twelve indigent persons to whom he allowed daily subsistence.

He now performed his duty with the utmost assiduity, and spent a great portion of his time in preaching to and exhorting the people. His conduct was discreet and humane; and his manner neither too severe nor too indulgent; so that his flock were not terrified into despair, or flattered into presumption. But some things which he could not remedy gave him great uneasiness, particularly the having a plurality of wives, and selling the Christians to the Jews for trivial offences. Hence he determined to consult the pope, and made a journey to Rome. Accordingly, John, who then sat in the papal chair, received him with great cordiality, and having heard his grievance, advised him to give up his bishopric, rather than be the 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, poverty and silence;* which design he began by giving all his treasures to the

^{* [}CHCoG: Mortification is often self-inflicted punishment, which is utterly unbiblical. Nor is silence a recommended Biblical Christian practice, though both these were popular in many pagan religions. Only poverty has any Biblical endorsement, but even that is not a necessary practice.]

poor. He was, however, before he entirely secluded himself from mankind,* desirous of seeing the Holy Land and set off accordingly, with three persons in his company.

On their way they arrived at Mount Cassino; where the heads of the monastery of that place received them in a very friendly manner, and entertained them as well as the rules of their order would admit. Being apprized of the cause of their journey, when they were about to depart the superior of the monastery addressed himself to Adalbert, and observed to him that the journey he had undertaken would give him more trouble and uneasiness than he was aware of, that the frequent desire of changing place and travelling, often proceeded more from a restless disposition and eager curiosity, than real religion, or solid devotion. "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 listened attentively, and came readily into the sentiments of the superior, which soon determined him to take up his residence in that monastery, where he then thought he might live entirely recluse, and being unknown, might pass unhonoured to the grave. But in the latter particular he was mistaken; for the priests, by accident, coming to a knowledge of the rank and former dignity of their colleague, began to treat him with great deference and respect, which occasioned him to leave the place.

Nilus, a Grecian, was then at the head of a community not far from Mount Cassino; Adalbert made his way to him, and begged to be received into his monastery. He assured him he would willingly comply with his request, if he thought the rule and

^{* [}CHCoG: Nor is isolating oneself for extended periods a recommended Biblical practice. We are to live as models of righteousness in our communities and preach the Gospel, not hide ourselves away (Mark 16:15, Luke 10:1 to 9, 1 Cor 9:16-18, 1 Tim 4:12). Again, it is another pagan practice which has only the appearance of spirituality (Colossians 2:20 to 23).]

practice of his religious family would be agreeable to a stranger; besides which, 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. When Nilus had thus excused himself, he advised him to return to Rome, and apply himself to Leo, an abbot of his acquaintance there, to whom he gave a letter of recommendation. Adalbert went to Rome, where he found Leo, who, before he would admit him, put his virtue and courage to proper trials by speaking roughly to him, and giving him a terrible account of the labours and severities of the state in which he desired to engage. But, finding his resolution was not moved or weakened by the prospect of the most austere mortifications, he conducted him to the pope, and with the consent of that pontiff and the whole college of cardinals, gave him the habit on Holy Thursday in the year 990. We have already said that he had been attended only by three select persons ever since he had the pope's advice for resigning his bishopric; two of them left him now; but the third, who was his own brother Gaudentius, followed his example, and engaged in the same community. Adalbert, full of the most profound humility, took a particular pleasure in the lowest employments of the house, and lived there an excellent pattern of Christian simplicity and obedience.

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

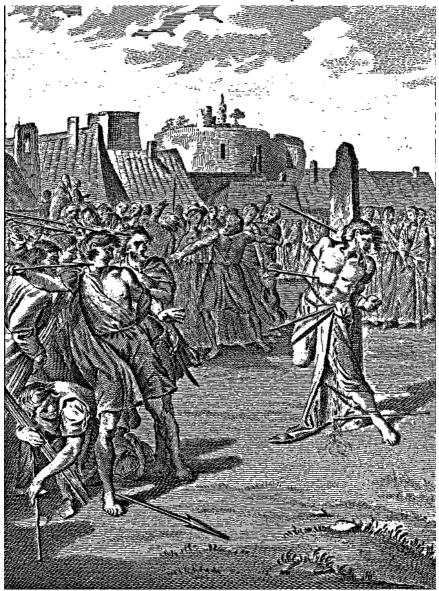
The archbishop of Mentz sent another deputation to Rome; and desired that his suffragan might be again ordered back to his diocese. Gregory V. who was then pope; commanded him to return to Prague; and he obeyed, though with great reluctance.

The Bohemians, however, did not look upon him as before, but deemed him the censor of their faults, and the enemy to 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 could 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 farther concern for that church, and began to direct his thoughts to the conversion of infidels; to which end he repaired to Dantzick, where he converted and baptized many, which so enraged the Pagan priests that they fell upon him, and dispatched him with darts, on the 23d of April, A.D. 997.

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ADALBERT, BISHOP OF PRAGUE Murdered with Darts in the City of Dantzick by the Pagans.

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Persecutions in the Eleventh Century.

ALPHAGE, archbishop of Canterbury, was descended from a considerable family in Glocestershire, and received an education suitable to his illustrious birth. His parents were worthy Christians, and Alphage seemed to inherit all their virtues. He was prudent and humble, pious and chaste: he made a rapid progress both in polite literature and scripture learning, and was at once the admired scholar and devout Christian. He strove to make the arts useful to the purposes of life, and to render philosophy subservient to the cause of religion. In order to be more at leisure to contemplate the divine perfections, he determined to renounce his fortune, quit home, and become a recluse. He accordingly retired to a monastery of Benedictines at Deerhurst, in Glocestershire, and soon after took the habit.

Considering that the principal business of a Christian was to subdue his passions, and mortify his appetites, he lived with the utmost temperance, and spent the greatest part of his time in But not thinking the austerities he underwent in this prayer. monastery sufficiently severe, he retired to a lonely cell near Bath, and lived in a manner still more rigid and mortifying. Here he thought to remain unknown, but some devout persons finding out his retreat, his austere life soon became the subject of conversation in the neighbouring villages, where many flocked to him, and begged to be taken under his pastoral care. He yielded to their importunities, raised a monastery near his 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 beloved cell, fervently wishing to pass the remainder of his days in religious security; when the following affair once more drew him from his retreat:

The see of Winchester being vacant by the death of Ethelwold, it was no easy matter to agree upon the choice of 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 hot, and vigorously set upon promoting each their own man. This dispute at last ran so high that Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, as primate of all England was obliged to interpose in the affair, who consecrated Alphage to the vacant bishopric, to the general satisfaction of all concerned in the election, or interested in the affair.

Alphage's behaviour was a sufficient 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 church of Winchester recovered its lustre in such a manner as made the bishop the admiration of the whole kingdom. Dunstan had an extraordinary veneration for Alphage, and when at the point of death, made it his ardent request to God that he might succeed him in the see of Canterbury; which accordingly happened, though not till about eighteen years after Dunstan's death. In the course of that period the metropolitan church was governed by three successive prelates; the last of whom was Alfrick; upon whose decease, in 1006, Alphage was raised to the see of Canterbury.

The people belonging to the diocese of Winchester were the only persons who did not sincerely rejoice at his promotion; for they were too sensible of the loss they sustained by his translation, not to regret his removal to Canterbury.

Soon after his being made archbishop he went to Rome and received the pall from pope John XVIII. and after his return to England, laboured assiduously to introduce the best regulations into the church. After ALPHAGE had governed the see of Canterbury about four years, with great reputation to himself and benefit to his people, the Danes made an incursion into England. Ethelred,* who then reigned, was a prince of a very weak understanding, and pusillanimous disposition. Too fearful to face the enemy himself, and too irresolute to furnish others with the means of acting in his stead, he suffered his country to be ravaged with impunity, and the greatest depredations to be committed at the option of his enemies.

The archbishop Alphage, upon this trying occasion, 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 a sufficient quantity of 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 determined them to be revenged on him for occasioning a change in the sentiments of their companions. Edric, an English malcontent, and an infamous traitor, gave the Danes every encouragement, and even assisted them in laying siege to Canterbury. When the design of attacking this city was known, many of the principal people made a precipitate flight from it, and would have persuaded Alphage to follow their example. But he, like a good pastor, would not listen to such a proposal: he assured them he could not think of abandoning his flock at a time when his presence was more necessary than ever, and was resolved to hazard his life in their defence, at this calamitous juncture. While he was employed in assisting and encouraging his people, Canterbury was taken by

^{*} The reader, by perusing the *New and Authentic History of England* from the most remote period of genuine historical evidence to the present time, by William Augustus Russel, Esq; will not only find a full, ample, and interesting account of this incursion of the Danes into England but of every other invasion of this country, whether by Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans, French, or Spaniards.

storm; the enemy poured into the town, and destroyed all that came in their way, by fire and sword. The monks did what they could to detain the archbishop in the church, where they hoped he might be safe. But his concern for his flock made him break from them and run into the midst of the danger. He had the courage to address the enemy, and offer himself to their swords as more worthy of their rage than the people. He begged they might be saved, and that they would discharge their whole fury on him. They accordingly seized him, tied his hands, insulted, and abused him in a rude and barbarous manner; and obliged him to remain on the spot till his church was burnt and the monks massacred. They then decimated all the inhabitants, both ecclesiastics and laymen, leaving only only every tenth person alive; so they put 7,236 persons to death, and left only four monks and 800 laymen alive: after which they confined the archbishop in a dungeon, where they kept him a close prisoner for several months.

During his confinement, they proposed to him to redeem his liberty with the sum of 3,000£ and to persuade the king to purchase their departure out of the kingdom, with a further sum of 10,000£. Alphage's circumstances would not allow him to satisfy the exorbitant demand: they bound him, and put him to severe torments, to oblige him to discover the treasure of his church, upon which they assured him of his life and liberty. The prelate knew that what they insisted on was the inheritance of the poor; not to be thrown away upon the barbarous enemies of the Christian religion; and therefore persisted in refusing to give them any account of it. They remanded him to prison again, confined him six days longer, and then taking him with them to Greenwich, brought him to a trial there.

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 usage patiently, and even prayed for his persecutors. One

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of the soldiers who had been converted and baptized by him was greatly afflicted, that his pains should be so lingering, as he knew his death was determined on. He therefore, with the fury of a desperate zeal, and a kind of barbarous compassion, cut off his head, and thus put the finishing stroke to his martyrdom, on April 19, A.D. 1012.

This transaction happened on the very spot where the Church at Greenwich, which is dedicated to him, now stands. After his death his body was thrown into the Thames, but being found the next day, it was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's by the bishops of London and Lincoln; from whence it was, in the year 1023, removed to Canterbury by Æthelmoth, the archbishop of that province.

GERARD, a Venetian, devoted himself to the service of God from his tender years; entered into a religious house for some time, and then determined to visit the Holy Land. Going into Hungary, he became acquainted with Stephen, the king of that country, who, at once, acted the parts of prince and preacher, and not only regulated his subjects by wholesome laws, but taught them religious duties. Finding Gerard every way qualified to instruct his people, he tried by every means to detain him in his kingdom; and at length, founding several churches, he made Gerard bishop of that of Chonad.

Gerard had a very difficult task to perform; the people of his diocese were fond of, and accustomed to, idolatry; and their perverseness was equal to their immorality. The new bishop, however, assiduous in his charge, and full of zeal for the salvation of his flock, laboured diligently to bring them to a sense of their duty. He soon had the pleasure to find that his endeavours were not unsuccessful, for his sweetness of disposition won upon the people so much that they could not help believing one whom they loved, or of placing a confidence in the doctrines of a man they had such great reason to reverence.

His conquests over idolatry were 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 faith made its way by his ministry, he took care to establish ecclesiastical discipline for the preservation of religion, and made several useful regulations in the public service of the church. His exemplary conduct was at least as instructive as his sermons and exhortations, and went a great way in convincing his converts of the truth and dignity of their new profession; for who could doubt of the excellency of a religion that raised him above the weakness and vile passions of human nature; and appeared divine, by placing him at a distance from all that flatters or decieves the senses?

He visited his diocese, and was remarkable for an uncommon tenderness for the poor, especially such as had the misfortune of sickness, or were incapable of following their accustomed employments.

During the life of Stephen, Gerard received every kind of assistance which that excellent monarch could afford him, but on the demise of Stephen, his nephew Peter, who succeeded him, was of so different a temper that Gerard was greatly perplexed during his government.

At length, the tyranny of Peter exasperated his subjects so much against him, that they deposed him, and placed Ouvo on the throne. They, however, soon found that they had changed from bad to worse; for Ouvo proved a greater monster of cruelty than his predecessor. At Easter Ouvo repaired to Chonad, in order to receive the crown from the hands of Gerard. When he arrived at the place, the other prelates of the kingdom who were assembled upon that solemn occasion, assured the prince of their affections for his person; and promised to concur in his coronation; but Gerard absolutely refused to pay that compliment to a public and malicious enemy; and took the liberty of letting the intruder know that he could not look on Peter's exclusion as regular, and

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consequently should not proceed to do anything to the prejudice of his title. He then told him that if he persisted in his usurpation, the Divine Providence would soon put an end to his life and reign. Ouvo, growing more insupportable than his predecessor; was brought to the scaffold in the year 1044; upon which Peter was recalled, and placed on the throne a second time; but his deposition and retirement had made no alteration in his temper, so that he was again deprived of the royal dignity after two years possession.

Andrew, son of Ladislaus, cousin-german to Stephen, had then a tender of the crown made him, upon condition that he would employ his authority in extirpating the Christian religion out of Hungary. The ambitious prince came into the proposal, and promised to do his utmost in re-establishing the idolatrous worship of his deluded ancestors. Gerard, being informed of this impious bargain, thought his duty obliged him to remonstrate against the enormity of Andrew's crime, and persuade him to withdraw his promise. In this view he undertook to go to that prince, attended by three other prelates, full of a like zeal for religion. The new king was at Alba Regalis, but as the four bishops were going to cross the Danube, they were stopped by a party of soldiers posted there by order of a man of quality in the neighbourhood, remarkable for his aversion to the Christian religion, and to Stephen's memory. They bore an attack with a shower of stones patiently, when the soldiers proceeding to greater outrages, beat them unmercifully, and at length dispatched them with lances. Their martyrdoms happened in the year 1045.

STANISLAUS, bishop of Cracow, was descended from an illustrious Polish family. The piety of his parents was equal to their opulence, and the latter they rendered subservient to all the purposes of charity and benevolence. Stanislaus was their only child and consequently the sole object of their parental affection. When he was of a proper age, they employed masters in several branches of learning to instruct him, and were happy to find that

his rapid improvement fully answered their most sanguine expectations. He had a penetrating genius, retentive memory, and solid understanding; hence study became his amusement, learning his delight, and books his beloved companions. Nor was his disposition inferior to his abilities; he was modest, mild, candid and grave, temperate in his meals, and moderate in his sleep; he voluntarily gave himself, in the dawn of youth, to such austerities as might have given reputation to a professed hermit. Having pursued his studies at home for some years, he was sent to a seminary of learning in Poland and afterwards to the university of Paris, that his education might be completed in that celebrated seat of literature. After continuing seven years at Paris, he returned to his own country, and on the demise of his parents became possessed of a plentiful fortune. Sensible that riches constituted no part of a Christian's happiness, any farther than as they enabled him to assist the needy; he devoted most of his property to charitable uses, retaining only a small portion for his own sustenance

His views were now solely directed to the ministry; but he remained for some time undetermined, whether he should embrace a monastic life, or engage among the secular clergy. He was at length persuaded to the latter by Lambert Zola, bishop of Cracow, who gave him holy orders, and made him a canon of his cathedral. In this capacity he lived in a most pious and exemplary manner, and performed the duties of his function with unremitting assiduity and fervent devotion. Lambert could not help being charmed with the many virtues which so particularly distinguished Stanislaus, and would fain have resigned his bishopric to him. The reason he alledged for such resignation was his great age, but Stanislaus absolutely refused to accept of the see, for the contrary reason, viz, his want of years, for being then only thirty-six years old, he deemed that too early a time of life for a man to undertake the important care of a diocese. Lambert, however, made him his substitute upon various occasions, by which he became thoroughly

acquainted with all that related to the bishopric. Lambert died on November. 25, A.D. 1071, when all concerned in the choice of a successor declared for Stanislaus. But his former objection remained, and on account of his age, he declined the acceptance of the prelacy.

Determined however to conquer his scruples, the king, clergy and nobility unanimously joined in writing to pope Alexander II. who at their entreaty sent an express order that Stanislaus should accept the bishopric. Thus commanded, he obeyed, and exerted himself to the utmost in the improvement of his flock. He was equally careful with: respect to the clergy and laity; and exhorted the former to shew a good example, as much as he did the latter to imitate it. He kept a list of all the poor in his diocese, and by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and administrating remedies to the sick, he proved himself not only the godly pastor, but the bodily physician, and generous benefactor.

Bolislaus, the second king of Poland, had, by nature, many good qualities, but giving way too much to his passions, he ran into many enormities. He daily grew worse and worse, and from being deemed a good king, at length had the appellation of CRUEL bestowed on him. The nobility were shocked at his conduct, but did not care to speak to him concerning it, and the clergy saw his proceedings with grief, but were afraid to reprehend him. Stanislaus alone had the courage to tell him of his faults. When taking a private opportunity, he freely displayed to him the enormity of his crimes.

The king was greatly exasperated at this freedom, but, awed by the virtues of the bishop, dissembled his resentment, and appearing to be convinced of his errors, promised to reform his conduct. So far however from designing to perform his promise, he complained to some of his sycophants of the freedom that Stanislaus had taken with him; and they, to flatter his folly, 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 violated her by compulsion. This greatly alarmed all the nobility; none knew how long his own wife, daughter, or sister might be safe; and each dreaded for the peace of his family. They, at length, assembled together, and calling the clergy to their assistance, entreated Peter, archbishop of Gresne, to remonstrate to the king on the impropriety and viciousness of his conduct; adding that it was more particularly his business so to do, as primate of Poland.

The archbishop, however, declined the dangerous talk; for though a man of some virtue, he was of a disposition uncommonly timid. Several other prelates sheltered themselves behind his refusal, and gave their fear the name of modesty, which would not permit them to undertake what their metropolitan had thought too great for his abilities. Stanislaus alone was, as before, the only one who had courage and zeal sufficient to perform what he looked upon as a most important and 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 and serious manner, and fully represented the heinousness of his crimes, and what would be the fatal consequences of his debaucheries.

The king had scarce patience to hear him out; and as soon as he had done speaking, flew into a violent passion, at once complaining of the want of respect to his royal dignity, and vowing 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 so much exasperated the king, that he knew not how to contain himself.



STANISLAUS, BISHOP OF CRACOW Murdered at the ALTAR by BOLESLAUS, King of Poland.

The nobility and clergy, finding that the admonitions of the bishop had not the desired effect upon the king, thought proper to interpose between them. The nobility entreated the bishop to restrain from any more exasperating a monarch of so ferocious and untractable a temper; and the clergy endeavoured to persuade the king not to be offended with Stanislaus for his charitable remonstrances. Neither, however, succeeded, for the king remained as obstinate, and the bishop as zealous, as ever. The haughty sovereign at length determined, at any rate, to get rid of a prelate, who, in his opinion, was so extremely troublesome. Hearing one day 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 soldiers readily undertook the bloody task; but when they came into the presence of Stanislaus, the venerable aspect of the prelate struck them with such awe that they could not perform what they had promised. On their return, the king, finding they had not obeyed his orders, stormed at them violently, snatched a dagger from one of them, and ran furiously to the chapel, where, finding Stanislaus at the altar, he plunged the weapon to his heart. The prelate immediately expired, on the 8th day of May, in the year 1079, receiving a crown of martyrdom as a reward for his zeal, and being numbered among the glorified saints whose blessedness is described in Revelations, Chap. vii. v.13, &c. which passage has been rendered, by a learned divine, into English verse

I.

What happy men, or angels these, That all their robes are spotless white? Whence did this glorious troop arrive, At the pure realms of heavenly light?

II.

The New Book of Martyrs

From torturing racks, and burning fires, And seas of their own blood, they came; But nobler blood has washed their robes, Flowing from Christ, their dying lamb.

III.

Now they approach the Almighty's throne, With loud hosannas night and day; Sweet anthems to the Three, Measure their blessed eternity.

IV.

No more shall hunger pain their souls, He bids their parching thirst be gone, And spreads the shadow of his wings, To screen them from the scorching sun.

V.

The lamb that fills the throne, Shall shed around his milder beams; There shall they feast on his rich love, And drink full joys from living streams.

VI.

Thus shall their mighty bliss renew, Thro' the vast round of endless years; And the soft hand of sovereign grace Heals all their wounds, and wipes their tears.



BOOK IV.

Of the Persecutions in FRANCE

POPERY having brought various innovations into the church and overspread the Christian world with darkness and superstition, some few who plainly perceived the pernicious tendency of such errors, determined to shew the light of the gospel in its real purity, and to disperse those clouds which artful priests had raised about it, in order to blind the people, and obscure its real brightness.*

The principal among these was Berengarius, who, about the year 1000, boldly preached gospel truths according to their primitive purity. Many, from conviction, assented to his doctrine, and were, on that account, called Berengarians. To Berengarius succeeded Peter Bruis, who preached at Thoulouse, under the protection of an earl named Hildephonsus: and the whole tenets of the reformers, with the reasons of their reparations from the church of Rome, were published in a book written by Bruis, under the title of *Antichrist*.

^{* [}CHCoG: Indeed, the Roman Church was taken over by infiltrators from the Babylonian Mystery Religion shortly after the death of the Apostles, and progressively replaced Biblical Christianity with their rebadged paganism, and spread their poison to many other churches. There were objectors to their adulterations the entire time, and those who insisted on continuing in the teachings of the Apostles; such as despising idols, keeping the seventh-day Sabbath and the Biblical Annual Holy Days of Leviticus 23 holy and rejecting their changing the days of Jesus's death and resurrection, all prophesied in Daniel 7:25. They were driven from their churches, and soon were being murdered by these supposed Christians, and persecuted more and more openly as time passed. Berengarius and the other reformed inherited many of their beliefs from these scattered 'heretics'.]

By the year of Christ 1140, the number of the reformed was very great, and the probability of it encreasing alarmed the pope, who wrote to several princes to banish them from their dominions, and employed many 'learned' men to write against their doctrines.

A.D. 1147, Henry of Thoulouse, being deemed their most eminent preacher, they were called Henericians; and as they would not admit of any proofs relative to religion but what could be deduced from the scriptures themselves, the popish party gave them the name of Apostolics. At length, PETER WALDO, or VALDO, a native of Lyons, became a strenuous opposer of popery; and from him the reformed, at that time, received the appellation of Waldenses, or Waldovs.

Peter Waldo was a man eminent for his learning, piety, and benevolence; so that his doctrines were admired by great numbers, and he was followed by multitudes. The bishop of Lyons, taking umbrage at the freedom with which he treated the pope and the Romish clergy, sent to admonish him to restrain, in future, from such discourses. To which message Waldo returned this reply: "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."

Waldo's principal accusations against the pope and popery were that the Roman catholics affirm the church of Rome to be the only infallible church of Christ upon earth; and that the pope is its head, and the vicar of Christ: that they hold the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, insisting that the bread and wine given in the sacrament becomes the very identical body and blood of Christ which was nailed to the cross:* that they believe there is a place

^{* [}CHCoG: The papacy has never been able to fully suppress objection to this bizarre doctrine, but they must maintain it as it pretends to show the supernatural power of their clergy. As two examples, Johannes Erigena (also called Johannes Scotus by the French, as he was Scottish), wrote a treatise against transubstantiation and prayers for the dead in the mass in 869, for which he was martyred in Meldum, England in 883. Bruno, Bishop of Angiers, and Berengarius, his deacon, were condemned

called purgatory, where the souls of persons, after this life, are purged from the sins of mortality; and that the pains and penalties inflicted there may be abated according to the masses said by and the money paid to—the priests: that they teach the communion of one kind, or the receiving the wafer only, is sufficient for the lay-people, though the clergy must be indulged with both bread and wine; that they pray to the Virgin Mary and saints, though their prayers ought to be immediately to God: that they pray for souls departed, though God decides their fate immediately on the decease of the person: that they will not perform the service of the church in a language understood by the people in general: that they place their devotion in the number of prayers, and not in the intent of the heart; that they forbid marriage to the clergy, though God allowed it; and that they use many things in baptism, though Christ used only water.

Pope Alexander the Third, being informed of these transactions, excommunicated Waldo and his adherents, and commanded the bishop of Lyons to exterminate them, if possible, from the face of the earth; and hence began the papal persecutions against the Waldenses.

in different councils, through the Roman Pope, on account of their views against infant baptism, transubstantiation, the mass, etc.; the first time in A.D. 1050, both together; the second time in A.D. 1079, Berengarius alone. (See *The Bloody Theatre* for details.)]

CHAP. I.

The Persecutions of the Waldenses.

BEFORE we describe the sufferings and martyrdom of the Waldenses, it is necessary to shew their tenets, which will explain how, and for what reason, they differed from the church of Rome:

- 1. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptism [CHCoG: And only persons who understand and believe are to be baptised, and by immersion.]
- 2. That prayers used over things inanimate, [including communion wafers,] are superstitious.
- 3. [Rome's holy days are unbiblical, therefore] Flesh may be eaten in Lent.
- 4. The clergy may marry.
- 5. Auricular confession is unnecessary.
- 6. Confirmation is not a sacrament.
- 7. We are not bound to pay obedience to the pope.
- 8. Ministers should live upon tythes.
- 9. No dignity sets one clergyman above another, for their superiority can only be drawn from real worth.
- 10. Images in churches are absurd, as image worship is idolatry.
- 11. The pope's indulgences are ridiculous.
- 12. The miracles pretended to be done by the church of Rome are false.
- 13. Fornication and public slews [brothels] ought not to be allowed.
- 14. Purgatory is a fiction.
- 15. Deceased persons, called saints, ought not to be prayed to [including Mary].
- 16. Extreme unction is not a sacrament.

- 17. Masses, indulgences and prayers are of no service to the dead.
- 18. The Lord's prayer ought to be the rule of all other prayers.

Waldo himself remained three years undiscovered in Lyons, though the utmost diligence was used to apprehend him. Being, however, greatly beloved, he was not betrayed; but at length found an opportunity of escaping from the place of his concealment to the mountains of Dauphiny. Waldo soon after found means to propagate his doctrines in Dauphiny and Piccardy, which so exasperated Philip, king of France, that he put the latter province, as the most obnoxious of the two, under military execution; destroying above three hundred gentlemen's seats, erasing some walled towns, burning many of the reformed, and driving others into Flanders* and Germany.

Notwithstanding these persecutions, the reformed religion seemed to flourish; and the Waldenses, in various parts, became more numerous than ever. Hence the pope accused them of heresy, and the monks with immorality; the first asserting that they had fallen into many errors, and the latter that they committed many bad practices. These slanders they refuted in a modest publication which at once defended the purity of their doctrines, and the piety of their lives.

The pope, incensed at their encrease, 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.

^{*} Many of the Waldenses were persecuted in the places to which they fled for refuge; particularly at Mayence. Thirty-five burgesses were burnt in one fire, and eighteen in another; at Strasburgh eighty were burnt; and even at Oxford several who had fled to England were put to death.

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, and punished accordingly.

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.

Notwithstanding all the cruelties of the papists, the reformed ministers preached boldly against the Romish church; and Peter Waldo, in particular, wherever he went asserted:

- 1. That the Pope was Antichrist.
- 2. Mass was an abomination.
- 3. The host was an idol.
- 4. Purgatory was a fable.

These proceedings of Waldo, and the reformed, occasioned the first rise of Inquisitors; for Pope Innocent III. authorized certain MONKS as INQUISITORS to enquire for, and deliver over, the reformed to the secular power. The monks greatly abused this authority; for upon the least surmise or information, they 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 candid trial was never granted to the accused.

The pope finding that these cruel means had not the intended effect, determined to try others of a more rational and mild nature. To this end he sent several learned monks to preach among the Waldenses, and to endeavour to argue them out of their opinions. Among these monks was one Dominic, who appeared extremely zealous in the cause of popery. This Dominic instituted an order, which from him was called the order of Dominican Friars; and the members of this order have ever since been the principal inquisitors in the various inquisitions in the world.

The power of the inquisitors was unlimited; they proceeded against whom they pleased, without any consideration of age, sex, or rank. Let the accusers be ever so infamous, the accusation was deemed valid; and even anonymous informations sent by letter was thought sufficient evidence. To be rich was a crime equal to heresy: therefore many who had money were accused of heresy, or of being favourers of heretics, that they might be obliged to pay for their opinions. The dearest friends or nearest kindred could not, without danger, serve any one who was imprisoned on account of religion. To convey to those who were confined a little straw, or give them a cup of water, was called favouring of the heretics, and they were prosecuted accordingly.

No lawyer dared to plead even for his own brother, or notary register anything 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 in order to be burnt, as examples to the living. If a man on his death-bed was accused of being a follower of Waldo, his estates were confiscated, and the heir to them 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.

ENRAUDUS, a knight, being accused of embracing the opinions of Waldo, was delivered to the secular power and burnt at Paris, A.D. 1261. About the year 1228 such numbers of the reformed were apprehended that the archbishops of Aix, Aries and Narbonne took compassion on them, and thus expressed themselves to the inquisitors. "We hear that you have apprehended such a multitude of the Waldenses that it is not only impossible to

defray the charge of their food 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 the seventh, to search for and punish the Waldenses in Aix, Arles, Ambrune, Vienne, Geneva, Ambone, Savoy, Venice, Orange and Avignon.

Boralli opened his commission at Ambrune and summoned all the inhabitants to appear before him. Those who appeared and were found to be of the reformed religion were immediately 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 their effects, however, they provided well for the sons of the church; for the clergy had two thirds of every man's property who was condemned, and the secular power only one third. All the reformed inhabitants of the other places named in the commission of this ecclesiastic were equal sufferers; for devastations marked his journey, and his footsteps might be traced in blood.

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 many, and drove others into the Alps, where great numbers were frozen to death, it being in the depth of winter.

In A.D. 1460 a prosecution was carried on in Dauphiny against the Waldenses by the archbishop of Ambrune, 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 papists expressed compassion or pity for the inoffensive people who were so cruelly treated, they were sure to be accused of favouring the Waldenses, and to be punished for commiserating the miseries of their fellow creatures. At length Vayleti's proceedings became so intolerable, that a great number of the papists themselves wrote a petition against him to Lewis, the eleventh king of France. The monarch, on receiving this petition,

granted the request of the petitioners, and sent an express order to the governor of Dauphiny to stop the persecution.

Vayleti, however, by the order of the archbishop, still continued the persecution; 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 A.D. 1487.

Pope Innocent the eighth, A.D. 1488, determined to persecute the Waldenses. To this end he sent one Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, to France. When Albert arrived in Dauphiny, he craved the assistance of the king's lieutenant to exterminate the Waldenses from the valley of Loyfe. The lieutenant very readily granted his assistance, and marched a body of troops to the place. When they arrived at the valley, they found that it had been deserted by the inhabitants, who had retired to the mountains, and hid themselves in caves, caverns, &c. The arch-deacon and lieutenant immediately followed them with the troops, and catching many, they cast them headlong from precipices, by which they were dashed to pieces. Several, however, retired to the farther parts of the caverns, and knowing the intricacies better than the troops, they were able to conceal themselves. The arch-deacon and lieutenant, not being able to come at them, ordered the mouths of the caves to be filled with faggots, which being lighted, those within were suffocated. On the caves being afterwards searched, 400 infants were found stifled, either in their cradles or their mother's arms; and upon the whole, about 3,000 men, women, and children were destroyed in this persecution.

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

In 1594, Anthony Fabri, and Christopher de Salience, having a commission to persecute the Waldenses of Dauphiny, put some to death, sequestered the estates of others and confiscated the goods and chattels of many; but Lewis the Twelfth coming to the crown in 1598, on the decease of his predecessor, the Waldenses petitioned him for a restitution of their properties. The king determined to have the affair impartially canvassed, and to this end sent a commissioner of his own, together with a commissary from the pope to make the proper enquiries. The witnesses against the Waldenses having been examined, the innocence of these poor people evidently appeared, and the king's commissioner in particular declared, "that he only desired to be as good a Christian as the worst of them."

When this favourable report was made to the king, he immediately gave orders that the Waldenses should have their property restored to them. The archbishop of Ambrune, having the greatest quantity of those poor people's goods, it was generally imagined that he would set a laudable example to others by being the first to restore them. The archbishop, however, to the surprize of the people in general, and to the affliction of the Waldenses in particular, declared that he could not restore any of the property alluded to, for they were incorporated with and become part of his archbishopric itself. He, however, with an affectation of some small degree of candour, offered to relinquish several vineyards, of which he had dispossessed the Waldenses, provided, at the same time, the lords of Dauphiny would restore all they had taken from those poor people. This the lords absolutely refused, for they were as fond of keeping their ill-got plunder as the archbishop himself.

The Waldenses finding by these mean subterfuges and unjust proceedings that they were not likely to recover any of their property without something farther being done, again appealed to

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the king. 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, or consistent with the respect due to the pontiff." This plea was allowed to be reasonable; an application was ineffectually made to the pope to remove the sentence of excommunication; for the archbishop, supposing this would be the case, had used all his interest at the court of Rome to prevent such an application from succeeding. Thus were the poor Waldenses robbed of their property, only because they would not sacrifice their consciences to the will of their inhuman persecutors.

The Waldenses, having spread from Dauphiny into several other provinces, became very numerous in Provence. At their first arrival Provence was almost a desart, but by their great industry it sood abounded with corn, wine, oil, fruit, &c. The pope, by being often near them at his seat at Avignon, heard occasionally many things concerning their differing from the church of Rome. His intelligence greatly exasperated him, and he determined to have them persecuted on account of their religious tenets. Proceeding to some extremities under the sanction of his ecclesiastical authority, only without consulting the king of France, the latter became alarmed, and sent his master of requests, and his confessor to examine into the affair. On their return, they reported that the Waldenses were not such dangerous or bad people as they had been represented; that they lived with perfect honesty, were friendly to all, hurt none, caused their children to be baptized, had them taught the Lord's prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments; expounded the Scriptures with purity, kept the Lord's day sacred, feared God, 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 accordingly.

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 to be Waldenses, they were ordered to be burnt, their families outlawed, their habitations laid waste, and the woods that surrounded the town to be cut down, two hundred paces each way; 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 exercised.

The president of Opede sent several companies of soldiers to burn some villages that were occupied by protestants, which they performed; and without the least respect to sex or age, murdered the men immediately, ravished the women, cut off the breasts of mothers, and then suffered the infants to famish, &c. &c. The president likewise proclaimed that none should give any manner of assistance, or sustenance to the Waldenses.

Going to another small town, the president found there only a boy, who had surrendered himself to a soldier, for the other inhabitants had 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.

After this tragedy the president marched against Cabrieres, and began to cannonade it. At this time there were not above sixty poor peasants, with their families, in the town; and they sent him word that he need not expend powder and shot upon the place, as they were willing to open the gates and surrender, provided they might be permitted to retire, with their families, to Geneva or Germany. This was promised them; but the gates were no sooner opened, than the president ordered all the men to be cut to pieces; which cruel command was executed with the utmost barbarity.

Several women and children were crammed into a large barn, which was set fire to and everyone perished in the flames. Other women and children, having taken refuge in a church, the president ordered one of his officers to go in and kill them all: the captain, at first, refused, saying, "Such unnecessary cruelty is unbecoming a military man." The president, being displeased at this reply, said, "I charge you on pain of being accused of mutiny, immediately to obey my orders." When the captain, afraid of the consequences of such a reply, thought it proper to comply, and make a sacrifice of humanity to the fear of military punishment.

The president then sent a detachment of his troops to ravage the town of Costa, which design was accomplished with the greatest barbarity, and cruelties were exercised, shocking both to modesty and nature.

At length the judgment of God overtook this monster of cruelty, the president; for he was at once 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 them on any other person. He then took an occasion to reprehend him for his cruelties, and told him that unless he repented, he might expect that the hand of heaven would fall still heavier upon him. On hearing these words, the president flew into a violent passion, and ordered his attendants to seize upon the surgeon as an heretic.

The surgeon was seized, but found means to escape, and soon after the president's disorder encreased to a most terrible degree. As he before found some little ease from the surgeon, he again sent to him, for he had been informed of the place of his retirement. His message was accompanied with an apology for his former 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 president raving like a madman, and crying out that he had a fire within him. After storming and blaspheming for some time, he expired in the most dreadful agonies; and his body, in a few hours, became so offensive that hardly any one could endure the stench.

John de Roma, a monk, having a commission from the pope to search for heretics; he 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; but the monk made his escape to Avignon, and thought to live luxuriously upon what he had plundered from the Waldenses. But in this he was mistaken, for some robbers soon after plundered him of the greatest part of his ill-got wealth; and his grief on this account brought on a violent disorder, which by turning him, even while living, into a mere mass of putrefaction, 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 courtezans. Seeing a man who sold obscene pictures, they purchased several, and presented them to the women. Close by was a bookseller who had a great number of Bibles in the French language for sale. The bishop, stepping up to him, said, "How dare you 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 as good as those pictures which you have bought for the ladies?" Enraged at the sarcasm, the bishop exclaimed, "I'll renounce my place in Paradise if this fellow is not one of the Waldenses. Take him away, take him away, take him away to prison." These expressions occasioned him to be terribly used by the rabble; and the next day he was brought before the judge, who, at the instigation of the bishop, condemned him to the flames. He was accordingly burnt with two Bibles hanging from his neck, the one before and the other behind.



A BOOKSELLER Burnt at AVIGNON. For selling Bibles in the French Tongue, with some of them tied round his Neck.

CHAP. II.

The Persecutions of the Albigenses.

THE Albigenses were people of the reformed religion, who inhabited the country of Albi. They were condemned on the score of religion in the council of Lateran, by order of pope Alexander the third. Nevertheless they encreased so prodigiously that many cities were inhabited by persons only of their persuasion, and several eminent noblemen embraced their doctrines. Among the latter were Raymond, earl of Thoulouse, Raymond, earl of Foix, the earl of Beziers, &c. 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 he ordered a general disputation, in which however, the popish doctors were entirely overcome by the arguments of Arnold, a reformed clergyman, whose reasons were so strong that they were compelled to confess their force.

A friar named Peter, having been murdered in the dominions of the earl of Thoulouse, the pope made the murder a pretence to persecute that nobleman and his subjects. To effect this, he sent persons throughout all Europe, in order to raise forces to act coercively against the Albigenses, and promised Paradise to all that would come to this war, which he termed a *Holy War*, and bear arms for forty days. The same indulgencies were likewise held out to all who entered themselves for this purpose, as to such as engaged in crusades to the Holy Land.

The pope then sent orders to all archbishops, bishops, &c, to excommunicate the earl of Thoulouse every sabbath and festival; at the same time absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance to him, and commanding them to pursue his person, possess his lands, destroy his property, murder such of his subjects as continued faithful to him, &c. &c. The earl of Thoulouse, hearing of these mighty preparations against him, wrote to the pope in a 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, or otherwise he would have punished him as the crime deserved.

But arguments were in vain; for the pope, being determined on his destruction, was resolved not to hear reason. A formidable army, with several noblemen and prelates at the head of it, began their march against the Albigenses. The earl had only the alternatives to oppose force by force, or submit. 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 surprized that such a number of armed men should be sent against him, before the least proof of his guile had been deduced. He therefore came voluntarily to surrender himself, armed only with the testimony of a good conscience, and hoped that the troops would be prevented from plundering his innocent subjects, as he thought himself a sufficient pledge for any vengeance they chose to take on account of the death of the friar."

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

This demand made the earl perceive his error in submitting, but it was too late; he knew himself to be a prisoner, and therefore sent an order for the delivery of the castles. The pope's legate had no sooner garrisoned these places than he ordered the respective governors to appear before him. When they came, he said, "That the earl of Thoulouse having delivered up his castles to the pope, they must consider that they were now the pope's subjects, and not the earl's; and that they must therefore act conformable to their new allegiance.

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The governors were greatly astonished to see their lord thus in chains, and themselves compelled into a new allegiance, so much against their inclinations and consciences. But what afflicted them still more, was the affronts afterwards put upon the earl; for he was stripped naked, except his drawers, 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 went further than this, and ordered him, by the oaths he had newly taken, to join the troops, and inspect the siege of Beziers. But thinking this too hard an injunction, he took an opportunity privately to guit the army, and determined to go to the pope, and relate all the ill usage he had received. The army, however, proceeded to besiege Beziers; and the earl of Beziers, who was likewise 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 at the same time that there were as many Roman Catholics as Albigenses in the city. The legate replied that all excuses availed nothing; that the place must be delivered up at discretion, or the most dreadful consequences should ensue

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

The inhabitants refusing to yield upon such terms, a general assault was given, and the place taken by storm; when it is impossible for the imagination to paint a more horrid scene than now ensued. 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 were doubly wounded, wounded in the body by the spears of the soldiers, and to the soul by having their children taken from them, and dashed to pieces before their faces. The plaints of violated maidens and ravished matrons, the cries of helpless infants, and the execrations of the barbarians who committed these cruelties, added to the sounds of horror. The city being fired in various parts, new scenes of confusion arose; in several places the streets were streaming with blood; here losty buildings appeared in clouds of smoak; and there large ranges of houses were seen in flames. Those who had hid themselves in the recesses of their dwellings had only the dreadful alternative to remain and perish in the flames, or rush out and fall by the swords of the soldiers. The bloody legate, during these infernal proceedings seemed to injoy the carnage, and even cried out to the troops, "Kill them, kill them all, kill man, woman, and child; kill Roman Catholics as well as Albigenses; for when they are dead, the Lord knows how to pick out his own." Thus the beautiful city of Beziers was reduced to a heap of ruins; and 60,000 persons of different ages, and both sexes, were murdered upon the occasion.

The earl of Beziers and a few others made their escape, and went to Carcasson, which they put into the best posture of defence they could. The legate, not to lose an opportunity of spilling blood during the forty days which the troops were to serve, led them immediately against Carcasson. As soon as the place was invested, a furious assault was given, but the besiegers were repulsed with great slaughter; and upon this occasion the earl of Beziers gave the most distinguished proofs of his courage, saying, to encourage the besieged, "We had better die fighting than fall into the hands of such bigotted and bloody enemies."

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

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

some that were of another religion, yet they were such as had not wronged any, and were come to his succour in his greatest extremity, and for their good service he was resolved not to abandon them; that his trust was in God, the defender of the oppressed, and that he would assist them against those ill-advised men who forsook their own houses to burn, sack, and kill other men without reason, judgment, or mercy.

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

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

The legate, being chagrined at this second disappointment, determined to act by stratagem. He therefore 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, or swear, whatever he thought proper; for, says the legate, "swear to what falsehoods you will in such a cause, as I will give you absolution."

Unfortunately, this infamous plot succeeded: for the earl, believing the promises made him of personal security, and crediting the solemn oaths that the perjured agent swore upon the occasion, left the city and went with him. The legate no sooner saw him, than he told him "he was a prisoner, and must remain so till Carcasson was surrendered, and the inhabitants taught their duty to the pope." The earl, on hearing this, cried out that he was betrayed, and exclaimed against the treachery of the legate; and the perjury of the person he had employed. His complaints, however, availed him nothing, for he was ordered into close confinement, and the place summoned to surrender immediately.

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

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

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

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

was first offered to the duke of Burgongue, then to the earl of Ennevers, and thirdly, to the earl of St. Paul: but they all refused it. At length, it was offered to Simon, earl of Montfort, who, after some excuses, accepted of it.

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

The king of Arragon, however, 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 surprized 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. Failing, however, in some of his enterprizes, he grew disheartened, and wrote to every Roman Catholic power in Europe, to send him some assistance, other wise he should not be able to hold out against the Albigenses.

Having received some succours, he attacked the castle of Beron, and making himself master of it, ordered the eyes to be put out, and the noses to be cut off of all the garrison, one person alone excepted, and he was deprived of one eye only, that he might conduct the rest to Cabaret.

Being joined by some additional forces, earl Simon undertook the siege of Menerbe, which on account of the want of water, was obliged to yield to him. The lord of Termes, the governor, was put in prison, where he died; his wife, sister, and daughter were burnt; and one hundred and eighty others were committed to the flames. Many other castles surrendered to the forces of earl Simon, and the inhabitants were butchered in a manner equally inhuman.

It is now necessary to take some notice of the earl of Thoulouse, who by means, of letters of recommendation from the king of France, after many difficulties, 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.

The legate, however, by the connivance of the pope, did all he could to ruin the earl of Thoulouse. Some altercations having passed between them, the legate excommunicated the earl; and the Roman Catholic bishop of Thoulouse, upon this encouragement, thought proper to send this imprudent message to the earl, "That as he was an excommunicated person, he commanded him to depart the city, for an ecclesiastic could not say mass with propriety, while a person of such a description was so near him."

The earl was greatly exasperated, at the bishop's insolence, and sent him an order immediately to depart from the place on pain of death. This order was all the prelate wanted, and was what he wished for, as it would give him some shadow of a reason to complain of that nobleman.

The bishop, with the canons of the cathedral church, marched out of the city in solemn procession, barefooted and bareheaded, taking with them the cross, banner, host, &c. and proceeded in that manner to the legate's army. Here they were received with great respect as persecuted martyrs; and the legate thought this a sufficient excuse to proceed against the earl of Thoulouse 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 the snare.

Enraged at his disappointment, the legate laid siege to the castle of Montserrand 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.

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This stroke, which severely afflicted the earl of Thoulouse, 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 of Arragon'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, when they jointly laid siege to Thoulouse.

The earl of Thoulouse determined to interrupt the besiegers by frequent sallies. In the first of these he met with a severe repulse; but in the second he took earl Simon's son prisoner, and in the third he unhorsed earl Simon himself. After several furious assaults given by the popish army, and some other successful sallies of the Albigenses, the earl of Thoulouse 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 Thoulouse 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, viz. that his own eldest son and heir to the earldom of Thoulouse should wed the princess of Arragon, and that by this match their friendship should be again united and more firmly cemented.

The king of Arragon was easily persuaded not only to come into this proposal, but to form a league with the principal Albigenses, and to put himself as captain-general at the head of their united forces, consisting of his own people, and of the troops of the earls of Thoulouse, Foix and Comminges. The papists were greatly alarmed at these proceedings; earl Simon sent all over Christendom 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. The army of the Albigenses being ready to take the field, the king of Arragon. began his operations by laying siege to Murat, a town near Thoulouse 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; and unfortunately the king of Arragon, who kept up very little discipline in his army, was feasting and revelling at a time when all his attention was requisite. Earl Simon suddenly attacked the Albigenses while they were in confusion, the united forces of the reformed were defeated, and the king of Arragon himself was slain. The loss of this battle was imputed to the negligence of the king of Arragon, who kept up no manner of order in his army, and was as fond of entertainment in a camp as if he had been securely at peace in a palace.

Flushed with this victory, the popish commanders declared they would entirely root out and extirpate the whole race of the Albigenses; and earl Simon sent an insolent message to the earls of Thoulouse, Foix, and Comminges, to deliver to him all the castles and fortresses of which they were possessed. Those noblemen did not think proper to return an answer to the demand but retired to their respective territories, in order to put them into the best state of defence.

Earl Simon marched towards the city of Thoulouse, when the earl of Thoulouse, 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 at the same time recommended them to preserve their hearts for him, though they surrendered their persons to another. The citizens of Thoulouse, upon 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 perfectly safe, and protected from devastations or injury. These conditions were agreed to immediately, and earl Simon, in order to ingratiate himself at court, wrote a letter to prince Lewis, the son of Philip, king of France, informing him that the city of Thoulouse had offered to surrender to him; but being willing that the prince should have the honour of receiving the keys, and taking the homage of the people, he begged that he would repair to the camp for that purpose.

Prince Lewis, pleased with the invitation, went directly to the army, and had the city of Thoulouse surrendered to him in form. The pope's legate, however, was greatly displeased at the mild conditions granted to the people of Thoulouse, 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 his holy pilgrims (for so the popish soldiers employed in these expeditions were called); and that the place, as a receptacle of heretics, ought to be dismantled.

In vain did the prince, and earl Simon, remonstrate against such harsh proceedings, so contrary to the conditions granted at the surrender of the place: the legate was peremptory; so earl Simon and the prince, unwilling to come to an open rupture with him, gave up the point, and suffered him to do as he pleased. The legate immediately sent his holy pilgrims, as he termed them, to work, when they presently dismantled the city, and plundered the inhabitants: thus the poor people were stripped of all their property at a time they thought themselves perfectly secured by the articles of the treaty of surrender.

The pope's legate finding that among the Albigenses were many lucrative places, which would of course fall to the disposal of the prince, he determined, by an artifice, to deprive him of any advantage which might accrue from thence; for he thought the Romish church ought to engross and monopolize everything that was valuable. To this end he gave absolution to the Albigenses, which, though they had not in the least changed their religious opinions, he cunningly called reconciling them to the church. The

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prince, not apprized 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, are consequently under the protection of the church; therefore, all places among, or connected with them, are in the disposal of the church only."

The prince, though offended at this curious mode of reasoning, and highly displeased at the meanness of the subterfuge, thought proper, at that time, to dissemble his resentment. Determined, however, to quit the legate, he put the troops that were under his command in motion and marched to attack some other fortresses; but he found, wherever he came, that the legate had played the same trick, and plainly perceived, if he continued his military operations, that when unsuccessful, he should bear all the blame, and when successful, the legate would run away with all the profit. These considerations convinced him of the folly of remaining longer in the army; he therefore left it in disgust, and returned to court.

Earl Simon now, with his own forces, those the prince had just quitted, and some other auxiliaries, undertook the siege of Foix, being provoked to it by two reasons, viz: the death of his brother, who was slain by the earl of Foix; and the religion of 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 as often repulsed. Hearing that an army of Arragonians were in full march towards him, in order to revenge the death of their king, he raised the siege of Foix, and went to meet them. The earl of Foix immediately sallied out and harassed his rear, and the Arragonians attacking his front; gave him a total defeat, which compelled him to shut himself up in Carcasson.

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The pope's legate called a council at Montpellier, for renewing the 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 the liberty to repair to Montpellier.

At 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 stiled him, *The active and dextrous soldier of Jesus Christ, and the invincible defender of the Catholic faith.* But just as the earl was going to return thanks for these great honours and fine encomiums, a messenger brought word that the people, having heard earl Simon was in the council, had taken up arms, and were coming thither to destroy him as a common disturber. This 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 a window, and steal away from the city by the most private passages.

The affair becoming serious, according to the opinions of the papists, the pope himself soon after called a council, to be held at Lateran, in which great powers were granted to Roman Catholic inquisitors, and many Albigenses immediately put to death. This council of Lateran 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 raised 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 Thoulouse. Earl Simon proceeded to the relief of his wife, when the Albigenses met him, gave him battle, and defeated him. He, however, found means to escape from the fight, and get into the castle of Narbonne.

During earl Simon's misfortunes, Thoulouse was recovered by the Albigenses; but the pope still 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 seemed sunk in affliction, when the pope's legate said, to comfort him, "Fear nothing, my lord, make another vigorous attack; let us by any means recover the city, and destroy the inhabitants; and those of our men who are slain in the fight, I will assure you shall immediately pass into paradise." One of earl Simon's principal officers, on hearing this, said with a sneer, "Monsieur Cardinal, you talk with great assurance; but if the earl believes you, he will, as heretofore, pay dearly for his confidence."

Earl Simon, however, took the legate's advice, made another assault, and was again repulsed. To complete his misfortune, before the troops could recover from their confusion, the earl of Foix made his appearance at the head of a formidable body of forces, and attacking the already dispirited army of earl Simon, easily put them to the rout; and the earl himself narrowly escaped being drowned in the Garonne, into which he had hastily plunged in order to avoid being taken.

This miscarriage almost broke earl Simon's heart; but the pope's legate bade him yet be of good chear, for he would 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. He bent his whole force against Thoulouse, 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 taking aim, shot him in the thigh with an arrow; and a

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woman immediately after throwing a large stone from the wall, it struck him upon the head, and killed him instantly.

Upon the death of the earl, the siege was raised; but the legate, greatly enraged to be disappointed of his wished for vengeance on the inhabitants of that devoted city, engaged the king of France in the cause, who sent his son to besiege it. The French prince, with some chosen troops, furiously assaulted Thoulouse, but meeting with a severe repulse, he grew sick of the enterprize, and abandoned Thoulouse to besiege Miromand. This place he soon took by storm, and put all the inhabitants, consisting of five thousand men, women, and children, to the sword.

The legate, whose name was Bertrand, being very old, grew weary of following the army; but his passion for blood-spilling 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 wars with as much spirit and perseverance as he had done.

The pope recalled Bertrand according to his desire, and appointed Conrade, bishop of Portua, to be legate in his room. The new legate determined to tread in the steps of his predecessor, and to persecute the Albigenses with the greatest severity. Guido, earl of Monfort, the son and heir of earl Simon, undertook the command of the troops, and immediately laid siege to Thoulouse, before the walls of which he was slain. His brother Almerick succeeded to the command; but the spirited conduct of the besieged, obliged him to raise the siege.

The legate now prevailed upon the king of France to undertake the siege of Thoulouse in person, and reduce to the obedience of the church those obstinate heretics, as he thought proper to call the brave Albigenses. Hearing of the great preparations made by the king of France, the earl of Thoulouse sent the women, children, cattle, &c. into secret and secure places in the mountains, ploughed up the land that the king's forces should not obtain any forage, and did all that a skilful general could perform to save his country, and distress the enemy.

By these wise regulations the French army, soon after, entering the earldom of Thoulouse, suffered all the extremities of famine, which obliged the troops to feed on the carcases of horses, on dead dogs, cats, &c. which unwholesome food produced the plague. This complicated distress broke the king's heart; nevertheless, his son, who succeeded him, determined to carry on the war, but was defeated by the earl of Thoulouse in three different engagements.

The king, the queen-mother, and three archbishops, however, raised another formidable army, and had the art to persuade the earl of Thoulouse to come to a conference, when he was treacherously seized upon, made a prisoner, forced to appear barefooted and bare-headed before his enemies, and compelled to subscribe to the following unreasonable and ignominous conditions:

- 1. That he should abjure the faith 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 Thouloue 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 Thoulouse with the ground.
- 7. That he should destroy the walls and fortifications of thirty of his other cities and castles, as the legate should direct.
- 9. That he should remain prisoner in the Louvre at Paris, till his daughter was delivered to the king's commissioners.

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These hard conditions were followed by a severe persecution against the Albigenses (many of whom suffered for the faith;) and express orders that the laity should not be permitted to read the Sacred Scriptures.

In the year 1620 the persecution against the Albigenses was very great. At a town called Tell, while the minister was preaching to a congregation of the reformed, the papists attacked and murdered many of the people. A lady of considerable eminence, being exhorted to change her religion, if not for her own sake, at least for the sake of the infant she held in her arms, the lady, with an undaunted courage, said, "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 respect to my infant, why should I not deliver him up to death, since God delivered up his Son to die for us?" As soon as she had done speaking, they took the child from her, delivered it to a popish nurse to bring up, and then cut the lady to pieces.

An Albigenses young lady, of a noble family, was seized by the papists, and carried through the streets with a paper mitre upon her head. After mocking, beating, and smearing her face with dirt, they bade her call upon the saints: to which she replied, "My trust and salvation is in Christ only; for even the Virgin Mary, without the merits of her Son, could not be saved." On hearing this; the multitude fell upon and murdered her.

Reason to bigotry can ne'er give law, True piety the papists think a flaw; For superstition endless wars wou'd wage, And gives to cruelty a double rage.

CHAP. III.

Of the Persecutions in France, Previous to and During the Civil Wars of that Nation.

IN the third century a learned man, named ALMERICUS, and six of his disciples, were ordered to be burnt at Paris for holding these tenets:

- 1. That God was no otherwise present in the sacramental bread, than in any other bread.
- 2. That it was idolatry to build altars, or shrines, to saints.
- 3. That it was ridiculous to offer incense to saints.
- 4. That it was absurd to kiss the relics of saints.

The martyrdom of Almericus and his pupils, did not, however, prevent many from acknowledging the justness of his notions, and seeing the purity of the reformed religion, so that the faith of Christ continually encreased, and in time not only spread itself over many parts of France, but diffused the light of the gospel over various other countries.

In the year 1524, at a town in France called Melden, one John Clark set up a bill on the church door, wherein he called the pope Antichrist. For this offence he was repeatedly whipped, and then branded in the forehead: his mother, who stood by at the time, cried, with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ, and welcome these marks for his sake." Going afterwards to Mentz, in Lorraine, he demolished some images, for which he had his right hand and nose cut off, and his arms and breasts torn by sharp pincers. He sustained these cruelties with amazing fortitude, and was even sufficiently cool to sing the CXVth Psalm, which expressly forbids idolatry, and of which we have been favoured with a new translation, by a reverend gentleman, who is at present in an

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eminent ecclesiastical station, and very justly deemed one of the greatest ornaments of the church of England now living.

I. Revere th' Almighty's sacred name, For he alone our prayers should claim: Eternally, his glory glows; Perpetually, his mercy flows.

II.

Since unbelievers vaunting cry, Where is Jehovah, thy God on high? On their vain heads thy thunders shew'r, Convince them of thy mighty power.

III.

Respect to images are paid By mortal hands, of metal made; With stupid rev'rence they behold Their gods of silver, and of gold.

IV.

These artificial gods we find, Whose mouths are dumb, whose eyes are blind; Their ears are deaf to what you tell, Their nostrils have no pow'r to smell.

V.

Mere lifeless stocks these idols prove, With hands and feet they cannot move. Is any thing more senseless?-Say; Yes, those who to such idols pray.

VI.

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The living God alone confess, He only can your woes redress; All images are weak and vain, And cannot hear if you complain.

VII.

Then let's implicitly rely On the Great Ruler of the sky; He oft has fav'd us when enthrall'd, He oft has aided when we call'd.

VIII.

To us his blessings he'll extend, The weak assist, the poor befriend; Ev'n our posterity shall share His kind and providential care.

IX.

His seat of empire's vast and bright, Adorn'd with everlasting light; He gave the earth to bless mankind, Then praise a God so great and kind.

After having sung this Psalm with admirable patience, he was thrown into the fire, and burnt into ashes. Many persons of the reformed persuasion were, about this time, beaten, racked, scourged, and burnt to death in several parts of France; but more particularly at Paris, Malda, and Limnosin.

A native of Malda was burnt in a slow fire for saying that mass was a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. At Limnosin, John de Cadurco, a clergyman of the reformed religion, was apprehended, degraded, and ordered to be burnt. At his degradation a friar undertook to preach a sermon upon the occasion; when opening the New Testament he pitched upon this

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text, in 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 called to him, and begged that before he proceeded in his sermon, he would read the two verses which followed that he had chosen for his text. The friar again opened the testament, but on casting his eye on the passage, he stood mute and confounded. John de 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 has created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. The Roman Catholics plainly saw, but had not the candour sufficient to own their error; but instead of thanking the person who pointed out their being wrong, they condemned him to the flames, and he was burnt accordingly.

At Paris, Alexander Kanus, a reformed clergyman, was burnt in a slow fire; four men were committed to the flames for scattering about papers that ridiculed the saying of mass. One had his tongue bored through for speaking ill of the Romish superstitions. Peter Gaudet, a Genoese, was burnt by the desire of his own uncle, a bigotted Roman Catholic; and John Pointer, a surgeon, had his tongue cut out and was then committed to the flames.

At Arras, Foutanis, and Rutiers, many were martyred for being of the reformed religion; in particular, 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 gale of wind; this occasioned the executioner to heap more faggots round him, and pour oil on them. Still, however, the wind blew the flames into a contrary direction, when the executioner absurdly grew angry with Stephen Brune, and in his passion struck him on the head. Brune very calmly said in return, "As I am condemned only to be burnt, why do you strike me with a staff like a dog?" This expression so greatly enraged the executioner that he ran him through with a pike, and then burnt the body when dead.

Aymond de Lavoy, a minister of Bourdeaux, had a complaint lodged against him by the Romish clergy of that city. On hearing this, his friends advised him to abscond; but he absolutely refused so to do, and told them that should he be absent himself the people might well imagine what he had preached consisted only of dreams and fables, and was not extracted from the pure word of God; but to prevent them from entertaining such a notion, he determined to seal the testimony of his truth with his blood. When he was seized upon, the people would have rescued him, but he desired them to forbear saying, "Since it is the will of God that I should suffer for him, I will not resist his will." He remained nine months in prison on the information only, and patiently suffered all the inclemencies of a gaol. Being brought to trial, he was ordered to be racked; when in the extremity of the torture he comforted himself with this expression; "this body must once die, but the soul shall live; for the kingdom of God endures for ever." At length he swooned away; 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 afterwards burnt his body.

William Husson, an apothecary of Blois, went from that city to Rouen, and there privately distributed and scattered about 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 diligent search to be made after the author and distributer. With some difficulty it was at length discovered that Husson had brought them to Rouen, and that he was gone towards Dieppe. Orders for a pursuit were given, and Husson being apprehended, was brought back to Rouen, where he confessed that he was both author and distributer of the books in question. This confession occasioned his condemnation, when he was executed in the following manner: His tongue being cut out, his hands and feet were tied behind him, 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 expired.

Francis Bribard, secretary to cardinal de Bellay, for speaking in favour of the reformed, had his tongue cut out, and was then burnt, A.D. 1544. James Cobard, a school-master in the city of St. Michael, was burnt, A.D. 1545, for saying that "mass was useless and absurd;" and about the same time, fourteen men were burnt at Maldo, their wives being compelled to stand by and behold the execution. A.D. 1546, Peter Chapot brought a number of Bibles in the French tongue to France, and publicly sold them there; for which being apprehended, he was condemned to be burnt; which sentence was executed a few days after it passed. Soon after a cripple of Meaux, a school-master of Sera named Stephen Polliot, and a man named John English, were burned for the faith.

The choice being offered to Michael Michelot, either to recant and be beheaded, or to persevere and be burned, he chose the latter, making use, at the same time, of these words: "God, who has given me grace not to deny the truth, will give me strength to endure the fire." Many, about the same time, were burnt at Paris; Bar, &c. and at Langres, five men and two women were, by the Roman catholics, committed to the flames 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, A.D. 1548, apprehended at Lyons, and sent to Paris; where he was burnt for the faith, by order of the high court, A.D. 1549. Hubert, a youth of nineteen years of age, was committed to the flames at Dijon; as was Florent Venote, in the same year.

A lady named Ann Audebert, designing, on account of her faith, to retire to Geneva, was seized and sent to Paris. Being condemned, 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." She was at length fastened to the stake and burnt, meeting her fate with the most exemplary fortitude.

* * * * * * * *

Some singular circumstances happened immediately after the coronation of Henry the Second, king of France, which we shall relate. A taylor was apprehended for working on a saint's day; being asked why he gave such 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 his trial. On the day appointed, the monarch appeared in a superb chair of state, and the bishop of Mascon was ordered to interrogate the prisoner. The taylor, on perceiving the king, paid his obedience to him in a most respectful manner, saying, "I thank

God for honouring me thus, and for permitting me to vindicate the light of the gospel before so great a prince." The prelate then questioned him concerning the tenets of his faith, and the clearness and spirit of his answers amazed all that heard him. The king was much affected and seemed to muse, when the bishop exclaimed, "He is an obstinate and impudent heretic; let him be taken back again to prison, from thence conveyed to the place of execution, and there burnt to death." As the king did not oppose what the bishop said, the officers proceeded to do as they were ordered; and in the mean time, lest what the taylor had uttered might alarm the conscience of the king, the bishop artfully insinuated that, "the heretics (as he called the reformed) had many specious arguments in their mouths, which, at the first hearing appeared conclusive, but on serious examination, they were found to be false and deceitful." He then used his utmost endeavours in persuading the king to be present at the execution, who at length consented, and repaired to a balcony which overlooked the place where persons under condemnation were usually put to death. When the taylor saw the king, he fixed his eyes stedfastly upon him, and even while the flames were consuming him, he kept gazing in such a manner, as threw the monarch into visible confusion; and obliged him to retire before the martyr gave up the ghost. The king was so shocked upon this occasion that he could not recover his spirits for some time; and what added to his disquiet was his continually dreaming, for many successive nights, that he saw the taylor with his eyes fixed upon him, in the same manner as during the execution.

A pious man named Claudius was burnt at Orleans; a Genoese youth called Thomas, having rebuked a Roman catholic for profanely swearing, was informed against as an heretic, and committed to the flames at Paris: and three men at Lyons, being condemned for their religion, were conducted to the place of execution; two of them with ropes about their necks; but the third, having been an officer in the king's service, was exempted from that disgrace. He, however, begged the officer that he be treated in the same manner as his companions, and desired they would indulge him with one of those precious collars about his neck, in honour of the Lord. His request was complied with; and after having sung a Psalm with great fervency, they were all three burnt.

Matthew Dimonet, a converted libertine; Simon Laloe, a citizen of Geneva; and Nicholas Naile, a bookseller of Paris, were martyred by fire for professing the reformed religion.

Their bodies scorching flames endure, Their soul's salvation to secure; Martyrs, like gold, are try'd in fire, And purify as they expire.

Peter Serre was originally a priest, but reflecting on the errors of popery, he, at length, embraced the reformed religion, and learned the trade of a shoe-maker, that by honest industry he might obtain a subsistence. Having a brother at Thoulouse who was a bigotted Roman catholic, Serre, out of paternal love, made a journey to that city, in order to dissuade him from his superstitions. The brother's wife not approving of his design, lodged a complaint against him. He was soon apprehended, and very candidly made a full declaration of his faith. The judge then asked him concerning his occupation, to which he replied, "I have of late, practised the trade of a shoe-maker." Of late, said the judge, and what did you practise formerly? That I am almost ashamed to tell you, exclaimed Serre, because it was the vilest and most wicked occupation imaginable. The judge and all who were present, from these words supposed he had been a murderer or thief, and that what he spoke was through contrition for his past crimes. The judge, however, to put the matter beyond doubt, ordered him to explain precisely what he meant. Serre, with tears in his eyes, cried, "O! I was formerly that abominable thing-A POPISH PRIEST." This reply surprized all who heard it, and 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*; which sentence was punctually executed in all its parts.

In the year 1554, two men of the reformed religion, with the son and daughter of one of them, were apprehended and committed to the castle of Niverne. On examination, they confessed their faith, and were ordered for execution: being smeared with grease, brimstone, and gunpowder, they cried "*Salt on, salt on this sinful and rotten flesh.*" Their tongues were then cut out, and they were afterwards committed to the flames, which soon consumed them, by means of the combustible matter with which they were besmeared.

Philip Hamlin, a priest, was apprehended for having renounced the errors of popery and embraced the reformed religion. Being condemned to the stake, the faggots were piled about him, when he began earnestly to exhort the people to quit the errors of the church of Rome. The officer who presided at the execution, on hearing this, ordered the faggots to be immediately lighted, and that one should blow a trumpet while Hamlin was burning, that the people should not hear his voice, or be induced to change their opinions from what he might utter.

A.D. 1558, a congregation consisting of near four hundred, met together with as much privacy as possible, at a house belonging to one of the reformed in Paris. Their purpose was to take the sacrament, and their precaution to conceal their assembling. Some priests, however, gained intelligence, and having armed the Roman catholics, the house was soon beset by a considerable multitude. Many of the persons within, being alarmed at their danger, determined to arm themselves with what weapons they could readily find, and attempt to escape by sallying out. In this, those who were armed succeeded, with the loss of one person, who was killed in the scuffle; but such as could not get weapons remained in the house with the women and children. The

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magistrates, being apprized of the affair, repaired to the place, seized upon all the reformed, and carried them to prison. A complaint was then laid before the king, in which three articles were exhibited against them, viz.

- 1. Heresy in religion.
- 2 Sedition against the civil government.
- 3. Immodest practices among themselves.

Those who had escaped by sallying out were much grieved at the sufferings of their friends in confinement, and came to the laudable resolution of writing an apology to the king, an apology to the people, and consolatory letters to their friends in prison. The king, on first reading the apology to himself, began to commiserate the condition of the prisoners; but the priests took care to efface these good impressions, by pretending that the whole apology was founded on falsehood, and consisted of fallacious arguments to impose on his majesty. The apology to the people was of great service, as it removed the prejudices which many had imbibed against the reformed; and the consolatory letters had their intended effect, by administering comfort to those to whom they were directed. The king, at length, condemned them to be executed singly, and at separate times, that every execution might so terrify not only the rest of the prisoners, but also those who had escaped, as to make them change their opinions. Some few fell martyrs to this dilatory mode of execution, but the rest were happily preserved by the following providential event: the protestant princes of Germany, and the protestant nobles of Geneva, being assembled at Worms on some important business; among other affairs they took into consideration the case of these poor innocent people at Paris, and sent a deputy to insist that all who remained alive should be immediately released, and suffered to retire wherever they thought proper, unmolested; or in case of refusal, they threatened an immediate attack on the French

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dominions. The king of France, being already at war with Spain, had no inclination to provoke any of the German powers, and therefore politically complying with the request, he released the prisoners.

A.D. 1559, a nobleman of eminent virtues and distinguished abilities, named Du Bourg, was present in the parliament of Paris when some important religious matters were to be debated. As Henry II. presided upon the occasion, he took the opportunity of addressing himself earnestly to that monarch, in favour of the reformed persuasion. The king, enraged at the freedom with which he spoke, was highly incensed, ordered him to prison, and exclaimed with an oath, "*these eyes of mine shall see thee burnt*."

In this, however, the king was mistaken; for the following intervening accident prevented him from enjoying that barbarous satisfaction: a tournament was held on account of the nuptials of the king's sister! The king delighting in such diversions, tilted with several, and gained the advantage. Fired with the adulating applause of his nobles, he determined to engage the count Montgomery. They ran their career, but both their spears were shivered to pieces, and the king's helmet falling off at that critical juncture, a splinter of the count's spear entered the king's right eye, and pierced his brain in such a manner, that he died in a few days. Du Bourg was kept in prison about six months after the death of the king, and then led to the place of execution, where he was strangled, and his body burnt.

About this period, the duke of Guise became an inveterate enemy of those who professed the reformed religion, and wherever he had power encouraged the papists to use them ill, calling them always by what he deemed the most opprobious names, particularly Heretics,* Hugonots,† and Protestants.‡

Among others, he employed a person named Mangiron to persecute the protestants. This man, at the head of a large body of horse, and some pikemen, did a great deal of mischief.

At Valence and Montilimart he murdered several; and the president of Grenoble taking part with him, they exercised their cruelties in conjunction. About this time images and crosses were erected in the streets of several cities and towns in France; and the Hugonots, who refused to bow before them, and give money for wax candles to burn in honour of them, were either murdered by the mob, or dragged before the civil magistrate, to be put to death, as he thought fit.

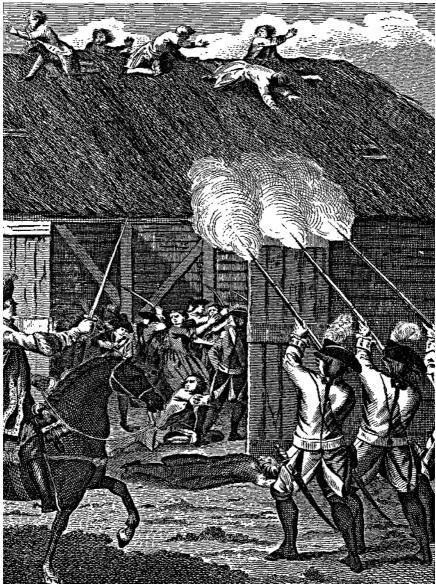
In 1562, the duke of Guise was obliged to go from Dauphiny, where he was governor, to Paris, on some important business. Passing through a town called Vassy, in his way, he heard that a great number of Hugonots were assembled in a barn to perform divine worship. Repairing immediately to the place, with all his attendants, who were well armed, he cried out, *Kill 'em, kill 'em, kill all the Hugonots*. His people fell on the defenceless congregation, sword in hand and cut many to pieces. Some clambered to the top of the barn, and passing through holes in the thatch, sat upon the roof.

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^{*} The word *Heresi*, from which the word *Heretics* is deduced, comes from a Greek expression that implies *choice*. So that the real sense of the word, to be an *Heretic* signifies only that the person will, as he shall *chuse*, believe or disbelieve the religious tenets of another.

[†] *Hugonots* was a nick name given to the reformed in France, from *Hugo's Gate*, in the city of *Tours*, where they used to hold their first assemblies.

[‡] PROTESTANTS was an appellation given to the reformed in Germany, A.D. 1529, because they *protested* against a decree made in the diet of *Spires*, by *Ferdinand*, *archduke of Austria*, and other *Roman catholic princes*. The word, at length, spread into other countries, and was used in France, as we have mentioned above.



HUGONOTS SHOT by the SOLDIERS

of the Duke of Guise, at Vassy in France, when attempting their Escape from a Barn where they had assembled at their Devotions.

On observing this, the duke commanded his men to fire, and bring them down, like so many pigeons. This was immediately done; and to conclude the whole bloody transaction, the duke ordered his men to shout, and sound their instruments of war, in token of triumph, prostituting, in this manner, the joyful sounds of victory, to the dreadful scenes of barbarity.

As Henry III. king of France, was of the reformed religion, and consequently a favourer of the Hugonots, the duke of Guise, on his arrival at Paris, raised a powerful party against him. Joining in a confederacy with the constable of France and marshal of St. Andrew's, they, in conjunction, seized the person of the king, demolished the places of worship belonging to the Hugonots, put many to death, and commenced a most bloody civil war. After securing the person of their sovereign, they marched to Rouen, which they not only took and plundered, but murdered many of the citizens. Proceeding to Orleans, the duke of Guise boasted that within twenty-four hours he would be master of the city, and murder every person in it. Human reason, however, is but little capable of judging concerning future events: for the duke, who was in full health, and supported by a powerful army at the time he spoke, was that very evening killed by a Hugonot gentleman, named John Poltrot, who shot him with a pistol loaded with three bullets. After the death of the duke, an accommodation took place, and affairs remained for some time in tranquillity.

Soon after, however, the civil war and persecution were resumed, and popish malice shewed itself in many places. At Paris a great number were martyred for the faith; at Senlis several were killed in a tumult; others were beheaded, and many whipt, imprisoned, fined, or sent to the gallies. At Amiens, the Bibles, Testaments, Psalm-books, &c. of the Hugonots were burnt, together with the minister's pulpit, and several of the congregation; and at Abbeville lord Harcourt was slain, and several persons murdered by being dragged through the streets. Four hundred citizens were slain at Meaux, on account of their religion; at Bar the papists pulled out the hearts of the protestants, and gnawed them with their teeth, saying *they delighted in the taste of Hugonot blood*. At Angiers, a minister and several of his congregation were murdered, and the church bible was hung to the end of an halbert, and carried in procession, the papists shouting and crying, *Behold the truth of the Hugonots carried in triumph*; and coming to a river, they threw it in, exclaiming at the same time, *Behold the truth of the Hugonots drowned*.

At the city of Tours, one hundred and forty Hugonots were martyred, and cast into the river; and the president of the city, for only favouring the reformed, was murdered in the following manner: after being beaten with staves, they hung him up by one foot over the river, in such a manner that his head was beneath the water. While he remained in this position, they ripped open his bowels, cast them into the stream, and sticking his heart upon the point of a lance, carried it about the streets, saying, by way of derision, *This is the heart of a Hugonot president*.

Soon after a poor woman and her two children; the one an infant at her breast, and the other a girl of about sixteen years of age, were ordered to be driven into the river and drowned. One of the officers, attracted by the uncommon beauty of the girl, told her if she would save her life by renouncing her religion, he would immediately marry her. The temptations were great; life, of which we are naturally tenacious, an agreeable husband and an opulent fortune (for the officer was both handsome and rich) opposed to an untimely and a violent death; the frailty of the flesh began to give way, and the girl for some time seemed to hesitate, which her mother observing, called to her and said, "O child, let no worldly temptations cause you to deny the truth and purchase a few transitory conveniencies at the expense of your eternal salvation." The girl stood reproved, and ashamed that she had ever wavered, exclaimed, with great vehemence, "I will be stedfast in truth, die with my mother, and disregard both your threats and your

promises." The officer not being able to prevail, assisted in driving them into the water, where they soon expired; the mother embracing the infant in one arm, and her daughter in the other.

A worthy and pious widow of Tours, being apprehended as an Hugonot, gave a very plain and circumstantial account of her faith. which some friars hearing, said, "Woman you are in a dreadful condition." "That I am, replied she, by being in your power." She received sentence to be hanged, and was remanded to prison till the day appointed. When the time came, and the halter was placed about her neck, she kneeled down and said, "I praise God for his great mercy in releasing me from this sinful world, and suffering me to die for the truth." At the place of execution, some of her relations brought her children to her, and begged that she would still save her life to protect their innocence. She was sensibly affected this scene, tenderly embraced the babes, and wept over them with a motherly affection. Returning them to her relations, she said, "I love my children dearly, but neither my love for them or anything else in this world shall induce me to renounce God. He will be a father to them and take better care of them than I could possibly do; to his providence and protection I therefore recommend them." She then submitted to her fate, and resigned her spirit to him that gave it.

At Rouen, many of the reformed were hanged, and particularly several English and Scotch soldiers. Among those who were massacred in the town of Valogues was a minister, whose corpse some priests insulted by cramming the leaves of a Bible into his mouth, and saying, in derision, *now preach the truth if you can*. At Agen several Hugonots were murdered, and two young children roasted. And at Rheims five hundred were hanged on account of their religion; among which number was an eminent counsellor, whom they executed in his robes, which in France principally consist of a long black gown and square cap.

A number of papists at Blois broke into a Hugonot chapel, dragged out many of the congregation and threw them into the river: some who could not swim were drowned, and such as swam to the opposite shore were knocked on the head by other papists, who stood ready to receive them.

Near the town of Guillac the papists frequently threw such as were accused of professing the reformed religion from the top of St. Michael's abbey, which was built upon a rock, that they might be dashed to pieces on the projecting cliffs. A young man who was apprehended as a Hugonot, being sentenced to this death, made the following proposal: That he would voluntarily go to the top of the abbey, and throw himself from thence, provided that they would give him his life if the fall did not kill him. To this they readily assented; for it was deemed impossible that he should escape. The young man then prayed fervently to God, mounted to the top of the abbey, and threw himself off with such a spring, that he flew beyond the cliffs, and fell into the river. He was not hurt by the fall, and thinking his life secured by the promise made him, swam towards the shore; when the treacherous papists, regardless of their promise, and exasperated to think he had done what they thought impossible, met him as he landed, and dashed out his brains.

A Roman catholic captain entered the house of a Hugonot widow, and putting a rope round her neck, dragged her about till she was almost strangled. Then suffering her to recover, he asked *how often she had played the whore with those of her religion*. To which she replied, "In Christian meetings no such indecencies are committed." The captain then beat her violently about the head, and demanded seven hundred pieces of gold, which he said he knew she had hid in some corner. The woman assured him that she was extremely poor, and possessed at that time no more than a French penny. Enraged at this answer, he applied burning hot coals to her arm-pits, and said in derision, "Now cry to your father who is in heaven." To this she replied, "I will not cry aloud to please thee; yet God understands the meaning of my heart, and will when he thinks proper deliver me out of thy hands." The captain continued to torment her, and at the same time made use of

many horrid imprecations; on which account the poor woman told him that his blasphemies gave her more pain than her sufferings; but he replied, "If you do not discover your money I will rub you over with lard, roast you alive, and then throw you from the highest steeple in the town." To this she mildly answered, "You may throw my body from whence you please, but I hope my soul will ascend to heaven." Exasperated at her patience and resignation, he opened her teeth with a dagger, compelled her to drink a glass of urine, and then filled her mouth with lime. He was proceeding to greater enormities, when another French officer appearing who had more humanity than himself, commiserating the poor creature's condition, he paid the avaricious and cruel wretch ten gold crowns not to do her any farther injury. The monster of barbarity took the money and went about his business; but the poor woman died a few days afterwards of the hurts she had received

At Thoulouse a most dreadful and bloody tragedy was acted, by means of some of the city councellors, who published an artful proclamation which persuaded the Roman catholic rabble that by massacring the Hugonots they did an act *meritorious in the sight of God*, and shewed at once *obedience to the pope, and allegiance to the king*. The papists took the alarm, bells were rung at once for joy, and as signals to begin the bloody business. A general attack on the Hugonots was made; above thirty thousand at this time inhabited the city, and most of them fell upon the occasion. The modes of death were equally cruel and various. Some were racked and burnt; others scourged and drowned; many were hanged, and a few beheaded. A poor fellow named Peter Roach, they compelled to dig a grave; and then ordering him to lie down in it, in order to try if it fitted, they covered him over with the earth, and suffered him to perish in that manner.

At Carcasson many had their eyes put out, their ears cut off, their noses slit. One they blacked all over to make him resemble the devil, and then hanged him. They beat out the brains of a

blacksmith with one of his hammers upon his own anvil; and after crowning a lady with thorns, they shot her through the head. They ravished a beautiful young woman before the face of her husband, then putting a dagger into her hand they compelled her to thrust it into her husband's heart, and afterwards murdered her.

In Foix, the hands, legs, and heads of many were cut off; several were burnt in their places of worship, and some were stuck upon the points of halberts, and carried about till they expired. In Cisterne four hundred were murdered; and at Mascon a minister was apprehended, treated with all manner of contempt and ridicule, and then being led to the shambles, a proclamation was made, that those who had a mind to hear him preach, might attend at a certain slaughter-house, to which they conducted him. Desiring permission to pray to God for some time, one of the persecutors stepped to him, and having cut off part of his nose, and one ear, said, "Now pray as long as you will, and then we will send you to the devil." Having prayed for some time, this good man turned to his persecutors, and thus addressed them: "Friends, I am now ready to suffer whatever you intend to inflict upon me, but I intreat you seriously to consider that there is a God in heaven, before whose tribunal you must shortly give an account of these cruelties." They led him then to a neighbouring river, obliged him to walk into the water up to his middle, and then stoned him to death

Thus did popish malice pursue the reformed in most parts of France, and persecute them under various names; but the denominations about this time, viz. the sixteenth century, most obnoxious to the Roman catholics were Hugonots, protestants,

lutherans,* and calvinists;† and as these words were then almost synonymous in their meaning, and implied renouncing the errors of the church of Rome, so all who were apprehended under the imputation of belonging to either, were equally martyred. Yet the reformed flourished under persecution, and encreased by depression; let us therefore always put a confidence in God, and no cruelty can have more than a transitory power over us.

^{*} Martin Luther was born at Isleban, in Germany, in 1483. When eighteen years of age, he went to study at Ernfort, and commencing master of arts in 1505, he applied himself to the study of the law, but being frightened by a flash of lightning which killed his companions as they were walking, he entered himself among the monks of St. Augustine.

In 1508 he went to the university of Wittemburg, where he taught Aristotle's philosophy. He was particularly admired for his genius, and acquired great reputation by his lectures and sermons. The reading of John Huss's books made him detest the superstition and corruption of the church of Rome, and in 1516 he attacked their doctrines in public lectures. The following year, pope Leo X. having published his indulgencies in Germany, Luther publickly exclaimed against them, and requested the archbishop of Mentz, who had the charge of dispensing the indulgencies, that instead of them he would order the gospel to be preached, the bishop of Misna having, before that time, totally extirpated it from his diocese.

In 1521 he was excommunicated by the pope for publishing his adherence to all the propositions which his 'holiness' had condemned, and appealed from him to a council. He disputed at Leipsic with Eckius about the pope's supremacy, and baffled him. Soon after this he was summoned to appear before the diet at Worms; and being advised by his friends not to appear, he answered that he would go, though as many devils should oppose him as there were tiles on the houses of Worms. He accordingly appeared before the emperor, and princes of the empire, where he maintained the truth with undaunted resolution; for which some of them would have had his safe conduct violated, but that was strongly opposed by the Elector Palatine.

Trust in the Lord, for ever trust, And banish all your fears; Strength in the Lord Jehovah dwells, Eternal as his years.

What tho' the rebels dwell on high, His arm shall bring them low;

In 1534 Luther published the whole bible in the German tongue. In 1538 he published a book concerning the Councils and church; and in 1544 another book (which was his last performance) concerning the sacrament. He died at Isleben, the place of his nativity, in the year 1546.

[†] John Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy on the 10th of June, 1509. As he was designed for the church, he soon had a living in the cathedral of Noyon, and afterwards the rectory of Pont I'Eveque. By the advice of Robertus Olivetanus he applied himself to the study of religion from the purest springs of it, which determined him to renounce every idea that tended towards superstition. His father, however, altering his mind, chose to make a lawyer of him rather than a divine; so that after he had gone through a course of polite literature, he was sent to Orleans, where he studied the law under Peter de I'Etoile; and afterwards to Bourges, where he continued the same kind of study under Andrew Alciat. He made a great progress in that science, and at his leisure hours improved himself in the study of divinity, besides which he also attained a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue.

The death of his father obliged him to return to Noyon; but his stay here was very short, for he soon after went to Paris, where he wrote a

He left Worms on the 26th of April, and on the 8th of May following was proscribed by the emperor; but the elector of Saxony kept him secretly in the castle of Wurtzburg. The monks, by reason of the books published by him and others, quitted their monasteries; and Luther, with the assistance of Melancthon, published the New Testament in the German tongue.

In 1524 he laid aside his canonical habit: and about the same time married a woman of noble descent, who had formerly been a nun. In 1528 at the diet at Spires the name of Protestants had its origin, and the same year began the Smalcaldian confederacy against the papists.

Low as the caverns of the grave, Their losty heads shall how.

On Babylon our feet shall tread, In that rejoicing hour; The ruins of her walls shall spread, A pavement for the poor.

Calvin; after staying some time at Xaintonge, went to Basil; where he studied Hebrew; and in 1536, published his *Institutions*, with an epistle dedicatory to Francis I. After this he went to Geneva, where he was made not only a preacher, but a professor of divinity.

In 1537 he made all the people swear solemnly to a set of doctrines which contained a renunciation of popery, and because the reformation of the doctrinal part of religion did not have a greater influence on the morals of the people, which were very much corrupted, nor banish the spirit of faction which divided the chief families of the commonwealth, Calvin, assisted by the other ministers, declared that since all their admonitions and warnings had proved unsuccessful, they could not celebrate the holy sacrament while these disorders remained. He also declared that he could not submit to the regulations which the synod of the canton of Berne had made, and that those of Geneva ought to be heard in the synod which was to meet at Zurick.

Hereupon the heads of the synod having summoned the people, it was ordered that Calvin, Farel, and another minister should leave the city within two days, because they had refused to administer the sacrament.

In consequence of this, Calvin retired to Strasbourg, where he established a French church, of which he was made the first minister; he was also chosen professor of divinity in that city. He went to the diet

commentary upon Seneca's Treatise, entitled *De Clementia*. He took particular pains to make himself known to those who had secretly admitted the reformation. An oration which he had assisted another in making was so disapproved of, not only by the doctors of Sarbonne, but also the parliament, that it occasioned the commencement of a prosecution against the Protestants; in consequence of which Calvin retired to Xaintonge, after having had the honour of speaking with the queen of Navare, at whose instigation this first storm was appeased.

How honourable is the place Where we adoring stand; Zion; the glory of the earth, And beauty of the land.

Bulwarks of mighty grace defend The city where we dwell, The walls, of strong salvation made, Defy th' assaults of hell.

Lift up the everlasting gates, The doors wide open fling; Enter ye nations that obey The statutes of our king.

which the emperor had appointed to meet at Worms and at Ratisbon, in order to appease the troubles occasioned by the difference in religion. The people of Geneva, however, entreated him so earnestly to return to them, that at length he consented, and arrived in that city in the month of September, 1541. Soon after his arrival he established a form of ecclesiastical discipline, and a consistory jurisdiction with the power of reproving and inflicting all kinds of canonical punishments. This was greatly disapproved of by several persons, who said it would be the means of reviving popish tyranny. However, it took place, and was passed into a law by an assembly held for that purpose on the 20th of November, 1541; and both clergy and laity promised solemnly to conform to it for ever.

In 1556 Calvin went to Frankfort on purpose to put an end to the disputes which divided the French church in that part of Germany. He likewise went to several other parts on the like errand; and having greatly encreased the reformed not only in Germany but also England, Poland and France, he at length paid the debt of nature on the 27th of May 1564.

He wrote a commentary on the Bible; and an edition of his works, in nine volumes folio, was published at Amsterdam in the year 1667.

Here shall you taste unmingled joys, And live in perfect peace; You that have known Jehovah's name. And enter'd on his grace.

CHCoG: But here Southwell again omits to detail some of the Christian martyrs murdered by many of the 'great lights' of Protestantism.

First let us see the actions of Luther's offsider, Huldrych Zwingli. Though Zwingli favoured a more through reform of the corrupt Roman practices than Luther decided to undertake, when he encountered the Anabaptists, part of the so-called 'radical Protestants', he was unwilling to fully embrace apostolic Christianity.. Like the Waldenses, from whom they came, they wanted none of the Roman Church's heresies, and thus to truly be sola Scriptura (Only Scripture) and based their religious practices on those of Jesus and his apostles. Therefore, in addition to the usual reforms, they rejected infant baptism, church hierarchy, church-state interdependence, all worship of images, violence of any kind, the three-in-one trinity and most of the Roman traditions and 'holy days', with many of them instead observing God's seventh-day Sabbath and some keeping His Annual Holy Days listed in Leviticus 23, such as Passover and Pentecost. Zwingli baulked at their Biblical fidelity, and soon began opposing them. His eventual response was to have six of their leaders drowned between 1527 and 1532. Drowning was chosen as a mockery of their adult full-immersion baptisms. Zwingli's vicious response was imitated by many other 'reformed' church leaders.

Luther denigrated them as "sectaries of the devil," and "hedge preachers" and even falsely accused them of requiring circumcision and opposing all rulers. He, in his *Commentary on the 82nd Psalm*, approved of murdering them. They were, almost

everywhere, cruelly persecuted by both the papists and these compromising protestants, despite universal acknowledgement of their blameless lives. In fact, many of the protestant princes treated them far worse than they did the Roman catholics.

Of these Reformers, some of the anabaptists said:

"They mix God's word with human doctrines, and practise a censurable forbearance toward papal errors."

"By the Evangelicals there is not real earnestness manifested:... the word of God bears no fruit: and all this because they preach justification by faith only, but do not urge good works; they always represent Christ as the one who has done [everything] for us, instead of setting him forth as our example to follow." (Herzog's Realencylopaedie)

And Calvin's 'canonical punishments,' mentioned in Southwell's footnote were essentially papal depravity resulting in the cold-blooded murder of fellow Christians who dared to differ from him. Let us look at two of his victims and weep:

Jacques Gruet placed a letter in Calvin's pulpit calling him a hypocrite. He was arrested, tortured for a month and then beheaded on July 26, 1547. Afterwards, Gruet's book was found, denounced as anti-Christian and burned along with his house. His wife was thrown out into the street to watch.

Michael Servetus was a Spaniard, physician, scientist and Bible scholar. He was Calvin's longtime acquaintance who also opposed the Roman Catholic Church. He angered Calvin by returning a copy of Calvin's *Institutes* with critical comments in the margins. Calvin swore that the next time he saw him, he would not permit him to depart alive. When Servetus attended Calvin's Sunday preaching service, Calvin had him arrested and charged with heresy. Servetus's goal was, rather than reform some of errors of the Roman church, to restore Christianity to its Apostolic purity. This hope, and his Bible study, led him to reject the Trinity and infant baptism as Roman Catholic heresies.

But Calvin's response to any criticism was lethal. His only 'compassion' was to ask that Servetus be beheaded rather than barbecued. But he was burnt at the stake on October 27, 1553, using green wood to extend his torment.

For a fuller account of the beliefs, persecutions and martyrdoms of the Anabaptists up to 1660, read <u>The Bloody</u> <u>Theatre, or Martyrs Mirror</u>, by Thielem van Braght.

To the extent that the followers of these semi-protestant leaders based their faith on Jesus and held fast to what scriptural truth they knew, even under persecution, they were children of God, and it seems likely that God will honour them for their faithfulness.

But to the extent that these protestant denominations retain the lies, traditions and brutality of the Roman papacy, they remain daughters of the Great Prostitute, who are all filled with the blood of Jehovah God's saints (Rev 17:1 to 19:2).

CHAP. IV.

The Life of that Celebrated Protestant Princess Joan Queen of Navarre, who was Poisoned a Short Time before the Massacre of Paris.

JOAN D' ALBERT, queen of Navarre, was daughter to Henry II. king of Navarre, and Margaret of Orleans, sister to Francis the First, king of France. This princess was married to Anthony Bourbon, son of the duke of Vendosme, a prince of the bloodroyal. She bore her husband a son named Henry, who, in process of time became the famous *Henry the Fourth, king of France*, in right of his father; and the second of that name, *king of Navarre*, in right of his mother. Thus was the *Bourbon* family firmly established on the French throne; and the kingdoms of France and Navarre united.

Anthony Bourbon, the husband of the queen of Navarre, bore the title of king of that country, and, for some time, lived extremely well with this pious princess. But the pope and the king of Spain, making him many alluring promises; on condition that he would persuade his queen to embrace the Romish religion, he was won by their solicitations to undertake the task.

The queen, however, was too securely grounded in the protestant faith to forsake it; hence some altercations ensued, on her husband's endeavouring to make a proselyte of her, and the dispute terminated in a breach between them.

The pope then insinuated to the king of Navarre;

- 1. That heresy was a cause sufficient to dissolve any marriage.
- 2. That the queen of Navarre being a heretic, the king ought to be divorced from her.
- 3. That after the divorce their dominions would revert to him only; for she, by her heresy, would be deprived of them; and

he, as a true son of the church, would be solely invested with them.

4. That in order to strengthen his interest, a match should be promoted between the king of Navarre and Mary queen of Scots: that the pope would engage the Roman catholic powers to drive queen Elizabeth from England, which would fall to Mary, of course; and then king Anthony, by possessing England and Scotland in the right of his wife Mary, and Navarre in his own right, would become one of the most powerful princes in Europe, and a glorious support of the Roman catholic cause.

Thus did the haughty pontiff, under the mask of Religion, dictate to a sovereign, in which his own conscience could alone direct him; parcel out the persons and dominions of others in speculation, and break through every law, divine and human, to gratify his ambition and bigotry.

Inviting as these proposals might seem, and specious as the reasoning appeared, the king of Navarre had sufficient honesty left to reject them. He, however, adhered to the Roman catholic party, and accompanied the popish army to besiege Orleans; but at one of the assaults on that city, he received a wound in the shoulder, which, in about three weeks time, terminated his life.

The pope and the king of Spain then laid a plot to seize the queen of Navarre and her son; which scheme was to be effected in this manner: the king of Spain had a considerable body of troops at Barcelona, which he designed to employ on an expedition to Africa. These, it had been represented, (if the expedition was delayed a small space of time) might, by forced marches, surprize the queen of Navarre and her family, before she could possibly be apprized of their intentions. The scheme being determined on, an officer named Dominic was to conduct it; but this man falling dangerously ill before it could be executed, confessed the whole to an honest man, named Arinas Hespius, who sent the queen such directions that she easily rendered the design abortive.

As the French court seemed determined to persecute the Protestants, and were preparing to act on the offensive, the queen of Navarre raised a considerable body of troops, and proceeded with them to the city of Rochelle. While she remained here, the prince of Condé, who was of the reformed religion, put himself at the head of another protestant army, and marched to meet the Roman catholic force. A bloody battle ensued at a place called Bassac, in which the protestants were totally defeated, and the prince himself slain.

When the news of this misfortune reached Rochelle, the protestants, both civil and military, were thrown into the utmost consternation, while the nobles and officers shewed great tokens of despondency. The heroic queen of Navarre, however, supported by religious considerations, seemed superior to the strokes of fate and with a constancy of mind that would do honour to the most martial spirit, evinced that she was unacquainted with female fears.

She gave the first proof of her discretion in immediately convening a council; at which, when the nobles, officers, and principal protestants were present, she appeared with her own son Henry, and the son of the prince of Condé, who was slain in the battle. All being attentive, she rose gracefully from a chair of state, and advancing forwards, with the young princes on either hand addressed the audience with a flow of eloquence that at once convinced their reason and excited their admiration. She began her oration by pathetically lamenting the event of the late engagement, paying a tribute of tears to the memories of those who fell in the action, and passing the highest encomiums on the virtues of the late prince of Condé, considering him in the respective lights of a Christian, a sovereign, a warrior, and a gentleman. Then making a sudden transition from the plaintive tone of lamentation to the animating sounds of comfort, she continued thus: "Let us not, however, my friends, suffer our spirits to fail us; let us convince the world that out souls are superior to accidents. Emergencies should raise and not depress our courage;

misfortunes ought to encrease fortitude, and dangerous exigencies render our endeavours more strenuous. It is true, we have lately lost a battle, but may not a future victory make us ample amends? We have lost several valuable friends, but, thank heaven, we have many more who still survive. We have lost a brave prince; but here, in his son, we have a promising pledge of beholding his virtues again renewed. To prevent the ill consequences that may accrue from the loss of one battle, let us fight another with greater precaution: to shew a real regard to our deceased friends, we should attack our living enemies by whom they fell: and to evince our respect to the brave prince who died fighting for us, let us revenge his death. No doubt but God has rewarded him for his heroic courage, recompensated our friends for being martyrs to the truth, and will bless our endeavours, if we put a full confidence in his goodness."

This speech revived the spirits of all present, and the heroic ardour with which the queen seemed inspired, diffused itself through the whole assembly. The necessary preparations were made to act offensively, or to repel any designs upon Rochelle. But instead of attacking Rochelle, the popish army were ordered to penetrate into Navarre itself. Terride, the commander, executed his commission expeditiously, and reduced the whole country, except Navarrein, to which he laid close siege. The queen of Navarre being apprized of these proceedings, detached the Earl of Montgomery at the head of a body of protestant troops to recover her kingdom and relieve Navarrein.

The Earl, who was a brave and experienced commander, soon entered Navarre, compelled Terride to raise the siege and retire to Ortherze, and pursuing him thither, he invested that place. Terride defended the town for some time, but being driven from it, retired to the citadel. The Earl of Montgomery taking advantage of the opportunity, brought the cannon of the town to bear upon the fortress; and thus by fighting Terride with those who were lately his own weapons, obliged him to surrender. Having conquered

this place, he soon subdued the whole country, and drove the enemy entirely from Navarre.

The popish troops being expelled from Navarre, the king of France affected much candour, and published an edit, *wherein he permitted the queen of Navarre to profess what religion she thought proper; and her subjects to enjoy their own opinions.* Mighty condescending indeed! To allow that which he had in vain endeavoured to prevent by specious stratagems and military exertions. The king of France, finding force would be ineffectual in the subjection of the queen of Navarre, determined to have recourse to fraud, and by rendering policy subservient to power to accomplish his designs. With this view, he dispatched an ambassador to that princess, to propose a marriage between her son Henry and his own sister Margaret, and at the same time gave her and her son an invitation to the French court, that the matter might be fully debated and finally concluded.

The queen of Navarre for answer, acknowledged the importance of the embassy, and confessed the honour intended her; but as the parties were of different religious persuasions, she begged, from the delicate nature of the affair; to be allowed sufficient time to weigh it seriously.

Some difficulties now arose concerning the *place* where, and the *manner* how, the nuptial ceremony should be performed. The queen of Navarre objected to Paris as a spot inhabited by her most inveterate foes, and therefore unsafe for such a public occasion; and she was unwilling that the ritual should be said in the Roman catholic mode, as contrary to her religious tenets.

To these arguments the king of France answered that if the marriage was to cement a lasting peace, it certainly ought to be performed in the metropolis, as the grand theatre of the kingdom, and the place most likely to attract the attention of all parties, and with respect to the ceremonial, it ought to be consistent with the forms established by the constitution of France. The queen not yet satisfied, asked the opinion of the Protestant clergy. Many were of the opinion that contracts of marriage between persons of different religious persuasions were profane and illegal, as equally contradictory both to divine and human laws, and tending to promote mutual animosities and discords. Others said that punctilios ought to be sacrificed to public good, and that the marriage in question would be the happy means of a reconciliation between the Roman Catholics and Protestants. The queen unfortunately adhered to the last advice, and repaired to court to conclude the negotiation.

The king of France, happy in the success of his plot, said, exultingly, to the queen mother, "Now madam, have I not acquitted myself with dexterity? Give me but a little time, and I'll engage to bring all the Protestants into my net." As it was judged impossible to work upon the flexibility of young prince Henry till the queen of Navarre was dead, and as it was deemed dangerous to dispatch her openly, the king determined still to have recourse to artifice. To complete his infernal purpose, an Italian physician named Rene was engaged, who with the best of heads possessed the worst of hearts, and had prostituted his medical abilities not to the cure but to the destruction of mankind Hence he was skilled more in poisons than remedies, and could murder by such secret methods as were scarce discoverable by others of the faculty. This man contrived to poison the queen of Navarre by means of some perfumes, which she had ordered to be provided for her. The poison with which they were impregnated soon took effect, and produced a slow fever that preved upon the vitals, and brought on a dangerous decay of nature.

Sensible that her dissolution was near, the queen employed her time in exhorting her son Henry to continue in the Protestant religion, and to practice the virtues which it taught; in discoursing with several learned clergymen on subjects of piety, and in settling her domestic concerns. At length, the disorder becoming violent, she sunk under it on the 9th of June, A.D. 1572, in the 44th year of her age, falling a martyr to her strong attachment for the protestant religion.

CHAP. V.

The Life of Gasper de Coligni, Admiral of France, who was Murdered in the Massacre in Paris.

GASPER DE COLIGNI, or COLINIUS, was descended of a very ancient and honourable family. His father was a general and his mother a maid of honour to the queen of France. Gasper was born February 16, A.D. 1517; and being of a bright genius, in process of time, he made a great proficiency in every branch of literature, but applied himself more particularly to the study of military affairs.

When he was about twenty-four years of age, he entered into the army, and served under the dauphin of France at the siege of Bayonne, where he gave distinguished proofs of his courage, and received a wound in the throat. Being soon after made a colonel, he introduced such admirable discipline into his regiment that the king ordered it to be imitated throughout the whole army, and commanded that Coligni's regulations should be registered as standing military laws.

A contention arising between the king of France and the king of England concerning Bulloign, which had, some time before, been given as a pledge to the English, the French monarch ordered Coligni to besiege it. He accordingly advanced towards it, with a body of choice troops, and soon compelled the governor to surrender. The king of France was so pleased with his conduct upon this occasion, that he made him grand-admiral of France, governor of Picardy, governor of the Isle of France, and one of his privy-council.

Charles the Fifth, emperor of Germany, and king of Spain, having formed an alliance with England against France, threw the French into a dreadful panic, and Coligni was chosen as the most proper person to ward off the impending danger. Sensible that France had neither men, money, or means to resist such potent alliances as were entered into against her, Coligni did his utmost to occasion a variance between Germany England; and at length, succeeded so far as to detach them from each others interests, and to make a separate peace with both powers.

The family of the Guises had long pretended an hereditary claim to the kingdom of Naples, and about this time, persuaded the king of France that if he would assist them with a body of troops, they would undertake the conquest of that kingdom. The grandadmiral Coligni was greatly against this scheme, as he affirmed it would be a direct violation of the treaty he had lately made with the emperor of Germany, who, as king of Spain, being at that time possessed of Naples, must certainly be highly incensed at any attack upon that country. This affair was the foundation of the animosities which afterwards subsisted between the family of the Guises, and the grand-admiral Coligni. The king of France, however, rejected the advice of Coligni, and agreeing in the praticability of the scheme of the Guises, he began to raise forces for the Neapolitan expedition.

The emperor, Charles the Fifth, being informed of these proceedings, determined to make a diversion in favour of Naples by invading France with a considerable body of Spanish troops, Cologni was dispatched to defend St. Quinten, which it appeared was the place intended to be the Spaniards. He accordingly repaired thither with some troops, gave new courage to the citizens, made several improvements in the fortifications, and procured a new supply of provisions.

A brother of Coligni's named Andelot was sent to reinforce him; but by the way a body of Germans attacked and routed his army, when Andilot, and about five hundred others, made their escape, and found means to throw themselves into St. Quinten's.

As this defeat occasioned a great consternation in the city of St. Quinten, and threw many into despair, Coligni thought proper to assemble all the soldiers, and such of the citizens as were capable of bearing arms, and after persuading them, in a pathetic

oration, to perform their duty, and prefer the interest of their country to their lives, he proposed an oath for every one to take upon the present emergency and which should bind him equally with the rest: the oath was that *every one should perform their utmost in the city's defence, and that any one who but hinted at a surrender should lose his head.*

The Spaniards, in the mean time, being joined by the German forces who had lately obtained the victory, pressed the siege with great alacrity, and battered the walls for the space of twenty days successively. At the expiration of that time they made a general assault, carried the place by storm, and took Coligni prisoner, who was immediately sent to Antwerp. While he was a prisoner here he fell dangerously ill of a fever, from which his recovery was but slow; but the sickness of his body gave health to his soul; for to amuse his vacant hours, he spent a great deal of time in reading controversial writings, and becoming sensible of the errors of the Romish church; he determined to embrace the reformed religion, Finding, however, the difficulties of conversion, he resolutely determined to surmount all obstacles by fasting; penitence, and prayer; for the way to sin is broad and easy of access, while that to the true faith, is narrow and hard to attain, without the most strenuous endeavours.

> Strait is the way, the door is strait That leads to joys on high; Tis but a few that find the gate, While crowds mistake and die.

Beloved self must be deny'd. The mind and will renew'd, Passion suppres'd and patience try'd, And vain desires subdu'd.

Flesh is a dang'rous foe to grace,

Where it prevails and rules; Flesh must be humbled, pride abas'd, Lest they destroy our souls.

The love of gold be banish'd hence, (That vain Idolatry) And ev'ry member, ev'ry sense, In sweet subjection lie.

The Tongue, that most unruly pow'r, Requires a strong restraint: We must be watchful ev'ry hour, And pray, but never faint.

Lord, can a feeble helpless worm Fulfil a task so hard? Thy grace must all my work perform, And give the free reward.

Coligni at length obtained his liberty, by paying fifty thousand crowns for a ransom; but thinking a court a very improper place to cultivate the moral virtues and adhere strictly to the offices of religion, he obtained the king's permission to resign his regiment in favour of his brother Andelot, and his government of the isle of France in favour of his brother-in-law, the marshal de Montmorency. Soon after, he desired a friend of his to give the king a hint that he wished likewise to lay down his government of Picardy: the king, however, would not, at that time, consent to it; but from Coligni's great desire of laying down so many posts of honour and profit, the monarch began to entertain some suspicions of the change that had happened in his religious sentiments.

The cardinal Lorraine had always entertained a great dislike to the Coligni family, but more particularly to Andelot; and finding that the king suspected the religious principles of the grandadmiral Coligni, he determined, if possible, to render him suspicious of his brother Andelot. With this view, he one day said to his sovereign that it was a great pity so many French noblemen and gentlemen were tainted with calvinism, mentioning, among others, the Coligni family, and more particularly Andelot, as an example of what he asserted. On hearing this, the king sent for Andelot, who arrived at court just as his majesty was sitting down to dinner. The king, however, was so eager to question him that he ordered his immediate attendance. As soon as Andelot entered, the king asked him what his opinion was of the ceremony called mass? Andelot being a man of great courage, and above dissembling, frankly replied that he did not believe it was in the least necessary to salvation, but rather that it was founded in absurdity. Enraged at this answer, the king bade him recall his words and avoid the danger that threatened him, before it was too late.

Andelot, not in the least dismayed, replied, "Sire, I have hitherto always shewed myself obedient to your majesty, in every thing legal; but where religion is in the question, I cannot dissemble with God. My titles, wealth, and person are in the king's power, of which he may dispose as he pleases; but my soul is in the power only of God, who gave it. In this cause, therefore, I cannot obey the king, where such obedience clashes with my duty to God, the king of kings."

This speech so greatly enraged the monarch that he suddenly snatched a dish from the table, which he designed to throw at Andelot, but missing him, it hurt the dauphin of France. The king then ordered Andelot to be seized, and committed to the castle of Meldun.

The imprisonment of Andelot, operating with some other motives, determined Coligni, at all events, to resign his government of Picardy, which he accordingly did in favour of the prince of Condé. Being thus eased of public burthens, Coligni spent his time in retirement, instructing his family in the principles of the protestant religion, and giving a proper education to his children.

On the 24th of August, 1560, an assembly of the nobility was called at Fontainbleau to consider of religious matters, when Coligni presented a spirited petition in favour of the French protestants, and spoke a masterly harangue against the conduct of the Guises. Nothing, however, decisive was done upon the occasion, the whole being referred to a general convention of the states, which was soon after called. The application was made that the reformed religion should be tolerated throughout France, and that its professors should be allowed public places of worship.

To these requisitions a Parisian professor, and doctor of the civil law, named Quintain, undertook to answer in favour of the Romish clergy. In his oration he boldly asserted, "that whoever moved for a toleration of the protestants, and for permitting them to have places of public worship, were authors of sedition, encouragers of heresy, guilty of treason, and perpetrators of treachery against the state." The admiral Coligni made a formal complaint of the insolence of these libellous expressions, and appealed to the king, and his council, for their opinions. The words were generally condemned, when Quintain finding that he had given offence to the moderate nobility, among even the Roman catholics themselves, thought to excuse his behaviour, and soften the affair in his own favour by saying that he had not delivered his own sentiments, but merely repeated the words of an oration penned and put into his hands by the Romish clergy, and delivered to him to be uttered in his official capacity as a doctor of civil law.

The question was then put, and carried in favour of the protestants; and an edict was immediately issued in the king's name, commanding the judges and magistrates throughout France to release from confinement all persons who had been imprisoned on account of their faith, to tolerate the protestant religion, and to permit its professors to have places of public worship.

It was in consequence of this edict so favourable to the protestants, that the persons of the king of France, and the queenmother, were seized by the family of Guise and the Romish faction; for they could not broke the thoughts that the king and queen-mother, who were papists, should shew the least favour to the protestants.

The king and queen-mother, finding the consequences that were likely to ensue from the indulgence they had granted the protestants, wrote pressingly to Coligni, the admiral, to raise them in their favour, and sent messengers to beg the prince of Condé's assistance. The protestants immediately began to levy troops in order to release the royal prisoners; and a respectable army being soon formed, the prince of Condé was declared commander in chief, and Coligni was constituted lieutenant general.

The protestant forces being put in motion by these able commanders, many cities surrendered to them, and several others submitted without being attacked. This success struck a panic into the minds of the Roman catholics in general, and the Guises in The queen-mother, Catharine de Medicis, being particular. deceitful by nature, and a papist in her heart, was displeased at the great success of the protestants, though their operations were in favour of her family, and tended to the releasement of herself and her son. She had always hated the protestants, though she had dissembled that hatred; but their late success, and her own sickle temper, made her rancour break out into one of the most perfidious She made a private agreement with the actions imaginable. Guises, and the heads of the Romish faction, to entrap the prince of Condé; to effect which, she pretended to become a mediatrix between both parties, and invited the prince to a conference, that terms might be adjusted between them. The unsuspecting prince, not dreaming of being deceived by the person for whom he was hazarding his life and fortune, attended the appointed meeting, and was made prisoner.

When Coligni was apprised of this treachery, he determined immediately to attempt the release of the prince of Condé, and for that purpose assaulted the fortress in which he was informed the prince had been sent to prison. The assault happily succeeded; he took the place, released the prince, and gave great joy to the protestant party.

The Roman catholics, finding their cause decline, and their interests in danger, determined to call in the aid of auxiliaries, and accordingly they took into pay a considerable body of Swiss foot and German cavalry. The protestants, in this respect, resolved to follow their example, and applying to the reformed princes in Ger many, they obtained a reinforcement of six thousand foot, and three thousand horse.

Intelligence, about this time, being privately given to Coligni, that a convoy was going towards Bitourg, with some cannon designed for the siege of that place, he determined to attack them by the way. Putting himself at the head of a body of horse, he, by forced marches, came up with the convoy, attacked the troops, routedthem, and having spiked the cannon, returned to his camp.

The prince of Condé now thought proper to proceed towards Paris; to prevent which, the Roman Catholics resolved to give him battle. A desperate engagement ensued, which had a doubtful issue, for the prince of Condé was taken prisoner by the Roman Catholics, and the constable of France was taken prisoner by the protestants. The Roman catholics, however, grew sick of the war, and proposing peace to the protestants, it was acceded to, and the edict in their favour, which we have already mentioned, was ratified and confirmed; and all prisoners, from the highest to the lowest, taken by either party, were set at liberty.

Soon after the ratification of the treaty, some letters, by accident, came into Coligni's hands, which contained a promise to put him to death, by means of a sleepy potion. By great assiduity in searching after the author, Coligni, at length, found that they were written by a person belonging to his own household. Having

ordered the man into his presence, he commanded him immediately to write some verses as he should dictate. The lines were a paraphrase on the Sixth commandment, and may be thus translated:

> THOU SHALT DO NO MURDER, God hath said, Destroy the living or encrease the dead; Whether base fraud, or brutal force attend The wicked deed,—destruction is the end.

Here, the shrill cries of blood, will blood require; Hereafter, murder meets with endless fire: Think in both worlds what murd'rer's undergo; Death—infamy—and everlasting woe.

The man, being struck with the poignancy of the lines fell upon his knees, confessed his guilt, and entreated forgiveness. Coligni forgave him and admonished him to repent, but discharged him from his family.

The Roman Catholics still continued their hatred to the protestants, and were indefatigable at Paris to stir up the populace against them. The marshal de Montmorency, governor of Paris, however, kept them in awe, and Coligni arriving at the head of a body of horse, threw the Roman catholics into great terror. Every thing remained peaceable for some time, till the meeting of parliament, when Coligni made two complaints to that august assembly.

The first was that he had intercepted several letters to the queen-mother, in which it was asserted that *the kingdom could never be at peace till the protestants were all either murdered or exterminated*.

The other charge was his having apprehended a robber, named Maius, who had been employed by the duke of Aumale (brother to the duke of Guise, who was killed by John Poltrot) to assassinate

him; and that the duke had given him an hundred pieces of gold, and an excellent swift horse, to encourage him to perform that execrable deed, and enable him to escape afterwards.

The first of these charges they set aside, because it alluded to guilt in the queen-mother; but the second charge being fully established, Maius was executed, and the duke of Aumale severely reprimanded. While the parliament of Paris continued to debate on other matters, advice was brought that the duke of Alva, by order of the king of Spain, was marching into the Low Countries, to suppress intirely the protestant religion in those parts. On receiving this intelligence, Coligni moved, that whatever might be the king of Spain's designs, it was necessary to guard the French frontiers; and that as the duke of Alva must of course pass near them, he thought it highly expedient to protect the protestants of Burgundy, and the other provinces adjacent to the Low Countries. The Roman Catholic nobles thought proper to join in this advice, but with a very fallacious intent, as afterwards appeared; and one of the principal papist members moved that six thousand Swiss troops be immediately employed to join the French forces, and guard the frontiers of the kingdom towards the Low Countries, from any hostile attempts of the duke of Alva. This motion was carried; but a few days after, the prince of Condé and Coligni both received private information that as soon as the Swiss troops had formed a junction with the French, a design was in agitation, totally to overthrow the protestant religion in France.

Coligni and the prince, being well apprized of the truth of the intelligence they had received, repaired to court, complained to the king and queen-mother of the baseness of such a plot, and represented the dreadful consequences of pursuing designs, at once so bloody and perfidious. Coligni adding, "Your majesty may perhaps think to carry the design with ease, by the assistance of the Swiss troops, but you will find yourself grossly mistaken. The protestants are neither so few nor fearful, as you ought to judge by the experience of their having so frequently frustrated former

attempts of a similar nature. Nor will they tamely submit to have their throats cut for no other crime than differing in opinion from others, whom they never interrupt. I, therefore, entreat your majesty to reflect before you act; to protect, and not suffer the murder of your innocent subjects; to save your country, and prevent the effusion of human blood."

These spirited remonstrances, however, instead of having the desired effect, were treated with derision; by which Coligni and the prince plainly perceived a persecution of the protestants was so fully fixed upon that its abettors hardly wished to conceal their intentions till it was ripe for execution. In this emergency they both prudently withdrew from court, solicited the assistance of the protestant nobility and gentry, levied a considerable body of forces with the utmost expedition, and sent to Germany to hire some troops of the protestant princes of the empire.

Being at the head of four thousand foot and two thousand horse, they determined not to be idle, but to strike some important blow, even before the arrival of the German auxiliaries. With this intent they formed a design of essentially distressing the Roman Catholic party by cutting off all supplies of provisions from entering Paris. To put this plan in execution, the army was divided into two parts: the one under the prince of Condé was to stop the navigation of the Seine, below the city; and the other, commanded by Coligni, was to prevent supplies from entering on the land side. This scheme was admirably well conceived; but the king, by some means, being apprized of it, ordered the constable of France to prevent its being executed, by hazarding a battle at all events.

The constable of France marched out of Paris, and meeting the protestant forces before they could seize the passes, gave them battle. The engagement was obstinately fought on both sides; and the event, for a considerable time, remained doubtful. At length, victory declared in favour of the protestants; the constable of France was slain, and the Romish troops compelled to retreat and seek shelter within the walls of Paris. During the fight, Coligni

exhibited many proofs of undaunted courage, and was, at one time, in the most imminent danger; for his horse, who was very spirited, being wounded, galloped furiously towards the front of the enemy's army, rushed through the line, turned round, repassed the Romish troops, and bore his master safe to his own friends again; for Coligni was not wounded, though several cuts had been made, and many pistols fired at him.

This success did not prove of any essential service to the protestants, for they had purchased victory at a dear rate, by the loss of near half their army: this circumstance, with the intelligence that the Swiss troops were very near Paris, determined Coligni, and the prince of Condé, to retreat towards Lorraine, where they expected to be reinforced by their German auxiliaries. A junction being made, the protestant forces laid siege to Caen, when some commissioners arrived from the king to propose terms of accommodation. These were acceded to, and the protestants, on their part, were perfectly sincere; but it was not so with the king, who only wanted time to put his affairs into a better posture. The king's insincerity soon being apparent, Coligni and the prince of Condé repaired to Rochelle, where being furnished with some cannon, they proceeded to Niort, laid siege to and took it in a few days.

Encouraged by this success, they invested Angdulesme, which they likewise compelled to surrender; and leaving a garrison in it, they marched to meet the French forces that were coming, with all expedition, against them. The armies met and engaged at a place called Jasenullius, where the Roman Catholics were defeated, and the protestants took many prisoners, and all the baggage of the enemy, including a military chest that cost fifty thousand crowns.

The scattered Roman Catholic troops being augmented by nine thousand auxiliary forces, were again enabled to take the field, and hazard another battle. This concluded in their favour, for the protestants were routed; and to their inexpressible affliction, they numbered the brave prince of Condé among the slain.

Remorseless war, how fatal to the brave, Wild as rough seas, voracious as the grave; Blind when thou strik'st, deaf when distress complains, What tears can whiten thy empurpled stains? Waste waits thy steps, as southern breezes showers, Like floods thou ragest, and like floods devours; Fear flies before thee, thou relentless hears The mother's pray'r, and sees the virgin's tears.

The prince of Condé's death gave great affliction to the protestants in general, for he was universally beloved by every friend to the reformed religion; but Coligni severely felt his loss, as they had always lived together upon the strictest terms of friendship, and had long shared the same dangers, civil and military. Coligni, however, had soon another severe trial to undergo; for a short time after the defeat of the protestants, and death of the prince of Condé, he received advice that his brother Andelot fell a martyr to the baneful effects of poison, administered to him by one of his own domestics, at the instigation of the chancellor of France; who, on hearing of the success of his villainy, with the greatest inhumanity, said, "The king, if he pleases, may employ soldiers to destroy protestants, but I'll employ cooks; they shall neither blow their brains out, nor cut their throats, but give them death in a delicate dish."

Upon this event, Coligni wrote to his nephews, the sons of Andelot, and to his own sons, who were all in the same seminary of learning at Rochelle, for the acquirement of the sciences and the principles of religion. His excellent epistle being faithfully preserved, we shall here give a new translation of it; keeping at once to the literal sense, and stripping it of the antiquated mode of expression which prevails too much in similar performances:

Xaintonge, May I8, 1569.

Dear Children,

Though the death of my brother Andelot is without doubt a considerable affliction to you, yet moderate your grief, for it is a loss that must at some time have taken place, and think yourselves happy in having been related to one who had so few equals. His virtues and valour were exemplary; then imitate rather than bewail them. France admits of his merit; foreign countries subscribe to the same opinion; but he did not acquire such reputation by sloth, or gain fame by being remisss in his duty. His reputation was founded on indefatigable industry; his fame on an active love for his country; copy his bright example, be equally assiduous and zealous: and like him, pay homage to God, and be just to man.

The praise I give him is not flattery, and I propose him not only as an example to you, but as a pattern that I shall myself imitate. I would have his virtues revive in you; I would have your actions exhibit his graces. Pray heaven we may all live as religiously, and be as well prepared for death.

Therefore study true religion; make piety your practice; search good books for useful knowledge, and pursue virtue through all its paths. Yet, as your minds will sometimes want relaxation, innocent amusements are to be allowed: but in your pleasures take heed not to offend God or man; partake of such recreations as your masters permit, but partake of them in moderation. In fine, consider your tutors as parents, and obey them accordingly. Be submissive to your superiors, affable to your equals, courteous to your inferiors, and shew the greatest proof of your regard to me, by loving yourselves. That God may bless and preserve you is the sincere wish of Your careful parent, And tender uncle, GASPER DE COLIGNI.

An army of German protestants now entered France, and ioining Coligni, enabled him once more to face the Romish forces, commanded by the duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France. A battle ensued, in which the duke of Anjou lost the victory; but Coligni, so far from taking advantage of his success, sent word to the king that he was still willing to come to an accommodation in order to prevent the effusion of human blood, and to save the state of France from ruin. For, said he, "By civil wars men's minds are alienated; Frenchmen forget they are countrymen; relations forego the ties of blood; and the great number of foreign troops invited as auxiliaries by each party to oppose the other, may soon become sufficiently formidable to be the ruin of both." These reasonable proposals being rejected, Coligni seized upon the fortress of Lusigniac; attacked Castleheraut and took it, and then proceeded to besiege Poitiers. During the siege, it was discovered that one of Coligni's servants, named Dominicusc Albio, had been suborned by the duke of Anjou to poison him. The fact being proved, the traitor was hanged for his perfidy. A just reward for all hired assassins

With all his efforts, Coligni could not take Poitiers, and the popish forces appearing, he was obliged to raise the siege, in order to meet them; a battle ensued, and the protestants were vanquished. Coligni, however, who was very much wounded in the action, did not fall into despair, but made a masterly retreat with the shattered remains of his army. He afterwards wrote to the governors of the protestant cities, to hold out as long as possible, and to the protestant princes and nobles to succour him with all convenient speed. While Coligni acted with such consummate discretion and courage, the following four articles of disagreeable intelligence were brought to him:

- 1. That the parliament of Paris had declared him guilty of high treason.
- 2. That the king had, by proclamation, offered a reward of fifty thousand crowns to any one who would apprehend him.
- 3. That a troop of horse had plundered his palace of Castellion, and taken away or destroyed all his rich furniture.
- 4 That another body of troops had burnt a town belonging to him, which formed a very considerable part of his estate.

This afflicting news did not in the least depress the spirits of Coligni; for when his friends began to condole with him on the occasion, he said, "By the grace of God, my spirit is of such a frame that those things which are usually called goods, I possessed but never suffered them to possess me; by which means my property was my subject, and not my soul the subject of my property."

The earl of Montgomery having joined Coligni with the forces under his command the protestant army became strong enough to lay siege to Thoulouse. This city they took, and having invested several other places, compelled them to surrender. These occurrences convinced the king that it was impossible to overcome the undaunted spirit of the protestants, or the assiduous intrepidity of Coligni; on which account he thought proper to send commissioners in order to bring about a reconciliation. A peace was at length concluded upon these conditions: that the protestants should not have a general toleration, yet they were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion in certain districts of France; and in order that the treaty should be punctually observed by the Roman Catholic party, the protestants were permitted to garrison four principal places, under the title of Cautionary Towns. These places were Rochelle, Montalban, Cognac, and Charité. This peace was founded on policy only, for neither the king, or the duke of Anjou his brother, were sincerely reconciled to the protestants, but wished for a proper opportunity of again doing them any

injury. The king, indeed, forgetting that nobleness of nature which ought always to accompany a monarch, gave up his mind to meanness, treachery, and dissimulation. In particular, he wrote a kind letter to Coligni, inviting him to court, to be present at the nuptials of Henry, prince of Navarre, and lady Margaret, the king's sister; and at the same time, affected to look very cool upon all belonging to the family of the Guises. This specious behaviour deceived Coligni, who repaired to court, and was, to all appearance, well received by the king, queen-mother, duke of Anjou, and duke of Alanson. The king went so far as to order one hundred thousand crowns to be paid him out of the royal treasury, and suffered him to keep a guard of armed men.

A letter written from cardinal Peleus to the cardinal of Lorraine, was, about this time, intercepted by a protestant, who finding in it a full account of the king's dissimulation, and intended treachery, sent it to Coligni, inclosed in another which was filled with excellent advice upon the occasion. But unhappily, Coligni, by placing too great a confidence in the king, neither believed the imputations contained in the one, nor profited by the hints mentioned in the other. Soon after the former, an anonymous letter was sent him, in which were these words: "Remember the implacable spirit of the papists; remember the grand Popish maxim, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; remember that as a protestant, you are deemed an heretic. The queen-mother, in the first place, is your enemy, and therefore dangerous; in the second place an Italian, and therefore treacherous; and in the third place she is allied by blood to the pope, and therefore her bloody purposes ought to be cautiously guarded against. Remember the king can swear and forswear; look kind to be cruel, and sacrifice humanity to policy. Recollect the death of that excellent princess Joan, queen of Navarre; recollect the king's expression, that he would have all the protestants in his net; escape from the net as soon as possible, and shun similar treachery." Coligni received

several other cautionary letters, but he disregarded them all, and placed a firm reliance on the king's integrity.

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

Coligni, through the honesty of his own heart, not suspecting the fraud in another's, believed the royal disembler, and thanked him for introducing an armed force; which was designed to cut the throats of the protestants, and to perform one of the bloodiest tragedies ever recorded in history.

The day after this conference, Coligni was wounded as he was coming from the Louvre, by three musket balls discharged from a window: one ball broke the fore finger of his right hand; the other two entered his left arm. He bore this affliction with admirable patience, and instead of repining, said, "If God had dealt with me according to my deserts, I should have been more severely. treated; but blessed be his holy name, who has dealt with me so lovingly and so kindly." The king of France and queen-mother visited Coligni on the occasion, and sitting by his bed side, condoled with him, and acted with their usual dissimulation. The protestant nobility likewise assembled, when one of them told him that the best thing he could do was to leave Paris immediately; "for (said he) this is only the prologue to a bloody tragedy, which I

expect will shortly ensue. Many circumstances give me reason for the surmise: in particular many papists, on the wedding-day of the king of Navarre, had been heard to say that more blood should be spilt soon after than wine had been drank at the nuptial feast. The president of the senate advised a protestant nobleman, for whom he had a friendship, to retire, for a few days into the country with his family! And the bishop of Valentia, previous to his setting off on his embassy to Poland said to the earl of Rochefaucault, a protestant nobleman, '*Be not blinded with the smoak of a court, but withdraw yourself, and friends, in time that you may be out of danger.*' These particulars give me just reason to apprehend some impending mischief." After, however, canvassing the matter fully, the motion for removing from Paris was unhappily over-ruled, and the chief persons of the reformed religion determined to remain in the city.

The next day a gentleman went to the king, and informed him of several suspicious circumstances, but more particularly of the great quantity of warlike weapons, which were carrying to the houses of certain Roman catholic gentlemen; and therefore he humbly begged that Coligni might be provided with a guard to secure him from any insult. The king morosely replied "Let Coffen, with fifty men, guard him." The gentleman objected to this for two reasons; because Coffen was a bigotted Roman catholic, and because he was an enemy to the admiral. The king, however, in a peremptory tone said it should be so, and the gentleman, not daring to contradict him, departed.

Coffen, accordingly, at the head of fifty men, took possession of the two houses adjoining that in which Coligni resided; and most of the other houses in the street were, soon after, filled with Roman catholic troops, who occupied them under various pretences. A council was then held at the palace, in which were present the king of France, queen-mother, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Nevers, the bastard of Angoulesme, and several others; and the general massacre of all the protestants of Paris was now

fully determined on, exempting only two by name, viz. the king of Navarre, and the young prince of Condé.

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

The dreadful hour arrived, and the fatal bell was rung about twelve o'clock at night, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, August 24, A.D. 1572, which that year happened to be on a sabbath. The signal being thus given, the duke of Guise hastened to Coligni's house, at the head of a body of troops, and joined Coffen, who with his guard, it was pretended, were to defend the admiral. They knocked violently at Coligni's door, when Labonnius, one of his servants, immediately opened it, and was instantly stabbed by Coffen. A number of troops, with Coffen at the head of them, then entered the house; but the duke of Guise remained in the courtvard. These assassing ranged through the several apartments, murdered all they met, and at length came to Coligni's chamber. That brave devoted martyr, when he saw them, said, "I have long prepared myself for death, and now that I shall find it, commend my soul to the Almighty God." A German soldier named Besme, first wounded him; after which Coffen and several others completed the murder. The duke of Guise called out from below, Is the business done? The murderers replied it was; and to

convince him, threw the body out of the window. The corpse was then treated with great indignity; and a person belonging to the duke of Navers cut off his head, and carried it to the king. The cruel monarch appeared pleased with the sight, and the bloodyminded queen-mother ordered it to be embalmed, and sent as a present to the pope. The headless corpse was dragged about the streets with great indignity for several days, indecently mangled, and then hung upon a gibbet with the shoulders downwards. This was the end of one of the greatest men France ever produced; who, by a glorious martyrdom, concluded a life spent in the service of the Almighty.

Life is the time to serve the Lord, The time t'insure the great reward; And while the lamp holds out to burn, The vilest sinner may return.

Life is the hour that God has giv'n To 'scape from hell, and fly to heav'n. The day of grace, and mortals may Secure the blessings of the day.

The living know that they must die, But all the dead forgotten lie; Their mem'ry and their sense is gone, Alike unknowing and unknown.

Their hatred and their love is lost, Their envy buried in the dust; They have no share in all that's done Beneath the circuit of the sun.

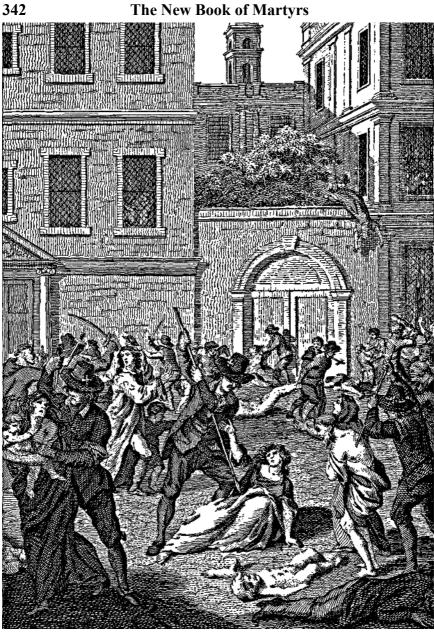
CHAP. VI.

The Massacre of Paris.

WE have already mentioned in the last chapter, the principal circumstances which preceded the Parisian massacre; the manner in which it was designed, the orders for its execution, and the commencement of that bloody business: we shall therefore proceed to particularize the principal barbarities that were exercised on that dreadful occasion.

The attendants and domestics of the king of Navarre, and the young prince of Condé, were basely butchered, and the streets of Paris streamed with protestant blood. In some measure to palliate their cruelties, the Roman catholics, while they were murdering the innocent people, cried out, "Vile wretches, this is for wanting to overturn the constitution of your country; this is for conspiring to murder the king." Rank, sex, or age, were no protections; nobles sunk beneath the daggers of ruffians; the tears of beauty made no impression on the hearts of bigotry; the silver hairs of venerable age, and the piteous cries of helpless infancy, were alike disregarded. Superstition steeled the hearts of the papists against the ties of humanity; and infatuation directed the sword of false zeal, to pierce the bosoms of piety and innocence. The lamentations of distress, the shrieks of terror, and the groans of the dying were music to the ears of the furious murderers: they enjoyed the horrors of slaughter, and triumphed over the mangled carcases of those whom they had butchered.

Upon this dreadful occasion, sword, pistols, muskets, cutlasses, daggers, and other instruments of death had been put into the hands of above sixty thousand furious and bigotted papists, who now, in a frantic manner, ran up and down the streets of Paris, uttering the most horrid blasphemies, and committing the most inhuman barbarities.



MASSACRE of the HUGONOTS in PARIS on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572

It is almost beyond the power of imagination to paint, or of language to describe, the cruelties that were acted on that fatal night and the two succeeding days. The infirm were murdered in the bed of sickness; the aged stabbed while tottering on their crutches; children snatched from their mothers, and tossed to the points of spears; infants strangled in their cradles; pregnant women ripped open, and men indiscriminately murdered by various means. The confusion and horrors of the scene were dreadful indeed; oaths, shoutings, shrieks, and the discharge of fire-arms were heard in all quarters; houses were defiled with the blood of their owners; the streets strewed with carcases: and the waters of the Seine appeared of a crimson colour from the number of mangled bodies which had been thrown into that river.

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

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

A pious young gentleman was killed with battle-axes in his study; two ministers were stabbed and thrown into the river; and several of the assassins, breaking into the house of a jeweller, they found the midwife with his wife, who was in labour. Having murdered the jeweller, they were proceeding to kill the wife, when the midwife kneeled before them, and entreated permission to deliver the woman; "for (says she) this will be the twentieth child she has borne." The inhuman brutes, however, turning a deaf ear to her entreaties, spurned the midwife from them, stabbed the woman, and threw her out of the window. The fall forced the child from the womb, who lay crying for some time, and then perished in the street for want of proper care.

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

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

A protestant merchant named Francis Bassu, expecting to share the fate of other protestants, thus addressed his two sons: "Children, be not terrified at what may happen: it is the portion of true believers to be hated and persecuted by unbelievers, as sheep are devoured by wolves. But remember, that if we suffer for Christ, we shall reign with him: therefore let not drawn swords terrify you, they will be but a bridge over which to pass to eternal life." He had scarce uttered these words when the murderers broke in and cut to pieces the father and both his sons. After the massacre had subsided, the inhuman assassins paraded the streets, boasting that they had dyed their white cockades red with the blood of Hugonots. On seeing a multitude of dead bodies lay about, a papist apothecary suggested that money might be made of the fat contained in them; the plumpest bodies were accordingly selected, and the grease being extracted from them was sold for three shillings per pound; a shocking instance of the most depraved cruelty! The inhabitants of the villages which lay below Paris, on the borders of the Seine, were astonished to see the

number of dead bodies that floated down the stream; and even some of the Roman catholics were so much touched with compassion as to exclaim, "It surely could not be men, but devils in their appearance, who have transacted these cruelties." The pope's legate, soon after, gave all who were concerned in these murders a general absolution; which plainly evinces that the Roman catholics themselves thought these transactions criminal.

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

Occurrences Supplementary to the Massacre of Paris.

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

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

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

At *Orleans*, the massacre continued for a week, and a prodigious number of men, women, and children were murdered; the general cry being, *Kill the Hugonots, and take the spoil*. Some who were weak enough to apostatise from their faith to save their lives, had weapons put into their hands, and were compelled to kill those of the religion they had forsaken, or to be murdered themselves; the Roman catholics crying, in derision all the time, *Smite'em, smite'em, were they not your holy brothers and sisters?*

At *Lyons*, all the protestants houses were plundered, and the slaughter almost incredible; at *Rouen*, six thousand were massacred; at *Thoulouse*, about three hundred were martyred upon the occasion; many were drowned at *Angiers*, and several were

butchered at *Bourdeaux*; though happily, at the latter place, several got expeditiously on board a ship, and escaped to England.

A Curious Corroboration of the Foregoing Account of the Parisian Massacre, and the Murders which Immediately Ensued in Several Parts of France.

As the following narrative is extremely interesting in itself, and as it was written by a learned and sensible Roman catholic, we presume it will appear at the conclusion of this chapter with peculiar propriety. The nuptials (says he) of the young king of Narvarre with the French king's sister, were solemnized with pomp; and all the endearments, all the assurances of friendship, all the oaths sacred among men, were profusely lavished by Catharine the queen-mother, and by the king; during which the rest of the court thought of nothing but festivities, plays, and masquerades. At last, at twelve o'clock at night, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, the signal was given. Immediately all the houses of the protestants were forced open at once. Admiral Coligni, alarmed by the uproar, jumped out of bed; when a company of assassins rushed into his chamber. They were headed by one Besme, who had been bred up as a domestic in the family of the Guises. This wretch thrust his sword into the admiral's breast, and also cut him in the face. Besme was a German, and being afterwards taken by the protestants, the Rochellers would have bought him in order to hang and quarter him; but he was killed by one Bretanville. Henry, the young duke of Guise, who afterwards framed the catholic league, and was murdered at Blois, standing at the door till the horrid butchery should be completed, called aloud, "Besme! is it done?" Immediately after which the ruffians threw the body out of the window and Coligni expired at Guise's feet.

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

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

Tavannes, marshal of France, an ignorant, superstitious soldier who joined the fury of religion to the rage of party, rode on horseback through the streets of Paris crying to his men, "*Let blood! Let blood! Bleeding is as wholesome in August as in May.*" In the memoirs of the life of this enthusiastic, written by his son, we are told that the father being on his death-bed, and making a general confession of his actions, the priest said to him, with surprize, "What! no mention of St. Bartholomew's massacre?" To which Tavannes replied, "I consider it as a meritorious action, that will wash away all my sins." Such horrid sentiments can a false spirit of religion inspire!

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

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

Very few of the protestants escaped the fury of their enthusiastic persecutors. Among these was young la Forcé (afterwards the famous marshal de la Forcé) a child about ten years of age, whose deliverance was exceedingly remarkable. His father, his elder brother, and himself, were seized together by the duke of Anjou's soldiers. These murtherers flew at all three, and struck them at random, when they all fell, and lay one upon another. The youngest did not receive a single blow, but appearing as if he was dead, escaped the next day; and his life thus wonderfully preserved, lasted fourscore and five years.

Many of the wretched victims fled to the water side, and swam over the Seine to the suburbs of St. Germains. The king saw them from his window, which looked upon the river, and fired upon them with a carbine that had been loaded for that purpose by one of his pages, while the queen-mother, undisturbed and serene in the midst of slaughter, looking down from a balcony, encouraged the murderers, and laughed at the dying groans of the slaughtered. This barbarous queen was fired with a restless ambition, and she perpetually shifted her party in order to satiate it. She was accused of a loose commerce with a certain gentleman; and was weak enough to believe in magic, as appeared from the talismans found after her death. Some days after this horrid transaction, the French court endeavoured to palliate it by forms of law. They pretended to justify the massacre by a calumny; and accused the admiral of a conspiracy, which no one believed. The parliament was commanded to proceed against the memory of Coligni; and his dead body was hung in chains on Montfaucon gallows. The king himself went to view this shocking spectacle; when one of his courtiers, advising him to retire and complaining of the stench of the corpse, he replied, "A dead enemy smells well."

The massacres on St. Bartholomew's day are painted in the royal saloon of the Vatican at Rome, with the following inscription: *Pontifex* Colignii *necem probat*, i.e, "The pope approves of Coligni's death."

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

This horrid butchery was not confined merely to the city of Paris. The like orders were issued from court to the governors of all the provinces in France; so that, in a week's time, above one hundred thousand protestants were cut to pieces in different parts of the kingdom. Two or three governors only refused to obey the king's orders: One of these named Montmorrin, governor of Auvergne, wrote the king the following letter, which deserves to be transmitted to latest posterity.

SIR,

I have received an order under your majesty's seal to put to death all the protestants in my province. I have too much respect for your majesty, not to believe the letter a forgery: but if (which God forbid) the order should be genuine, I have too much respect for your majesty to obey it." These barbarities inflamed such protestants as escaped rather with rage than terror: their irreconcilable hatred to the court supplied them with fresh vigour, and the spirit of revenge encreased their strength. The king, under whose influence this dreadful havock had been committed, never enjoyed his health after, but died in about two years. His blood gushed daily through the pores of his skin; so that he expired, as it were, weltering in his own gore.

Fear haunts the guilty mind with horrid views, And Providence the murderer pursues: Those by whose means the innocent are slain, Shall live detested, and expire in pain.

CHAP. VII.

The Siege of Sancerre.

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

Besides cannonading the place almost continually, the lord of Chartres frequently gave furious assaults in order to take it by storm: but was often repulsed, with loss, by the besieged. The conflict was dreadful, and each side appeared resolved in their several purposes; the one to succeed in compelling the city to surrender; the other in defending it to the last extremity; which brings to our recollection the following admirable lines, descriptive of the horrors of a siege:

> See round the walls a steely circle stands In deep array, and spreads in radant bands. Hark! the shrill trumpet sends a mortal sound, And prancing horses shake the solid ground; The surly drums beat terrible from afar, With all the dreadful music of the war: From the drawn swords effulgent flames arise, Flash o'er the plains and lighten to the skies. The heav'ns above, the fields and floods beneath, Glare formidably bright, and shine with death: In fiery storms descends a murd'rous shower, Thick flash the lightnings, fierce the thunders roar; Swift rush the balls with many a fiery round, Tear the huge stones, or rend the stedfast mound;

Death shakes aloft her dart, and o'er her prey Gigantic stalking, marks in blood her way.

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

During this extremity, a poor man and his wife were apprehended for having eaten a part of their own daughter, a child of three years old who died of hunger: they had already devoured the head and entrails, and when taken were dressing some of the limbs. In their excuse they pleaded the horrid severity of the hunger with which they were tormented, and that they had not murdered the child. It was, however proved against them that on the very day when they began to eat their offspring, some humane person had charitably sent to their house a mess of pottage, made with herbs, and some wine, which might have enabled them to restrain, at least another day, from the unnatural meal. The governor, therefore, to make an example which might deter others from practising anything so atrocious, ordered them to be hanged. Their fate, however, drew compassion from many who, from what themselves felt, and considering the desperate circumstances of the persons, could not help sympathising with the criminals, though they abhorred their crimes.

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

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

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

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

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

Heav'n is our guard, and innocence its care, Nor need the good the worst of dangers fear; It pities the defenceless, poor man's grief, And sends him, when he calls, help and relief; It arms the surest succour, and the best Delivers, and revenges the distress'd."

CHAP. VIII.

The Sieges of Rochelle, &c.

IN the same year that Sancerre was besieged, Rochelle was invested by the Roman catholic troops. The papists gave many furious assaults to the place, and the protestants made many spirited sallies on the besiegers; consequently, several severe skirmishes happened, and a great number were slain on each side. In one of the conflicts, a papist officer called out to the protestants, "I am one who assisted in killing the admiral Coligni: this is the sword with which I performed the glorious deed, and with this I will make the Rochellers feel my vengeance." When attacked, however, he and his company fled; but a protestant soldier overtaking him, he was slain, stripped naked, and left in the field.

In the space of a month only, the papists discharged from their cannon thirteen thousand shots against Rochelle; but in vain, for the besieged would not submit. The siege continued so long that a famine ensued, till the people were relieved by a prodigious glut of fish taken in the haven. At length, the election of the duke of Anjou to the kingdom of Poland occasioned the siege of Rochelle, as it had done that of Sancerre, to be raised. In this siege many of the inhabitants died by the arms of their enemies and by famine; but the besiegers suffered more severely, for among the slain were the duke of Autnale, field-marshal Coffen, three aids-de-camp; many other lords and gentlemen, sixty captains, between sixty and seventy lieutenants and ensigns, and above twenty thousand privates.

In 1593, the jesuits having obtained considerable looting in various parts of France, had likewise gained some power in

Rochelle and its environs. Near that city a lady was, about this time, accused by her maid-servant to the jesuits of not going to mass, and of keeping a Bible in her house. Being apprehended on these accusations, she was first imprisoned, and then brought to trial; which was short and summary, as the principal questions asked were only the following:

Court. Are you willing to return home to your husband and children?

Lady. Yes, if my return is suffered to be consistent with my duty to God.

Court. Will you consent to perform a trifling matter for your enlargement?

Lady. Yes, if God's glory and my own salvation are not thereby endangered.

Court. The thing we require is trivial, and only a matter of form: it is this; a scaffold being erected, you shall go upon it, publicly beg pardon for offending the laws, and put your Bible into a fire which shall be kindled for that purpose.

Lady. Gentlemen, pray permit me to ask one question: is my Bible a good book, or is it not?

Court. It is, without doubt, a good book.

Lady. Then why would you have me burn it?

Court. Merely as a matter of form only, to satisfy the minds of the common people: consider it only as paper, and then you may burn it with a safe conscience; save your life, and buy another Bible at your leisure. Therefore perform the less evil, that the greater good may come.

Lady. By the grace of God, I will never do it: the subterfuge is mean and irreligious. Why would you wish to persuade me that the book is waste paper, which I know contains the promise of my salvation? It is the gospel; I respect it as such, and will sooner burn my body than my Bible.

She was then taken from the bar, confined closely in prison, and kept only upon a scanty allowance of bread and water for a

considerable time. At length, being brought to the place of execution, her Bible was burnt, she was strangled, her body dragged through the streets, shamefully exposed, and at last buried in a dunghill.

In the year 1628, Rochelle was again besieged by the papists, commanded by Lewis XIII. in person. When being assisted at the beginning of the siege by Charles I. king of England they made a most vigorous defence, and slew many of the besiegers, but in different sallies. The king falling sick, the siege was carried on by the famous cardinal Richlieu. Provisions growing scarce, they, at length, felt a severe famine, and experienced all the miseries which we have described in the siege of Sancerre; many being reduced to the disagreeable necessity of feeding upon horses, asses, mules, dogs, cats, mice, leather, &c, and many poisoned themselves, by ravenously eating, without any consideration, herbs of a pernicious nature.

Famine so fierce, that what's deny'd man's use, Ev'n deadly plants, and herbs of pois'nous juice, Wild hunger ate; and to prolong their breath, Most greedily devour'd a certain death. The soldier in th' assault of famine falls, And ghost-like men stood watching on the walls.

We have a list transmitted to us of the price of several necessaries of life in Rochelle, long before the besieged were driven to the last extremities; from the exorbitancy of which we may judge of their ensuing distress. We present this list to our readers as an article of curiosity; for considering the difference between the value of money then and now; and that it was, at the period we are speaking of more scarce in France than England; the astonishing price of provisions is a strong evidence of their dreadful necessities:

Food	£	s.	d.
A bushel of wheat	20	0	0
A pound of bread	1	0	0
A quarter of mutton	6	0	0
A pound of butter	1	10	0
An egg	0	8	0
An ounce of sugar	0	2	6
A dried fish	1	0	0
A pint of wine	1	0	0
A pint of milk	1	10	0
A pound of grapes	0	3	0

Not receiving the succours they expected from England towards the latter end of the siege, absolute necessity compelled them to surrender. Exclusive of those they lost by the weapons of their enemies, fifteen thousand fell martyrs to the dreadful famine, and the remainder appeared like skeletons. After the surrender, the place was dismantled, and the walls and fortifications were demolished.

It is confessed by all writers that the capture of Rochelle was the severest stroke ever felt by the protestants in France; and the civil liberties of the French fell at the same time, for cardinal Richelieu was as much against *pure liberty as pure religion*; and his favourite maxim was to *crush both together*. To this end he, with the greatest inhumanity, persuaded his sovereign to become a tyrant; trampled on the people, and broke through every law, human and divine, to attain his infernal purposes. Yet such is the blindness of superstition, that the bigoted called him *Great* and

Pious; passed many eulogiums on him, and even erected a stately monument to his memory in the Sorbonne, at Paris; in which the figure of Richelieu is seen in a reclining posture, supported by the emblems of catholic religion; and a figure, representing Science, appears in deep affliction at his feet. Behind are two geniuses weeping, and supporting his family arms; and on a long brass plate is the following hyperbolical inscription:

He made kings tremble; And had not justice Directed all his designs, He might have raised his sovereign To most thrones As he was always Just, He was Invincible. The greatness of the events Justified the integrity of his intentions. He confounded heresy and religion, By the taking of Rochelle, That proud city, Which was considered as impregnable; And by the reduction Of more than two hundred towns, Which had long Divided the legal authority. The glory of his pious treatises, For the instruction and Perfection of Christians, And the conversion of Heretics, Surpasses that of his conquests, The strength of his genius Having united in him two things, Which were judged incompatible, viz. Religion,

And the Art of government. He died as he lived, Great, invincible, glorious; And as the noblest of all honours, WAS WEPT BY HIS KING.

After perusing these praises, which are at once false and fulsome, what credit ought to be given to panegyrics of any kind; for cardinal Richelieu, whom the Roman catholics deemed to very *pious* and *glorious*, was a subverter of the liberties of his own country, a fomenter of wars, and rebellions in other states; an oppressor of the people with heavy taxes, an assassin of the nobility, a bigot in religion, a monster in morality, a knave in politics, and a snake in friendship. Glorious indeed he was, if we allow glory to consist in the magnitude of infamy. But:

Glory by few is rightly understood; What's truly glorious must be greatly good.

After the taking of Rochelle the protestant power was so much broken that military severities were for some years deemed unnecessary; but the Roman Catholics not willing to let their rancour entirely subside, persecuted them by means of the civil laws and popular prejudices. Their usual modes of oppressing the protestants, may be reduced to six heads:

- 1. Litigious prosecutions in the courts of justice.
- 2. Exclusion from posts, preferments, and public occupations.
- 3. Infringements of all laws ever made in their favour, under the colour of explications.
- 4. Vexations, new laws, and regulations.
- 5. Private frauds and treacheries.
- 6. Exciting the hatred of the common people against the protestants.

By these methods they proceeded for several years; till at length, in the year 1684, during the reign of Lewis XIV. the persecutions again broke out, and soldiers were spread all over France to enforce the arbitrary maxims of popery. The dragoons were particularly employed in this service, as the most resolute and most bloody of the troops; for none were admitted into the dragoon service but such as were known to be rigid Roman Catholics. As the king publicly declared he would exterminate the protestants from France, a general panic seized the devoted victims. Orders were sent to the various governors or intendants of provinces, to summon together the protestant inhabitants of their respective districts, and inform them that they had only these alternatives; *to turn papists voluntarily, or be forced to it.*

To which many resolutely replied: Our lives and fortunes are due to the king, and our consciences to God; therefore we cannot dispose of them in any such manner. The consequence of such replies was a general persecution, or, as it was called, dragooning the protestants. Upon which occasion the dragoons seized all the gates and avenues of the cities and towns: guards were posted on the public roads, and the general cry was, "Turn papists or die!

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

All protestants were prohibited from leaving home, and commanded neither to hide or remove their effects; and all Roman Catholics received strict orders, neither to countenance, conceal, or assist them. The barbarities then began, and the dragoons took pleasure in the most wanton cruelties. Some were hung by the hair of their heads, and others by their feet to the ceilings of their respective apartments. Many were made insensible with intoxicating liquors and persuaded in that state to renounce their religion; but on the return of their reason, if they recanted what they had done, a funnel was placed in their mouths, and brandy poured into their throats till they were choaked.

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

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

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

If any fled from these cruelties they were pursued through the woods, hunted and shot at like wild beasts; thus, fly or stay, their sufferings were equal. Some presented petitions to the king, and for that reason were sent to the Bastile, others were transported to Canada, as it was falsely pretended, but in reality the officers of the ships had orders to throw them overboard in the passage.

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

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

Exclusive of those who were murdered and kept in long imprisonment, it is computed that about five hundred thousand persons were banished or escaped from the kingdom. These retired to England, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and America; and to these we owe the introduction of many useful arts into these kingdoms, but more particularly the silk manufactury.

CHAP. IX.

An Account of the Martyrdom of John Calas.

THIS is one of the most singular affairs that ever happened, and by being transacted in a polished age, shews that neither experience or improvement can root out the inveterate prejudices of the Roman catholics; or render them less cruel or inexorable to the protestants.

John Calas was a merchant of the city of Thoulouse, where he had been settled, and lived in good repute, and had married an English woman of French extraction.

Calas and his wife were protestants, and had five sons, whom they educated in the same religion; but Lewis, one of the sons, became a Roman catholic, having been converted by a maidservant who had lived in the family above thirty years. The father, however, did not express any resentment or ill-will upon the occasion, but kept the maid in the family, and settled an annuity upon the son. In October 1761, the family consisted of John Calas and his wife, one woman servant, Mark Anthony Calas; the eldest son, and Peter Calas, the second son. Mark Anthony was bred to the law, but could not be admitted to practice, on account of his being a protestant: hence he grew melancholy, read all the books which he could procure relative to suicide, and seemed determined to destroy himself. To this may be added, that he led a dissipated life, was greatly addicted to gaming, and did all which could constitute the character of a libertine, on which account his father frequently reprehended him, and sometimes in terms of severity, which considerably added to the gloom that seemed to oppress him

On the 13th of October, 1761, Mr. Gober la Vaisse, a young gentleman about nineteen years of age, the son of La Vaisse, a celebrated advocate of Thoulouse, having been some time at Bourdeaux, came back to Thoulouse to see his father; but finding

that he was gone to his country-house, at some distance from the city, he went to several places, endeavouring to hire a horse to carry him thither. No horse, however, was to be hired; and about five o'clock in the evening, he was met by John Calas the father, and the eldest son Mark Anthony, who was his friend. Calas, the father, invited him to supper, as he could not set out for his father's that night, and La Vaisse consented. All three, therefore, proceeded to Calas's house together, and when they came thither, finding that Mrs. Calas was still in her own room, which she had not quitted that day, La Vaisse went up to see her. After the first compliments, he told her, he was to sup with her by her husband's invitation, at which she expressed her satisfaction, and a few minutes after left him, to give some orders to her maid. When that was done, she went to look for her son Anthony, whom she found sitting alone in the shop, very pensive: she gave him some money, and desired him to go and buy some Roquefort cheese, he being always the market-man for cheese, as he knew how to buy it good better 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 already mentioned.

It was now about seven o'clock: the supper was not long; but before it was over, or, according to the French expression, *when they came to the desert,* Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, which was on the same floor, as he was accustomed to do. The maid asked him if he was cold? He answered, "Quite the contrary, I burn." and then left her. In the mean time his friend

and family left the room they had supped in and went into a bedchamber; 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 with a light.

On the ground floor of Calas's house was a shop and a warehouse; the latter of which was divided from the shop by a pair of folding doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaisse came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Anthony hanging in his shirt from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding doors, having half opened them for that purpose. On discovery of this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with such a terror as kept her trembling in the passage above. The unhappy old 0man 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 enough to attempt taking down the body, were standing by, stupid with amazement and horror. In the mean time the mother, hearing the confused cries and complaints of her husband and finding no one come to her, found means to get down stairs. At the bottom she saw La Vaisse, and hastily demanded what was the matter. This question rouzed Calas in a moment, and instead of answering her, he urged her to go again up stairs, to which, with much reluctance, she consented; but the conflict of her mind being such as could not be long borne, she sent down the maid to know what was the matter. When the maid discovered what had happened, she continued below, either because she feared to carry

an account of it to her mistress, or because she busied herself in doing some good office to her master, who was still embracing the body of his son, and bathing it in his tears. The mother, therefore, being thus left alone, went down and mixed in the scene that has been already described, with such emotions as it must naturally produce. In the mean time Peter had been sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighbourhood. La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, Mr. Grosse, came instantly. Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and upon 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."

By this time a crowd of people were gathered about the house, and one Casing, with another friend or two of the family, were come in. Some of those who were in the street had heard the cries and exclamations of the father, the mother, the brother, and his friend, 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 his 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 encreased every moment: some said that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others that protestants are bound by their religion to strangle or cut the throats of their children when they are inclined to become catholics. Others, who had found out that La Vaisse was in the house when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed that the protestants, at their last assembly, appointed a person to be

their common executioner upon these occasions, and that La Vaisse was the man, who, in consequence of the office to which he had been appointed, had come to Calas's house to hang his son.

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

Notwithstanding these appearances, the capitoul thought proper to agree with the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had sent for La Vaisse, telling him he had a son to be hanged, that La Vaisse had come to perform the office of executioner; and that he had received assistance from the father and brother.

In consequence of these notions the capitoul ordered the body of the deceased to be carried to the town house with the cloaths. The father and son were thrown into a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaisse, the maid, and Casing, were imprisoned in one that admitted the light. The next day what is called the verbal process was taken at the town house, instead of the spot where the

body was found, as the law directs, and was dated at Calas's house to conceal the irregularity. This verbal process is somewhat like the coroner's inquest in England: witnesses are examined, and the magistrate makes his report, which is the same there as the verdict of the coroner's jury in England. The witnesses examined by the capitoul were the physician and surgeon, who proved Anthony Calas to have been strangled. The surgeon, having been ordered to examine the stomach of the deceased, deposed also that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death.

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

These ridiculous opinions being thus adopted and published by the principal magistrate of a considerable city, the church of Geneva thought itself obliged to send an attestation of its abhorrence of opinions so abominable and absurd, and of its astonishment that they should be suspected of such opinions by persons whose rank and office required them to have more knowledge and better judgment.

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

church, which was accordingly done; forty priests, and all the White Penitents assisting in the funeral procession.

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

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

From these dreadful proceedings the sufferers appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, and annulled the sentence of the capitoul as irregular; but they continued the prosecution. When the trial came on, the hangman, who had been taken to Calas's house, and shewn the folding doors and the bar, deposed that it was impossible Anthony should hang himself as was pretended. Another witness swore that he looked through the key-hole of Calas's door into a room where he saw men running hastily to and fro. A third swore that his wife had told him a woman named Maundrill had told her that a certain woman unknown, had declared she heard the cries of Anthony Calas at the farther end of the city. Upon this evidence the majority of the parliament were of opinion that the prisoners were guilty, and therefore ordered them to be tried by the criminal court of Thoulouse.

Among those who presided at the trial was one La Borde, who had zealously espoused the popular prejudices; and though it was manifest to demonstration that the prisoners were either all innocent or all guilty, he voted that the father should first suffer the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to discover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel; to receive the last stroke when he had laid two hours; and then to be burnt to ashes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of six others; three were for the torture alone; two were of opinion that they should endeavour to ascertain upon the spot whether Anthony could hang himself or not; and one voted to acquit the prisoner. After long debates the majority was for the torture and wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of experiment, whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would, in the agony, confess the crime, and accuse the other prisoners, whose fate, therefore, they suspended. It is however, certain that if they had evidence against the father that would have justified the sentence they pronounced against him, that very evidence would have justified the same sentence against the rest, and that they could not justly condemn him, for they were all 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 they have hanged him by violence without the knowledge of the rest.

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



Mr. JOHN CALAS, a French Protestant Merchant BROKE on the WHEEL by Order of the Parliament of Thoulouse.

Two Dominicans (father Bourges and father Coldagues) who attended him in his last moments, wished "their latter end might be like his;" and declared that they thought him not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an exemplary instance of true Christian patience, fortitude, and charity.

One single shriek, and that not very violent, escaped him when he received the first stroke; after that he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel, to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his misery together, he expressed himself with an humble hope of an 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 capitoul, the author of this catastrophe, and who came upon the scaffold merely to gratify his desire of being a witness of his punishment and death, ran up to him, and bawled out, "Wretch, there are the faggots which are to reduce your body to ashes; speak the truth." Mr. 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 apprentice to a merchant at Nifsen, when he heard of the dreadful punishment by which seven unfortunately prejudiced judges of Thoulouse had put his worthy father to death.

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

Young Donat Calas was made to dread sharing the fate of the rest of his family, and was advised to fly into Switzerland: he went and found a gentleman, who, at first, could only pity and relieve him without daring to judge of the rigour exercised against the father, mother, and brothers.

Soon after, one of the brothers who was only banished, likewise threw himself into the arms of the same person, who, for more than a month, took every possible precaution to be assured of the innocence of the family. But when he was once convinced, he thought himself obliged, in conscience, to employ his friends, his purse, his pen, and his credit to repair the fatal mistake of the seven judges of Thoulouse, and to have the proceedings revised by the king's council. This revision lasted three years, and it is well known what honour Messrs. de Grosne and Bacquancourt acquired by 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 signalizing the greatness of his character, not only assisted this unfortunate family with money, but obtained for them a gratuity of thirty-six thousand livres from the king.

On the 9th of March, 1765, the arret was signed which justified the family of Calas, and changed their fate. The 9th of March, 1762, was the very day on which the innocent and virtuous father of that family had been executed. All Paris ran in crowds to see them come out of prison, and clapped their hands for joy, while the tears streamed from their eyes.

Thus have we traced, through all its circumstances, one of the most singular affairs that ever the annals of superstition, or the history of bigotry produced; and lament, that a worthy and innocent man fell a sacrifice to that narrowness, which a popish education bestows, and which settled prejudices always convert to cruelty. Hence we may perceive to what a depraved state the human mind may be reduced, when left to the guidance of the passions, or suffered to be the slave of enthusiasm. A sect which would propagate its doctrines in blood, cannot be the favourer of

truth: that persuasion alone can merit the sacred name of religion, which wishes to reform mankind.

All must be wrong which thwarts this one great end, And all of God that save mankind, or mend.

Gospel purity will equally shun superstition and cruelty, as the mildness of Christ's tenets teaches only to comfort in this world, and procure salvation in the next. To persecute for being of a different opinion is as absurd as to persecute for having a different countenance: if we honour God, keep sacred the pure doctrines of Christ, put a full confidence in the promises contained in the Holy Scriptures, and obey the political laws of the state in which we reside, we have an undoubted right to protection instead of persecution, and to serve heaven as our consciences, regulated by the gospel rules, may direct.



BOOK V.

History of the Persecutions in SPAIN and PORTUGAL.

CHAP. I.

An Account of the Rise, Progress, &c. of the INQUISITION.

WHEN the reformed religion began to diffuse the gospel light throughout Europe, pope Innocent the Third entertained great fear for the Romish church. Unwilling that the spirit of free enquiry should gain ground, or that the priests should attain more knowledge than the people were willing to admit, [CHCoG: should this be: *or that the people should attain more knowledge than the priests were willing to allow*?] he determined to impede as much as possible the progress of reformation. He accordingly instituted a number of *inquisitors*, or persons who were to make enquiry after, apprehend, and punish heretics, as the reformed were called by the papists.

At the head of these inquisitors was one Dominic, who had been canonized by the pope in order to render his authority the more respectable. Dominic and the other inquisitors spread themselves into various Roman catholic countries, and treated the protestants with the utmost severity. In process of time, the pope, not finding these roving inquisitors so useful as he had imagined, resolved upon the establishment of fixed and regular courts of inquisition. After the order for these regular courts, the first office of inquisition was established in the city of Thoulouse, and Dominic became the first regular inquisitor, as he had before been the first roving inquisitor. Courts of inquisition were now erected in several countries; but the Spanish inquisition became the most powerful, and the most dreaded of any.* Even the kings of Spain themselves, though arbitrary in all other respects, were taught to dread the power of the lords of the inquisition; and the horrid cruelties they exercised compelled multitudes who differed in opinion from the Roman catholics to carefully conceal their sentiments.

The most zealous of all the popish monks, and those who most implicitly obeyed the church of Rome, were the Dominicans and Franciscans: these, therefore, the pope thought proper to invest with an exclusive right of presiding over and managing the different courts of inquisition. The friars of those two orders were always selected from the very dregs of the people, and therefore were not much troubled with punctilios of honour: they were obliged, by the rules of their respective orders, to lead very austere lives, which rendered their manners unsocial and brutish, and of course, the better qualified them for the employment of inquisitors.

The pope now thought proper to give 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 most slight information of heresy. They were allowed to publish crusades against all whom they deemed heretics, and enter into leagues with sovereign princes, to join those crusades with their forces.

In 1244 their power was farther encreased by the emperor Frederic the Second, who declared himself the protector and friend of all inquisitors, and published two very cruel edicts, viz.

1. That all heretics who continued obstinate should be burnt.

^{* [}CHCoG: For a fuller account of the Spanish Inquisition, written by a Roman Catholic priest who was a secretary of that Inquisition, read <u>*The History of the Inquisition in Spain*</u> by Juan Antonio Llorente.

2. That all heretics who repented should be imprisoned for life.

This zeal in the emperor for the inquisitors, and the Roman catholic persuasion, arose from a report which had been propagated throughout Europe, that he intended to renounce Christianity, and turn Mahometan; the emperor, therefore attempted, by the heighth of bigotry, to contradict the report, and to shew his attachment to popery by cruelty.

The officers of the inquisition are:

Three inquisitors, or judges.

A fiscal proctor.

Two secretaries.

A magistrate.

A messenger. A receiver.

A gaoler.

An agent of confiscated possessions.

Several assessors, counsellors, executioners, physicians, surgeons, door-keepers, familiars, and visitors, who are all sworn to secrecy.

The principal accusation against those who are subject to this tribunal is heresy, which comprizes all that is spoken or written against any of the articles of the creed, or the traditions of the Romish church. The other articles of accusation are renouncing the Roman catholic persuasion, believing that persons of any other religion may be saved, or even admitting that the tenets of any but papists are in the least reasonable or proper. We shall mention two other things which incur the most severe punishments, and shew the inquisitors, at once, in an absurd and a tyrannical light, viz. To disapprove of any action done by the inquisition, or disbelieve any thing said by an inquisitor.

The grand article, heresy, comprizes many subdivisions; and upon a suspicion of any of these, the party is immediately apprehended: advancing an offensive proposition; failing to impeach others who may advance such; contemning church ceremonies; defacing idols; reading books condemned by the inquisition; lending such books to others to read; deviating from the ordinary practices of the Romish church; letting a year pass without going to confession; eating meat on fast-days; neglecting mass; being present at a sermon preached by an heretic; not appearing when summoned by the inquisition; lodging in the house of or contracting a friendship with, or making a present to an heretic; assisting an heretic to escape from confinement; or visiting one in confinement are all matters of suspicion, and prosecuted accordingly.

Nay, all Roman catholics were commanded, under pain of excommunication, to give immediate information, even of their nearest and dearest friends, if they judged them to be what was called heretics, or in any way inclining to heresy. Those who give the least countenance or assistance to protestants are called *fautors* or *abettors of heresy*, and the accusations against these usually turn upon some of the following points: comforting such as the inquisition have began to prosecute; assisting or not informing against such if they should happen to escape; concealing, abetting, advising, or furnishing 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 likewise takes cognizance of such as are accused of being:

Magicians, Witches, Blasphemers, Soothsayers, Wizards, Common swearers

And of such who read, or even possess, the Bible in the common language, the Talmud of the Jews, or the Alcoran of the Mahometans.

Upon all occasions the inquisitors carry on their processes with the utmost severity, and punish those who offend them with the most unparalleled cruelty. A protestant has seldom any mercy shewn him; and a Jew who turns Christian is far from being secure; for if he is known to keep company with another newconverted Jew, a suspicion immediately arises that they privately practice together some jewish ceremonies; if he keeps company with a person who was lately a protestant, but now professes popery, they are accused of plotting together; but if he associates with a Roman catholic, an accusation is often laid against him for only pretending to be a papist, and the consequence is a confiscation of his effects as a punishment for his insincerity, and the loss of his life if he complains of ill usage.

A defence in the inquisition is of little use to the prisoner, for a suspicion only is deemed sufficient cause of condemnation, and the greater his wealth the greater his danger. The principal part of the inquisitors cruelties is owing to their rapacity: they destroy the life to possess the property; and under the pretence of zeal, plunder each obnoxious individual.

A prisoner to the inquisitors is never allowed to see the face of his accuser, or of the witnesses against him, but every method is taken, by threats and tortures, to oblige him to accuse himself, and by that means corroborate their evidence. If the jurisdiction of the inquisition is not fully allowed, vengeance is denounced against such as call it in question; or if any of its officers are opposed, those who oppose them are almost certain to be sufferers for their temerity; the maxim of the inquisition being to strike terror, and awe those who are the objects of its power into obedience. High birth, distinguished rank, great dignity, or eminent employments are no protection from its severities; and the lowest officers of the inquisition can make the highest characters tremble. Such are the

circumstances which subject a person to the rage of the inquisition, and the modes of beginning the process are four in number:

- 1. To proceed by imputation, or prosecute on common report.
- 2. To proceed by the information of any indifferent person who chuses to impeach another.
- 3. To found the prosecution on the information of those spies who are regularly retained by the inquisition.
- 4. To prosecute on the confession of the prisoner himself.

When a person is summoned to appear before the inquisition, the best method (unless he is sure of escaping by flight) is immediately to obey the summons; for though really innocent, the least delay encreases his criminality in the eye of the inquisitors, as one of their maxims is that backwardness to appear always indicates guilt in the person summoned; and if he escapes, it is the same as perpetual banishment, for should such ever return, the most cruel death would be the certain consequence.

The inquisitors *never forget or forgive*; length of time cannot efface their resentments; nor can the humblest concessions or most liberal presents obtain a pardon. They carry the desire of revenge to the grave, and would have both the property and lives of those who have offended them. Hence, when a person once accused to the inquisition, after escaping, is re-taken, he ought seriously to prepare himself for martyrdom, and arm his soul against the fear of death. Every person in such a situation ought to be composed for the awful occasion, without expectation of remedy; and to adopt similar sentiments to the following, written by a clergyman for such trying occasions:

> How shall I stand the test of fire? Or in the flames resign my breath; Lord! my reluctant soul inspire, Raise me above the fear of death.

Oh! what a worldly mind have I, How indolent, how free from care; In sloth and carnal ease I live, Averse to abstinence and prayer.

What if the sentence now should pass, That I must die within an hour? What paleness would o'erspread my face, What bitter grief my heart o'erpower.

How shall my pamper'd body bear The fiery furnace or the stake? Let me for Jesu's truth declare, And bid defiance to the rack.

Recover, Lord, my strength, before You bring me to a martyr's death; Nor let me death's grim rage explore, Until I have a martyr's faith.

When a positive accusation is given, the inquisitors direct an order under their hands to the executor, who takes a certain number of familiars with him to assist in the execution. The calamity of a man under such circumstances can scarce be described, he being probably seized when surrounded by his family, or in company with his friends. Father, son, brother, sister, husband wife must quietly submit; none dare resist or even speak; either would subject them to the punishment of the devoted victim. No respite is allowed to settle the most important affairs, but the prisoner is instantaneously hurried away.

Hence we may judge how critically dangerous must be the situation of persons who reside in countries where there is an inquisitor, al tribunal; and how carefully cautious all states ought 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 regard to human frailties are banished! What must that tribunal be which obliges parents not only to erase from their minds the remembrance of their own children, to extinguish all those keen sensations of tenderness and affection wherewith nature inspires them, but even to extend their inhumanity so far as to force them to commence their accusers, and consequently to become the cause of the cruelties inflicted upon them! What ideas ought we to form to ourselves of a tribunal which obliges children not only to stifle every soft impulse of gratitude, love, and respect due to those who gave them birth, but even forces them, and that under the most rigorous penalties, to be spies over their parents, and to discover to a set of merciless inquisitors, the crimes, the errors, and even the little lapses to which they are exposed by human frailty. In a word, a tribunal which will not permit relations, when imprisoned in its horrid dungeons, to give each other the succours, or perform the duties which religion enjoins, must be of an infernal stamp. What disorder and confusion must such conduct give rise to in a tenderly affectionate family? An expression innocent in itself, and perhaps. but too true, shall, from an indiscreet zeal, or a panic of fear, give infinite uneasiness to a family: shall ruin its peace entirely, and perhaps cause one or more of its members to be the innocent 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 not they rather, after plundering his house to support their extravagance and not, 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 have an easy opportunity, assisted by means of the persecutions 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, founded on perjury, are directed by the virulence of prejudice to find the accused guilty; and all laws, divine and human, all institutions, moral and political, are sacrificed to bigotted revenge.

When a person accused is taken and imprisoned, his treatment is deplorable indeed. The gaolers first begin by searching him for books or papers which might tend to his conviction, or for instruments which might be employed in self-murder, or breaking from the place of confinement. But it is to be observed that the obvious articles of the search are not the only things taken from a prisoner; for the conscientious gaolers make free with money, rings, buckles, apparel, &c. under various pretences, such as that money or rings may be swallowed, to the great detriment of the prisoner's health, the prongs of buckles may be used to take away life, by means of a neckcloth or a pair of garters a prisoner may hang himself, &c. &c. Thus he is robbed under the plausible pretext of humanity, and used ill through pretended tenderness.

When the prisoner has been searched under the name of care, and robbed beneath the mask of justice, he is committed to prison by way of security. "Here, says an authentic writer, he is conveyed to a dungeon, the sight of which must fill him with horror, torn from his family and friends, who are not allowed access, or even to send him one consolatory letter, or take the least step in his favour in order to prove his innocence. He sees himself instantly abandoned to his inflexible judges, to melancholy and despair, and even often to his most inveterate enemies, quite uncertain of his fate. Innocence on such an occasion is a weak reed, nothing being easier than to ruin an innocent person. Death is usually the portion of a prisoner, the mildest sentence being imprisonment for life; yet the inquisitors proceed by degrees, at once subtle, slow and cruel. The gaoler first of all insinuates himself into the prisoner's favour, by pretending to wish him well, and advise him well, and among other hints, falsely kind, tells him to petition for a hearing.

This is the worst thing a prisoner can do, for the mere petition is deemed a supposition of guilt, and he is persuaded to it only with a view to entrap him. When he is brought before the consistory, the first demand is, *what is your request*?

The prisoner very naturally answers that he would have a hearing.

One of the inquisitors replies, your hearing is this—confess the truth—conceal nothing, and rely on our mercy.

If the prisoner makes a confession of any trifling affair, they immediately found an indictment on it:—if he is mute, they shut him up without light, or any food but a scanty allowance of bread and water till he overcomes his obstinacy as they call it; and if he declares he is innocent, they torment him till he either dies with the torment, or confesses himself guilty.

Upon the re-examinations of such as confess, they continually say, "you have not been sincere, you tell not all—you keep many things concealed, and therefore must be remanded to your dungeon." When those who stood mute are called for reexamination, if they continue silent, such tortures are ordered as will either make them speak or kill them; and when those who proclaim their innocence are re-examined, a crucifix is held before them, and they are solemnly exhorted to take an oath of their confession of faith. This brings them to the test, they must either swear they are Roman catholics, or acknowledge they are not. If they acknowledge they are not Roman catholics they are Roman catholics, a string of accusations is brought against them, to which they are obliged to answer extempore, no time being given even to put their answer into proper method.

After they have verbally answered, pen, ink, and paper are given them, in order to produce a written answer, which it is required shall in every degree coincide with the verbal answer. If the verbal and the written answer differ, the prisoners are charged with prevarication, if one contains more than the other, with wishing to conceal certain circumstances; and if they both agree, they are accused with premeditated artifice.

> But to condemn, beneath their laws, Reason and truth are turned to flaws; Sincerity is forced to obey, The inquisition's tyrant sway; Where void of justice or of might, The weak submit to lawless might.

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

The following is an account of an Auto de Fe, performed at Madrid in the year 1682.

The officers of the inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettledrums, and their banner, marched, on the 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the palace of the great square, where they declared by proclamation that on the 30th of June the sentence of the prisoners would be put in execution.

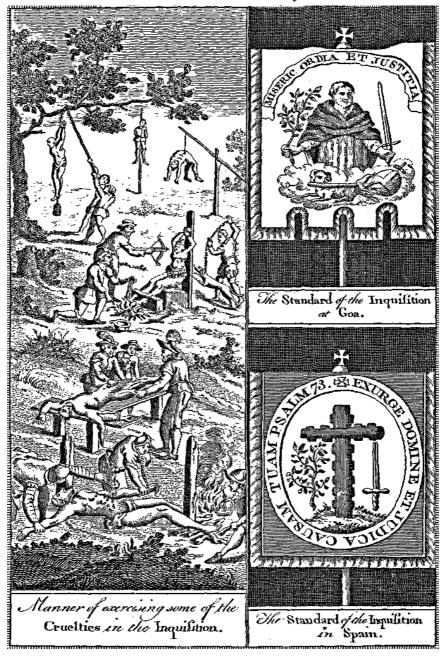
There had not been a spectacle of this kind at Madrid for several years before, for which reason it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as a day of the greatest festivity. On the day appointed, a prodigious number of people appeared dressed as splendid as their respective circumstances would admit. In the great square was raised a high scaffold; and thither, from seven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both sexes; all the inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid.

Of these prisoners twenty men and women, with one renegado Mahometan, were ordered to be burned; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never before been imprisoned, and repenting of their crimes, were sentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow cap; and ten others, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes were sentenced to be whipped, and then sent to the gallies: these last wore large paste-board caps, with inscriptions on them, having a halter about their necks, and torches in their hands.

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

Among those who were to suffer was a young Jewess of exquisite beauty, and but seventeen years of age. Being on the same side of the scaffold where the queen was seated, she addressed her, in hopes of obtaining a pardon, in the following pathetic speech:

"Great queen! Will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? Have regard to my youth; and oh! consider, that I am about to die for professing a religion imbibed from my earliest infancy!"



coronation oath obliges him to give a sanction by his presence to all the acts of the tribunal.

Another Auto de Fe is thus described by the Reverend Doctor Gedde, "At the place of execution there are so many stakes set as there are prisoners to be burned, a large quantity of dry furze being set about them.

The stakes of the protestants, or, as the inquisitors call them, the professed, are about four yards high, and have each a small board, whereon the prisoner is to be seated within half a yard of the top. The professed then go up a ladder betwixt two priests, who attend them the whole day of execution. When they come even with the forementioned board, they turn about to the people, and the priests spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to be reconciled to the see of Rome. On their refusing, the priests come down, and the executioner ascending, turns the professed from off the ladder upon the seat, chains their bodies close to the stakes, and leaves them.

The priests then go up a second time to renew their exhortations, and if they find them ineffectual, usually tell them at parting, *That they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow ready to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell fire, as soon as they are out of their bodies.*

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

Numerous are the martyrs who have borne these rigours with the most exemplary fortitude; and we hope that every protestant whose fate may expose him to the merciless tyranny of papists, will act consistent with the duty of a Christian, when they consider the great rewards that await them: How great the Christian's portion is, What heaps of joy, what worlds of bliss The Lord for them prepares, Their boundless treasures who can know, For all above, and all below, And God and Christ is theirs.

There's nothing round the heav'nly throne; But what the saints may call their own, And at their pleasure use; The angels who excel in praise, Attend and guard them in their ways, Lest they their feet should bruise.

The hand of God supplies their wants, And supersedes their deep complaints, With mercies still renew'd; Tho' they are hurried up and down, And thro' a sea of troubles run, Yet all things work for good.

Jesus and all in him is theirs, They are adopted sons and heirs Of God, thro' grace divine; Their sins are pardoned in his blood, And with his righteousness endow'd, How glorious do they shine.

Why do we talk of earthly things, The wealth of empires, crowns of kings, Fine robes, or large estates; Can crowns and empires be compar'd To that exceeding great reward Which Christian virtue waits.

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What we have already said may be applied to inquisitions in general, as well as to that of Spain in particular. The inquisition belonging to Portugal is exactly upon a similar plan to that of Spain, having been instituted much about the same time, and put under the same regulations, and as the proceedings nearly resemble each other we shall therefore introduce an account of it in this place.

The house, or rather palace, of the inquisition is a noble edifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are about three hundred dungeons, or cells. The dungeons on the ground floor are allotted to the lowest class of prisoners, and those on the second story to persons of superior rank. The galleries are built of freestone, and hid from view both within and without by a double wall of about fifty feet high, which greatly encreases the gloom, and darkens them exceedingly.

The whole prison is so extensive, and contains so many turnings and windings, that none but those well acquainted with it can find the way through its various avenues. The apartments of the chief inquisitor are spacious and elegant; the entrance is through a large gate, which leads into a court-yard, round which are several chambers, and some large saloons for the king, royal family, and rest of the court to stand and observe the executions during an Auto de Fe.

With respect to the dungeons where the prisoners are confined, they are not only gloomy in themselves, but as miserably furnished as can be imagined; the only accommodations being a frame of wood by way of bedstead, and a straw bed, mattress, blankets, sheets, an urinal, washhand basin, two pitchers, one for clean, the other for foul water, a lamp and a plate. A testoon, or seven-pence half-penny in English money, is allowed every prisoner daily; and the principal gaoler, accompanied by two other officers, monthly visits every prisoner, to enquire how he would have his allowance laid out. This visit, however, is only a matter of form, for the gaoler usually lays out the money as he pleases, and commonly allows the prisoner daily,

A porringer of broth,

Half a pound of beef,

A small piece of bread,

A trifling portion of cheese.

The above articles are charged to the prisoner at the rate of seventeen teftoons in the month, four are allowed for brandy, or wine; two for fruit, making in the whole twenty-three; and the rest of the money, to make up the number of teftoons for the month, are scandalously sunk in the articles of sugar and soap.

Some, who find their allowance too little, petition the lords inquisitors for a greater portion, when the petition is frequently granted; and in this particular the only mark of humanity has been casually shewn: in all other circumstances they are inhuman, cruel, and severe. They not only exclude the prisoners from every intercourse with their relations or friends, make them suffer every inclemency of a gaol, or torture them in confinement, but even prohibit them from making the least noise by speaking loud, singing psalms or hymns, exclaiming, or even uttering the sighs which affliction naturally heaves from the breast.

Guards walk about continually to listen; if the least noise is heard they call to and threaten the prisoner; if the noise is repeated, a severe beating ensues, as a punishment to what is deemed the offending party, and to intimidate others. As an instance of this take the following fact: a prisoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noise; to which he replied that from the violence of his cold, it was not in his power to forbear. The cough increasing, the guard went into the cell, stripped the poor creature naked, and beat him so unmercifully, that he soon after died of the blows.

This enforced silence prevents the prisoners from receiving any consolation, by conversing and condoling with each other: some, indeed, who were lodged in contiguous cells, have contrived to make holes in the partition, and communicate their thoughts through them; but as soon as this was discovered, they were removed to cells at a greater distance from each other.

In this inquisition, as in that of Spain, if the prisoners plead their innocence, they are condemned as obdurate, and their effects embezzled; if they plead guilty, they are sentenced on their own confession, and their effects confiscated of course; and if they are suffered to escape with their lives (which is but seldom the case) as penitent criminals who have voluntarily accused themselves, they dare not reclaim their effects, as that would bring on them an accusation of being *hypocritical and relaxed penitents*, and a most cruel death would be the certain consequence.

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

The prisoner is then ordered by the president to kneel down, and lay his right hand upon a book, which is presented to him close shut. This being complied with, the following question is put to him: *Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the holy office, and to speak the truth?*

If he answers in the negative, he is remanded to his cell, and cruelly treated. If he answers in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again seated, and the examination proceeds; when the president

asks a variety of questions, and the clerk minutes both them and the answers.

After the examination is closed the bell is again rung, the gaoler appears, and the prisoner is ordered to withdraw, with this exhortation; *Tax your memory, recollect all the sins you have ever committed, and when you are again brought here, communicate them to the holy office.*

The gaolers and attendants being apprized that the prisoner has made an ingenuous confession, and readily answered every question, make him a low bow, and treat him with an affected kindness, as a reward for his candour.

In a few days he is brought to a second examination, with the same formalities as before. It is then demanded of him *if he has taken a serious review of his past life, and will divulge its various secrets, and the crimes and follies into which he has run at different times.* If he refuses to confess anything, many ensnaring questions are put to him, and the arts of casuistry are exhausted to draw some secret from him. But if he accuses himself of any crimes or follies, they are written down by the secretary, and a process extracted from them. The inquisitors often overreach prisoners by promising the greatest lenity, and even to restore their liberty, if they will accuse themselves. The unhappy persons who are in their power frequently fall into this snare, and are sacrificed to their own simplicity and ill-placed confidence.

Instances have been known of some, who relying on the faith of the judges, and believing their fallacious promises, have accused themselves of what they were totally innocent, in expectation of obtaining their liberty speedily; and thus, being duped by the inquisitors, they became martyrs to their own folly, and suffered death for fictitious transgressions.

Another artifice used by the inquisitors is this: if a prisoner has too much resolution to accuse himself, and too much sense to be ensnared by their sophistry, they proceed thus: a copy of an indictment against the prisoner is given him, in which, among

many trivial accusations, he is charged with the most enormous crimes of which human nature is capable. This, of courser rouzes his temper, and he exclaims against such falsities. He is then asked which of the crimes he can deny? He naturally singles out the most atrocious, and begins to express his abhorrence of them, when the indictment being snatched out of his hand, the president says, "By your denying only those crimes which you mention, you implicitly confess the rest, and we shall therefore proceed accordingly."

The inquisitors make a ridiculous affectation of equity by pretending that the prisoner may be indulged with a counsellor, if he chuses 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 say anything that might offend the inquisitor, or to advance a syllable that might benefit the prisoner. Amazing profligacy, to turn that to a farce which ought to be reverenced as a superior virtue.

> Of all the virtues justice is the best, Valour without it is a common pest; Pirates and thieves too oft with courage grac'd, Shew us how ill that virtue may be plac'd; Tis our complexion makes us chaste, or brave, Justice from reason and from heaven we have; All other virtues dwell but in the blood, That in the soul, and gives the name of good.

From what has been said, it is evident that a prisoner to the inquisitors is reduced to the sad necessity of defending himself against accusers he does not know, and of answering to the evidence of witnesses he must not see. The only person he is permitted to have a sight of upon his trial, exclusive of the judges and secretary, is the fiscal, who acts officially as the ostensible

accuser, from the collected information of others. A desire of being informed of the real accuser's name, or to see the actual witnesses avail nothing, those things he is told are always kept secret. Thus is he continued in suspense respecting his fate, and frequently interrogated, perhaps, for years together, before his trial is finally concluded. When that fatal time comes, if he is condemned to die, death is deferred for a considerable time. To put him out of his misery immediately would be too great a favour, and prevent the inquisitors from indulging their sanguinary dispositions with other sufferings which they intend to inflict.

They begin by putting him to the torture, under the pretence of making the poor wretch discover his accomplices. For this purpose the tortures are various, and the torments inflicted excruciating to the last degree. Well might a late writer, in speaking of these cruelties exclaim, "O, that I was able to give some faint idea of that variety of tortures which the miserable victims are here forced to suffer; but no language can represent such a complicated scene of horrors. It is utterly impossible for any words to describe which of them is the most cruel and inhuman. Every one is so exquisite in its kind as to surpass all imagination. What detestable monsters then must those judges be who are the inventors, and perpetrators of such misery? They are shaped it is true like other men, but surely they seem to have a different kind of soul. They appear as little affected with the groans and agonies of their fellow creatures as the cords, chains, racks and tortures, which are applied to their writhing limbs. The hearts of these ecclesiastical butchers are grown callous, and like those of common butchers, are to inured to the shedding of blood, and horrid sight of mangled carcasses, as to have lost all the impressions of sensibility, and every touch and feeling of humanity. Perpetual scenes of horror and distress become to familiar to their minds; that what would rend the very heart strings of some men, make no more impression on theirs than on a rock of adamant. Indeed, without such a fiend-like temper, it would be impossible for any man to act the part of an inquisitor."

The inquisitors allow the torture to be used only three times, but at those three it is so severely inflicted that the prisoner either dies under it or continues always after a cripple, and suffers the severest pains upon every change of weather. We shall give an ample description of the severe torments occasioned by the torture, from the account of one who suffered it the three respective times, but happily survived the cruelties he underwent.

First Time of Torturing.

On refusing to comply with the iniquitous demands of the inquisitors, by confessing all the crimes they thought proper to charge him with, he was immediately conveyed to the torture room, where no light appeared but what two candles gave. That the cries of the sufferers might not be heard by the other prisoners, this room is lined with a kind of quilting, which covers all the crevices and deadens the sound.

Great was the prisoner's horror on entering this infernal place, when suddenly he was surrounded by six wretches, who after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked to his drawers. He was then laid upon his back on a kind of stand elevated a few feet from the floor.

They began the operation by putting an iron collar round his neck, and a ring to each foot, which fastened him to the stand. His limbs being thus stretched out, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being passed under the scaffold, through holes made for that purpose, were all drawn tight at the same instant of time, by four of the men on a given signal.

It is easy to conceive that the pains which immediately succeeded were intolerable; the ropes which were of a small size, cut through the prisoners flesh to the bone, making the blood gush out at eight different places thus bound at a time. As the prisoner persisted in not making any confession of what the inquisitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times successively.

It is to be observed that a physician and surgeon attended, and often felt his temples, in order to judge of the danger he might be in; by which means his tortures were for a small space suspended, that he might have sufficient opportunity of recovering his spirits, to sustain each ensuing torture.

In all this extremity of anguish, while the tender frame is tearing, as it were, in pieces, while at every pore it feels the sharpest pangs of death, and the agonizing soul is just ready to burst forth and quit its wretched mansion, the ministers of the inquisition have the obduracy of heart to look on without emotion, and calmly to advise the poor distracted creature to confess his imputed guilt, in doing which they tell him he may obtain a free pardon and receive absolution. All this, however, was ineffectual with the prisoner, whose mind was strengthened by a sweet consciousness of innocence, and the divine consolation of religion.

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

Second Time of Torturing.

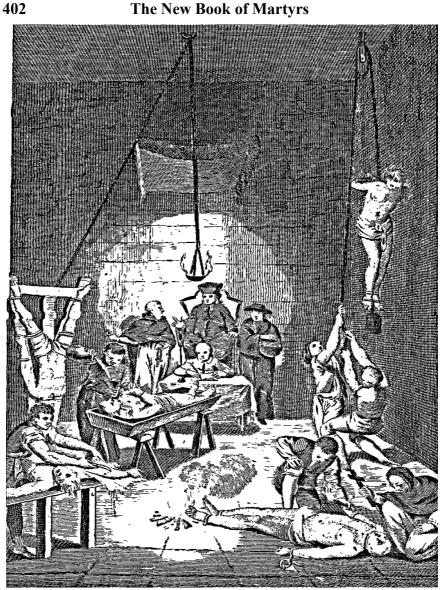
The barbarous savages of the inquisition, finding that all the torture inflicted, as above described, instead of extorting a discovery from the prisoner, only served the more fervently to excite his supplications to heaven for patience and power to persevere in truth and integrity, were so inhuman, six weeks after, as to expose him to another kind of torture; more severe, if possible, than the former; the manner of inflicting which was as

follows: they forced his arms backwards, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by means of a rope that fastened them together at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them by degrees nearer each other, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched, and stood exactly parallel to the other. In consequence of this violent contortion, both his shoulders became dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and put into the hands of the physician and surgeon, who, in setting the dislocated bones, put him to the most exquisite pain.

Third Time of Torturing.

Two months after the second torture, the prisoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture-room; and there, for the last time, made to undergo another kind of punishment which was inflicted twice without any intermission. The executioners fastened a thick iron chain twice round his body, which crossing upon his stomach, terminated at the wrists. They then placed him with his back against a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which there ran a rope that catched the ends of the chain at his wrists.

The executioners then stretching the end of this rope by means of a roller placed at a distance behind him, pressed or bruised his stomach in proportion as the ends of the chain were drawn tighter. They tortured him in this manner to such a degree that his wrists as well as his shoulders were quite dislocated. They were, however, soon set by the surgeons; but the barbarians, not yet satisfied with this series of cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like torture a second time; which he sustained, though if possible attended with keener pains, with equal constancy and resolution.



Representation of the TORTURES used in the INQUISITION Particularly Racking with the head downwards, tormenting in the Trough, Drawing up by pullies with the hands tied behind until the joints are dislocated, Burning the soles of the feet, &c.

After this he was again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeon to dress his bruises and adjust the parts dislocated; and here he continued till their Auto de Fe,* or gaol delivery, when he was happily discharged.

From the before mentioned relation, it may easily be judged what dreadful agony the sufferer must have laboured under at being so frequently put to the torture. Most of his limbs were

^{*} One of these Autos de Fe was appointed to be held in Lisbon on All Saints Day, the 1st of November, 1755, when a great number of prisoners who had been a long time in confinement were to have been brought to execution. It was prevented, however, from taking place by a dreadful earthquake which happened on the morning of the day appointed, whereby the greatest part of the city was thrown into a heap of ruins.

The shock happened just at the time of celebrating their first mass, so that thousands were assembled in the churches, the major part of whom were killed, for the great buildings, particularly those situated on eminencies, suffered the most damage; and indeed very few of the churches or convents escaped. But what greatly added to the calamity was that some time after the shock, almost a general conflagration took place, the city being in flames in various parts at the same time. It continued burning for eight successive days, so that the greater part of the buildings that had escaped the earthquake were consumed by fire.

The surviving inhabitants fled to the neighbouring fields, almost naked, where they lived for some time in tents, and were relieved by the munificence of the king of Spain. There was no distinction of persons, for the wealthy before were now become paupers, all property being intirely lost. The convulsions of the earth were repeated at different times for eight days, when they happily subsided. It was computed that upwards of fifty thousand souls perished in the ruins of Lisbon; and among those that escaped, many of them had broken limbs or were greatly bruised.

In this calamitous circumstance Providence seems to have particularly distinguished the protestants, for amongst the numbers of them settled in Lisbon only about twelve or fourteen were missing, some of whom were saved in a very strange and miraculous manner.

disjointed and so much was he bruised and exhausted as to be unable, for some weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth, and his body became greatly swelled from the inflammation caused by such frequent dislocations. After his discharge he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently seized with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been

The celebrated M. Baretti, who visited Lisbon soon after this dreadful accident, mentions the following particulars: "As far as I can judge, (says he) after having walked the whole morning, and the whole afternoon, about these ruins, so much of Lisbon has been destroyed as would make a town more than twice as large as Turin. Nothing is to be seen but vast heaps of rubbish, out of which arise, in numberless places, the miserable remains of shattered walls and broken pillars.—Along a street, which is full four miles in length, scarce a building stood the shock; and I see, by the materials in the rubbish, that many of the houses along that street must have been large and stately, and intermixed with noble churches and other public edifices: nay, by the quantities of marble scattered on every side, it plainly appears, that one fourth, at least, of that street was built of marble.—The rage of the earthquake (if I may call it rage) seems to have turned chiefly against that long street, as almost every edifice on either side is, in a manner, levelled with the ground: whereas, in other parts of the town, houses, churches, and other buildings, are left standing, though all so cruelly shattered as not to be repaired without great expence; nor is there, throughout the whole town, a single building of any kind, but what wears visible marks of the horrible concussion.-As I was thus rambling over these ruins, an aged woman seized me by the hand with some eagerness, and pointing to a place just by, "Here, stranger, said she, do you see this cellar? It was only my cellar once, but now it is my habitation, because I have none else left! My house tumbled as I was in it, and in this cellar was I shut by the ruins for nine whole days. I had perished with hunger but for the grapes that I had hung to the ceiling. At the end of nine days I heard people over my head, who were searching the rubbish; I cried as loud as I could; when hearing me, they removed the rubbish, and took me out."-Another deliverance, no less singular, was the following: a gentleman was going

subject till after he had the misfortune to fall under the merciless and bloody lords of the inquisition.

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

If the above mentioned modes of torturing force a confession from the prisoner, he is remanded to his horrid dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of his situation, to the anguish arising from what he has suffered, and to the dreadful ideas of future barbarities. If he still refuses to confess, he is, in the same manner, remanded to his dungeon, but a stratagem is used to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of waiting upon and comforting his mind till his wounds are healed: this person, who is always selected for his cunning, insinuates himself into the good graces of the prisoner, laments the anguish he feels, sympathises with him, and taking an advantage of the hasty expressions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his secrets.

Sometimes this companion pretends to be a prisoner like himself, and imprisoned for similar charges. This is to draw the unhappy person into a mutual confidence, and persuade him in unbosoming his grief, to betray his private thoughts.

These snares frequently succeed, as they are the more alluring by being glossed over with the appearance of friendship; sympathy, pity, and every tender passion. In fine, if the prisoner cannot be found guilty, he is either tortured or harassed to death, though a few have sometimes had the good fortune to be discharged, but not without having, first of all, suffered the most

in his calash along a kind of terrace, raised on the brink of an eminence which commands the whole town. The frightened mules leaped down the eminence at the first shock; they and the rider were killed on the spot, and the calash broke to pieces; but the gentleman escaped unhurt.

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 gallies, or put to death. These sentences are put in execution at an Auto de Fe, or gaol delivery, which is not held annually, or at any stated periods, but sometimes once in two, three, or even four years.

* * * * * * * * *

After having mentioned the barbarities with which the persons of prisoners are treated by the inquisitors, we shall proceed to recount the severity of their proceedings against books.

As soon as a book is published, it is carefully read by some of the familiars belonging to the inquisition. These wretched critics are too ignorant to have taste, too bigotted to search for truth and too malicious to relish beauties. 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 misunderstand misapply, confound, and pervert the sense; and when they have gratified the malignity of their disposition, charge their blunders upon the author, that a prosecution may be founded upon their false conceptions, and designed misinterpretations.

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

- 1. When the book is wholly condemned.
- 2. When the book is partly condemned, that is, certain passages are pointed out as exceptionable, and ordered to be expunged.
- 3. When the book is deemed incorrect; the meaning of which is that a few words or expressions displease the inquisitions.

These, therefore, are ordered to be altered, and such alterations go under the name of corrections.

From what has been said it is evident that the inquisitors check the progress of learning, impede the encrease of arts, nip genius in the bud, destroy the national taste, and continue the cloud of ignorance over the minds of the people.

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

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

Strictures on books when prejudice indites, Or ignorance judges of what genius writes; When blinded zeal, and rage on learning lour, And bigot dullness fills the seat of pow'r, Well may pure truth for her hard lot repine, And on her hand her pensive head recline; Well may fair science mourn the galling chain, Candour bewail, and innocence complain.

^{* [}CHCoG; Over time, this catalogue grew to almost be a book on its own. Eventually updating it became so onerous due to the great number of new books being published and was so ridiculed by non-Catholics that they stopped publishing it, and instead require Catholics to ONLY read books concerning religion that have been endorsed by the papacy. Which is to say they simply changed to a more subtle and streamlined way of censuring what their victims read.]

Who curb the press with rigid bigot laws, Are foes profess'd to pure religion's cause; And with the iron hand of pow'r would bind, The free-born soul, and chain the human mind; Crush generous sentiments before express'd, And fetter each emotion of the breast.

CHAP. II.

Instances of the Barbarities exercised by the INQUISITIONS of SPAIN and PORTUGAL, on Various Persons, from the most genuine Histories and Records.

I. FRANCIS ROMANES, a native of Spain, being of a mercantile turn of mind, was employed by the merchants of Antwerp to transact some business for them at Breme. He had been educated in the Romish persuasion, but going one day into a protestant church, he was struck with the truths which he heard; and beginning to perceive the errors of popery, he determined to search farther into the matter.

Reading the sacred scriptures attentively, and perusing the writings of some protestant divines, he plainly perceived how erroneous the principles were which he had formerly embraced; and renounced the impositions of popery for the doctrines of the reformed church, in which religion appeared in all its genuine purity.

Determining to give over worldly thoughts, and think of his eternal salvation, he studied religious truths more than trade, and purchased books rather than merchandize, convinced that the riches of the body are trifling to those of the soul.

He now resigned his agency to the merchants of Antwerp, giving them an account at the same time of his conversion; and then resolving, if possible, to convert his parents, he went to Spain for that purpose. But the Antwerp merchants writing to the inquisitors, he was seized, imprisoned for some time and then condemned to be burnt as an heretic.

He was led to the place of execution in a garment painted over with devils, 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. This he absolutely refused to do, saying, *It is not for Christians to worship wood*.

Being placed upon a pile of wood, the fire quickly reached him, when he lifted up his head suddenly; the priests thinking he meant to recant, ordered him to be taken down. Finding, however that they were mistaken, and that he still retained his constancy, he was placed again upon the pile where, as long as he had life and voice remaining, he repeated the following selected verses of the seventh psalm:

> Jehovah, my God, since I have placed My trust alone in thee, From all my persecutors rage, Do thou deliver me.

To save me from my threatening foe Jehovah, interpose thy pow'r, Lest, like a savage lion, he My helpless soul devour.

Arise, and let thine anger, Jehovah, In my defence engage, Exalt thyself above my foes, And their insulting rage.

Awake, awake in my behalf, Thy judgment to dispense, Which thou hast righteously ordained. For injured innocence.

II. At St. Lucar in Spain resided a carver named Rochus, whose principal business was to make images of saints and other popish idols. Becoming however, convinced of the errors of the Romish persuasion, he embraced the Protestant faith, left off

carving images, and for subsistence followed the business of a seal engraver only. He had, however, retained one image of the Virgin Mary for a sign; when an inquisitor passing by asked if he would sell it. Rochus mentioned a price; the inquisitor objected to it, and offered half the money. Rochus replied, *I would rather break it to pieces than take such a trifle.* "Break it to pieces! said the inquisitor, break it to pieces if you dare!"

Rochus being provoked at this expression, immediately snatched up a chisel and cut off the nose of the image. This was sufficient; the inquisitor went away in a rage, and soon after 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 goods, it was not proper for the inquisitor to bargain for the image in the way of trade. Nothing, however, availed him; his fate was decided: he was condemned to be burnt, and the sentence was executed accordingly.

III. Doctor Cacalla, his brother Francis, and his sister Blanch, were burnt at Valladolid for having spoken against the inquisitors. Doctor Cacalla, who was very old, when at the place of execution repeated the words of Solomon, which have been thus beautifully translated:

Behold where age's wretched victim lies, See his head trembling, and his half closed eyes; Frequent for breath his panting bosom heaves, To broken sleep his remnant sense he gives, And only by his pains, awaking finds he lives. Loosed by devouring time, the silver cord Dissevered lies, unhonoured from the board; The crystal urn, when broken, is thrown by, And apter utensils their place supply. These things and I must share one common lot; Die and be lost; corrupt, and be forgot;

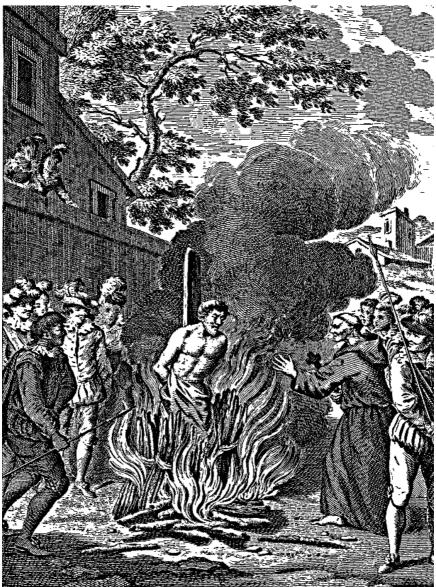
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While still another and another race, Shall now supply, and now give up the place. From earth all came, to earth must all return; Frail as the cord, and brittle as the urn. PRIOR'S SOLOMON

IV. At Seville, a gentlewoman with her two daughters and her niece were apprehended on account of their 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, pretending to sympathise with her, and pity her sufferings; then binding himself with a solemn oath not to betray her, he said, "If you will disclose all to me, I promise you I'll procure the discharge of your mother, sister, cousin and yourself."

Made confident by his oath, and entrapped by his promises, she revealed the whole of the tenets they professed; when the perjured wretch, instead of acting as he had sworn, immediately ordered her to be put to the rack, saying, *Now you have revealed so much, I will make you reveal more.* Refusing however, to say anything farther, they were all ordered to be burnt, which sentence was executed at the next Auto de Fe.

V. The keeper of the castle of Triano, belonging to the inquisitors of Seville, happened to be of a disposition more mild and humane than is usual with persons in his situation, he gave all the indulgence he could to the prisoners, and shewed them every favour in his power with as much secrecy as possible. At length, however, the inquisitors became acquainted with his kindness, and determined to punish him severely for it, that other gaolers might be deterred from showing the least traces of that compassion which ought to glow in the breast of every human being. With this view they superceded, threw him into a dismal dungeon, and used him with such dreadful barbarity that he lost his senses.



ROCHUS, a Carver of St. Lucar in Spain, BURNT by order of the INQUISITION for defacing his own Sign, which was the Image of the Virgin Mary.

His deplorable situation however procured him no favour; for frantic as he was, they brought him from prison at an Auto de Fe to the usual place of punishment with a san benito (a garment worn by criminals) on, and a rope about his neck. His sentence was then read, and ran thus; "that he should be placed upon an ass, led through the city, receive two hundred stripes, and then be condemned six years to the gallies.

The poor frantic wretch, just as they were about to begin his punishment, suddenly sprung from the back of the ass; broke the cords that bound him, snatched a sword from one of the guards, and dangerously wounded an officer of the inquisition. Being overpowered by multitudes, he was prevented from doing farther mischief, seized, bound more securely to the ass, and punished according to his sentence. But so inexorable were the inquisitors, that for the rash effects of his madness an additional four years was added to his slavery in the gallies.

VI. A paid servant to another gaoler belonging to the inquisition was accused of *humanity*, and detected in bidding the prisoners *keep up their spirits*. For these heinous crimes, as they were called, she was publicly whipped, banished from her native place for ten years, and what is worse, had her forehead branded by means of red hot irons, with these words: a *favourer and aider of heretics*.

VII. John Pontic, a Spaniard by birth, a gentleman by education, and protestant by persuasion; was, principally on account of his great estate, apprehended by the inquisitors, when the following charges were exhibited against him:

- 1. That he had said he abhorred the idolatry of worshipping the host.
- 2. That he shunned going to mass.

- 3. That he asserted the merits of Jesus Christ alone was a full justification for a Christian.
- 4. That he declared there was no purgatory; and
- 5. That he affirmed the pope's absolution not to be of any value.

On these charges his effects were confiscated to the use of the inquisitors, and his body was burnt to ashes to gratify their revenge.

VIII. John Gonsalvo was originally a priest, but having embraced the reformed religion, he was now seized by the inquisitors, as were his mother, brother, and two sisters. Being condemned, they were led to execution, where they sung part of the CVIth psalm, viz:

> O render thanks to Jehovah above, The fountain of eternal love; Whose mercy firm through ages past Has stood, and shall for ever last.

Who can his mighty deeds express, Not only vast, but numberless; What mortal eloquence can raise, His tribute of immortal praise.

Happy are they, and only they, Who from thy judgments never stray; Who know what's right—not only so, But always practise what they know.

At the place of execution they were ordered to say the creed, which they immediately complied with, but coming to these words, *the holy Catholic church*, they were commanded to add the monosyllables *of Rome*, which absolutely refusing, one of the

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inquisitors said, *Put an end to their lives directly*, when the executioners obeyed, and strangled them immediately.

IX. Four protestant women being seized upon at Seville, were tortured, and in process of time ordered for execution. On the way thither they began to sing psalms; but the officers of the inquisition, thinking that the words of the psalms reflected on themselves, put gags into all their mouths, to make them silent. They were then burnt, and the houses where they resided were ordered to be razed to the ground.

X. Ferdinando, a Protestant schoolmaster, was apprehended by order of the inquisition for instructing his pupils in the principles of protestantism; and after being severely tortured, was burnt.

XI. A monk, who had abjured the errors of popery was imprisoned at the same time as the above Ferdinando; but through the fear of death and to procure mercy, he said he was willing to embrace his former communion. Ferdinando, hearing of this, got an opportunity to speak to him, reproached him with his weakness, and threatened him with eternal perdition. The monk, sensible of his crime, returned 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 burnt at the same time as Ferdinando.

XII. Juliano, a Spanish Roman catholic, on travelling into Germany, became a convert to the Protestant religion.

Being zealous for the faith he had embraced, Juliano undertook a very arduous task, which was to convey from Germany into his own country a great number of Bibles, concealed in casks, and packed up like Rhenish wine. This important commission he succeeded in so far as to distribute the books. A pretended protestant, however, who had purchased one of the Bibles, betrayed him, and laid an account of the whole affair before the inquisition.

Juliano was immediately seized upon and strict enquiry being made for the respective purchasers of these Bibles, eight hundred persons were apprehended upon the occasion. They were all 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 gallies, and a few discharged.

XIII. John Leon, a protestant taylor of Spain, travelled to Germany, and from thence to Geneva, where hearing that a great number of English protestants were returning to their native country, he, and some more Spaniards, determined to go with them. The Spanish inquisitors being apprized of their intentions, sent a number of familiars so expeditiously in pursuit of them that they overtook them at a seaport in Zealand, one of the United Provinces (which was then under the jurisdiction of Spain) just before they had embarked. Having thus succeeded in their commission, the poor prisoners were heavily fettered, handcuffed, gagged, and had their head and necks covered with a kind of iron net work. In this miserable condition they were conveyed to Spain, throw into a dismal dungeon, almost familiahed with hunger, barbarously tortured, and then cruelly burnt.

XIV. A young lady, having been put into a convent, absolutely refused to take the veil or turn nun. On leaving the cloister she embraced the protestant faith, which being known to the inquisitors, she was apprehended, and every method used to draw her back again to popery. This proving ineffectual, her inexorable judges condemned her to the flames, and she was burnt according to her sentence, persisting in her faith to the last.

XV. Christopher Losada, an eminent physician and learned philosopher, became extremely obnoxious to the inquisitors, on account of exposing the errors of popery, and professing the tenets of protestantism. For these reasons he was apprehended, imprisoned and racked; but those severities not bringing him to confess the Roman catholic church to be the only true church, he was sentenced to the fire; the flames of which he bore with exemplary patience, and resigned his soul to that Creator by whom it was bestowed.

XVI. Arias, a monk of St. Isidore's monastery at Seville, was a man of great abilities, but of vicious disposition. He sometimes pretended to forsake the errors of the church of Rome, and become a protestant and soon after turned Roman catholic. Thus he continued a long time wavering between both persuasions, till God thought proper to touch his heart, and shew him the great danger of inconstancy in religious matters. He now became a true protestant, and bewailed his former errors with contrition. The sincerity of his conversion being known, he was seized by the officers of the inquisition, severely tortured, and afterwards burnt at an Auto de Fe.

XVII. Maria de Coceicao, a young lady who resided with her brother at Lisbon, was taken up by the inquisitors, and ordered to be put to the rack. The exquisite torments she felt staggered her resolution, and she fully confessed the charges against her.

The cords were immediately slackened, and she was reconducted to her cell, where she remained till she had recovered the use of her limbs, and was then brought again before the tribunal, and ordered to ratify her confession and sign it. This she absolutely refused to do, telling them that what she had said was forced from her by the excessive pain she underwent. Incensed at this reply, the inquisitors ordered her again to be put to the rack, when the weakness of nature once more prevailed, and she repeated her former confession. She was immediately remanded to her cell till her wounds were again healed, when being a third time brought before the inquisitors, they in a stern manner ordered her to sign her first and second confessions. She answered as before, but added, "I have twice given way to the frailty of the flesh, and perhaps may, while on the rack, be weak enough to do so again; but depend upon it, if you torture me an hundred times, as soon as I am released from the rack I shall deny what was extorted from me by pain."

The inquisitors ordered her to be racked a third time; and during this last trial, she exceeded even her own expectations; bore the torments inflicted with the utmost fortitude, and could not be persuaded to answer any of the questions put to her. As her courage and constancy encreased, the inquisitors imagined that she would deem death a glorious martyrdom, and therefore, to disappoint her expectations, they condemned her to a severe whipping through the public streets, and to a ten years banishment.

XVIII. Jane Bohorquia, a lady of a noble family in Seville, was apprehended on the information of her sister, who had been tortured and burnt for professing the protestant religion. While on the rack, through the extremity of pain, that young lady confessed that she had frequently discoursed with her sister concerning protestantism, and upon this extorted confession was Jane Boherquia seized and imprisoned. Being pregnant at the beginning, they let her remain tolerably quiet till she was delivered, when they immediately took away her child, and put it to a nurse, that it might be brought up a Roman catholic.

The lady was not perfectly recovered from the weakness caused by her labour, when she was ordered to be racked, which was done with such severity that she expired a week after of the wounds and bruises she received. Upon this occasion the inquisitors affected some remorse, and in one of the printed acts of

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the inquisition, which they always publish at an Auto de Fe, they thus mention this young lady:

Jane Bohorquia was found dead in prison; after which, upon reviving her prosecution, the inquisitors discovered that she was innocent.—Be it therefore known, that no farther prosecutions shall be carried on against her; and that her effects, which were confiscated, shall be given to the heirs at law. Thus have the lords of the holy office of inquisition generously restored her innocence, reputation, and estate.

Strange inconsistency! To take the property, and torture the person before conviction of guilt, and then to compliment themselves for moderation in returning what they had no right to seize, and forgiving one, who, by their own acknowledgement, had never offended them. One sentence, however, in the above ridiculous passage wants explanation, viz: 'That no farther prosecutions shall be carried on against her.' This alludes to the absurd custom of prosecuting and burning the bones of the dead: for when a prisoner dies in the inquisition, the process continues the same as if he was living; the bones are deposited in a chest, and if a sentence of guilt is passed, they are brought out at the next Auto de Fe; 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.

XIX. Dr. Isaac Orobio, a learned physician, having beaten a Moorish servant for stealing, was accused by him of professing Judaism. Without considering the apparent malice of the servant, the inquisitors seized the master upon the charge. He was kept

three years in prison before he had the lest intimation of what he was to undergo, and then suffered the following six modes of torture:

- 1. A coarse linen coat was put on him, and then drawn so tight that the circulation of his blood was nearly stopped, and the breath almost pressed out of his body. After this the strings were suddenly loosened, when the air forcing its way hastily into his stomach, and the blood rushing into its channels, he suffered the most incredible pains.
- 2. His thumbs were tyed with small cords, so hard that the blood gushed from under the nails.
- 3. He was seated on a bench with his back against a wall, wherein small iron pullies were fixed. Ropes being fastened to several parts of his body and limbs, were passed through the pullies, and being suddenly drawn with great violence, his whole frame was forced into a distorted heap.
- 4. After having suffered for a considerable time the pains of the last mentioned position, the seat was snatched away, and he was left suspended against the wall in the most excruciating misery.
- 5. A little instrument with five knobs, and which went with springs, being placed near his face, he suddenly received five blows on the cheek, that put him to such pain as caused him to faint away.
- 6. The executioners fastened ropes round his wrists and then drew them about his body. Placing him on his back with his feet against the wall, they pulled with the utmost violence, till the cords had penetrated to the bones.

The last torture he suffered three different times, and then lay seventy days before his wounds were healed. He was afterwards banished, and in his exile wrote the account of his sufferings, from which we have extracted the foregoing particulars.

XX. An excellent penman of Toledo, in Spain, and a protestant, 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, thrown into verse, and finely written. This piece, which hung in a conspicuous part of the house, was one day seen by a person belonging to the inquisition, who observed that the versification of the commandments was not according to the church of Rome, but according to the protestant church, for the protestants retain the whole of the commandments as they are found in the Bible, but the papists omit that part of the second commandment which forbids the worship of images. The inquisition soon had information of the whole, and this ingenious gentleman was seized, prosecuted, and burnt, only for ornamenting his house with a specimen of his skill and piety. The following is a translation, and specimen of the manner in which this curious piece of penmanship was displayed:

LORD's PRAYER.

Almighty God, who art in heav'n. To thee be endless praises giv'n; Let us thy joyful kingdom see; A kingdom of felicity; Let us on earth thy sacred will, Strictly like those in heav'n fulfil; This day our daily bread bestow, Forgive, as we forgive each foe; Let us not to temptation yield, But guard from vice, from evil shield; For thine's kingdom, glory, pow'r! And shall be to the latest hour AMEN.

CREED.

In God the Father I believe, From whom all things did birth receive. And in his only Son I place, My confidence of gaining grace; That son, to whom the Holy Ghost Conception gave from heav'ns high host; Then from a Virgin he had breath, And Pontius Pilate gave him death. Three days he with the grave contends; And into hell itself descends! On the third day again he rose, And mounts to heaven to seek repose; On God's right hand he sits serene, Till the last judgment's awful scene. I in the Holy Ghost believe, The church as catholic receive: I hold that saints commune in heav'n. And that our sins shall be forgiv'n; That resurrection day shall come, And the soul's everlasting doom. AMEN

The TEN COMMANDMENTS.

- 1. No God thou shalt adore but me, Nor bow to other deity.
- Thou shalt not any image make; Nor for a god an idol take; Whether a picture it appear, Of any thing in sea, earth; air; No confidence upon it place, Nor bow to any thing so base; For I am jealous of that praise Which only one true God should raise,

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And punish all who hate or scorn, Even in their progeny unborn.

- 3. Take not the Almighty's name in vain, He'll treat severely the profane.
- 4. Labour not on the sabbath day, But to Jehovah fervent pray. Six days to labour render'd due, Suffice your business to pursue; Then thee and thine in work may strain, But on the sabbath day restrain; For in six days, by God displayed The wondrous universe was made; On the seventh day he went to rest, And hence the sabbath day is blest.
- 5. To both your parents honour give, And long in honour thou shalt live.
- 6. Do not your hands in blood imbrue:
- 7. Nor dare adultery pursue:
- 8. That thou stealest not take special care;
- 9. Nor ever perjured witness bear:
- Thy neighbour's house thou shalt not crave, Nor his wife, his servant, or his slave, Or any thing that he may have.

CHAP. III.

Containing the Lives of Dr. ÆGIDIO, Dr. CONSTANTINE, Mr. NICHOLAS BURTON and Mr. WILLIAM GARDENER.

The Life of Dr. ÆGIDIO.

Dr. Ægidio was educated at the university of Alcala, where he took his several degrees, and particularly applied himself to the study of the sacred scriptures and school of divinity. The professor of theology dying, he was elected into his place, and acted so much to the satisfaction of every one, that his reputation for learning and piety was circulated throughout Europe.

His fame, on account of his theological lectures, having attracted the notice of some Spanish grandees and principals of the church, he was sent for to Seville; and made subdean of the cathedral church in that city. But when he came to deliver his probation sermon, instead of raising admiration, he created contempt. The lectures which had formerly gained him fame he had composed with attention, and read with care; but his sermon he was obliged to speak extempore. This mode of facing an audience staggered him. He stammered, hesitated, and at length became so confused in his words that his meaning was scarce intelligible.

This miscarriage quite disheartened him, and he had some thoughts of resigning his preferment and returning to the university; when a friend pointed out the faults of his preaching to him, and taught him how to remedy them.

He assiduously studied his friend's rules, and by punctually putting them in practice, so far refined his diction, and polished his action, that he became admired for his elocution by those who had so lately despised him on that account. But his friend did him a more essential service than that of making him an orator, by making him a Protestant, a title which Ægidio himself thought of all others the most honourable.

The light of truth began to appear in his sermons, and his doctrines contained the pure tennets of primitive Christianity. The great emperor Charles V. hearing him preach, was so pleased with the *matter* and *manner*, and thought the *elocution* and *doctrine* so simply agreeable, that he constituted him bishop of Dortois.

True merit will excite envy:

Envy will merit like its shade pursue, But like the shadow proves the substance true.

Ægidio had his enemies, and these laid a complaint against him to the inquisitors, who sent him a citation, and when he appeared to it, cast him into a dungeon. As the greatest part of those who belonged to the cathedral church at Seville, and many persons belonging to the bishopric of Dortois highly approved of the doctrines of Ægidio, which they thought perfectly consonant with true religion, they petitioned the emperor in his behalf. Though that monarch had been educated a Roman catholic, he had too much sense to be a bigot; and therefore sent an immediate order for his enlargement.

He soon after visited the church of Valladolid, did every thing he could to promote the cause of religion, and returning home he soon after fell sick, and died in an extreme old age.

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

The New Book of Martyrs *The Life of Dr. CONSTANTINE*.

DR. CONSTANTINE, an intimate acquaintance of the already mentioned Dr. Ægidio, was a man of uncommon natural abilities and profound learning; exclusive of several modern tongues, he was acquainted with the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, and perfectly well knew not only the sciences called abstruse, but those arts which come under the denomination of polite literature.

This 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 assembly. He had many opportunities of rising in the church, but never would take advantage of them; for if a living of greater value than his own was offered him, he would refuse it, saying, *I am content with what I have*; and he frequently preached so forcibly against simony that many of his superiors, who were not so delicate upon the subject, took umbrage at his doctrines upon that head.

Having been fully confirmed in protestantism by Dr. Ægidio, he preached boldly such doctrines only as were agreeable to gospel purity, and uncontaminated by the errors which had, at various times, crept into the Romish church. For these reasons he had many enemies among the Roman catholics, and some of them were fully determined on his destruction.

A worthy gentleman named Scobaria, having erected a school for divinity lectures, appointed Dr. Constantine to be reader therein. He immediately undertook the task, and read lectures, by portions, on the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; and was beginning to expound the book of Job, when he was seized by the inquisitors.

Being brought to examination, he answered with such precaution that they could not find any explicit charge upon him, but remained doubtful in what manner to proceed, when the following circumstances occurred to determine them:

Dr. Constantine had deposited with a woman named Isabella Martin, several books which to him were very valuable, but which he knew, in the eyes of the inquisition, were exceptionable. This woman, having been informed against as a protestant, was apprehended, and after a small process, her goods were ordered to be confiscated. Previous, however, to the officers coming to her house, the woman's son had removed away several chests full of the most valuable articles; and among these were Dr. Constantine's books.

A treacherous servant giving intelligence of this to the inquisitors, an officer was dispatched to the son to demand the chests. The son, supposing that the officer only came for Constantine's books, said, *I know what you come for, and will fetch them to you immediately*. He then fetched Dr. Constantine's books and papers, when the officer was greatly surprised to find what he did not look for. He, however, told the young man that he was glad these books and papers were produced, but nevertheless he must fulfil the end of his commission, which was to carry him and the goods he had embezzled before the inquisitors, which he did accordingly, for the young man knew it would be in vain to expostulate or resist, and therefore quietly submitted to his fate.

The inquisitors being thus possessed of Constantine's books and writings, now found matter sufficient to form charges against him. When he was brought to a re-examination, they presented one of his papers, and asked him if he knew the 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.*

After being detained upwards of two years in prison, Dr. Constantine was seized with a bloody flux, which put an end to his miseries in this world. The process, however, was carried on against his body, which, at the ensuing Auto de Fe, was publicly burnt.

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Thus death itself cannot control The malice of a bigot soul; Which more than forfeit life can crave, And seek revenge beyond the grave.

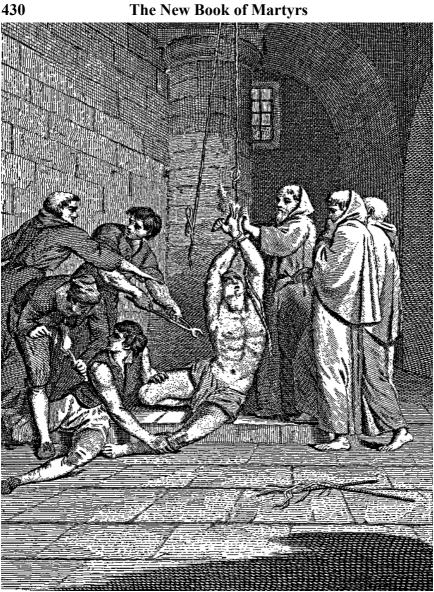
The Life of Mr. NICHOLAS BURTON.

MR. BURTON was a merchant of London, who traded into Spain. Being at Cadiz, a familiar of the inquisition called upon him one day at his lodging, pretending that he wanted to send a quantity of merchandise to London. Having asked as many questions as he thought proper, he departed, and Mr. Burton was next day taken into custody by one of the inquisitoral officers.

On his examination the president demanded if he had, by words or writing, said or insinuated any thing disrespectful to the Roman Catholic persuasion.

To this Mr. Burton replied in the negative; saying that he was sensible, in whatever country we were, respect ought to be paid to the religion of that country: that such knowledge to him was essential, who, as a merchant was obliged to visit various countries, and conform to the religious and civil ceremonies of all.

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



The cruel Methods by which Mr. NICOLAS BURTON, an Englishman, was Tortured in the Inquisitorial Prison at CADIZ previous to his MARTYRDOM.

About the time of Mr. Burton's martyrdom, several others of the English in Spain were put to death by the inquisitors: particularly John Baker, William Burgate and William Burgess were burnt; and William Hooker was stoned to death; freely giving up their lives for him who shed his blood for them.

> Jesus, who dies a world to save, Revives; and rises from the grave; By his almighty pow'r; From sin and death, and hell set free, He captive leads captivity, And lives to die no more.

The Lord, who spoke the world from nought, Hath for poor sinners dearly bought,

Salvation by his blood; Lo! how he bursts the bonds of death, And reassumes his vital breath, To make our title good.

God's church is still his joy and crown; He looks with love and pity down,

On those he did redeem; He tastes their joys, he feels their woes, Decrees that they may spoil their foes, And ever reign in him.

The Life of Mr. WILLIAM GARDENER

WILLIAM GARDENER was born at Bristol, received a tolerable education, and was, at a proper age placed under the care of a merchant named Paget.

At the age of twenty-six years, he was, by his master, sent to Lisbon, to act as factor. Here he applied himself to the study of the Portuguese language, executed his business with assiduity and fidelity, and behaved with the most engaging affability to all persons with whom he had the least concern. He conversed privately with a few whom he knew to be zealous protestants: and at the same time, cautiously avoided giving the least offence to any who were Roman catholics: he had not, however, hitherto, gone into any of the popish churches.

A marriage being concluded between the king of Portugal's son and the Infanta of Spain, upon the wedding-day the bridegroom, bride, and the whole court went to the cathedral church, attended by multitudes of all ranks of people, and among the rest William Gardener, who stayed during the whole ceremony, and was greatly shocked at the superstitions he saw.

The erroneous worship which he had seen ran strongly in his mind; he was miserable to behold a whole country sunk into such idolatry, when the truth of the gospel might be so easily obtained. He, therefore, took the inconsiderate, tho' laudable design into his head, of making a reform in Portugal, or perishing in the attempt; and determined to sacrifice his prudence to his zeal, though he became a martyr upon the occasion.

To this end he settled all his worldly affairs, paid his debts, closed his books, and consigned over his merchandize. On the ensuing Sunday he went again to the cathedral church, with a New Testament in his hand, and placed himself near the altar. The king and the court soon appeared, and a cardinal began mass; at that part of the ceremony in which the people adore the wafer, Gardener could hold out no longer, but springing towards the cardinal, he snatched the host from him, and trampled it under his feet.

This action amazed the whole congregation, and one person drawing a dagger, wounded Gardener in the shoulder, and would, by repeating the blow, have finished him, had not the king called to him to desist.

Gardener being carried before the king, the monarch asked him what countryman he was, to which he replied, I am an

Englishman by birth, a protestant by religion, and a merchant by occupation. What I have done is not out of contempt to your royal person, God forbid it should, but out of an honest indignation to see the ridiculous superstitions and gross idolatries practised here.

The king, thinking that he had been stimulated by some other person to act as he had done, demanded who was his abettor, to which he replied, "My own conscience alone. I would not hazard what I have done for any man living, but I owe that and all other services to God."

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

Gardener himself was then tormented in the most excruciating manner: but in the midst of all his torments he gloried in the deed. Being ordered for death, a large fire was kindled near a gibbet, Gardener was drawn up to the gibbet by pullies, and then let down near the fire, but not so close as to touch it; for they burnt or rather roasted him by slow degrees. Yet he bore his sufferings patiently, and resigned his soul to the Lord.

It is observable that some of the sparks were blown from the fire, (which consumed Gardener) towards the haven, burnt one of the king's ships of war, and did other considerable damage. The Englishmen who were taken up on this occasion were, soon after Gardener's death, all discharged, except the person that resided in the same house with him, who was detained two years before he could procure his liberty.

CHAP. IV.

Account of the Life and Sufferings of Mr. WILLIAM LITHGOW, a Native of Scotland.

THIS gentleman was descended from a good family, and having a natural propensity to travelling, he rambled, when very young, over the northern and western islands after which he visited France, Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland and Spain. He set out on his travels in the month of March, 1609, and the first place he went to was Paris, where he stayed for some time. He then prosecuted his travels through Germany and other parts, and at length arrived at Malaga in Spain, the seat of all his misfortunes.

During his residence here, he contracted with the master of a French ship for his passage to Alexandria, but was prevented from going by the following circumstances. In the evening of the 17th of October, 1620, the English fleet, at that time on a cruise against the Algerine rovers, came to anchor before Malaga, which threw the people of the town into the greatest consternation, as they imagined them to be Turks. The morning, however, discovered the mistake, and the governor of Malaga, perceiving the cross of England in their colours, went on board Sir Robert Mansell's ship, who commanded on that expedition, and after staying some time returned, and silenced the fears of the people.

The following day many persons from on board the fleet came ashore. Among these were several well known by Mr. Lithgow, who, after reciprocal compliments, spent some days together in festivity and the amusements of the town. They then invited Mr. Lithgow to go on board, and pay his respects to the admiral. He accordingly accepted the invitation, was kindly received by him, and detained till the next day, when the fleet sailed. The admiral would willingly have taken Mr. Lithgow with him to Algiers; but having contracted for his passage to Alexandria, and his baggage, &c. being in the town, he could not accept the offer.

As soon as Mr. Lithgow got on shore he proceeded towards his lodgings by a private way (being to embark the same night for Alexandria) when, in passing through a narrow, uninhabited street, he found himself suddenly surrounded by nine serjeants, or officers, who threw a black cloak over him and forcibly conducted him to the governor's house. After some little time the governor appeared, when Mr. Lithgow earnestly begged he might be informed of the cause of such violent treatment. The governor only answered by shaking his head, and gave orders that the prisoner should be strictly watched till he (the governor) returned from his devotions; directing, at the same time, that the captain of the town, the alcaid-major, and town notary, should be summoned to appear at his examination, and that all this should be done with the greatest secrecy, to prevent the knowledge thereof reaching the ears of the English merchants then residing in the town.

These orders were strictly discharged, and on the governor's return, he with the officers, having seated themselves; Mr. Lithgow was brought before them for examination. The governor began by asking several questions, namely, of what country he was, whither bound, and how long he had been in Spain. The prisoner, after answering these, and other questions, was conducted to a closet, where, in a short space of time, he was visited by the town-captain, who enquired whether he had ever been at Seville, or was lately come from thence; and patting his cheeks with an air of friendship, conjuring him to tell the truth; "for (said he) your very countenance shows there is some hidden matter in your mind, which prudence should direct you to disclose." Finding himself, however, unable to extort any thing from the prisoner; he left him, and reported the same to the governor and the other officers; on which Mr. Lithgow was again brought before them, a general accusation was laid against him, and he was compelled to swear

that he would give true answers to such questions as should be asked him.

The governor then proceeded to enquire the quality of the English commander, and the prisoner's opinion what were the motives that prevented his accepting an invitation from him to come on shore. He demanded, likewise, the names of the English captains in the squadron, and what knowledge he had of the embarkation, or preparation for it before its departure from England. The answers given to the several questions asked were set down in writing by the notary; but the junto seemed surprized at his denying any knowledge of the fitting out of the fleet, particularly the governor, who said he lied, that he was a traitor and spy, and came directly from England to favour and assist in the designs that were projected against Spain; and that he had been for that purpose nine months in Seville, in order to procure intelligence of the time the Spanish navy was expected from the Indies. They exclaimed against his familiarity with the officers of the fleet, and many other English gentlemen, between whom, they said, unusual civilities had passed, but all these transactions had been carefully noticed.

Besides, to sum up the whole, and put the truth past all doubt, they said, he came from a council of war held that morning on board the admiral's ship, in order to put in execution the orders assigned him. They upbraided him with being accessory to the burning of the island of St. Thomas, in the West-Indies; "wherefore (said they) these Lutherans, and sons of the devil, ought to have no credit given to what they say or swear.

In vain did Mr. Lithgow endeavour to obviate every accusation laid against him, and to obtain belief from his prejudiced judges. He begged permission to send for his cloak-bag, which contained his papers, and might serve to shew his innocence. This request they complied with, thinking it would discover some things of which they were ignorant. The cloak-bag was accordingly brought, and being opened, among other things, was found a

licence from king James I. under the sign manual, setting forth the bearer's intention to travel into Egypt; which was treated by the haughty Spaniards with great contempt. The other papers consisted of passports, testimonials, &c, of persons of quality. All these credentials, however, seemed rather to confirm than abate the suspicions of these prejudiced judges, who, after seizing all the prisoner's papers, ordered him again to be withdrawn.

In the meantime a consultation was held to fix the place where the prisoner should be confined. The alcade, or chief judge, was for putting him in the town prison; but this was objected to particularly by the corrigidore, who said, in Spanish, "in order to prevent the knowledge of his confinement from reaching his countrymen, I will take the matter on myself, and be answerable for the consequences;" upon which it was agreed, that he should be confined in the governor's house with the greatest secrecy.

This matter being determined, one of the serjeants went to Mr. Lithgow, and begged his money, with liberty to search him. As it was needless to make any resistance the prisoner quietly complied, when the serjeant (after rifling his pockets of eleven ducatoons) stripped him to his flirt; and searching his breeches he found, enclosed in the waistband two canvas bags containing one hundred and thirty-seven pieces of gold. The serjeant immediately took the money to the corrigidore, who, after having told it over, ordered him to clothe the prisoner, and shut him up close till after supper.

About midnight the serjeant and two Turkish slaves released Mr. Lithgow from his then confinement, but it was to introduce him to one much more horrible. They conducted him thro' several passages to a chamber in a remote part of the palace, towards the garden, where they loaded him with irons, and extended his legs by means of an iron bar above a yard long, the weight of which was so great that he could neither stand or sit, but was obliged to lie continually on his back. They left him in this condition for some time, when they returned with a refreshment of food, consisting of a pound of boiled mutton and a loaf; together with a small quantity of wine; which was not only the first, but the best and last of the kind, during his confinement in this place. After delivering these articles, the serjeant locked the door, and left Mr. Lithgow to his own private contemplations.

The next day he received a visit from the governor, who promised him his liberty, with many other advantages, if he would confess being a spy; but on his protesting that he was entirely innocent, the governor left him in a rage, saying he should see him no more till farther torments constrained him to confess; commanding the keeper, to whose care he was committed, that he should permit no person whatever to have access to or commune with him: that his sustenance should not exceed three ounces of musty bread, and a pint of water every second day; that he should be allowed neither bed, pillow, nor cover-let. "Close up, said he, this window in his room with lime and stone; stop up the holes of the door with double mats: let him have nothing that bears any likeness to comfort." These, and several other orders of the like severity were given to render it impossible for his condition to be known to those of the English nation. In this wretched and melancholy state did poor Lithgow continue without seeing any person for several days, in which time the governor received an answer to a letter he had written, relative to the prisoner, from Madrid; and pursuant to the instructions given him, began to put in practice the cruelties devised, which they hastened, because the Christmas holy-days approached, it being then the forty-seventh day since his imprisonment.

About two o'clock in the morning, he heard the noise of a coach in the street; and some time after heard the opening of the prison doors; not having had any sleep for two nights; hunger, pain, and melancholy reflections having prevented him from taking any repose.

Soon after the prison doors were opened; the nine 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,

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through the house into the street, where a coach waited, and into which they laid him at the bottom on his back, not being able to sit. Two of the serjeants rode with him, and the rest walked by the coach side, but all preserved the most profound silence. They drove him-to a vine-press house, about a league from the town, to which place a rack had been privately conveyed before; and here they shut him up for that night.

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

In consequence of this he was conducted by the serjeants to the end of a stone gallery, where the rack was placed. The Encarouador, or executioner, immediately struck off his irons, which put him to very great pain, the bolts being so 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 had the least sustenance for three days) occasioned him to groan bitterly; upon which the merciless alcade said, "Villain, Traitor, this is but the earnest of what you shall endure." When his irons were off he fell on his knees, uttering a short prayer; that God would be pleased to enable him to be stedfast, and undergo courageously the grievous trial he had to undergo. The alcade and notary having placed themselves in chairs, he was stripped naked, and fixed upon the rack, the office of these gentlemen being to be witness of and set down the confessions and tortures endured by the delinquent.

It is impossible to describe all the various tortures inflicted on him. Suffice it to say, that he lay on the rack for above five hours, during which time he received above sixty different tortures of the most hellish nature; and had they continued them a few minutes longer, he must have inevitably perished.

These cruel persecutors being satisfied for the present, the prisoner was taken from the rack, and his irons being again put on, he was conducted to his former dungeon, having received no other nourishment than a little warm wine, which was given him rather to prevent his dying, and reserve him for future punishments, than from any principle of charity or compassion.

As a confirmation of this, orders were given for a coach to pass every morning before day by the prison; that the noise made by it might give fresh terrors and alarms to the unhappy prisoner, and deprive him of all possibility of obtaining the least repose.

He continued in this horrid situation, almost starved for want of the common necessaries to preserve his wretched existence, till Christmas-day, when he received some relief from Marione, waiting woman to the governor's lady. This woman, having obtained leave to visit him, carried with her some refreshments, consisting of honey, sugar, raisins, and other articles: and so affected was she at beholding his situation, that she wept bitterly, and at her departure expressed the greatest concern at not being able to give him farther assistance.

In this loathsome dungeon was poor Mr. Lithgow kept till he was almost devoured with vermin. They crawled about his beard, lips, eye-brows, &c. so that he could scarce open his eyes; and his

mortification was encreased by not having the use of his hands or legs to defend himself, from his being so miserably maimed by the tortures. So cruel was the governor, that he even ordered the vermin to be swept on him twice in every eight days. He, however, obtained some little mitigation of this part of his punishment from the humanity of a Turkish slave that attended him, who, at times, when he could do it with safety, destroyed the vermin, and contributed every refreshment to him that laid in his power.

From this slave Mr. Lithgow at length received that information which gave him little hopes of ever being released, but, on the contrary, that he should finish his life under new tortures. The substance of this information was that an English seminary priest, and a Scotch cooper, had been for some time employed by the governor to translate from the English into the Spanish language, all his books and observations, and that it was commonly said in the governor's house that he was an arch heretic.

This information greatly alarmed him, and he began, not without reason, to fear that they would soon finish him, more especially as they could neither, by torture, or any other means, bring him to vary from what he had all along said at his different examinations.

Two days after he had received the above information, the governor, an inquisitor, and a canonical priest, accompanied by two jesuits, entered his dungeon, and being seated, after several idle questions, the inquisitor asked Mr. Lithgow if he was a Roman catholic, and acknowledged the pope's supremacy? He answered that he neither was the one, nor did the other; adding, that he was surprized at being asked such questions, since it was expressly stipulated by the articles of peace between England and Spain, that none of the English subjects should be liable to the inquisition, or any way molested by them on account of diversity in religion, &c. In the bitterness of his soul he made use of some warm expressions not suited to his circumstances: "As you have almost murdered me (said he) for pretended treason, so now you intend to make a martyr of me for religion." He also expostulated with the 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 have otherwise miserably perished.

The governor admitted the truth of what Mr. Lithgow said, but replied with an haughty air that the king, who then only ruled Scotland was actuated more by fear than love, and therefore did not deserve any thanks. One of the jesuits said there was no faith to be kept with heretics. The inquisitor then rising, addressed himself to Mr. Lithgow in the following words: "You have been taken up as a spy, accused of treachery, and tortured, as we acknowledge, innocently; (which appears by the account lately received from Madrid of the intentions of the English) yet it was the divine power that brought those judgments upon you, for presumptuously treating the blessed miracle of Loretto with ridicule, and expressing yourself in your writings irreverently of his holiness, the great agent and Christ's vicar upon earth; therefore you are justly fallen into our hands by their special appointment: thy books and papers are miraculously translated by the assistance of Providence influencing thy own countrymen."

This trumpery being ended, they gave the prisoner eight days to consider and resolve whether he would become a convert to their religion, during which time, the inquisitor told him, he, with other religious orders, would attend, to give him such assistance thereto as he might want. One of the jesuits said (first making the sign of the cross upon his breast) "My son, behold, you deserve to be burnt alive; but by the grace of our Lady of Loretto; whom you have blasphemed, we will both save your soul and body."

In the morning the inquisitor with the three ecclesiastics returned, when the former asked the prisoner what difficulties he had on his conscience that retarded his conversion; to which he

answered, he had not any doubts in his mind, being confident in the promises of Christ, and assuredly believing his revealed will signified in the gospels, as professed in the reformed 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 and essence of religion and charity to convince by opprobrious speeches, racks, and torments, but by arguments deduced from the scriptures; and that all other methods would with him be totally ineffectual.

The inquisitor was so enraged at the replies made by the prisoner that he struck him on the face, used many abusive speeches, and attempted to stab him, which he would certainly have done had he not been prevented by the jesuits: and from this time he never again visited the prisoner.

The next day the two jesuits returned, and putting on a very grave supercilious air, the superior asked him, what resolution he had taken? To which Mr. Lithgow replied, that he was already resolved, unless he could shew substantial reasons to make him alter his opinion. The superior, after a pedantic display of their seven sacraments, the intercession of saints, transubstantiation, &ct. 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 has been ever since the first days of the apostles, and Christ had ever his own church (however obscure) in the greatest time of your darkness."

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

The first effects Mr. Lithgow felt of the determination of this bloody tribunal was a sentence to receive that night eleven different tortures, and if he did not die in the execution of them (which might be reasonably expected from the maimed and disjointed condition he was in) he was, after Easter holidays, to be carried to Grenada, and there burnt to ashes. The first part of the sentence was executed with great barbarity that night; and it pleased God to give him strength both of body and mind, to stand fast to the truth, and to survive the horrid punishments inflicted on him.

After these barbarians had glutted themselves for the present, with exercising on the unhappy prisoner the most distinguished cruelties, they again put irons on, and conveyed him to his former dungeon. The next morning he received some little comfort from the Turkish slave (before mentioned) who secretly brought him in his shirt sleeve, some raisins and figs, which he licked up in the best manner his strength would permit with his tongue. It was to this slave Mr. Lithgow attributed his surviving so long in such a wretched situation; for he found means to convey some of these fruits to him twice every week. It is very extraordinary, and worthy of note, that this poor slave, bred up from his infancy, according to the maxims of his prophet and parents in the greatest detestation of christians, should be so affected at the miserable situation of Mr. Lithgow, that he fell ill; and continued so for upwards of forty days. During this period Mr. Lithgow was attended by a negro woman, a slave, who found means to furnish him with refreshments still more amply than the Turk, being

conversant in the house and family. She brought him every day some victuals, and with it some wine in a bottle. The time was now so far elapsed, and the horrid situation so truly loathsome, that Mr. Lithgow waited with anxious expectation for the day, which, by putting an end to his life, would also end his torments. But his melancholy expectations were, by the interposition of Providence, happily rendered abortive, and his deliverance obtained from the following circumstances.

It happened that a Spanish gentleman of quality came from Grenada to Malaga, who being invited to an entertainment by the governor, he informed him of what had befallen Mr. Lithgow, from the time of his being first apprehended as a spy, and described the various sufferings he had endured. He likewise told him that after it was known the prisoner was innocent, it gave him great concern. That on this account he would gladly have released him, restored his money and papers, and made some atonement for the injuries he had received; but that upon an inspection into his writings, several were found of a very blasphemous nature, highly reflecting on their religion. That on his refusing to abjure these heretical opinions, he was turned over to the inquisition, by whom he was finally condemned.

While the governor was relating this tragical tale, a Flemish youth (servant to the Spanish gentleman) who waited at table, was struck with amazement and pity at the sufferings of the stranger described. On his return to his master's lodgings he began to revolve in his mind what he had heard, which made such an impression on him that he could not rest in his bed. In the short slumbers he had, his imagination painted to him the person described on the racks and burning in the fire. In this anxiety he passed the night; and when the morning came, without disclosing his intentions to any person whatever, he went into the town, and enquired for an English factor. He was directed to the house of one Mr. Wild, to whom he related the whole of what he had heard pass, the preceding evening, between his master and the governor; but could not tell Mr. Lithgow's name. Mr. Wild, however, conjectured it was him, by the servant's remembering the circumstance of his being a traveller, and his having had some acquaintance with him.

On the departure of the Flemish servant, Mr. Wild immediately sent for the other English factors, to whom he related all the particulars relative to their unfortunate countryman. After a short consultation it was agreed that an information of the whole affair should be sent, by express, to Sir Walter Aston, the English ambassador to the king of Spain, then at Madrid. This was accordingly done, and the ambassador having presented a memorial to the king and council of Spain, he obtained an order for Mr. Lithgow's enlargement, and his delivery to the English factory. This order was directed to the governor of Malaga; and was received with great dislike and surprize by the whole assembly of the bloody inquisition.

Mr. Lithgow was released from his confinement on the eve of Easter-Sunday, when he was carried from his dungeon on the back of the slave that had attended him to the house of one Mr. Busbich, where all proper comforts were given him. It fortunately happened that there was at this time a squadron of English ships in the harbour, commanded by Sir Richard Hawkins, who being informed of the past sufferings, and present situation of Mr. Lithgow, came the next day ashore, with a proper guard, and received him from the merchants. He was instantly carried in blankets on board the Vanguard, and three days after was removed to another ship, by direction of the general Sir Robert Mansel, who ordered that he should have proper care taken of him. The factory presented him with cloaths, and all necessary provisions, besides which they gave him two hundred reals in silver; and Sir Richard Hawkins sent him two double pistoles.

Before his departure from the Spanish coast, Sir Richard Hawkins demanded the delivery of his papers, money, books, &c. but could not obtain any satisfactory answer on that head.

We cannot help making a pause here to reflect how manifestly Providence interfered in behalf of this poor man, when he was just on the brink of destruction; for by his sentence, from which there was no appeal, he would have been taken, in a few days, to Grenada, and burnt to ashes: and that a poor ordinary servant, who had not the least knowledge of him, nor was any ways interested in his preservation, should risque the displeasure of his master, and hazard his own life, to disclose a thing of so momentous and perilous a nature, to a strange gentleman, on whose secrecy depended his own existence. By such secondary means does Providence frequently interfere in behalf of the virtuous and oppressed; of which this is a most distinguished example

After lying twelve days in the road, the ship weighed anchor, and in about two months arrived safe at Deptford. The next morning Mr. Lithgow was carried on a feather bed to Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, where, at that time, was the king and royal family. His majesty happened to be that day engaged in hunting, but on his return in the evening Mr. Lithgow was presented to him, and related the particulars of his sufferings, and his happy delivery. The king was so affected at the narrative, that he expressed the deepest concern, and gave orders that he should be sent to Bath, and his wants properly supplied from his royal munificence. By these means, under God, after some time, Mr. Lithgow was restored, from the most wretched spectacle, to a great share of health and strength; but he lost the use of his left arm, and several of the smaller bones were so crushed and broken, as to be ever after rendered useless.

Notwithstanding every effort was used, Mr. Lithgow could never obtain any part of his money or effects, though his majesty, and the ministers of state, interested themselves in his behalf. Gondamore, the Spanish ambassador, indeed, promised that all his effects should be restored, with the addition of one thousand pounds English money, as some atonement for the tortures he had undergone, which last was to be paid him by the governor of

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Malaga. These engagements, however, were but mere promises; and though the king was a kind of guarantee for the well performance of them, the cunning Spaniard found means to elude the same. He had, indeed, too great a share of influence in the English council during the time of that pacific reign, when England suffered herself to be bullied into slavish compliance by most of the states and kings in Europe.

CHAP. V.

The Trial and Cruel Sufferings of Mr. ISAAC MARTIN.

AS Mr. Martin's case is singular in itself, and amply explained, and as it was published under the immediate sanction of government, and Mr. Martin himself patronized by the highest characters both in church and state, we shall minutely enter into the particulars of it.

About Lent, in the year 1714, Mr. Martin arrived at Malaga, with his wife and four children. On the examination of his baggage, his Bible and some other books were seized, and effectually lost to him.

In about three months time he was accused of being a Jew, for these curious reasons, that his own name was *Isaac*, and one of his sons was named *Abraham*.

When he heard of the accusation, which was laid in the bishop's court, 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 carefully to shun. The clergy sent to Mr. Martin's neighbours to know their opinion concerning him: the result of which enquiry was this; *We believe him not to be a Jew, but an heretic.*

These things convinced Mr. Martin that he had enemies at Malaga; but their malice did not appear formidable for some years. Being continually pestered by priests, particularly those of the Irish nation, in order to change his religion, he determined to dispose of what he had, and retire from a place which was become so disagreeable.

As soon as his resolution to leave Malaga had taken wind, at about nine o'clock at night (a late hour in that country) he heard a knocking at his door. Mr. Martin demanded who was there? The persons without said they wanted to enter. He desired they would come again the next morning; but they replied, if he would not open the door they would break it open: and they were as good as their word; for it flew off the hinges while they were speaking.

As soon as the barrier was removed, 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 replied, I am an English protestant, and as such carry no private arms, nor make use of beads.

Having taken away his watch, money, and other things, they carried him to the bishop's prison, and put him on a pair of heavy fetters. His distressed family was, at the same time, turned out of doors till the house was stripped; and when they had taken every thing away, they returned the key to his wife, that she and her children might solace themselves between the bare walls.

Four days after his commitment Mr. Martin was told he must be sent to Granada to be tried: he earnestly begged to see his wife and children before he went, but this was cruelly denied him.

Being doubly fettered, he was mounted on a mule, and set out towards Granada. 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, as it is seventy-two miles of very rugged road from Malaga to Granada.

On his arrival at Granada he was detained at an inn till it was dark, for they never put any one into the inquisition during daylight. At night Mr. Martin was taken to the inquisition, shewn up one pair of stairs, and led along a range of galleries till he arrived at a dungeon, which the gaoler unlocked, and staid with him till the under gaoler fetched a lamp, and the things brought from Malaga by the carrier, which consisted of an old bed, a few cloaths, and a box of books.

The latter the gaoler nailed up, and said they must remain in that state till the lord of the inquisition chose to inspect them, for

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prisoners were not allowed to read books. The gaoler then took an inventory of every thing which Mr. Martin had about him, even to his very buttons; and having asked him a great number of frivolous questions, he, at length, gave him these orders: "You must observe as great silence here as if you were dead; you must not speak, nor whistle, nor sing, nor make any noise that can be heard; and if you hear any body cry or make a noise, you must be still, and say nothing upon pain of two hundred lashes."

Mr. Martin said he could not always be upon the bed, and asked if he might not have the liberty to walk about the room; the gaoler replied he might, but it must be very softly. After having given him some wine, bread, and half a dozen walnuts, the gaoler left him till the morning.

It was frosty weather at the time of Mr. Martin's imprisonment, so that he lay extremely cold; for the walls of the dungeon were between two and three feet thick, the floor was bricked, and a great deal of wind came in through a hole of about a foot in length, and five inches in breadth, 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 turn, or such a wheel as is usually found at the doors of convents, where a person on the other side, whom you cannot see, turns your provisions round to you. 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.

And this was the allowance for three days. He had likewise delivered to him for use,

Two pounds of charcoal.

An earthen stove.

A pipkin.

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Some plates. A pitcher. An urinal. A broom.

Three baskets: one for bread, meat and greens: a second for charcoal; and the other for dirt, and

A wooden spoon.

In a week's time Mr. Martin was ordered 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, as he afterwards learned, the secretary. The person between the two crucifixes was the chief lord inquisitor. He seemed about sixty years of age, and was very lean. As soon as he saw Mr. Martin, he ordered him to sit down upon a little stool that fronted him, when the following examination took place, which we shall mark by the signatures *I. and M.* the first letter implying Inquisitor, and the last Martin, agreeable to the respective questions and answers.

I. What were you brought here for?

M. My lord, I don't know.

I. Can you speak Spanish?

M. I can speak Spanish, but not so well as English or French. If you please to send for an Irish or a French priest I should be glad; for I am afraid I have not Spanish enough to answer your lordship in some things that you may demand of me.

I. find you speak Spanish enough; but what have you done? what is your name? what countryman are you? what religion are you of?

M. My lord, I don't know what I have done. My name is Isaac Martin; I am an Englishman and a protestant.

I. Will you take an oath that you will answer the truth to what shall be demanded of you?

M. Yes, my lord, I will.

I. Well, put your hand upon that crucifix, and swear by the cross.

M. My lord, we swear upon scripture.

I. It is no matter for scripture, put your hand upon the cross. [Mr. Martin then put his hand to the cross, and the other gravely began thus:] You must tell me what your father and mother's names were:—What their father and mother's names were:—What brothers and sisters they had:—What brothers and sisters you have; where they were born; and what business they followed, or do follow.

[Mr. Martin answered all these questions to the best of his knowledge.]

I. You say you are an Englishman; we have great belief in them; they are generally people that speak the truth; I hope you will.

M. My lord, I don't know that I have done any thing that I should be afraid of: your lordship has given me my oath, and if you had not I should have told the truth.

I. Where were you born, Isaac? and in what parish?

M. My lord, I and my family were all born in London, but in different parishes.

I. Are you a scholar? Have you studied Latin?

M. No, my lord, I have had but a common education.

I. What do you call a common education in your country? You have been at school, what did you learn there?

M. My lord, I learned to read, to write, and to cast accounts; that is what we call a common education.

I. What sect are you of? for in England you have several religions, as you call them.

M. My lord, there are different opinions in England in matters of religion: I am of that which is called the church of England and so was my father and mother.

I. Were you baptized?

M. Yes, my lord, I hope I am a Christian.

I. How are you baptized in England?

M. We are baptized in the name of the Father; and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

I. Do you take the sacrament in your religion

M. Yes, my lord.

I. How do you take it?

M. My lord, we take bread and wine as out Saviour gave to his apostles.

I. Do you confess your sins to your clergy, as we do in the church of Rome?

M. No, my lord, we confess them only to God Almighty.

I. Do you know the Lord's Prayer, the Belief; and the Commandments?

M. Yes, my lord, and will give you an account of my religion if you please, and prove to you that I am a Christian, though I have been called a Jew and an Heretic.

I. What do you believe in your religion?

M. My lord, we believe the same creed that you have.

I. Have you any bishops your religion? Have you been confirmed?

M. My lord we have archbishops and bishops, but I don't remember whether I have been confirmed.

I. Isaac, you have been brought up in the dark; it is a pity, but you may enlighten yourself if you will.

M. My lord, I hope I have light enough to save myself if I live according to it. [Here Mr. Martin, through anxiety of mind, began to shed tears; which the inquisitor perceiving, proceeds to speak with great seeming tenderness.

I. Don't cry, nor be afraid; nobody is put to death here, nor harm done to any body. I hope your case is not so bad but it may be remedied; you are among Christians, and not among Turks.

M. My lord, I know very well that I am among Christians, and that the laws of Christians are merciful; but I have been used as if I had committed murder.

I. Well! have patience, you shall have justice done you. You must think of what you have done or said during the time you lived at Malaga, and confess it; for that is the only way to get out of your troubles. But let us continue our examination: to be sure you were not brought here for nothing, were you?

M. My lord, I don't know what I was brought here for.

I. You must think of that, and you must tell me how old you are; and from as far as you can remember, what company you have kept, what business you have followed, what countries you have travelled in and what languages you can speak.

M. My lord, I have been a traveller many years, and have made several trading voyages; sometimes in one country, and sometimes in another, and can't remember how long I lived in every place, but I will tell you as well as I can.

I. It is very well, Isaac, tell the truth. [Mr. Martin then gave a circumstantial account to the best of his memory.]

I. It is very well, Isaac, you have been a great traveller, you have been wild in your time.

M. Yes, my lord, too wild; for if I had staid at home as I ought to have done, I should not have been in this misery.

I. In your religion do you believe in the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, and in the saints? Don't you worship them?

M. My lord, we believe that the Virgin Mary is the mother of Jesus Christ carnally, and believe she and the saints are happy, but do not worship them.

I. What! Don't you worship the mother of God, and the saints, that are always praying for us?

M. No, my lord, we worship only one God in three persons, and nothing else.

I. [Speaking to his secretary.] It is a pity that he has been brought up in heresy, he talks pretty well.

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I. [Addressing the prisoner.] What a pity it is that England has left the true faith, and has embraced heresy: formerly it produced many saints, but now it produces only schisms and heretics; and your bishops and clergy are a strange sort of people to marry they do.

M. I believe, my lord, England produces as many good men as ever it did.

I. Hold your tongue, you know nothing of those affairs; think of what you have done during your residence at Malaga; and that you may consider of these things, retire to your dungeon. I'll send for you another time.

M. My lord, I hope your lordship will consider that I have a family; I beg therefore that your lordship will dispatch me as soon as possible.

I. I will do all I can to dispatch you; go and think upon what you have done or said. I hope your case is not very bad, and can be remedied, if you think upon what I have said to you.

And thus concluded Mr. Martin's first examination, or audience, as it is called in the inquisition.

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Mr. Martin now tried to make a friend of the gaoler as much as possible, in order to pump what he could from him; but in this he could have but little success, for they are all sworn to secrecy. He, however, told him that he was there for the good of his soul, and advised him, above all things, not to contradict the inquisitors.

SECOND AUDIENCE.

About a week after, Mr. Martin being called to a second audience, the following interrogatories and answers ensued:

I. Well, Isaac, how do you do? Do you remember what you have done, or said, whilst you lived at Malaga? Have you reflected on what I said to you?

M. Yes, my lord, but I can't remember every thing that has happened in four years time.

I. Well! let us hear what you have remembered.

M. My lord, during my living at Malaga, I was attacked and insulted several times about my religion: I hope your lordship allows that an honest man ought to defend his religion?

I. Yes, Isaac, he may defend it.

M. My lord, it is what I have done, and the same liberty have the Spaniards in my country; for if a bishop should attack them in matters of religion, they have liberty to defend themselves.

I. How long have you been married?

M. Seven years.

I. Was your wife a maid or widow when you married her?

M. A widow, my lord.

I. What quarrels have you had with different people, and who were they? [Mr. Martin named four or five people with whom he had had little squabbles.]

I. Do you think those people your enemies? If you do, tell me what reason you have for thinking so.

M. My lord, at my first arrival at Malaga; three Irishmen went to the bishop's Court to acquaint them that I was a Jew, though they hardly knew my name, or what religion I was of. Your lordship has heard it, I suppose. All the time that I lived at Malaga, they, upon diverse occasions, shewed themselves my enemies. My friends oftentimes told me that they spoke ill of me behind my back; sometimes saying that I was a Jew, and sometimes an Heretic; and that they would play me a trick one day, that I should not carry much money along with me if I left the place; and I find, my lord, that they have accomplished their design.

I. Have you had no words about religion? Have you not blasphemed against our holy faith?

M. No, my lord, I am a better bred man than that. My religion does not permit such things. It is true that I have had high words

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about religion when I have been attacked, but not to blaspheme your religion.

I. Well! but what is the reason that you have so many enemies, can you tell?

M. I know no other reason, my lord, but that I am an English protestant, and had better business than they had, which caused them to envy me ever since I came to Malaga.

I. Well! but Isaac, have you no inclination to be a good Christian, and to be in the right way of salvation? You are a man of age and reason, and have a family: it is time to think of your soul.

M. My lord, I hope God will save me in the religion I have been brought up in. I have no inclination to change my religion. Jesus Christ allows of no persecution; I hope, my lord, there is none here.

I. No, Isaac, it is all voluntary: I would have you think upon it for the good of your soul, and your family. Don't you believe in the holy father the pope, that he is infallible, and that he can absolve people from their sin?

M. No, my lord, I believe that he is no more than another bishop, and can absolve no more than another clergyman.

I. Don't you believe in purgatory?

M. No, my lord, I believe in no such thing.

I. What, don't you believe that there is a place called purgatory, where the souls of those that die are retained to be purified before they can go to heaven?

M. No, my lord, I believe that the blood of Christ is sufficient to cleanse us from our iniquities.

I. Poor man, you have been brought up in heresy and ignorance from your youthful days.—I am sorry for you, you will find yourself mistaken when it is too late. You have time to consider of it, and I would advise you to do it for your own good. Can you think of any thing else that you have done that they have sent you here for?

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M. No, my lord, I have had some few words with people, but I believe that has not any connection with this affair.

I. What words had you with the Spaniards at Malaga?

M. My lord, at first several desired me to speak the language for them to help them to sell their goods to ships that came to load there; and I did, but there came so many that I could not do business for myself, so that I desired them to excuse me and take somebody else; but they still importuned me so, that I was obliged to tell them that I would trouble myself no more about their business, and that I had business enough of my own to mind; at which they would sometimes fall into a passion, and generally reflect upon my religion, which I could not always digest.

I. Very well Isaac, have you any thing else to say relating to your affairs?

M. My lord, I don't know what to say.

I. Well, go to your dungeon, and think of what you have done; for it will be a great help to your releasement. I will do you what service I can, but you must do what you can to serve yourself, and think upon what I have said to you.

N.B. Mr. Martin had soon after three other audiences, in all of which he was only asked the same questions as we have already inserted, which was to detect him in a falsehood, if he had told one, and to discover if he prevaricated in any part of his story.

One morning, the head gaoler told Mr. Martin, that he must get his dungeon very clean, for he was to have a visit from one of the lords of the inquisition; at the same time he gave him some aniseed to throw into the fire when he heard him coming, in order to take away the stench. On hearing a noise on the stair-case, he did so, and the inquisitor, whose name was Don Petro Leonor, soon after appeared.

This inquisitor asked a great number of frivolous questions with much pomposity; then making a transition to England, he very liberally abused king Henry VIII. queen Elizabeth, and king William, the latter of whom he affirmed to have been of no religion, *because he had read such an assertion in a French book*. Changing from these, he attacked the archbishops, bishops, clergy, and people of England in general, and after abusing them with great liberality, he walked away with the most important dignity.

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

FIRST ACCUSATION.

That soon after your coming to Malaga, you went and abused the school-master 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.

REPLY.

"My lord, I will confess the truth; I hope your lordship requires nothing else. I did go to the school-master, and told him that I sent my children to learn to read and write, and not to learn prayers; that I would have them brought up in my religion, and would teach them how to pray, but I did not abuse him. I believe, my lord, I have the liberty to bring up my children in my own faith without being called to an account for it.

The inquisitor seemed displeased at this reply, and bid the secretary write him down guilty of the first accusation.

SECOND ACCUSATION.

That at diverse times it was remarked that you did not pull off your hat nor pay homage to images, but turned your back on them.

REPLY.

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 any, and I am not obliged by articles of peace so to do. I believe your lordship knows what the word protestant means.

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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, talking in your own apartment with an English captain, an heretic like yourself, that purgatory was but an invention of the church of Rome to get money. There was one present who could speak your language, and heard you say so.

REPLY.

My lord, I cannot remember every thing that 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 be an Irishman, who was not very welcome there, for he came more as a spy than any thing else.

The inquisitor asking if he thought he knew him, Mr. Martin named the person on whom his suspicion 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.

That you were once walking with another person who pulled his hat off to a crucifix. You asked him why he pulled his hat off? He replied, to the crucifix; when you said, we have no such things in our country, and passed by without pulling off your hat.

REPLY.

My lord, I remember the time well; it is very 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 to it, not in respect to the image, but to cause no scandal. [*Guilty of this accusation by his own confession*.]

FIFTH ACCUSATION.

That you have spoken several times 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 give ear to such salutary advice.

REPLY.

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.

The inquisitor then 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 (says 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.

That being on board an English ship, with your wife and others, a certain 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. Do you remember that, Isaac?

REPLY.

Yes, my lord, we were very merry drinking Florence wine and punch, and that 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. I desired her to be quiet, and told her we did not come on board to talk of religion, but to be merry. But she continuing to talk on in the same manner, 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 is a Roman catholic. The inquisitor turning to the secretary, expressed himself thus: *Write down what the heretic says*.

SEVENTH ACCUSATION.

That 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.

REPLY.

My lord, I have been diverse times walking with captains. I don't remember this particular time: it may be that some person heard me say so, but I am sure I spoke English, and I suppose it must be an Irishman that heard me say so.

The inquisitor was very severe upon this reply; but upon Mr. Martin's asking pardon, he said, secretary, "Write down that the heretic asks pardon; (but continues he, shaking his head) I wish asking pardon may do."

EIGHTH ACCUSATION.

That being 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 great scandal, that some of the people were going to stab you.

REPLY.

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 occasions. During my residence at Malaga, I always took care not to cause any scandal: with respect to bowing or kneeling, I did not do it, nor am I obliged to do it, as it is expressly against my religion. As for people stabbing me, I have run those hazards many times on account of my religion. [*The secretary was ordered to write down that he denied the accusation.*]

NINTH ACCUSATION.

You have been threatened diverse times with the pope's authority in these countries, and you have said that you did not value him, and that he had no authority over you.

REPLY.

My lord, it is true I have said so. This answer occasioned the following curious altercation:

I. How came you to say so? Don't you value the holy father who is God on earth?

M. 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 they had nothing to do with me.

I. What! then you value nobody?

M. 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 what authority he has over me, for I believe he has not any.

I. You're mistaken; I see who is the head of the church.

M. My lord, I see, to my sorrow, that I was mistaken—Jesus Christ is the head of the church.

I. What, then you allow no head upon earth?

M. No, my lord.

I. 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.

That being walking with some captains of ships, there was a procession going by when you bid them retire, and not mind it, though it was their design to see it; but you hindered them out of disrespect to the procession.

REPLY.

My lord, processions are very frequent in Malaga. I have oftentimes been in company with captains who were never in Roman catholic countries before; and they, not knowing that people went in procession for devotions would laugh, and not take their hats off so that I desired them to retire to avoid confusion. I hope there is no harm in that, my lord.

ELEVENTH ACCUSATION.

That 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.

REPLY.

My lord, I remember nothing of the accusation, 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; your lordship tries me a Roman catholic; I am a protestant. I gave a short account of my religion to your lordship at my first coming. Was I a Roman catholic I should certainly be guilty. [*The answers to both the last accusations were ordered to be recorded.*]

TWELFTH ACCUSATION.

That being in your own house, an English captain asked you 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.

REPLY.

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 it not, when the clergy are so numerous at Malaga.

THIRTEENTH ACCUSATION.

That you refused to give any thing to such as begged alms for the souls that are in purgatory, and violently hustled them from your door.

REPLY.

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 informing him that one person in particular, who went about begging alms for the souls in purgatory, did all he could to torment him, and the more Mr. Martin declared he would not disburse money for any such 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 abuse.

FOURTEENTH ACCUSATION.

That you have been heard to say you feared no ecclesiastical court of justice, nor even the inquisition itself, which you affirmed had nothing to do with you as an English protestant.

REPLY.

My lord, I have oftentimes said so. [*The twelfth and thirteenth replies were recorded as delivered, but Mr. Martin being persuaded to entreat forgiveness for the fourteenth, the secretary was ordered to insert, "the heretic begs pardon."*]

FIFTEENTH ACCUSATION.

That 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 things? Do you remember these circumstances?

REPLY. Yes, my lord, I do very well. On this confession of the fact, the following dialogue took place:

I. Then let us hear what you have to say for yourself.

M. My lord there came a ship bound for Leghorn, with a passenger who came to my house; he spoke very good Spanish, and I believe, by his looks, was a Jew. He staid with his captain about two hours at my house; I never saw him before or since. He might be a Christian for what I know, but being bound for Leghorn, and speaking Spanish, I thought him a Jew; that is all I know of the man. God knows what religion he was of.

I. Do you know the person that has sent this accusation against you?

M. Yes, my lord, I believe I do; his name is A. H. a man of a very indifferent character.

SIXTEENTH ACCUSATION.

That it is confirmed by several people that the said heretic, Isaac Martin, has, at diverse times, shewn himself very disaffected against the holy faith of the church of Rome, and has hindered some people from embracing it; so that had it not been for the sake of his family, he would have been murdered long ago.

[The remainder of this accusation then goes in the first person by way of petition from the accusers, thus:] We recommend him to your holy office as a dangerous and pernicious man against the holy faith of the church of Rome; and a great many report he is a Jew. We desire your tribunal will examine him with a great deal of strictness, according to the custom of your holy office, and give him such chastisement as your lordship shall think fit, as well in body as chattels.

When the secretary had done reading this accusation, the inquisitor said, *Well! what have you to say for yourself? See what a character people give you? Surely you are a very wicked man!*

To which Mr. Martin made a

REPLY.

My lord, I suppose those are very good Christians that give me this character; God knows best what to do with them; there are none of them can say I ever wronged any body at Malaga. I have always professed myself to be a protestant; and for that reason, and no other, I have been brought here. I hope God will enable me to go through these afflictions. I am very well assured that your lordship knows I am no Jew. As for what character they give me, God knows best whether I deserve it or no. I have answered the truth to your examination to the best of my remembrance; and I believe your lordship knows it to be so, and know the people that informed against me are but people of a very indifferent character, which have always envied me ever since I lived at Malaga. *I.* Most of your accusers are your countrymen; surely they would not speak against you if the things were not so.

M. My lord, those whom you reckon my countrymen are the worst enemies I have: I deny them for countrymen; they are Irishmen: it is true that Ireland belongs to the crown of England; but these people have deserted from our army, and are enemies to my religion, king, and country, and the worst that an English protestant can have abroad. I wonder my lord that there is no merchant or man of good repute that has declared any thing against me.

I. Hold your tongue, do you think that I will believe all you say? To be sure you have been a very wicked man by what is mentioned here, and you deny a great many things, and are so malicious, that you give what turn you please to things. I have heard of you four years ago; you are a sly man, but we have tortures to make people speak truth.

M. My lord, you may do what you please with me; I can't help myself, for your lordship knows that I have declared the truth.

I. You shall have a lawyer to defend your cause, but I believe it is very bad.

[A lawyer was then called in, to whom the inquisitor made an harangue, telling him that Mr. Martin was a strong heretic; that he had been examined, and denied many things of which he had been accused. He then ordered the lawyer to write to Malaga concerning him, and concluded by saying his case is very bad, yet it might be remedied; but he is obstinate, and won't have it so.— The lawyer, to all his lordship said, only bowed, and answered yes and no; but he did not speak to Mr. Martin, though it was pretended he was to plead for him.]

When the lawyer was gone, the inquisitor said "Go, you are guilty; you may repent of what you have said; if you don't, take

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care; sign these papers, which are what you confess.—Mr. Martin having signed the papers, was remanded to his dungeon.

When Mr. Martin's examination, upon the accusations against him, was resumed (which was by his own desire) the proceedings follow:

I. Well Isaac, What have you to say in your defence? You have demanded an audience.

M. My lord, I have nothing to say but what I have said already; I come to beg the favour of your lordship to dispatch me; I believe you have done examining me; I remember that it was desired I might be chastised both in body and wealth. I believe that my body has been chastised enough in suffering what I have suffered, and in being locked up in a dark dungeon by myself, where I live worse than a dog; as for the wealth God has given me, your lordship is welcome to it. If I am such a bad man as people report, fetter me and send me, with my family, aboard any ship; let her be bound where she will, God will provide for us.

I. Hold, Isaac things are not done so soon as you think, for you have broken the articles of peace by your own confession.

M. My lord, I am very sorry if I have; I desire your lordship would shew them to me, that I may know in what I am guilty.

I. I have them; you shall see them another time: there is a great deal to be said in your affair. Have you any thing else to say?

M. No, my lord, I desire to be tried by them [the articles of peace]: you were pleased that you would quickly dispatch me.

I. Go, go to your dungeon, and think upon what you have done.

Mr. Martin, upon this occasion, says thus: "When I came to my dungeon I was resolved to ask for no more audience, and wondered that such a man, who sat upon a throne between two crucifixes, attributing to himself holiness and infallibility, should tell so many lies; and found that there was no way of redemption, but by praying to God to give me strength to overcome the

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miseries that I was in and in mercy to deliver me from their hands."

* * * * * * * *

A few days after, the third inquisitor, named Don Joseph Egnaraz, came with his secretary to see Mr. Martin, when the following conversation ensued:

I. How do you do, Isaac? Have you any thing to say in your defence? Can I serve you in any thing, tell me?

M. My lord, I have nothing to say but what I have said already: I think it is very hard to be kept here so long.

I. Hark ye! you Englishmen think that we aim at your wealth, but you are mistaken; there is no such thing. You have confessed that you did not take your hat off to our images: you ought to do it, living in these Christian countries, whether you believe in them or no; for it shews ill example if you don't.

M. My lord, we protestants never do such things, it is against our religion and against our consciences so to do.

I. You must do all in this country, and it is a thing that ought to be done. See if I can serve you in any thing?

M. If your lordship would be pleased to get me out of this misery, I should be very much obliged to you.

I. There is time for all things. You have been brought up in heresy, you are here for the good of your soul, you must enlighten yourself in the true faith; I will do you all the service I can; have you any thing else to say?

M. My lord, I hope to be saved in the faith I am in.

I. Well, think upon what I have said to you. Good by t'ye.

Being again called up for the continuance of his trial, and the accusations against him, the following were the particulars.

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I. Well, Isaac, have you thought of any thing else in your affair besides what you have already declared?

M. No, my lord, I have nothing to say, unless I repeat what I have said already, and I believe that will signify nothing.

I. Here are several more accusations come against you that you must answer to.

M: It is very well, my lord, I will answer to them as well as I can.

[The inquisitor read over the accusations, which consisted of what had already been answered, only altered, mangled, and misplaced, with some additional articles. After having done reading, he said;]

I. Well, Isaac, what have you to say now?

M. My lord, this is the same thing over again, only the accusations are altered and misplaced; I can quickly answer to them, and as for those that are added to them, they are almost all false, and the devil has invented them.

I. Hold, Isaac, you talk strangely.

M. My lord, I speak the truth, your lordship was pleased to tell me at my first coming that you would dispatch me very soon. I have been here above three months, and am no more likely to get out than the first day.

I. Hold, hold; do you think that justice is done here as in your country, at random, and I don't know how. Here things are well examined, and justice is done as it ought to be done.

M. My lord, I believe we have good justice done in England but I beg your lordship's pardon; I don't understand this way of justice.

I. I believe you don't, but it is no matter, remember, you are upon your oath, and answer to articles.

M. Must I answer to those that I have answered already?

I. Yes, you must; and take care what you say.

M. Very well, my lord.

[*Mr.* Martin then made a second answer to the accusations already exhibited against him; then the inquisitor ordered the secretary to continue the trial with the accusations which had not yet been brought forth.]

SEVENTEENTH ACCUSATION.

That 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 hinder them.

REPLY.

My lord, it is false that my family had any inclinations to be Romans; neither can any law oblige them to be so, or hinder me from bringing them up in my religion. Your lordship, five weeks ago, you told me that you would shew me the articles of peace, and that I had broke them. Pray let me see them, my lord?

I. You shall see them another time. Answer to these articles.

M. My lord, all my family are as I am; I could never perceive that they were inclined to change their religion.

I. What! Do you deny this accusation?

M. Yes, my lord, I do; it is all false.

EIGHTEENTH ACCUSATION.

You used to shut your window-shutters when the processions went by, to hinder your children from kneeling down, and would beat them if they shewed any inclinations to be Roman catholics.

REPLY.

My lord, it is true that I have shut my shutters several times; for sometimes I had captains of ships in my house that would not pull their hats off when they saw them. As for my children, they went to the window generally to laugh; and I oftentimes bade them not shew themselves till the procession went by, that no scandal might be given; and if I beat them, as it is said, I believe I have the liberty to do it if I please.

I. No, you have not in some cases. How old are your children?

M. One is fifteen, another eight, and the other five years of age.

I. They are of age to be brought up in the Christian faith.

M. I hope they are, my lord; but as for the two youngest, they can be brought up to any religion.

I. Your daughter, and your son Abraham are of age, and you are but their father-in-law; they may be brought up in the Christian faith: you have nothing to do with them.

M. My lord, I hope that they are Christians; and I look upon them as if they were my own children.

I. So then, you would have them brought up in your religion?

M. Yes, my lord.

NINETEENTH ACCUSATION.

That your daughter being of age, has often said in the neighbourhood that she would be a Roman catholic, but was afraid you would beat her; and that you had sometimes beat her upon that account.

M. My lord, I have nothing to answer to such lies; it is as false as the devil is false.

I. What! have you nothing to say Isaac, to this article?

M. No, my lord, I never knew my daughter inclinable to be a Roman, and I never did beat her upon that account. It is all false, and you may order your secretary to write down what you please.

TWENTIETH ACCUSATION.

That in Lent, and other fast days, you caused your family to eat meat, and forbad them to keep any fast days that were appointed by the church of Rome, and beat them if they did.

REPLY.

My lord, those are poor accusations, and they are all false. I thank God my table afforded flesh and fish all the year round; I never troubled my head to see what the servants used to eat; and as for myself, wife, and children, we eat meat all the year, without any scruple of conscience. Your lordship knows that.

I. You English mind nothing but eating and drinking, and living at your ease, without doing any penance.

M. 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

I. Your country was a good country formerly; it produced a great many saints, but now it produces no such thing.

M. My lord, I believe there are no saints now, but I am persuaded it produces as many good men as ever it did.

I. Hold your tongue, you are all lost men; you are all fallen from the holy church, and there is ho salvation for you if you don't return.

TWENTY-FIRST ACCUSATION.

That your children had often been at mass, and at prayers in the neighbourhood, and would have done it every day if you would have let them. But you beat them and hindered them being Christians, and thereby endangered their souls.

REPLY.

My lord, I never knew my children go to mass or prayers in the neighbourhood, or beat them upon 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.

I. Why, you deny every thing, almost.

M. I deny nothing but what is false, my lord.

I. Well, but you may forget, Isaac!

M. No, my lord, I have nothing else to think of and I do think that these are very insignificant articles to allege against me, if the things were as they say. But they are false, and I believe they are scandalous people that have invented them.

I. Hold your tongue! How durst you speak so?

M. It is very well, my lord, let your secretary write down any thing what you please; it is all false.

TWENTY-SECOND ACCUSATION.

That living at Lisbon you had several disputes about religion, and that you hid yourself for fear of being taken up by the inquisition as a Jew. Come, answer; what have you to say to this article? It is of consequence.

REPLY.

My lord, let your secretary write down what you please; I have nothing to answer to such scandalous reports. God knows that I am no Jew, and your lordship knows it very well. The devil has invented this to frighten me; but God knows that every thing will revenge my cause.

I. Well, but, Isaac, you see what they write against you; and all your family's names are ancient and of the Mosaical law.

M. My lord; you have oftentimes reflected upon my name being Isaac, and my son's name being Abraham, but you don't talk of a child that I buried at Malaga, whose name was Peter and one that I have whose name is Barnard; they are saints names.

I. Those are all Christian names.

M. And so are the others, my lord. We don't mind whether we give our children names out of the Old or New Testament. Besides, my lord, neither Abraham, nor Isaac, nor Jacob were Jews.

I. Yes; they were Jews; sure you're mistaken.

M. I beg your lordship's pardon, I am not mistaken.

I. What were they then? let us hear.

M. My lord, they were Hebrews; they lived under the law of nature, as God inspired and spoke to them; but were dead many years before God had given his laws to Moses.*

^{* [}CHCoG: Though it is true that they lived before Moses, in Genesis 26:5 Jehovah God tells us that "Abraham obeyed my voice and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws." Our God never changes. What happened at Mt. Sinai was simply a dramatic renewal of God's Laws, to which were added—until Christ's Resurrection—the Levitical priesthood and its sacrifices for sin.]

I. Hold your tongue, methinks you understand something of the Mosaical law.

M. My lord; thank God I understand some of the old and some of the new laws; but not so much as I should. We have always the Old and the New Testament in our families, and we read in them to instruct us in our religion.

I. Hold your tongue; you give a wrong sense to scripture; your knowing so much has brought you here; you had better known less, and believed the true faith.

M. My lord, I hope to be saved in what I believe; and if at Lisbon I was disputing of religion, it was not in defending the laws of Moses, for [which] several Jews were burnt whilst I was there. Therefore it proves, my lord, that the accusation is false, and that I would not run such hazards.

TWENTY-THIRD ACCUSATION.

That you bred schisms among the people, persuading them to turn heretics, and to leave the church of Rome, out of which no man can be saved.

REPLY.

I wish your lordship, or any body else, would tell me who 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. When I talked of religion, it was generally with clergymen, and not with common people; for I know that they are not allowed to talk of religion, and they are not capable of it, as they know but little of the matter.

I. They know enough, it is believing that saves us; and you won't believe, but deny, almost every article.—Hold your tongue.

TWENTY-FOURTH ACCUSATION.

That your name being Isaac, and your son's name Abraham, you must be a Jew, or related to Jews.

REPLY.

My lord, I have sufficiently answered upon this matter; this is nothing but repetitions: the Roman catholics that are in Holland and Flanders don't much mind whether their children have names out of the Old or out of the New Testament: and I knew a man at Malaga, who is a Flanderkin and a Roman catholic, whose name is Jacob. As for my parents, I never knew any of them were Jews; let your secretary write what you please.

TWENTY-FIFTH ACCUSATION.

That you offered to dispose of your house, and to retire for fear of being taken up by the inquisition.

REPLY.

My lord, it is true, that I offered to dispose of my house, but not for 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 never have come to live in the country. I had opportunities enough to go on board of English, ships, and to retire if I had been afraid.

I. What! You thought the inquisition had nothing to do with English protestants? You are mistaken.

M. My lord, I see I am, to my sorrow.

I. What did you design to do after you had disposed of your house?

M. My lord, to go to my own country, for I was tired of living abroad, especially at Malaga, where I could have no rest, but was daily affronted upon the account of my religion.

I. You have a tongue that you made use of to defend yourself.

M. My lord, I could not always bear their insolencies; but I find they have accomplished their design.

I. Well, hold your tongue, you may help yourself still if you will.

TWENTY-SIXTH ACCUSATION.

That you took all opportunities of making game of the religion of the church of Rome. Well! what have you to say to that?

REPLY.

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 their's but it was in joke, and not in a prophane way. *I*. Religion ought not to be mocked.

M. It is very true, my lord; but I never scandalized them as they did me, upon the account of my religion.

I. What did they usually say to you? let's hear.

M. My lord, you know that the church of Rome don't allow the heretics (as you call us) to be saved: in our faith we have charity for all men; we condemn nobody. I have oftentimes been told that I and my family were damned, and that it was impossible for us to be saved. My lord, it is very hard to hear such words so often as I have. I sometimes gave them an answer that they did not like; for I could not always bear what they said. I hope to be saved through God's, mercy, as well as they do.

I. So, you say that when they made game of your religion, you made game of theirs. Is not that what you say?

M. Yes, my lord.

I. Well, hold your tongue, you are a sly man; you give what turn you please to things, and deny almost every thing: you will repent of this, if you don't take care. We have ways to make people confess who are obstinate. Sign these papers: these are the articles you confess, and these are what you deny.—But I won't believe you; I have heard of you a long while ago, and know now that you are a cunning pernicious man against the Roman catholic faith.

[The lawyer then came in; when the inquisitor asked him a variety of frivolous questions; to which, as before, he answered yes and no, without so much as looking at his supposed client.]

Mr. Martin being remanded to his dungeon, was shaved on Whitsun-eve (shaving is only allowed three times a year in the inquisition); and 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 greatly of their having promised him a lawyer to plead his cause; when,

instead of a proper person, says he, "there was a man that you called a lawyer, but he never spoke to me; nor I to him: if all your lawyers are so quiet in this country, they are the quietest in the world, for he hardly said any thing but yes and no to what your lordship said." To which one of the inquisitors gravely replied, "lawyers are not allowed to speak here." At this the gaoler and secretary went out of the dungeon to laugh, and Mr. Martin could scarce restrain from smiling in their faces, to think that his cause was to be defended by a man who scarce dared to open his lips.

Mr. Martin, some time after, 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 terribly frightened 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 coaths*. He was then examined to know if he had been circumcised, and consequently was a Jew. Finding that he had not been circumcised, he was remanded to his dungeon.

About 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; upon the penalty of two hundred lashes, and being sent five years to the gallies; and that he should at present receive two hundred lashes through the common streets of the city of Grenada.*

Mr. Martin was sent again to his dungeon that night, and the next morning the executioner came, stripped him, tied his hands together, put a rope about his neck, and led him out of the inquisition. He was then mounted on an ass, and received his two hundred lashes, amidst not only the shouts, but peltings of the people: which latter greatly incommoded him. He remained a fortnight after this in goal, his back being very sore all the time; at

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length he was sent to Malaga, to his great joy. Here he was put in gaol for some days, till he could be sent on board an English ship: which had no sooner happened, than news was brought of a rupture between England and Spain, and that ship, with many others, was stopped. Mr. Martin not being considered as a prisoner of war, was put on board of a Hamburgh trader, and his wife and children soon came to him; but he was obliged to put up with the loss of his effects, which had been embezzled by the inquisition; for this, however, he thought himself amply recompensed, by setting foot, once more, in his native country.

Mr. Martin's case was published by the desire of, and authenticated by, the right honourable M. Secretary Craggs, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Sarum, Chichester, St. Asaph, Lincoln, Bristol, Bagnot, Peterborough, &c. &c; &c.

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CHAP. VI.

Some Private Enormities of the INQUISITION laid open, by a very Singular Occurrence.

WHEN the crown of Spain was contested in the beginning of the present century by two princes who equally pretended to the sovereignty, France espoused the cause of one competitor and England of the other.

The duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II, who abdicated England, commanded the Spanish and French forces, and defeated the English at the celebrated battle of Almanza. The army was then divided into two parts; the one consisting of Spanish and French, headed by the duke of Berwick, advanced towards Catalonia; the other body, consisting of French troops only, commanded by the duke of Orleans, proceeded to the conquest of Arragon.

As the troops drew near to the city of Arragon, the magistrates came to offer the keys to the duke of Orleans; but he told them, haughtily, they were rebels, and that he would not accept the keys, for he had orders to enter the city through a breach.

He accordingly made a breach in the walls with his cannon, and then entered the city through it, together with his whole army. When he had made every necessary regulation here, he departed to subdue other places, leaving a strong garrison, at once to overawe and defend, under the command of his lieutenant-general M. De Legal. This gentleman, though brought up a Roman catholic, was totally free from superstition: he united great talents with great bravery; and was, at once, the skilful officer, and accomplished gentleman.

The duke, before his departure; had ordered that heavy contributions should be levied upon the city in the following manner:

- 1. That the magistrates and principal inhabitants should pay a thousand crowns per month for the duke's table.
- 2. That every house should pay one pistole, which would monthly amount to eighteen thousand pistoles.
- 3. That every convent and monastery should pay a donative, proportionable to its riches and rents.

The two last contributions to be appropriated to the maintenance of the army.

The money levied upon the magistrates and principal inhabitants, and upon every house, was paid as soon as demanded; but when the proper persons applied to the heads of the convents and monasteries, they found that the ecclesiastics were not so willing, as other people, to part from their cash.

Of the donatives to be raised by the clergy:

The college of Jesuits was to pay 2000 pistoles, the Carmelites 1000, the Augustins 1000, and the Dominicans 1000.

M. De Legal sent to the Jesuits a peremptory order to pay the money immediately. The superior of the jesuits returned for answer, that for the clergy to pay money to the army was against all ecclesiastical immunities; and that he knew of no argument which could authorize such a procedure: M. De Legal then sent four companies of dragoons to quarter themselves in the college, with this sarcastic message: "To convince you of the necessity of paying the money; I have sent four substantial arguments to your college, drawn from the system of military logic; and therefore, hope you will not need any farther admonition to direct your conduct."

These proceedings greatly perplexed the jesuits, who 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 rack and ruin, thought proper to adjust the matter amicably, and paid the money before the return of their messenger. The Augustins and Carmelites

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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.

But the Dominicans, who are all familiars of or agents dependent on the inquisition, imagined that that very circumstance would be their protection; but they were mistaken, for M. De Legal neither feared nor respected the inquisition. The chief of the Dominicans sent word to the military commander that his order was poor, and had not any money whatever to pay the donative; for, says he, *the whole wealth of the Dominicans consists only in the silver images of the apostles and saints, as large as life, which are placed in our church, and which it would be sacrilege to remove.*

This insinuation was meant to terrify the French commander, whom the inquisitors imagined would not dare to be so prophane 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 (says he) while you possess them in the manner you do at present, they stand up in niches, useless and motionless, without being of the least benefit to mankind in general; or even to yourselves: but, when they come into my possession, they shall be useful. I will put them in motion; for I intend to have them coined, when they may travel like the apostles, be beneficial in various places, and circulate for the universal service of mankind."

The inquisitors were astonished at this treatment, which they never expected to receive, even from crowned heads; they therefore determined to deliver their precious images in a solemn procession, that they might excite the people to an insurrection. The dominican friars were accordingly ordered to march to De Legal's house with the silver apostles and saints in a mournful manner, having lighted tapers with them, and bitterly crying all the way, *heresy, heresy*. M. de Legal hearing of these proceedings; ordered four companies of grenadiers to line the street which led to his house; each grenadier was ordered to have his loaded fuzee in one hand and a lighted taper in the other; so that the troops might either repel force with force, or do honour to the farcical solemnity.

The friars did all they could to raise a tumult, but the common people were too much afraid of the troops under arms to obey them. The silver images were; therefore, of necessity delivered up to M. de Legal, who sent them to the mint, and ordered them to be coined immediately. The project of raising an insurrection having failed, the inquisitors determined to excommunicate M. de Legal, unless he would release their precious silver saints from imprisonment in the mint before they were melted down, or otherwise mutilated. The French commander absolutely refused to release the images, but said they should certainly travel and do good; upon which the inquisitors drew up the form of excommunication, and ordered their secretary to go and read it to M. de Legal.

The secretary punctually performed his commission, and read the excommunication deliberately and distinctly. The French commander heard it with great patience, and politely told the secretary he would answer it next day.

When the secretary of the inquisition was gone, M. de Legal ordered his own secretary to prepare a form of excommunication, exactly like that sent by the inquisition; but to make this alteration, instead of his name, to put in those of the inquisitors.

The next morning he ordered four regiments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his secretary and act as he directed. The secretary went to the inquisition, and insisted upon admittance; which, after a great deal of altercation, was granted. As soon as he entered, he read, in an audible voice, the excommunication sent by M. de Legal against the inquisitors. The inquisitors were all present, and heard it with astonishment, never having before met with any individual who dared behave so bold. They loudly cried out against De Legal as an heretic; and said this was a most daring insult against the Catholic faith. But, to surprize them still more, the French secretary told them they must remove from their present lodgings; for the French commander wanted to quarter the troops in the inquisition, as it was the most commodious place in the whole city.

The inquisitors exclaimed loudly upon this occasion, so the secretary put them under a strong guard and sent them to a place appointed by M. de Legal to receive them. The inquisitors, finding how things went, begged that they might be permitted to take their private property, which was granted, and they immediately set out for Madrid, where they made the most bitter complaints to the king; but the monarch told them, he could not grant them any redress, as the injuries they had received were from his grand-father, the king of France's troops, by whose assistance alone he could be firmly established in his kingdom. "Had it been my own troops, (said he) I would have punished them; but as it is, I cannot pretend to exert any authority."

In the mean time, Monsieur de Legal's secretary set open all the doors of the inquisition, and released the prisoners, who amounted, in the whole, to four hundred; and among these were sixty beautiful young women, who appeared to form a seraglio [harem] for the three principal inquisitors. This discovery, which laid the enormity of the inquisitors so open it greatly alarmed the archbishop, who desired M. de Legal to send the women to his palace, and he would take proper care of them; and at the same time he published an ecclesiastical censure against all such as should ridicule, or blame, the holy office of the inquisition.

The French commander sent word to the archbishop that the prisoners had either ran away, or were so securely concealed by their friends, or even by his own officers, that it was impossible for him to send them back again; and therefore, the inquisition having committed such atrocious actions, must now put up with their exposure.

One of the ladies thus happily delivered from captivity, was afterwards married to the very French officer who opened the door of her dungeon, and released her from confinement. This lady related the following circumstances to her husband and to M. Gavin (author of the *Master Key to Popery*) from the latter of whom we have selected the most material particulars.

I went one day (says the lady) with my mother, to visit the countess of Attarass, and I met there Don Francisco Tirregon, her confessor, and second inquisitor of the holy office. After we had drank chocolate, he asked me my age, my confessor's name, and many intricate questions about religion. The severity of his countenance frightened me, which he perceiving, told the countess to inform me, that he was not so severe as he looked. He then caressed me in a most obliging manner, presented his hand which I kissed with great reverence and modesty; and as he went away, he made use of this remarkable expression: "My dear child, I shall remember you till the next time." I did not, at the time, mark the sense of the words, for I was inexperienced in matters of gallantry, being, at that time, but fifteen years old. Indeed, he unfortunately did remember me, for the very same night, when our whole family were in bed, we heard a great knocking at the door.

The maid, who laid in the same room with me, went to the window, and enquired who was there.—The answer was, THE HOLY INQUISITION. On hearing this I screamed out, *Father! Father! dear Father, I am ruined for ever.* My father got up and came to me to know the occasion of my crying out; I told him the INQUISITORS were at the door. On hearing this, instead of protecting me, he hurried down stairs as fast as possible; and lest the maid should be too slow, opened the street door himself: under such abject and slavish fears are bigotted minds! As soon as he knew they came for me, he fetched me with great solemnity, and delivered me to the officers with much submission.

I was hurried into a coach, with no other clothing than a petticoat and a mantle, for they would not let me stay to take any thing else. My fright was so great, I expected to die that very night; but judge my surprize, when I was ushered into an apartment, decorated with all the elegance that taste, united with opulence, could bestow.

Soon after the officers left me, a maid-servant appeared with a silver salver, on which were sweetmeats and cinnamon-water. She desired me to take some refreshments before I went to bed. I told her I could not, but should be glad if she could inform me whether I was to be put to death that night or not.

"To be put to death, (exclaimed she) you do not come here to be put to death, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing in the world, but the liberty of going out; so pray don't be afraid, but go to bed and sleep easy; for to-morrow you shall see wonders within this house; and as I am chosen to be your waiting maid, I hope you'll be very kind to me."

I was going to ask some questions, but she told me she must not answer any thing more 'till the next day, but assured me that nobody would come to disturb me: I am going then, said she, about a little business, but I will come back presently, for my bed is in the closet next yours; so she left me for about a quarter of an hour, and then returned. She then said, madam, pray let me know when you will be pleased to have your chocolate ready in the morning.

This. greatly surprized me, so that without replying to her question, I asked her name;—she said my name is Mary. Mary, then, said I, for heaven's sake, tell me whether I am brought here to die or not?—I have told you already, replied she, that you come here to be one of the happiest ladies in the world.

We then went to bed, but the fear of death prevented me from sleeping the whole night. Mary waked, she was surprized 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 stepped out of the room.

About half an hour after, she brought a great quantity of elegant cloaths, suitable to a lady of the highest rank, and told me I must dress myself. Among several trinkets which accompanied the cloaths, I observed, with surprize, a snuffbox, in the lid of which was a picture of *Don Francisco Tirregon*. This unravelled to me the mystery of my confinement, and at the same time rouzed 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 cloaths along with me last night, modestly permits me to accept of these garments, which are requisite to keep me decent; but since I do not take snuff, I hope his lordship will excuse me in not accepting his box.*

Mary went with my answer, and soon returned with Don Francisco's picture elegantly set in gold, and richly embellished with diamonds. This message accompanied it: "That his lordship had made a mistake; his intent not being to send me a snuff-box, but his picture." I was at a great loss what to do; when Mary said, pray, madam, take my poor advice; accept of the picture, and every thing else which his lordship sends you; for if you do not, he can compel you to what he pleases, and put you to death when he thinks proper, without any body being able to defend you. But if you are obliging to him, continued she, he will be very kind, and you will be as happy as a queen. You will have elegant apartments to live in, beautiful gardens to range in and agreeable ladies to visit you: therefore, I advise you to send a civil answer, or even not to

deny a visit from his lordship, or perhaps you may repent of your disrespect.

O, my God! exclaimed I, must I sacrifice my honour to my fears, and give up my virtue to his despotic power? Alas, what can I do? To resist is vain. If I oppose his desires, force will obtain what chastity refuses. I now fell into the greatest agonies, and told Mary to return what answer she thought proper.

She said she was glad of my humble submission, and ran to acquaint Don Francisco with it. In a few minutes she returned. with joy in her countenance, telling me his lordship would honour me with his company to supper. "And now give me leave, madam, (says she) to call you mistress, for I am to wait upon you. I have been in the holy office fourteen years, and know all the customs perfectly well; but as silence is imposed upon me, under pain of death, I can only answer such questions as immediately relate to your own person. But I would advise you never to oppose the holy father's will; or if you see any young ladies about, never ask them any questions. You may divert yourself sometimes among them, but must never tell them any thing: three days hence you will dine with them; and at all times you may have music, and other recreations. In fine, you will be so happy that you will not wish to go abroad; and when your time is expired, the holy fathers will send you out of this country, and marry you to some nobleman."

After saying these words she left me, overwhelmed with astonishment, and scarce knowing what to think. As soon as I recovered myself I began to look about, and finding a closet I opened it, and perceived that it was filled with books: they were chiefly upon historical and profane subjects, but not any on religous matters. I chose out a book of history, and so passed the interval with some degree of satisfaction, till dinner time.

The dinner was served up with the greatest elegance, and consisted of all that could gratify the most luxurious appetite. When dinner was over Mary left me, and told me, if I wanted any thing I might ring a bell, which she pointed out to me.

I read a book to amuse myself during the afternoon, and at seven in the evening Don Francisco came to visit me in his nightgown 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 lovers who had procured my confinement, having accused me in matters of religion; and that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronounced against me, to be burnt alive in a dry pan, with a gradual fire; but that he, out of pity and love to my family, had stopped the execution of it.

These words were like daggers to my heart. I dropped at his feet, and said, "Ah, my Lord! have you stopped the execution for ever?" He replied, "that belongs to yourself only," and abruptly wished me good night.

As soon as he was gone I burst into tears, when Mary came and asked what could make me cry so bitterly. To which I answered, *Oh, Mary! what is the meaning of the dry pan and gradual fire? for I am to die by them.* Madam, said she, never fear, you shall see, ere long, the dry pan and gradual fire; but they are made for those who oppose the holy father's will, not for you who are so good as to obey it. But pray, said she, was Don Francisco very obliging? I don't know, said I, for he frightened me out of my wits by his discourse: he saluted me with civility, but left me abruptly.

Well, said Mary, you do not yet know his temper: he is extremely obliging to them that are kind to him; but if they are disobedient, he is as unmerciful as Nero, so, for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects: and now, dear madam, pray go to supper; and be easy. I went to supper, indeed, and afterwards to bed; but I could neither eat or sleep, for the thoughts of the dry pan and gradual fire deprived me of appetite, and banished drowsiness.

Early the next morning Mary said, that as nobody was stirring, if I would promise her secrecy, she would shew me the dry pan and gradual fire; so taking me down stairs, she brought me to a large room with a thick iron door, which she opened. Within it was an oven, with fire in it at the time, and a large brass pan upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock to it. In the next room there was a great wheel, covered on both sides with thick boards; opening a little window in the centre, Mary desired me to look in with a candle: there I saw all the circumference of the wheel set with sharp razors, which made me shudder.

She then took me to a pit which was full of venomous animals. On my expressing great horror at the sight, she said, "Now, my good mistress, I'll tell you the use of these things. The dry pan is for heretics, and those who oppose the holy father's will and pleasure; they are put alive into the pan, being first stripped naked; and the cover being locked down, the executioner begins to put a small fire into the oven, and by degrees he augments it, till the body is reduced to ashes. The wheel is designed for those who speak against the pope, or the holy fathers of the inquisition; for they are put into that machine through the little door, which is locked after them, and then the wheel is turned swiftly, till they are all cut to pieces. The pit is for those who contemn the images, and refuse to give proper respect to ecclesiastical persons; for they are thrown into the pit, and so become the food of poisonous animals."

We went back again to my chamber, and Mary said that another day she would shew me the torments designed for other transgressors; but I was in such agonies at what I had seen that I begged to be terrified with no more such sights. She soon after left me, but not without enjoining my strict obedience to Don Francisco; for if you do not comply with his will, says she, the dry pan and gradual fire will be your fate. The horrors which the sight of these things, and Mary's expressions, impressed on my mind, almost bereaved me of my senses, and left me in such a state of stupefaction, that I seemed to have no manner of will of my own.

The next morning Mary said, now let me dress you as nice as possible, for you must go and wish Don Francisco good-morrow, and breakfast with him. When I was dressed, she conveyed me through a gallery into his apartment, where I found that he was in bed. He ordered Mary to withdraw, and to serve up breakfast in about two hours time. When Mary was gone he commanded me to undress myself, and come to bed to him. The manner in which he spoke, and the dreadful ideas with which my mind was filled, so terribly frightened me, that pulled off my cloaths, without knowing what I did, and stepped into bed, insensible of the indecency I was transacting; so totally had the care of self-preservation absorbed all my other thoughts, and so entirely were the ideas of delicacy obliterated by the force of terror. Thus, to avoid the dry pan, did I entail upon myself perpetual infamy; and to escape the so much dreaded gradual fire, give myself up to the flames of lust. Wretched alternative, where the only choice is an excruciating death, or everlasting pollution!

Mary came at the expiration of two hours, and served us with chocolate in the most submissive manner; for she kneeled down by the bedside 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 surprized 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 savory dishes of various kinds, were served up with the most delicate and pleasant fruits and sweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each side, and a third in the front. I reckoned fifty-two young ladies, the eldest not exceeding twenty-four years of age. There were five maid-servants besides Mary to wait upon us; but Mary confined her attention to me alone. After dinner we retired to a capacious gallery, where some played on musical instruments, a few diverted themselves with cards, and the rest amused themselves with walking about. Mary, at length, entered the gallery, and said, Ladies, this is a day of recreation, and so you may go into whatever rooms you please till eight o'clock in the evening.

They unanimously agreed to adjourn to my apartment. Here we found a most elegant cold collation, of which all the ladies partook, and passed the time in innocent conversation, and harmless mirth: but none mentioned a word concerning the inquisition, or the holy fathers, or gave the least distant hint concerning the cause of their confinement.

At eight o'clock Mary rang a bell, which was a signal for all to retire to their respective apartments, and I was conducted to the chamber of Don Francisco, where I slept. The next morning Mary brought me a richer dress than any I had yet had; and as soon as I retired to my apartment, all the ladies came to wish me goodmorning, dressed much richer than the preceding day. We passed the time till eight o'clock in the evening in much the same manner as we had done the day before. At that time the bell rung, the separation took place, and I was conducted to Don Francisco's chamber. The next morning I had a garment richer than the last, and they accosted me in apparel still more sumptuous than before. The transactions of the two former days were repeated on the third, and the evening concluded in a similar manner. On the fourth morning, Mary came into Don Francisco's chamber and told me I must immediately rise, for a lady wanted me in her own chamber. She spoke with a kind of authority which surprized me; but as Don Francisco did not speak a syllable, I got up and obeyed. Mary then conveyed me into a dismal dungeon, not eight feet in length; and said sternly to me, *This is your room, and this lady your bedfellow and companion.* At which word she bounced out of the room, and left me in the utmost consternation.

After remaining a considerable time in the most dreadful agonies, tears came to my relief, and I exclaimed, "What is this place, dear lady? Is it a scene of enchantment, or is it a hell upon earth? Alas! I have lost my father and mother; and what is worse, I have lost my honour, and my soul for ever."

The lady took me by the hand and said, in a sympathizing tone of voice, "Dear sister, (for this is the name I shall henceforth give you), forbear to cry and grieve, for you can do nothing by such an extravagant behaviour but draw upon yourself a cruel death. Your misfortunes, and those of all the ladies you have seen, are exactly of a piece: you suffer nothing but what we have suffered before you; but we dare not shew our grief, for fear of greater evils. Pray take courage and hope in God, for he will surely deliver us from this hellish place. But be sure you discover no uneasiness before Mary, who is the only instrument either of our torments or comfort. Have patience till we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter.

My perplexity and vexation were inexpressible; but my new companion, whose name was Leonora, prevailed on me to disguise my uneasiness from Mary. I dissembled tolerably well when she came to bring our dinners; but could not help remarking, in my own mind, the difference between this repast, and those I had before partook of. This consisted only of plain, common food, and of that a scanty allowance, with only one plate, and one knife and fork for us both, which she took away as soon as we had dined.

When we were in bed, Leonora was as good as her word; and upon my solemn promise of secrecy, thus began to open her mind to me: "My dear sister, you think your case very hard, but I assure you, all the ladies in the house have gone through the same. In time you will know all their stories, as they hope to know yours. I suppose Mary has been the chief instrument of your fright, as she has been of ours; and I warrant she has 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 has happened to us, we know that Don Francisco has been your Nero, your tyrant; for the three colours of our cloaths are the distinguishing tokens of the three holy fathers. The red silk belongs to Don Francisco, the blue to Don Guerrero, and the green to Don Aliaga; and they always give those colours, after the farce of changing garments and the short-lived recreations are over, to those ladies whom they bring here for their respective uses.

"We are strictly commanded to express all the demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days when a young lady first comes amongst us, as we did with you, and as you must now do with others. But afterwards we live like the most wretched prisoners, without seeing any body but Mary, and the other maidservants, over whom Mary has a kind of superiority, for she acts as housekeeper. We all dine in the great hall three days in a week; and when any one of the inquisitors has a mind for one of his slaves, Mary comes about nine o'clock, and leads her to his apartment.

"Some nights Mary leaves the doors of our chambers open, and that is a token that one of the inquisitors has a mind to come that night; but he comes so silent, that we are ignorant whether he is our patron or not. If one of us happens to be with child, she is removed into a better chamber till she is delivered; but during the whole of her pregnancy, she never sees any body but the person appointed to attend her.

"As soon as the child is born it is taken away, and carried we know not whither; for we never hear a syllable mentioned about it afterwards. I have been in this house six years, was not fourteen when the officers took me from my father's house, and have had one child. There are, at this present time, fifty-two young ladies in the house; but we annually lose six or eight, though we know not what becomes of them, or whither they are sent. This, however, does not diminish our number, for new ones are always brought in to supply the place of those who are removed from hence; and I remember, at one time, to have seen seventy-three ladies here together. Our continual torment is to reflect that when they are tired of any of the ladies, they certainly put to death those they pretend to send away; for it is natural to think, that they have too much policy to suffer their atrocious and infernal villainies to be discovered by enlarging them. Hence our situation is miserable indeed, and we have only to pray that the Almighty will pardon those crimes which we are compelled to commit. Therefore, my dear sister, arm yourself with patience, for that is the only palliative to give you any comfort, and put a firm confidence in the providence of Almighty God."

This discourse of Leonora greatly affected me; but I found every thing to be as she told me in the course of time, and I took care to appear as chearful as possible before Mary. In this manner I continued eighteen months, during which time eleven ladies were taken from the house; but in lieu of them we got nineteen new ones, which made our number just sixty, at the time we were so happily relieved by the French officers, and providentially restored to the joys of society, and to the arms of our parents and friends. On that happy day, the door of my dungeon was opened by the gentleman who is now my husband who, with the utmost expedition, sent both Leonora and me to his father's; and (soon after the campaign was over) when he returned home, he thought proper to make me his wife, in which situation I enjoy a recompense for all the miseries I before suffered. Well may I then thank the interposing hand of Providence, and adopt such sentiments as these:

How gracious is the lord my God, What tender pity has he shew'd To such a wretch as me: How shall I shew forth all his praise Or celebrate, in worthy ways, His worth and majesty.

When ceas'd my infant cries and tears, And I advanc'd in riper years, He made me still his care; Though I his precepts disobey'd, And from his laws and statutes stray'd, He did in mercy spare.

His ear attended my complaint, His hand gave more than I did want, He fill'd my heart with food; He open'd all his choicest store, He gave me till my cup run o'er, All needful things, and good.

Kind Jesus look'd, and long'd to save A poor, a captivated slave, The slave of vile desire: For me he gave his precious blood, He drew me back to what was good, And snatch'd me from hell fire.

He took the veil from off my eyes; Daughter of sin, he said, arise; Arise,—receive thy sight:

The angel of the Lord came down, His glory in the dungeon shone, And fill'd my soul with light.

My chains dropp'd off, my soul was free, Lord! I come forth, I follow thee, Cloath'd with thy righteousness; Fill'd with the life and pow'r of faith; I conquer over sin and death, By all-sufficient grace.

Thy banner o'er me thou dost spread, And on my soul most sweetly shed The fresh anointing oil; Thy goodness melts my ravish'd heart, I blush to see how good thou art, While I am still so vile.

* * * * * * * * *

From the foregoing narrative it is evident that the inquisitors are a set of libidinous villains, lost to every just idea of religion, and totally destitute of humanity. Those who possess wealth, beauty, or liberal sentiments are sure to find enemies in them. Avarice, lust, and prejudice are their ruling passions; and they sacrifice every law, human and divine, to gratify their predominant desires. Their supposed piety is affectation; their pretended compassion hypocrisy; their justice depends on their will; and their inequitable punishments are founded on their prejudices. None are secure from them; all ranks fall equally victims to their pride, their power, their avarice, or their aversion.

Some may suggest that it is strange that crowned heads, and eminent nobles, have not attempted to crush the power of the inquisition, and reduce the authority of those ecclesiastical tyrants, from whose merciless fangs neither their families nor themselves are secure.

But astonishing as it is, superstition has, in this case, always overcome common sense, and custom operated against reason. One prince, indeed, intended to abolish the inquisition, but he lost his life before he became king, and consequently before he had the power so to do; for the very intimation of his design procured his destruction. This was that amiable prince Don Carlos, son of Philip II. king of Spain, and grandson of the celebrated emperor Charles V. Don Carlos possessed all the good qualities of his grandfather, without any of the bad ones of his father; and was a prince of great vivacity, admirable learning, and the most amiable disposition. He had sense enough to see into the errors of popery, and abhorred the very name of the inquisition. He inveighed publicly against the institution and ridiculed, the affected piety of the inquisitors, did all he could to expose their atrocious deeds, and even declared that if he ever came to the crown, he would abolish the inquisition, and exterminate its agents.

These things were sufficient to irritate the inquisitors against the prince; they, accordingly, bent their minds to vengeance, and determined on his destruction.

The inquisitors now employed all their agents and emissaries to spread abroad the most artful insinuations against the prince; and at length, raised such a spirit of discontent among the people that the king was under the necessity of removing Don Carlos from court. Not content with this, they pursued even his friends, and obliged the king likewise to banish Don John, duke of Austria, his own brother, and consequently uncle to the prince; together with the prince of Parma, nephew to the king, and cousin to the prince, because they well knew that both the duke of Austria, and the prince of Parma, had a most sincere and inviolable attachment to Don Carlos.

Some few years after, the prince having 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 necessarily be one, since he gave them countenance. In short, they gained so great an ascendency over the mind of the king, who was absolutely a slave to superstition, that, shocking to relate, he sacrificed the feelings of nature to the force of bigotry, and for fear of incurring the anger of the inquisition, gave up his only son, passing the sentence of death on him himself. The prince, indeed, had what was termed an indulgence; that is, he was permitted to chuse the manner of his death. Roman-like, the unfortunate young hero chose bleeding and the hot bath; when the veins of his arms and legs being opened, he expired gradually, falling a martyr to the malice of the inquisitors, and the stupid bigotry of his father.

> In purple streams his life dissolv'd away, While his pure spirit could no longer stay; His life, a great example gave below; His soul, with pious fervor, learn'd to glow. While all the good on earth, and just above, Revere his mem'ry, and record his love; A love, on true religion's basis plac'd, Which cannot be by fleeting time defac'd.



BOOK VI.

Of the Persecutions in ITALY.

WE shall now enter on an account of the persecutions in Italy, a country which has been, and still is,

- 1. The centre of popery.
- 2. The seat of the pontiff.
- 3. The source of the various errors which have spread themselves over other countries, deluded the minds of thousands, and diffused the clouds of superstition and bigotry over the human understanding.

In pursuing our narrative we shall include the most remarkable persecutions which have happened, and the cruelties which have been practised:

- 1. By the immediate order of the pope.
- 2. Through the power of the inquisition.
- 3. At the instigation of particular orders of the clergy.
- 4. By the bigotry of the Italian princes.

A pleasant country, in whose fertile plains Sweet verdure smiles, and endless plenty reigns; But reigns in vain, while bigotry's control, With tyrant power enchains the human soul; And superstition lords it o'er the mind, Deludes the sense, or keeps the reason blind. The haughty pope, with triple honours crown'd, In error's clouds diffuses darkness round; And pamper'd priests without remorse deceive, While bigot minds implicitly believe; Credit whate'er their wily teachers say,

And by command, think, act, speak, fast, or pray. But priests, to no austerities confin'd, Mind not the rules by which they others bind; They leave to vassal laymen worldly cares, Sharp penance, meagre abstinence, and prayers; In open air for venal sins to lie, To dress in sackcloth, or the scourge to ply.

Let pining anchorets in grottoes starve, Who from the liberties of nature swerve; Who, curb'd by moderation, sparing eat, And by false zeal deceiv'd, abstain from meat. Italian priests their appetites will please, And live in luxury and pamper'd ease; But if their power enormous you'd control, A fury rises in the bigot soul; Malicious rage strains superstition's throat, And blood for heresy is all the note.

"Use ev'ry instrument they loud exclaim, "To darken truth, and render reason tame. "Let th' inquisition rage, fresh cruelties "Make the dire engines groan with tortur'd cries; "Let Campo Flori every day be strew'd "With mangled carcases and clotted blood; "Repeat again Lombardian slaughter o'er. "And Piedmont vallies drown with floating gore.

"Swifter than murdering angels, when they fly "On errands of avenging deity;

"Fiercer than storms let loose, with eager haste

"Lay cities, countries, realms, whole nature waste;

"Sack, ravish, massacre, destroy, burn, slay,

"Act what you will, so pop'ry makes its way.

Such are the thoughts that fill each popish mind, And such the enmity they bear mankind.

CHAP. I.

Of the First Persecutions Under the Papacy in Italy.

IN the twelfth century the first persecutions under the papacy began in Italy,* at the time that Adrian IV, an Englishman, was pope, being occasioned by the following circumstances:

A learned man, and an excellent orator of Brixia [Brescia], named ARNOLD, came to Rome, and boldly preached against the corruptions and innovations which had crept into the church. His discourses were so clear, consistent, and breathed forth such a pure spirit of piety that the senators, and many of the people, highly approved of and admired his doctrines.

This so greatly enraged Adrian that he commanded Arnold instantly to leave the city, as an heretic. Arnold, however, did not comply, for the senators and some of the principal people took his part, and resisted the authority of the pope.

Adrian now laid the city of Rome under an interdict, which caused the whole body of clergy to interpose; and at length, persuaded the senators and people to give up the point, and suffer Arnold to be banished. This being agreed to, he received his sentence of exile and retired to Germany, where he continued to preach against the pope, and to expose the gross errors of the church of Rome.

Adrian, on this account, thirsted for his blood, and made several attempts to get him into his hands; but Arnold, for a long

^{* [}CHCoG: As pointed out previously, corruption was brought into the Roman church almost as soon as the apostles died by false 'clergy', and persecution of true Christians began as soon as they opposed their subversion of what the Bible taught. This battle had been going on for over a thousand years by the time Arnold appeared, though the errors grew more and more numerous as time passed. And Arnold's beliefs were those of a Waldensian/anabaptist.]

time, avoided every snare laid for him. At length, Frederic Barbarossa arriving at the imperial dignity, requested that the pope would crown him with his own hand. This Adrian complied with, and at the same time asked a favour of the emperor, which was to put Arnold into his hands. The emperor very readily delivered up the unfortunate preacher, who soon fell a martyr to Adrian's vengeance, being hanged, and his body burnt to ashes at Apulia [CHCoG: This was in 1155 A.D., centuries before Luther &c. His fellow Christians obtained his ashes and spread them through the areas in which he had preached.] The same fate attended several of his old friends and companions.

ENCENAS, a Spaniard, [Aka Diego de Enzinas] was sent to Rome, to be brought up in the Roman catholic faith; but having conversed with some of the reformed, and read several treatises which they had put into his hands, he became a protestant. This, at length being known, one of his own relations informed against him, when he was burnt by order of the pope and a conclave of cardinals [in 1547]. The brother of Encenas [Francisco] had been taken up much about the same time, for having translated the New Testament into the Spanish language, but before the time appointed for his execution, he found means to escape out of prison, and retired to Germany.

FANINUS, a learned layman, by reading controversial books, became of the reformed religion. An information being exhibited against him to the pope, he was apprehended, and cast into prison. His wife, children, relations, and friends, visited him in his confinement, and so far wrought upon his mind that he renounced his faith, and obtained his release. But he was no sooner free from confinement, than his mind felt the heaviest of chains; the weight of a guilty conscience. His horrors were so great, that he found them insupportable, till he had returned from his apostacy, and declared himself fully convinced of the errors of the church of Rome.

To make amends for his falling off, he now openly and strenuously did all he could to make converts to protestantism, and was pretty successful in his endeavours. These proceedings occasioned his second imprisonment; but he had his life offered him if he would recant again. This proposal he rejected with disdain, saying that he scorned life upon such terms. Being asked why he would obstinately persist in his opinions, and leave his wife and children in distress; he replied; I shall not leave them in distress, I have recommended them to the care of an excellent What trustee? said the person who had asked the trustee. question, with some surprize: to which Faninus answered, Jesus Christ is the trustee I mean, and I think I could not commit them to the care of a better.

On the day of execution he appeared remarkably chearful, which one observing, said, It is strange you should appear so merry upon such an occasion, when Jesus Christ himself, just before his death, was in such agonies, that he sweated blood and water. To which Faninus replied: *Christ sustained all manner of pangs and conflicts with hell and death on our accounts; and thus, by his sufferings, freed those who really believe in him from the fear of them.* He was then strangled, and his body being burnt to ashes, they were scattered about by the wind. [CHCoG: His martyrdom was about 1549.]

DOMIINICUS, a learned soldier, having read several controversial writings, became a zealous protestant, and retiring to Placentia, he preached the gospel in its utmost purity, to a very considerable congregation. At the conclusion of his sermon one day, he said, "If the congregation will attend to-morrow, I will give them a description of Anti-Christ, and paint him out in his proper colours."

A vast concourse of people attended the next day; but just as Dominicus was beginning his sermon, a civil magistrate went up to his pulpit, and took him into custody. He readily submitted; but as he went along with the magistrate, made use of this expression: *I* wonder the devil has let me alone so long. When he was brought to examination, this question was put to him: Will you renounce your doctrines? To which he replied: My doctrines! I maintain no doctrines of my own; what I preach are the doctrines of Christ, and for those I will forfeit my blood, and even think myself happy to suffer for the sake of my Redeemer. Every method was taken to make him recant from his faith, and embrace the errors of the church of Rome; but when persuasions and menaces were found ineffectual, he was sentenced to death, and hanged in the marketplace.

GALEACIUS, a protestant gentleman who resided near the castle of St. Angelo, was apprehended on account of his faith. Great endeavours being used by his friends, he recanted and subscribed to several of the superstitious doctrines propagated by the church of Rome. Becoming, however, sensible of his error, he publicly renounced his recantation. Being apprehended for this, he was condemned to be burnt; and agreeable to the order, was chained to a stake, where he was left several hours before the fire was put to the faggots, in order that his wife, relations, and friends, who surrounded him, might induce him to give up his opinions. Galeacius, however, now retained his constancy of mind, and entreated the executioner to put fire to the wood that was to burn him. This; at length, he did, and Galeacius was soon consumed in the flames, which burnt with amazing rapidity, and deprived him of sensation in a few minutes. Soon after this gentleman's death, a great number of protestants were put to death in various parts of Italy, on account of their faith, giving a sure proof of their sincerity in their martyrdoms:

Resigning freely transitory breath, To shun the shades of everlasting death.

CHAP. II.

Of the Persecutions in Calabria.

IN the fourteenth century, many of the Waldenses of *Pragela* and *Dauphiny* emigrated to Calabria, and settling in some waste lands, by the permission of the nobles of that country, they soon, by the most industrious cultivation, made several wild and barren spots appear with all the beauties of verdure and fertility.

The Calabrian lords were highly pleased with their new subjects and tenants, as they were honest, quiet and industrious; but the priests of the country exhibited several negative complaints against them. For not being able to accuse them of any thing bad which they did do, they founded accusations on what they did not do, and charged them:

With not being Roman catholics.With not making any of their boys priests.With not making any of their girls nuns.With not going to mass.With not giving wax tapers to the priests as offerings.With not going on pilgrimages.With not bowing to images.

The Calabrian lords, however, quieted the priests by telling them that these people were extremely harmless; that they gave no offence to the Roman catholics, and paid the tythes to the priests, whose revenues were considerably encreased by their coming into the country; and who, of consequence, ought to be the last persons to complain of them.

Things went on tolerably well after this for a few years, during which the Waldenses formed themselves into two corporate towns, annexing several villages to the jurisdiction of them. At length, they sent to Geneva for two clergymen; one to preach in each town, as they determined to make a public profession of their faith. Intelligence of this affair being carried to pope Pius the Fourth, he determined to exterminate them from Calabria.

To this end he sent cardinal Alexandrino, a man of a very violent temper, and a furious bigot, together with two monks, to Calabria, where they were to act as inquisitors. These authorized persons came to St. Xist, one of the towns built by the Waldenses, and having assembled the people, told them that they should receive no manner of injury, or violence, if they would accept of preachers appointed by the pope; but if they would not they should be deprived both of their properties and lives; and that their intentions might be known, mass should be publicly said that afternoon, at which they were ordered to attend.

The people of St. Xist, instead of attending mass, fled into the woods with their families, and thus disappointed the cardinal and his coadjutors. The cardinal then proceeded to La Garde, the other town belonging to the Waldenses, where, not to be served as he had been at St. Xist, he ordered the gates to be locked, and all the avenues guarded. The same proposals were then made to the people of La Garde as had been made to the inhabitants of St. Xist, but with this additional piece of artifice: the cardinal assured them that the inhabitants of St. Xist had immediately come into his proposals, and agreed that the pople of La Garde, then the people of La Garde is for the people of La Garde, the pople of La Garde, 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 of St. Xist.

The cardinal having gained his point by deluding the people of one town, sent for two troops of soldiers, with a view to murder those of the other. He, accordingly dispatched the soldiers into the woods, to hunt down the inhabitants of St. Xist like wild beasts, and gave them strict orders to spare neither age or sex, but to kill all they came near. The troops entered the woods, and many fell a prey to their ferocity before the Waldenses were properly 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. The greatest part of the troops being killed in the different encounters, the rest were compelled to retreat, which so enraged the cardinal that he wrote to the viceroy of Naples for reinforcements. The viceroy immediately ordered a proclamation to be made throughout all the Neapolitan territories, that all outlaws, deserters, and other proscribed persons, should be freely pardoned for their respective offences, on condition of making a campaign against the inhabitants of St. Xist, and continuing under arms till those people were exterminated.

Many persons of desperate fortunes came in upon this proclamation, and being formed into light companies, were sent to scour the woods, and put to death all they could meet with of the reformed religion. The viceroy himself likewise joined the cardinal, at the head of a body of regular forces; and, in conjunction, they did all they could to harass the poor people in the woods. Some they caught and hanged up upon trees, cut down boughs and burnt them, or ripped them open and left their bodies to be devoured by wild beasts or birds of prey. Many they shot at a distance, but the greatest number they hunted down by way of sport. A few hid themselves in caves; but famine destroyed them in their retreat; and thus all these poor people perished, by various means, to glut the bigoted malice of their merciless persecutors.

The inhabitants of St. Xist were no sooner exterminated, than those of La Garde engaged the attention of the cardinal and viceroy. It was offered that if they would embrace the Roman catholic persuasion, themselves and their families should not be injured, their houses and properties should be restored, and none would be permitted to molest them; but, on the contrary, if they refused this mercy, (as it was termed) the utmost extremities would be used, and the most cruel deaths be the certain consequence of their non-compliance.

Notwithstanding the promises on one side, and menaces on the other, these worthy people unanimously refused to renounce their religion, or embrace the errors of popery. This exasperated the cardinal and viceroy so much that thirty of them were ordered to be put immediately to the rack, as a terror to the rest. Those who were put to the rack were treated with such severity that several died under the tortures: one Charlin, in particular, was so cruelly used that his belly burst, his bowels came out, and he expired in the greatest agonies. These barbarities, however, did not answer the purposes for which they were intended; for those who remained alive after the rack, and those who had not felt the rack, remained equally constant in their faith, and boldly declared that no tortures of body or terrors of mind, should ever induce them to renounce their God, or worship images.

Several were then, by the cardinal's order, stripped stark naked, and whipped to death with iron rods; some were hacked to pieces with large knives; others were thrown down from the top of a large tower; and many were covered over with pitch and burnt alive.

One of the monks who attended the cardinal, being naturally of a savage and cruel disposition, requested of him, that he might shed some of the blood of these poor people with his own hands; when his request being granted, the barbarous man took a large, sharp knife, and cut the throats of fourscore men, women, and children, with as little remorse as a butcher would have killed so many sheep. Every one of these bodies were then ordered to be quartered, the quarters placed upon stakes, and then fixed in different parts of the country, within a circuit of thirty miles.

The four principal men of La Garde were hanged, and the clergyman was thrown from the top of his church steeple. He was terribly mangled, but not quite killed, by the fall; at which time the viceroy passing by, said, Is the dog yet living? Take him up, and give him to the hogs: when, brutal as this sentence may appear, it was executed accordingly.

Sixty women were racked so violently that the cords pierced their arms and legs quite to the bone; when, being remanded to prison, their wounds mortified, and they died in the most miserable manner. Many others were put to death by various cruel means; and if any Roman catholic, more compassionate than the rest, interceded for any of the reformed, he was immediately apprehended, and shared the same fate as a favourer of heretics.

The viceroy being obliged to march back to Naples on some affairs of moment which required his presence, and the cardinal having been recalled to Rome, the marquis of Butiane was ordered to put the finishing stroke to what they had began; which he, at length effected, by acting with such barbarous rigour that there was not a single person of the reformed religion left living in all Calabria.

Thus were a great number of inoffensive and harmless people deprived of their possessions, robbed of their property, driven from their homes, and at length, murdered by various means, only because they would not sacrifice their consciences to the superstitions of others, embrace idolatrous doctrines which they abhorred, and accept of teachers whom they could not believe.

Tyranny is of three kinds, viz, that which enslaves the person, that which seizes the property, and that which prescribes and dictates to the mind. The two first sorts may be termed civil tyranny, and have been practised by arbitrary sovereigns in all ages, who have delighted in tormenting the persons, and stealing the properties of their unhappy subjects. But the third sort, viz. prescribing and dictating to the mind, may be called ecclesiastical tyranny: and this is the worst kind of tyranny, as it includes the other two sorts; for the Romish clergy not only torture the bodies and seize the effects of those they persecute, but take the lives, torment the minds, and if possible, would tyrannize over the souls of the unhappy victims.

Thus rage, by superstition led, Strikes innocence and virtue dead; While bigotry would reason blind, Enthrall the sense, and chain the mind; Its errors fix in bloody streams, And spread with fire, its fatal dreams.

CHAP. III.

Of the First Persecutions in the Vallies of Piedmont.

MANY of the Waldenses, to avoid the persecutions to which they were continually subjected in France, went and settled in the vallies of Piedmont, where they encreased exceedingly, and flourished very much for a considerable time.

Though they were harmless in their behaviour, inoffensive in their conversation, and paid tythes to the Romish clergy, yet the latter could not be contented, but wished to give them some disturbance: they, accordingly, complained to the archbishop of Turin that the Waldenses of the vallies of Piedmont were heretics, for these reasons:

- 1. That they did not believe in the doctrines of the church of Rome.
- 2. That they made no offerings for prayers for the dead.
- 3. That they did not go to mass.
- 4. That they did not confess, and receive absolution.
- 5. That they did not believe in purgatory, or pay money to get the souls of their friends out of it.

Upon these charges the archbishop ordered a persecution to be commenced, and many fell martyrs to the superstitious rage of the priests and monks.

At Turin, one of the reformed had his bowels torn out, and put into a basin before his face, where they remained in his view, till he expired. At Revel, Catelin Girard being at the stake, desired the executioner to give him up a stone; which he refused, thinking that he meant to throw it at somebody; but Girard assuring him that he had no such design, the executioner complied; when Girard looking earnestly at the stone, said, *When it is in the power of a* man to eat and digest this 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 chearfully to the flames. A great many more of the reformed were oppressed, or put to death, by various means, till the patience of the Waldenses being tired out, they flew to arms in their own defence, and formed themselves into regular bodies.

Exasperated at this, the archbishop of Turin procured a number of troops, and sent against them; but in most of the skirmishes and engagements the Waldenses were successful, which partly arose from their being better acquainted with the passes of the vallies of Piedmont than their adversaries, and partly from the desperation with which they fought; for they well knew, if they were taken, they should not be considered as prisoners of war, but should be tortured to death as heretics.

At length, Philip, the seventh duke of Savoy, and supreme lord of Piedmont, determined to interpose his authority and stop these bloody wars, which so greatly disturbed his dominions. He was not willing to disoblige the pope, or affront the archbishop of Turin; nevertheless, he sent them both messages, importing that he could not any longer tamely see his dominions over-run with troops who were directed by priests instead of officers, and commanded by prelates in the place of generals; nor would he suffer his country to be depopulated, while he himself had not been even consulted upon the occasion.

The priests, finding the resolution of the duke, did all they could to prejudice his mind against the Waldenses; but the duke told them that though he was unacquainted with the religious tenets of these people, yet he had always found them quiet, faithful, and obedient, and therefore he was determined they should be no longer persecuted.

The priests now had recourse to the most palpable and absurd falsehoods: they assured the duke that he was mistaken in the Waldenses, for they were a wicked set of people, and highly

addicted to intemperance, uncleanness, blasphemy, adultery, incest, and many other abominable crimes; and that they were even monsters in nature, for their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth, and bodies all over hairy.

The duke was not so devoid of common sense as to give credit to what the priests said, though they affirmed, in the most solemn manner, the truth of their assertions. He, however, sent twelve very learned and sensible gentlemen into the Piedmontese vallies, to examine into the real characters of the inhabitants.

These gentlemen, after travelling through all their towns and villages, and conversing with people of every rank among the Waldenses, returned to the duke, and gave him the most favourable account of those people; affirming, before the faces of the priests who vilified them, that they were harmless, inoffensive, loyal, friendly, industrious, and pious: that they abhorred the crimes of which they were accused; and that should an individual; through his depravity, fall into any of those crimes, he would, by their laws, be punished in the most exemplary manner. With respect to the children, the gentlemen said, the priests had told the most gross and ridiculous falsities, for they were neither born with black throats, teeth in their mouths, or hair on their bodies, but were as fine children as could be seen.

"And to convince your highness of what we have said (continued one of the gentlemen) we have brought twelve of the principal male inhabitants, who are come to ask pardon in the name of the rest, for having taken up arms without your leave, though even in their own defence, and to preserve their lives from their merciless enemies. And we have likewise brought several women, with children of various ages, that your highness may have an opportunity of personally examining them as much as you please."

The duke, after accepting the apology of the twelve delegates, conversing with the women and examining the children, graciously dismissed them. He then commanded the priests, who had

attempted to mislead him, immediately to leave the court; and gave strict orders that the persecution should cease throughout his dominions.

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The Waldenses had enjoyed peace many years, when Philip, the seventh duke of Savoy, died, and his successor happened to be a very bigoted papist. About the same time, some of the principal Waldenses proposed that their clergy should preach in public, that every one might know the purity of their doctrines; for hitherto they had preached only in private, and to such congregations as they well knew to consist of none but persons of the reformed religion.

On hearing these proceedings, the new duke was greatly exasperated, and sent a considerable body of troops into the vallies, swearing that if the people would not change their religion, he would have them flayed alive. The commander of the troops soon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men he had with him: he, therefore sent word to the duke that the idea of subjugating the Waldenses, with so small a force, was ridiculous; that those people were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him; that they had secured all the passes, were well armed, and resolutely determined to defend themselves; and with respect to flaying them alive, he said that every skin belonging to those people would cost him the lives of a dozen of his subjects.

Terrified at this information, the duke withdrew the troops, determining to act not by force, but by stratagem. He, therefore ordered rewards for the taking of any of the Waldenses who might be found straying from their places of security; and these, when taken, were either flayed alive or burnt.

The Waldenses had hitherto had only the New Testament, and a few books of the Old in the Waldensian tongue; but they

determined now to have the Sacred Writings complete in their own language. They therefore employed a Swiss printer to furnish them with a complete edition of the Old and New Testament in the Waldensian tongue, which he did for the consideration of fifteen hundred crowns of gold, paid him by those pious people.

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Pope Paul the Third, a bigoted papist, ascending the pontifical chair, immediately solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute the Waldenses, as the most pernicious of all heretics.

The parliament readily agreed, and several were suddenly apprehended and burnt by their order. Among these was Bartholomew Hector, a bookseller and stationer of Turin, who was brought up a Roman catholic, but having read some treatises written by the reformed clergy, he was convinced of the errors of the church of Rome; yet his mind was, for some time, wavering, and he hardly knew what persuasion to embrace. The anguish of his soul, the palpitation of his heart, and the doubts which tormented his breast, are finely described in a poem, written by himself, which has thus been rendered into English:

> JOB XXIII. Ver. 3. O that I knew where I might find him!

Where shall I hide my blushing face? So full of horror and disgrace; Or where a healing medicine find? To ease the anguish of my mind.

Worldlings of want and loss complain, And holy joy in Christ disdain; An evil heart of unbelief, Fills my whole nature full of grief.

This fatal plague, this fiery dart, Gives me intolerable smart; I pant, I weep, I groan, I cry, Press'd by exceeding misery.

Or is my stony heart so hard? Or is my conscience so much seared? That I can't drop a single tear, Thro' filial love, or servile fear.

Should I to distant lands repair, My evil heart attends me there; Should I attempt to cross the sea, From my own self I cannot flee.

Where shall I go? What shall I do? Who will relieve my torment?—Who! If Jesus will not heal my wound, My place in hell will soon be found.

Did not the dear Redeemer bleed, To purchase life for all his seed? Did he not die upon the tree, To save rebellious worms like me?

When will the prince of peace descend? And bid my cries and conflicts end: O! for that happy, heavenly day, When Christ shall take my sins away.

Bartholomew Hector, at length, fully embraced the reformed religion, and was apprehended, as we have already mentioned, and burnt by order of the parliament of Turin. A consultation was now held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed to send deputies to the vallies of Piedmont, with the following propositions:

- 1. That if the Waldenses would come to the bosom of the church of Rome, and embrace the Roman catholic religion, they should enjoy their houses, properties, and lands, and live with their families, without the least molestation.
- 2. That to prove their obedience, they should send twelve of their principal persons, with all their ministers and school-masters, to Turin, to be dealt with at discretion.
- 3. That the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, approved of and authorized the proceedings of the parliament of Turin, upon this occasion.
- 4. That if the Waldenses of the vallies of Piedmont refused to comply with these propositions, persecution should ensue, and certain death be their portion.

To each of these propositions the Waldenses nobly replied in the following manner, answering them respectively:

- 1. That no considerations whatever should make them renounce their religion.
- 2. That they would never consent to commit their best and most respectable friends to the custody and discretion of their worst and most inveterate enemies.
- 3. That they valued the approbation of the King of Kings, who reigns in heaven, more than any temporal authority.
- 4. That their souls were more precious than their lives.

These pointed and spirited replies greatly exasperated the parliament of Turin: they continued, with more avidity than ever, to kidnap such Waldenses as did not act with proper precaution, who were sure to suffer the most cruel deaths. Among these it

unfortunately happened that they got hold of Jeffery Varnagle, minister of Angrogne, whom they committed to the flames as an heretic.

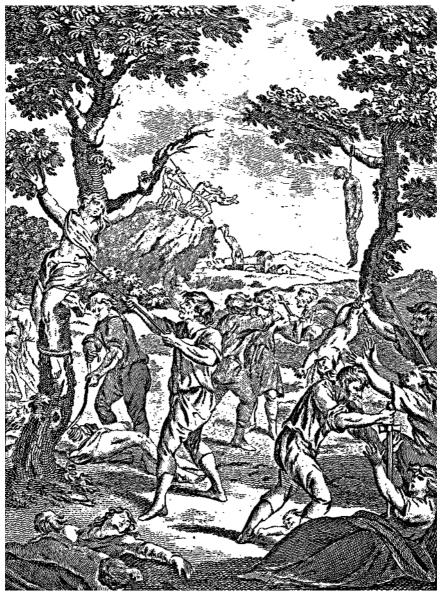
They then solicited a considerable body of troops of the king of France, in order to exterminate the reformed, entirely, from the vallies of Piedmont; but just as the troops were going to march, the protestant princes of Germany interposed, and threatened to send troops to assist the Waldenses, if they should be attacked. The king of France, not caring to enter into a war, remanded the troops, and sent word to the parliament of Turin that he could not spare any troops at present to act in Piedmont. The members of the parliament were greatly vexed at this disappointment, and the persecution gradually ceased; for as they could only put to death such of the reformed as they caught by chance, and as the Waldenses daily grew more cautious, their cruelty was obliged to subside, for want of objects on whom to exercise it.

> Experience teaches to be wise, While danger sharpens human eyes; And the more hazards we have run, The more expert we are to shun.

> > * * * * * * * * * *

After the Waldenses had enjoyed a few years tranquillity, they were again disturbed by the following means: 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 vallies of Piedmont entirely, or compelled them to enter into the bosom of the church of Rome. That he could not help looking upon such conduct with a suspicious eye, and that he really thought him a favourer of those heretics, and should report the affair accordingly to his holiness the pope.

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Various Methods of MASSACRING the WALDENSES in the Vallies of Piedmont in Italy.

Stung by this reflection, and unwilling to be misrepresented to the pope, the duke determined to act with the greatest severity, in order to shew his zeal, and to make amends for former neglect by future cruelty. He, accordingly, issued express orders for all the Waldenses to attend mass regularly, on pain of death. This they absolutely refused to do, on which he entered the Piedmontese vallies with a formidable body of troops, and began a most furious persecution, in which great numbers were:

Hanged, Burnt, Drowned, Stabbed, Ripped open, Racked to death, Tied to trees, and pierced with prongs, Crucified with their heads downwards, Thrown from precipices, Worried by dogs, &c.

Those who fled had their goods plundered, and their houses burnt to the ground: they were particularly cruel when they caught a minister or a school-master, whom they put to such exquisite tortures as are almost incredible to conceive. If any whom they took seemed wavering in their faith, they did not put them to death, but sent them to the gallies, to be made converts by dint of hardships.

The most cruel persecutors, upon this occasion, that attended the duke, were three in number, viz.

1. Thomas Incomel, an apostate; for he was brought up in the reformed persuasion; but renounced his faith, embraced the errors of popery, and turned monk. He was a great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and sordidly solicitous for the plunder of the Waldenses.

- 2. Corbis, a man of a very ferocious and cruel nature, whose business was to examine the prisoners.
- 3. The provost of justice, who was very anxious for the execution of the Waldenses, as every execution put money into his pocket.

These three persons were unmerciful to the last degree; and wherever they came, the blood of the innocent was sure to flow. Exclusive of the cruelties exercised by the duke, by these three persons, and the army, in their different marches, many local barbarities were committed. At Pignerol, a town in the vallies, was a monastery; the monks of which finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder the houses, and pull down the churches of the Waldenses. Not meeting with any opposition, they next seized upon the persons of those unhappy people, murdering the men, confining the women, and putting the children to Roman catholic nurses.

The Roman catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin, likewise, did all they could to vex and torment the neighbouring Waldenses: they destroyed their churches, burnt their houses, seized their properties, stole their cattle, converted their lands to their own use, committed their ministers to the flames, drove the Waldenses to the woods, where they had nothing to subsist on but wild fruits, roots, the bark of trees, &c.

Some Roman catholic ruffians, having seized a minister as he was going to preach, determined to take him to a convenient place and burn him. His parishioners having intelligence of the affair, the men armed themselves, pursued the ruffians, and seemed determined to rescue their minister; which the ruffians no sooner perceived, than they stabbed the poor gentleman, and leaving him weltering in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. The astonished parishioners did all they could to recover him, but in vain; for the weapon had touched the vital parts, and he expired as they were carrying him home.

The monks of Pignerol having a great inclination to get the minister of a town in the vallies called St. Germain, into their power, hired a band of ruffians for the purpose of apprehending him. These fellows were conducted by a treacherous person, who had formerly been a servant to the clergyman, and who perfectly well knew a secret way to the house, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighbourhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being asked who was there, answered in his own name. The clergyman, not expecting any injury from a person on whom he had heaped favours, immediately opened the door; but perceiving the ruffians, he started back, and fled to a back door; but they rushed in, followed and seized him. Having murdered all his family, they made him proceed towards Pignerol, goading him all the way with pikes, lances, swords, &c. He was kept a considerable time in prison, and then fastened to the stake to be burnt: when two women of the Waldenses, who had renounced their religion to save their lives, were ordered to carry faggots to the stake to burn him; and as they laid them down, to say, Take these, thou wicked heretic, in recompence for the pernicious doctrines that thou hast taught us. These words they both repeated to him: to which he calmly replied, I formerly taught you well, but you have since learned ill. The fire was then put to the faggots, and he was speedily consumed, calling upon the name of the Lord as long as his voice permitted.

As the troops of ruffians belonging to the monks did great mischief about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Angrogne sent some bands of armed men to the assistance of their brethren of St. Germain. These bodies of armed men frequently attacked the ruffians, and often put them to the rout, which so terrified the monks that they left their monastery of Pignerol for some time, till they could procure a body of regular troops to guard them.

The duke, not thinking himself so successful as he at first imagined he should be, greatly augmented his forces; ordered the bands of ruffians belonging to the monks, should join him; and commanded that a general gaol delivery should take place, provided the persons released would bear arms, and form themselves into light companies to assist in the extermination of the Waldenses.

The Waldenses, being informed of these proceedings, secured as much of their properties as they could, and quitting the vallies, retired to the rocks and caves among the Alps; for it is to be understood that the vallies of Piedmont are situated at the foot of those prodigious mountains called the Alps, or the Alpine Hills.

The army now began to plunder and burn the towns and villages wherever they came; but the troops could not force the passes to the Alps, which were gallantly defended by the Waldenses, who always repulsed their enemies; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were sure to be treated with the most barbarous severity.

A soldier having caught one of the Waldenses, bit his right ear off, saying, *I will carry this member of that wicked heretic with me into my own country and preserve it as a rarity.* He then stabbed the man, and threw him into a ditch.

A party of the troops found a venerable man upwards of an hundred years of age, together with his grand-daughter, a maiden of about eighteen, in a cave. They butchered the poor old man in a most inhuman manner, and then attempted to ravish the girl, when she started away, and fled from them; but they pursuing her, she threw herself from a precipice, and perished. The Waldenses, in order the more effectually to be able to repel force by force, entered into a league with the protestants of Dauphiny, with some protestant powers in Germany, and with the reformed of Pragela. These were, respectively, to furnish bodies of troops; and the Waldenses determined, when thus reinforced, to quit the mountains of the Alps, (where they must soon have perished, as the winter was coming on) and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native vallies, The duke of Savoy was now tired of the war; it had cost him great fatigue and anxiety of mind, a vast number of men, and very considerable sums of money. It had been much more tedious and bloody than he expected, as well as more expensive than he could at first have imagined, for he thought the plunder would have discharged the expences of the expedition; but in this he was mistaken, for the pope's nuncio, the bishops, monks, and other ecclesiastics, who attended the army and encouraged the war, sunk the greatest part of the wealth that was taken under various pretences. For these reasons, and the death of his duchess, of which he had just received intelligence, and fearing that the Waldenses, by the treaties they had entered into, would become more powerful than ever, he determined to returned to Turin with his army, and to make peace with the Waldenses.

This resolution he executed, though greatly against the will of the ecclesiastics, who were the chief gainers, and the best pleased with revenge. Before the articles of peace could be ratified, the duke himself died soon after his return to Turin; but on his deathbed he strictly enjoined his son to perform what he had intended, and to be as favourable as possible to the Waldenses.

The duke's son, Charles Emanuel succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, and gave a full ratification of peace to the Waldenses, according to the last injunctions of his father, though the ecclesiastics did all they could to persuade him to the contrary.

Notwithstanding the peace, the monks and inquisitors did all they could to oppress those of the reformed religion by the most insidious means. In particular, one Bartholomew Copin, of Lucerne, going to Ast to dispose of some merchandize, happened to sup with some Roman catholics. One of the company after supper, spoke with great asperity against the Waldenses, abused them in a most infamous manner, and charged them with almost every crime that could be committed. Copin was greatly enraged to hear his religion so falsely vilified, and the innocent professors of it so scandalously accused: he therefore entered into a strenuous defence of both, when the papist interrupting him, said, *Pray, Sir, are you a Waldensian?* I am, replied Copin. *Do you believe that God is in the host?* said the other. I do not, said Copin, *Then your religion must be false indeed*, said the Roman catholic. Not at all, answered Copin, it is as true as God from whom it proceeds.

The papist thought this sufficient, and therefore asked no more questions that evening; but the next morning laid an information before the bishop.

Copin, being summoned to attend the ecclesiastical court, confessed the expressions he was charged with, when the bishop told him he must either recant or be punished. Copin replied, he had been provoked to what he had said, yet he would abide by it with his life; that he had property and a family, but valued nothing so much as his soul; nor did he think that any one had a right to detain him for his opinion; that Turks and Jews were suffered to vend their merchandize without molestation, and therefore he thought it very hard to be denied that privilege.

The bishop committed him to prison, and the next day the secretary went to him, and told him that unless he acknowledged his error, his life would be in danger. To which he replied: *My life is in the hands of God, and I desire not to preserve it to the prejudice of the glory of my Redeemer: there are but a few paces in the journey to heaven; and I pray that the Almighty will not suffer me once to think of turning back, when I begin to travel that way.*

At a second examination, great persuasions were used to induce him to recant, but in vain; for he said, *If I deny Christ before men, Christ will deny me to my heavenly Father*. On hearing this, one of the priests present exclaimed, in great wrath, "Go thy ways, thou cursed heretic, to all the devils in hell: and when they torment thee, thou shalt be sorry for not having taken the good counsel given thee here."

His wife and son had been sent for, that they might tempt him to recant; but as soon as he saw them, he exhorted them to

patience, and perseverance in their religion; saying, "God will prove a better husband and a better father, than I could ever be." After taking a tender leave he sent them home, commanding them to wait the dispensations of Providence, and patiently to expect the results of his fate.

The bishop himself, after all, was puzzled to know what to do with Copin: for if he discharged him, he was apprehensive that others would be encouraged to speak their sentiments freely, thinking they might do it with impunity; and on the contrary, if he openly put him to death, he feared it might be deemed a violation of the treaty lately made between the duke and the Waldenses, and that he himself might suffer as the first infringer of it. He therefore sent a messenger to the pope to know how to proceed; but before his return with the directions, Copin was found dead in prison! It evidently appeared that he had been strangled; but as the murderer was unknown, the bishop thought proper to give out that he had hanged himself.

Where public rage, and open malice fail, Secret assassination will prevail.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Persecutions in Venice.

WHILE the state of Venice was free from inquisitors, a great number of protestants fixed their residence there, and many converts were made by the purity of the doctrines they professed, and the inoffensiveness of the conversation they used.

The pope being informed of the great encrease of protestantism, in the year 1542 sent inquisitors to Venice, to make an enquiry into the matter, and apprehend such as they might deem obnoxious persons. Hence a severe persecution began, and many worthy persons were martyred for serving God with purity, and scorning the trappings of idolatry.

Various were the modes by which the protestants were deprived of life; but one particular method, which was first invented upon this occasion, we shall describe: as soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, which ran through a great stone, fastened to his body. He was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face upwards, and rowed between two boats to a certain distance at sea, when the boats separated, and he was sunk to the bottom by the weight of the stone.

If any denied the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were sent to Rome, where, being committed purposely to damp prisons, and never called to an hearing, their flesh mortified, and they died miserably in gaol.

A citizen of Venice, named ANTHONY RICETTI, being apprehended as a protestant, was sentenced to be drowned in the manner we have already described. A few days previous to the time appointed for his execution, his son went to him, and begged him to recant, that his life might be saved, and himself not left fatherless. To which the father replied, *A good Christian is bound*

to relinquish not only goods and children, but life itself for the glory of his Redeemer: therefore I am resolved to sacrifice every thing in this transitory world, for the sake of salvation in a world that will last to eternity. The lords of Venice likewise sent him word that if he would embrace the Roman catholic religion they would not only give him his life, but redeem a considerable estate which he had mortgaged, and freely present him with it. This, however, he absolutely refused to comply with, sending word to the nobles that he valued his soul beyond all other considerations; and being told that a fellow-prisoner named Francis Sega, had recanted, he answered, *If he has forsaken God I pity him; but I shall continue stedfast in my duty.* Finding all endeavours to persuade him to renounce his faith ineffectual, he was executed according to his sentence, dying chearfully, and recommending his soul fervently to the Almighty.

What Ricetti had been told concerning the apostacy of Francis Sega was absolutely false, for he had never offered to recant, but stedfastly persisted in his faith and was executed a few days after Ricetti, in the very same manner.

FRANCIS SPINOLA, a protestant gentleman of very great learning, being apprehended by order of the inquisitors, was carried before their tribunal. A treatise on the *Lord's Supper* was then put into his hands, and he was asked if he knew the author of it. To which he replied, *I confess myself to be the author of it, and at the same time solemnly affirm that there is not a line in it but what is authorized by, and consonant to the holy scriptures.* On this confession he was committed close prisoner to a dungeon for several days.

Being brought to a second examination, he charged the pope's legate and the inquisitors, with being merciless barbarians, and then represented the superstitions and idolatries practiced by the church of Rome in so glaring a light, that not being able to refute

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his arguments, they sent him back to his dungeon, to make him repent of what he had said.

On his third examination, they asked him if he would not recant his errors? To which he answered that the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being purely the same as those which Christ and his apostles had taught, and which were handed down to us in the Sacred Writings. The inquisitors then sentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already described. He went to meet death with the utmost serenity, seeming to wish for dissolution, and declaring that the prolongation of this life did but tend to retard that real happiness which could be only expected in the world to come. These sentiments, which he maintained to the last, were agreeable to his former opinions; for in a Latin hymn printed at the end of his treatise on the Lord's Supper, for which he was apprehended, he finely describes in what manner a view of heaven mortifies us to the objects of this world. We have endeavoured to preserve his exact sense in the following hymn, which perfectly describes the subject in question:

When I behold the heav'nly state, That rest that doth the saints await, How full of comfort is my soul, What streams of bliss around me roll.

Above the world by faith we rise, And taste the pleasures of the skies; With angels feast, with angels join, In hymns immortal and divine.

On wings of love still upwards borne, We look on all below with scorn; The pains and pleasures of this life, Are certain grief, and endless strife.

While we enjoy the blissful sight, Our souls overflow with sweet delight; We long to reach the eternal shore, And see this evil world no more.

Oh! how we dread to sin again, This, this alone now gives us pain; We almost melt to tears of blood, To think of sinning against God.

What are these little tastes of love, To those which we shall have above? A drop of water to the sea, A moment—to eternity!

Oh! for the beatific day, When we shall wing our souls away; Then pain and sin for ever cease, And joys eternally encrease.

Did worldlings know the joys we feel, How glorious! how unspeakable! They would no longer feed with swine On hulks, but thirst for love divine.

Sinners who live on wine and lust, And with the serpent feed on dust; Come taste the pleasures that excel, Draw water from salvation's well.

Saints who have tasted of this grace, Take more and more with thankfulness; Drink heavenly wine, eat heavenly food,

The New Book of Martyrs And feast with Jehovah, the ALMIGHTY GOD.

CHAP. V.

Of Several Remarkable Individuals, who were Martyred in Different Parts of Italy, on Account of their Religion.

JOHN MOLLIUS was born at Rome, of reputable parents. At twelve years of age they placed him in the monastery of Grey Friars, where he made such a rapid progress in arts, sciences, and languages, that at eighteen years of age he was permitted to take priest's orders.

He was then sent to Ferrara, where, after pursuing his studies six years longer, he was made theological reader in the university of that city. He now, unhappily, exerted his great talents to disguise the gospel truths, and to varnish over the errors of the church of Rome. After some years residence at Ferrara, he removed to the university of Bononia, where he became a professor. Having read some treatises written by ministers of the reformed religion, he grew fully sensible of the errors of popery, and soon became a zealous protestant in his heart.

He now determined to expound, according to the purity of the gospel, *St. Paul's epistle to the Romans*, in a regular course of sermons. The concourse of people that continually attended his preaching was surprizing: but when the priests found the tenor of his doctrines, they dispatched an account of the affair to Rome; when the pope sent a monk, named Cornelius, to Bononia, to expound the same epistle, according to the tenets of the church of Rome. The people, however, found such a disparity between the two preachers, that the audience of Mollius encreased, and Cornelius was forced to preach to empty benches. Cornelius wrote an account of his bad success to the pope, who immediately sent an order to apprehend Mollius, who was seized upon accordingly, and kept in close confinement. The bishop of Bononia sent him

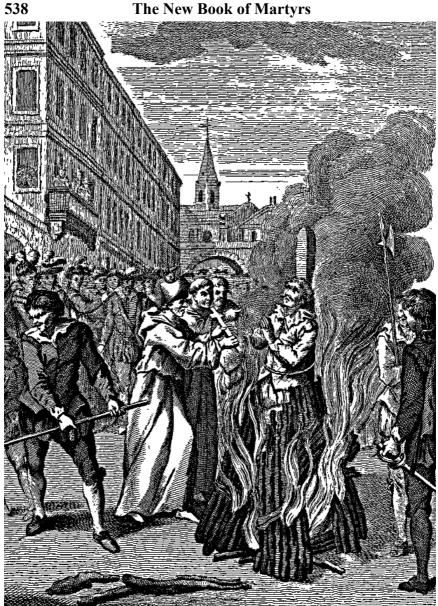
word, that he must recant, or be burnt; but he appealed to Rome, and was removed thither.

At Rome he begged to have a public trial, but that the pope absolutely denied him, and commanded him to give an account of his opinions in writing, which he did under the following heads:

Original sin Free-will	Mass Auricular confession
The infallibility of the	
church of Rome	Prayers for the dead
The infallibility of the	The host
pope Justification by faith	Prayers to saints
Purgatory	Going on pilgrimages
Transubstantiation	Extreme unction
Performing service in an unknown tongue	&c.

And all these he confirmed from scripture authority. The pope, upon this occasion, for political reasons, spared him for the present, but soon after had him apprehended and put to death; he being first hanged, and his body burnt to ashes, in A.D. 1553.

The year after FRANCIS GAMBA, a Lombard, of the protestant persuasion, was apprehended and condemned to death by the senate of Milan. At the place of execution, a monk presented a cross to him; to whom he said, *My mind is so full of the real merits and goodness of Christ, that I want not a piece f senseless stick to put me in mind of him*. For this expression his tongue was bored through, and he was afterwards burnt.



The MARTYRDOM of FRANCIS GAMBA, a Lombard, who after having his tongue bored through, was burnt at Milan in Italy.

A.D. 1555, ALGERIUS, a student in the university of Vadua, and a man of great learning, having embraced the reformed religion, did all he could to convert others. For these proceedings he was accused of heresy to the pope, and being apprehended, was committed to the prison at Venice, where being allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper, he wrote to his converts at Padua the following celebrated epistle:

"DEAR FRIENDS,

I cannot omit this opportunity of letting you know the sincere pleasures 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 now 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,

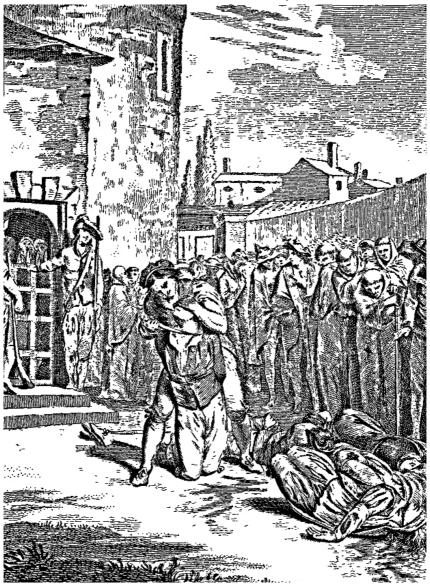
ALGERIUS.

The pope, being informed of Algerius's great learning and surprizing natural abilities; thought it would be of infinite service to the church of Rome if he could induce him to forsake the protestant cause. He, therefore, sent for him to Rome, and tried, by the most profane promises, to win him to his purpose. But finding his endeavours ineffectual, he ordered him to be burnt, which sentence was executed accordingly.

A.D. 1559, JOHN ALLOYSIUS, being sent from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended as a protestant, carried to Rome, and burnt by order of the Pope; and James Bovellus, for the same reason, was burnt at Messina.

A.D. 1560, Pope Pius the fourth ordered all the protestants to be severely persecuted throughout the Italian states, when great numbers of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practised upon this occasion, a learned and humane Roman catholic thus speaks of them, in a letter to a noble lord.

"I cannot, my lord, forbear disclosing my sentiments, with respect to the persecution now carrying on: I think it cruel and unnecessary; I tremble at the manner of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene of which I was myself an 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.



The MARTYRDOM of Seventy PROTESTANTS, Who were brought singly out of Prison blindfolded, and had their throats cut, by order of pope Pius IV.

He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hand selected another, and dispatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship's feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death: they seemed all resignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and chearfully 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."

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A young Englishman who happened to be at Rome, was one day passing by a church, when the procession of the host was just coming out. A bishop carried the host, which the young man perceiving, he snatched it from him, threw it upon the ground; and trampled it under his feet, crying out, *Ye wretched idolators, that neglect the true God to adore a morsel of bread.* This action so provoked the people, that they would have torn him to pieces upon the spot; but the priests persuaded them to let him abide by the sentence of the pope.

When the affair was represented to the pope, he was so greatly exasperated that he ordered the prisoner to be burnt immediately; but a cardinal dissuaded him from this hasty sentence, saying it was better to punish him by slow degrees, and to torture him, that they might find out if be had been instigated by any particular person to commit so atrocious an act. This being approved, he was tortured with the most exemplary severity, notwithstanding which they could only get these words from him: *It was the will of God that I should do what I did*.

The pope then passed this sentence upon him:

- 1. That he should be led by the executioner, naked to the middle, through the streets of Rome.
- 2. That he should wear the image of the devil upon his head.
- 3. That his breeches should be painted with the representation of flames.
- 4. That he should have his right hand cut off.
- 5. That after having been carried about thus in procession, he should be burnt.

When he heard his sentence pronounced, he implored God to give him strength and fortitude to go through it. As he passed through the streets he was greatly derided by the people, to whom he said some severe things respecting the Romish superstition. But a cardinal who attended the procession, over-hearing him, ordered him to be gagged.

When he came to the church door where he trampled on the host, the hangman cut off his right hand and fixed it on a pole. Then two tormentors with flaming torches scorched and burnt his flesh all the rest of the way. At the place of execution he kissed the chains that were to bind him to the stake. A monk presenting the figure of a saint to him, he struck it aside, and then being chained to the stake, fire was put to the faggots, and he was soon burnt to ashes.

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A little after the last mentioned execution, a venerable old man, who had long been a prisoner in the inquisition, was condemned to be burnt, and brought out for execution. When he was fastened to the stake, a priest held a crucifix to him, on which he said, "If you do not take that idol from my sight, you will

constrain me to spit upon it." The priest rebuked him for this with great severity; but he bade him remember the first and second commandments, and restrain from idolatry, as God himself had commanded. He was then gagged, that he should not speak any more, and fire being put to the faggots, he suffered martyrdom in the flames.

Hear, Oh, Israel, ye shall have None other Gods but me; I Jehovah, have power to save, To me for succour flee.

Bow the knee to me alone, Avoid idolatry's rod; I'll receive you for my own, And be to you a gracious God.

Oh, how many Gods and Lords, Our hearts for temples claim; Ev'ry part a place affords For some unholy name.

Saviour, cast those idols down, That have so long thy grace withstood; Take us, love us, as thine own; Be to us a gracious God.

Pleasures steal our hearts away, Riches bright attract our eyes; After empty names we stray. These are idols in disguise.

Gods of glittering gold disown, Who from real faith decoy;

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Gods of silver, wood, and stone, Empty images destroy.

All our idols who can tell, Passions make their numbers great; By thy pow'r unspeakable, Crush them Lord beneath thy feet.

Thy free grace to us make known, Spread thy Spirit far abroad; Take us, love us, as thy own, Be to us a gracious God.

CHAP. VI.

The Persecutions of the Marquisate of Saluces.

THE marquisate of Saluces, on the south side of the vallies of Piedmont, was in A.D. 1561, principally inhabited by protestants, when the marquis, who was proprietor of it, began a prosecution against them at the instigation of the then pope. He began by banishing the ministers, and if any of them refused to leave their flocks they were sure to be imprisoned and severely tortured; however, he did not proceed so far as to put any to death.

Soon after the marquisate fell into the possession of the duke of Savoy, who sent circular letters to all the towns and villages, that he expected the people should all conform to go to mass. The inhabitants of Saluces, upon receiving this letter, returned for answer the following general epistle:

May it please your Highness,

WE humbly entreat your permission to continue in the practice of the religion which we have always professed, and which our fathers have professed before us. In this we shall acquit our consciences without offending any; for we are sensible that our religion is founded on the holy scriptures, by whose precepts we are commanded not to injure our neighbours.

We likewise implore your protection; for as Jews, infidels, and other enemies to Christ, are suffered to live in your dominions unmolested, we hope the same indulgence may be granted to Christians, whose very faith obliges them to be harmless, honest, inoffensive, and loyal.

We remain your highness's respectful, obedient, and faithful subjects,

The Protestant Inhabitants of the Marquisate of Saluces."

The duke, after reading this, letter; did not interrupt the protestants for some time; but, at length, he sent them word that they must either conform to go to mass, or leave his dominions in fifteen days. The protestants, upon this unexpected edict, sent a deputy to the duke to obtain its revocation, or at least to have it moderated. But their remonstrances were in vain, and they were given to understand that the edict was absolute.

Some were weak enough to go to mass, in order to avoid banishment, and preserve their property; others removed with all their effects to different countries; and many neglected the time so long that they were obliged to abandon all they were worth, and leave the marquisate in haste. Those who unhappily staid behind were seized, plundered, and put to death.

CHAP. VII.

The Persecutions in the Valtoline.

THIS fine district belonged to the Grison lords, who, as petty sovereigns, had granted several decrees in favour of the protestants. The papists, however, of the Valtoline, bore them great malice, which first appeared publicly at the village of Tell, where they broke into a protestant congregation while the minister was preaching, and murdered several of the people.

They afterwards surrounded the village, and guarded all the avenues: then parading the streets, if any protestants made their appearance, they were shot immediately. Many that were sick were strangled in their beds; others had their brains beat out with clubs; and several were drowned in the river Alba.

A nobleman, who had hid himself behind some bushes in the river, being discovered, he implored their pity on account of his family, having a great number of children. The papists, however, told him that this was no time for mercy, unless he would renounce his faith. To which he replied, "God forbid that to save this temporary life, I should deny my Redeemer, and perish eternally." The words were scarce out of his mouth, when they fell upon him, and cut him to pieces.

The chief magistrate of the village being a protestant, they broke into his house, and murdered him and his whole family. Women and girls they ravished and put them all to death by various means, viz:

Hanging	Frying in a dry pan
Broiling	Stabbing
Ripping open	Beheading
Cutting the throat	Stoning
Worrying with dogs	Boiling in oil

Worrying, by	
fastening cats to	Pouring hot lead
several parts of the	down the throat
body	
Drowning	Racking, &c. &c.

In short, in Tell and its neighbourhood, there only escaped with their lives, three persons who happily passed the Alps and secured themselves in Rhetia.

The papists, having thus exterminated the protestants at Tell, now marched in triumph to a town at some miles distance, and persuading the popish inhabitants to join them, they determined to repeat the same bloody tragedy. Being informed by two friars that a protestant congregation was then assembled in the town, they went to the place, surrounded it, shot many through the window, knocked others on the head who attempted to run out, and then setting the place on fire, burnt the rest.

After thus destroying those who had met together to serve God, they visited the private houses of protestants, and having murdered all they could find, proceeded with drums beating and colours flying, to the town of Sondress. On their approach, the papists of the town pretended they did not approve of the proceedings of those who were coming; and therefore, if the protestants thought proper to put confidence in them, they would guard them from the impending danger. Most of the protestants indiscreetly believed them, and the papists arming themselves, surrounded the intended victims, under the pretence of protecting them; but no sooner did their bloody brethren appear, than they treacherously murdered those whom they had promised to defend.

However, eighteen men who suspected the sinister designs of the Roman catholics had well armed themselves, and taking their wives and children with them, they determined to attempt an escape. They marched with great regularity, and were frequently attacked by the papists, but they repulsed them with great bravery, and kept in so compact a body, that the papists could not break them. They proceeded in this manner till they came to a church, where they found seventy-three men armed, who were all protestants. This body they joined, and both proceeded together through the valley of Malone, where the papists made several unsuccessful attacks upon them, for by the providence of God, they passed the Alps, and arrived in a place of safety. The properties of those who were murdered, or made their escape, became the plunder of the papists who had committed these cruelties; and they paid themselves for their inhumanity by stealing the effects of those they had destroyed.

In another place they seized a lady of very considerable fortune and of the most eminent virtues, telling her they insisted upon her renouncing her religion. This she absolutely refused to do, when one of the papists said, "If you won't recant for your own sake, do it for the sake of the child you hold in your arms; or else both yourself and that too, shall be put to death." The lady, remaining inflexible, was hewn to pieces; but the child being remarkably pretty, they changed their resolution, and instead of killing it, put it to a popish nurse.

In a little town from which the men had made their escape, they seized a number of protestant women, and taking them to the top of a high precipice, told them their only alternative was to be thrown down there, or go to mass. One woman, through fear, consented; but the rest retained their resolution, when the papists suddenly pushed them all down the cragged rocks, saying to her that consented, "As we know you are not sincere, you shall go with the rest."

DOMINICO BERTO, a protestant youth of sixteen, was set upon an ass with his face to the tail, and the tail in his hand for a bridle. In this manner he was led round the town for the derision of the populace; when being taken to the market-place, they cut off his nose and ears, bored holes it his cheeks, and scarified his body

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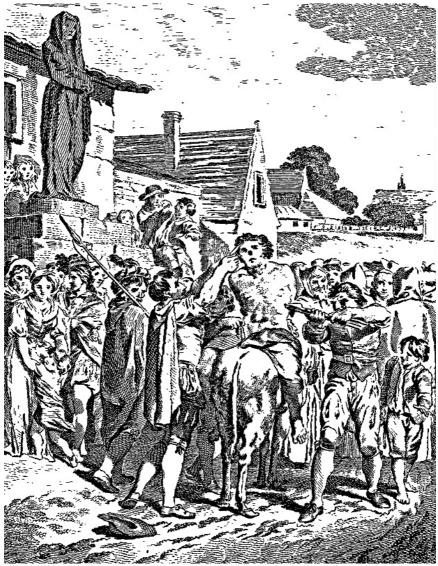
with red-hot pinchers; so that he expired under the excess of his torments.

THEOPHILUS MESSINO was shot with a musket ball, but the wound not proving mortal, they stretched open his mouth, filled it with gunpowder, and setting fire to it, blew his head to pieces.

The papists stripped several naked, gave them many wounds, carried them into the woods, and there left them to perish. They threw many into the Adda, from the bridges over that river; some had their mouths slit to their ears, and numbers had slices of their flesh cut off till they expired.

A noble protestant lady was seized upon and carried almost naked through the streets, with a paper mitre upon her head, and her face besmeared with dirt. A priest struck her on the cheek, and said, "Why don't you implore the mercy of the saints?" To which she replied, *My trust and salvation is in Jesus Christ only; 'tis not the saints, or the Virgin Mary, but my Redeemer alone that can save me.* Exasperated at this speech they carried her into the fields, and stoned her to death.

The pope sent a letter to these bloody papists of the Valtoline, approving of their conduct in what they had done, and recommending them not to leave a protestant alive, if they could possibly help it. This gave the ruffians new spirits, and redoubled their ardour for blood; they went on with the greatest avidity, killing the protestants in the streets, murdering them in their houses, and hunting them in the woods. And if they fled to caves for shelter, shutting up the mouths of the caves till they were famished. By these means, they totally exterminated the protestants from the towns and villages of Tell, Bruse, Malenco, Caspano, Tyrane, Sondres, Berbenno, and Trahen.



DOMINICO BERTO,

After having been led round the town on an Ass, with his Ears and Nose cut off, and holes bored in his cheeks, was torn to Death with red hot Pincers.

Patience under sufferings, and perseverance in the faith, are the true signs of pure religion: these poor persecuted protestants met their martyrdoms with fortitude; conscious that for the barbarities they underwent here, a glorious reward was reserved for them in a life which should last to eternity.

> Long may we seek for happiness, But where can it be found? Only, dear Saviour, in thy grace, Where purest joys abound.

A moment's space without our God, Is a domestic hell; But when he sheds his love abroad, What raptures do we feel!

Lord! if a transient sight of thee Affords us such a feast, How glorious will that vision be, Which shall for ever last?

When shall we, Lord, thy glory see, In light without a shade? The glory which surrounded thee Before the world was made.

What cares, infirmities, and pains, Oppress our feeble frames; Immortal health and vigour reigns, Where heav'nly glory flames.

Our wearied bodies we shall drop, And leave them in the dust,

To rest in sure and certain hope Of rising with the just.

Whene'er the great archangel blows The trumpet of the Lord, His voice the silent dead shall know, And be to life reftor'd.

We now but darkly thro' the glass, Behold the God we own; Then shall we see him face to face, And know as we are known.

Then Satan, with his fiery darts, Shall us no more molest; His arrows cannot reach our hearts, When we in glory rest.

The world no more shall charm our eyes, Nor captivate our hearts; Our souls to nobler pleasures rise, Which God himself imparts.



CHAP. VIII.

Of the Persecutions in the Vallies of Piedmont, in the Seventeenth Century.

POPE Clement the Eighth sent missionaries into the vallies of Piedmont, to induce the protestants to renounce their religion; and these missionaries having erected monasteries in several parts of the vallies, became exceedingly troublesome to those of the reformed, where the monasteries appeared not only as fortresses to curb, but as sanctuaries for all such to fly to as had any ways injured them.

The protestants petitioned the duke of Savoy against these missionaries, whose insolence and ill-usage were become intolerable; but instead of getting any redress, the interest of the missionaries so far prevailed, that the duke published a decree, in which he declared that one witness should be sufficient in a court of law against a protestant; and that any witness who convicted a protestant of any crime whatever, should be entitled to an hundred crowns.

It may be easily imagined, upon the publication of a decree of this nature, that many protestants fell martyrs to perjury and avarice; for several villainous papists would swear any thing against the protestants for the sake of the reward, and then fly to their own priests for absolution from their false oaths. If any Roman catholic, of more conscience than the rest, blamed these fellows for their atrocious crimes, they themselves were in danger of being informed against, and punished as favourers of heretics.

The missionaries did all they could to get the books of the protestants into their power, in order to burn them; when the protestants made their utmost endeavours to conceal their books, the missionaries wrote to the duke of Savoy, who, for the heinous crime of not surrendering their bibles, prayer-books, and religious treatises, sent a number of troops to be quartered on them. These military gentry did great mischief in the houses of the protestants, and destroyed such quantities of provisions that many families were thereby ruined.

To encourage, as much as possible, the apostacy of the protestants, the duke of Savoy published a proclamation, wherein he said, "To encourage the heretics to turn catholics, it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby expressly command that all such as shall embrace the holy Roman faith, shall enjoy an exemption from all and every tax for the space of five years, commencing from the day of their conversion." The duke of Savoy likewise established a court, called *The Council for Extirpating the Heretics*. This court was to enter into enquiries concerning the ancient privileges of the protestant churches, and the decrees which had been, from time to time, made in favour of the protestants. But the investigation of these things was carried on with the most manifest partiality; old charters were wrested to a wrong sense, and sophistry was used to pervert the meaning of every thing which tended to favour the reformed.

As if these severities were not sufficient, the duke, soon after, published another edict, in which he strictly commanded that no protestant should act as a school-master or tutor, either in public or private, or dare to teach any art, science, or language, directly or indirectly, to persons of any persuasion whatever.

This edict was immediately followed by another, which decreed that no protestant should hold any place of profit, trust, or honour; and to wind up the whole, the certain token of an approaching persecution came forth in a final edict, by which it was positively ordered that all protestants should diligently attend mass.

The publication of an edict containing such an injunction may be compared to unfurling the bloody flag; for murder and rapine were certain to follow. One of the first objects that attracted the notice of the papists was Mr. Sebastian Basan, a zealous protestant,

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who was seized by the missionaries, confined, tormented for fifteen months, and then burnt.

Previous to the persecution, the missionaries employed kidnappers to steal away the protestants children, that they might privately be brought up Roman catholics; but now they took away the children by open force, and if they met with any resistance, murdered the parents. To give greater vigour to the persecution, the duke of Savoy called a general assembly of the Romish catholic nobility and gentry, when a solemn edict was published against the reformed, containing many heads, and including several reasons for extirpating the protestants; among which were the following:

- 1. For the preservation of the papal authority.
- 2. That the church livings may be all under one mode of government.
- 3. To make an union among all parties.
- 4. In honour of all the saints, and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

This severe edict was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, A.D. 1655, under the duke's sanction, by Andrew Gastaldo, doctor of civil laws. This order set forth, "that every head of a family, with the individuals of that family, of the reformed religion, of what rank, degree, or condition soever, none excepted, inhabiting and possessing estates in Lucerne, Lucernetta, St. Giovanni, La Torre, Bibiana, Senile, Campiglione, St. Secondo and Bricherassio, should, within three days after the publication thereof, withdraw and depart, and be withdrawn out of the said places, and translated into the places and limits tolerated by his highness during his pleasure; particularly Bobbio, Angrogna, Villaro, 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 turned Roman catholics.

A flight, with such speed, in the midst of winter, may be conceived as no agreeable task, especially in a country almost surrounded by mountains. The sudden order affected all, and things which would have been scarcely noticed at another time, now appeared in the most conspicuous light. Women with child, or women just lain-in, were not objects of pity on this order for sudden removal, for all were included in the command; and it unfortunately happened that the winter was remarkably severe and rigorous.

The papists, however, drove the people from their habitations at the time appointed, without even suffering them to have sufficient cloaths to cover them; and many perished in the mountains through the severity of the weather, or for want of food. Some, however, who remained behind after the decree was published met with the severest treatment, being murdered by the popish inhabitants, or shot by the troops who were quartered in the vallies. 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 defined prey of the plunderers, fell upon us with an impetuous fury. Exclusive of the duke of Savoy's troops, and the popish inhabitants, there were several regiments of French auxiliaries, some companies belonging to the Irish brigades, and several bands formed of outlaws, smugglers, and prisoners, who had been promised pardon and liberty in this world, and absolution in the next, for assisting to exterminate the protestants from Piedmont.

"This armed multitude being encouraged by the Roman catholic bishops and monks, fell upon the protestants in a most furious manner. Nothing now was to be seen but the face of horror and despair; blood stained the floors of the houses, dead bodies bestrewed the streets, groans and cries were heard from all parts. Some armed themselves and skirmished with the troops; and many, with their families, fled to the mountains. In one village they cruelly tormented one hundred and fifty women and children after the men were fled, beheading the women, and dashing out the brains of the children In the towns of Villatro and Bobbio, most of those that refused to go to mass who were upwards of fifteen years of age, they crucified with their heads downwards; and the greater number of those who were under that age were strangled."

SARAH RASTIGNOLE DES VIGNES, a woman of sixty years of age, being seized by some soldiers, they ordered her to say a prayer to some saints; which she refusing, they thrust a sickle into her belly, ripped her up, and then cut off her head.

MARTHA CONSTANTINE, a handsome young woman, was treated with great indecency and cruelty by several of the troops, who first ravished and then killed her by cutting off her breasts. These they fried, and set before some of their comrades, who ate them without knowing what they were. When they had done eating, the others told them what they had made a meal of, in consequence of which a quarrel ensued, swords were drawn, and a battle took place. Several were killed in the frays, the greater part of whom were those concerned in the horrid massacre of the

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woman, and who had practised such an inhuman deception on their companions.

Some of the soldiers seized a man at Thrassiniere, and ran the points of their swords through his ears, and through his feet. They then tore off the nails of his fingers and toes with red-hot pincers, tied him to the tail of an ass, and dragged him about the streets; and finally fastened a cord round his head, which they twisted with a stick in so violent a manner as to wring it from his body.

PETER SIMONDS, a protestant of about eighty years of age, was tied neck and heels, and then thrown down a precipice. In the fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that fastened him, and suspended him in the mid-way, so that he languished for several days, and at length perished of hunger.

ESAY GARCINO, refusing to renounce his religion, was cut into small pieces; the soldiers, in ridicule; saying, they had minced him. A woman named Armand had every limb separated from each other, and then the respective parts were hung upon a hedge. Two old women were ripped open, and left in the fields upon the snow, where they perished; and a very old woman, who was deformed, had her nose and hands cut off, and was left to bleed to death in that manner.

A great number of men, women, and children were flung from the rocks, and dashed to pieces. Magdalen Bertino, a protestant woman of La Torre, was stripped stark naked, her head tied between her legs, and thrown down one of the precipices; and Mary Raymondet, of the same town, had her flesh sliced from her bones till she expired.

MAGDALEN PILOT, of Villaro, was cut to pieces in the cave of Castolus; Ann Charboniere had one end of a stake thrust up her

body; and the other end being fixed in the ground, she was left in that manner to perish; and Jacob Perrin, the elder of the church of Villaro, and David, his brother, were flead alive.

An inhabitant of La Torre, named Giovanni Andrea Michialin, was apprehended with four of his children; three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the soldiers asking him, at the death of every child, if he would renounce his religion? which he constantly refused. One of the soldiers then took up the last and youngest by the legs, and putting the same question to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the some moment started from them, and fled: the soldiers fired after him, but missed him; and he, by the swiftness of his heels, escaped, and hid himself in the Alps.

CHAP. IX.

Farther Persecutions in the Vallies of Piedmont, in the Seventeenth Century.

GIGOVANNI PELANCHION, for refusing to turn papist, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept stoning him, and crying out, *He is possessed with a devil, so that neither stoning, nor dragging him through the streets, will kill him, for the devil keeps him alive.* They then took him to the river side, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied upon the bank of the stream.

MAGDALEN, the daughter of Peter Fontaine, a beautiful child of ten years of age; was ravished and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, they roasted alive at Villa Nova, and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming towards her house, snatched up the cradle in which her infant son was asleep, and fled towards the woods. The soldiers, however, saw and pursued her, when she lightened herself by putting down the cradle and child, which the soldiers no sooner came to than they murdered the infant, and continuing the pursuit, found the mother in a cave, where they first ravished, and then cut her to pieces.

JACOPO MICHELINO, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other protestants, were hung up by means of hooks fixed in their bellies, and left to expire in the most excruciating tortures.

> Of all the monsters that the world pollute, None is so savage as a human brute;

Man, when benevolence is once forgot, Is one gross error, one prodigious blot.

GIOVANNI ROSTAGNAL, a venerable protestant, upwards of fourscore years of age, had his nose and ears cut off, and slices cut from the fleshy parts of his body, till he bled to death.

Seven Persons, viz. Daniel Saleagio and his wife, Giovanni Durant, Lodwich Durant, Bartholomew Durant, Daniel Revel, and Paul Reynaud, had their mouths stuffed with gunpowder, which being let fire to, their heads were blown to pieces.

JACOB BIRONE, a school master of Rorata, for refusing to change his religion, was stripped quite naked; and after having been very indecently exposed, had the nails of his toes and fingers torn off with red-hot pinchers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He then had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the streets with a soldier on each side of him. At every turning the soldier on his right-hand side cut a gash in his flesh, and the soldier on his left-hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both saying at the same instant, *Will you go to mass? Will you go to mass?* He still replied in the negative to these interrogatories, and being at length taken to the bridge, they cut off his head on the balustrades, and threw both that and his body into the river.

PAUL GARNIER, a very pious protestant, had his eyes put out, was then flead alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houses of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praised God as long as he could speak, and plainly evinced what confidence and resignation a good conscience can inspire.

Thrice happy they, whose souls are built

On that foundation which is sure; They are discharg'd from all their guilt, And stand eternally secure.

Their doubts and fears are fled away, They live in constant joy and light; They walk with God throughout the day, And sleep at peace with him by night.

Corruption reigns in them no more, They have no place nor love for sin; Absolv'd its guilt, subdu'd its pow'r, And Jesus' kingdom is within.

How do they feel seraphic love? Exciting in them heavenly fire; To God their flaming spirits move, In pious warmth, and zeal's desire.

The world in vain displays its charms, And spreads its glories all abroad; Their souls are safe in Jesus' arms, They live, they move, they breathe in God.

Grim death may all his terrors shew, And come forth with a ghastly train; They scorn to dread so mean a foe, To die for Christ true life they gain.

The rocks and mountains may decay, The seas their wand'ring streams remove; The heav'ns and earth may pass away, Yet God can never change his love.

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DANIEL CARDON, of Rocappiata, being apprehended by some soldiers, they cut his head off, and having fried his brains, ate them. Two poor old blind women of St. Giovanni were burnt alive; and a widow of La Torre, with her daughter, were driven into the river and there stoned to death.

PAUL GILES, on attempting to run away from some soldiers, was shot in the neck; they then slit his nose, sliced his chin, stabbed him, and gave his carcase to the dogs.

Some of the Irish troops having taken eleven men of Garcigliana prisoners, they made a furnace red-hot, and forced them to push each other in till they came to the last man, whom they pushed in themselves.

MICHAAEL GONET, a man of ninety, was burnt to death; Baptista Oudri, another old man, was stabbed; and Bartholomew Frasche had holes made in his heels, through which ropes being put, he was dragged by them to the gaol, where his wounds mortified and killed him.

MAGDALENE DE LA PEIRE being pursued by some of the soldiers and taken, was thrown down a precipice, and dashed to pieces. Margaret Revella and Mary Pravillerin, two very old women, were burnt alive; and Michael Bellino, with Ann Bochardno, were beheaded.

The son and daughter of a counsellor of Giovanni, were rolled down a steep hill together, and suffered to perish in a deep pit at the bottom. A tradesman's family, viz. himself, his wife and an infant in arms, were cast from a rock, and dashed to pieces; and Joseph Chairet and Paul Cartniero, were flead alive.

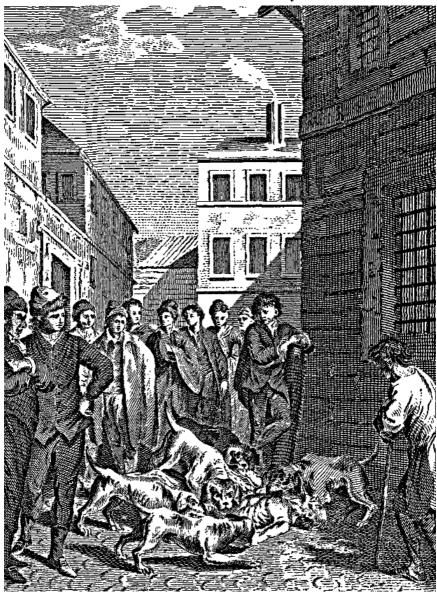
CYPRIANIA BUSTIA, being asked if he would renounce his religion, and turn Roman catholic, replied, *I would rather renounce life, or turn dog*: to which a priest answered, for that expression you shall both renounce life, and be given to the dogs. They, accordingly, dragged him to prison, where he continued a considerable time without food, till he was famished; after which they threw his corpse into the street before the prison, and it was devoured by dogs in a most shocking manner.

MARGARET SARETTA was stoned to death, and then thrown into the river. Antonio Bertina had his head cleft asunder; and Joseph Pont was cut through the middle of his body.

DANIEL MARIA, and his whole family, being ill of a fever, several papist ruffians broke into his house, telling him they were practical physicians, and would give them all present ease, which they did by knocking the whole family on the head.

Three infant children of a protestant named Peter Fine, were covered with snow, and stifled; an elderly woman named Judith, was beheaded; and a beautiful young woman was stripped naked, and had a stake driven through her body, of which she expired.

Lucy, the wife of Peter Besson, a woman far gone in her pregnancy, who lived in one of the villages of the Piedmontese vallies, determined, if possible, to escape from such dreadful scenes as every where surrounded her: she, accordingly, took two young children, one in each hand and set off towards the Alps. But on the third day of the journey she was taken in labour among the mountains, and delivered of an infant, who perished through the extreme inclemency of the weather, as did the two other children; for all three were found dead by her, and herself just expiring, by the person to whom she related the above particulars.



CYPRIANIA BUSTIA, a PIEDMONTESE, After being starved to Death, taken from his Prison and thrown to the Dogs to be devoured. FRANCIS GROS, the son of a clergyman, had his flesh slowly cut from his body into small pieces, and put into a dish before him: two of his children were minced before his sight; and his wife was fastened to a post, that she might behold all these cruelties practised on her husband and offspring. The tormentors, at length, being tired of exercising their cruelties, cut off the heads of both husband and wife, and then gave the flesh of the whole family to the dogs.

The Sieur THOMAS MARGHER fled to a cave, when the soldiers shut up the mouth, and he perished with famine. Judith Revelin, with seven children, were barbarously murdered in their beds; and a widow of near fourscore years of age, was hewn to pieces by the soldiers.

JACOB ROSENO was ordered to pray to the saints, which he absolutely refused to do: some of the soldiers beat him violently with bludgeons to make him comply, but he still refusing, several of them fired at him, and lodged a great many balls in his body. As he was almost expiring, they cried to him, *Will you call upon the saints? Will you pray to the saints?* To which he answered, *No! No! No!* when one of the soldiers, with a broad-sword, clove his head asunder, and put an end to his sufferings in this world; for which undoubtedly, he is gloriously rewarded in the next.

A soldier was attempting to ravish a beautiful young woman named Susanna Giacquin; she made a stout resistance, and in the struggle pushed him over a precipice, when he was dashed to pieces by the fall. His comrades, instead of admiring the virtue of the young woman, and applauding her for so nobly defending her chastity, fell upon her with their swords, and cut her to pieces.

GIOVANNI PULLIUS, a poor peasant of La Torre, being apprehended as a protestant by the soldiers, was ordered by the marquis of Pionossa, to be executed in a place near the convent. When he came to the gallows, several monks attended, and did all they could to persuade him to renounce his religion. But he told them he never would embrace idolatry, and that he was happy in being thought worthy to suffer for the name of Christ. They then put him in mind of what his wife and children, who depended upon his labour, would suffer after his decease: to which he replied, I would have my wife and children, as well as myself, to consider their souls more than their bodies, and the next world before this: and with respect to the distresses I may leave them in, God is merciful and will provide for them while they are worthy of his protection. Finding the inflexibility of this poor man, the monks cried, Turn him off, turn him off: which the executioner did almost immediately, and the body being afterwards cut down, was flung into the river.

CHAP. X.

Sequel of the Persecutions in the Vallies of Piedmont, in the Seventeenth Century.

PAUL CLEMENT, an elder of the church of Rossana, being apprehended by the monks of a neighbouring monastery, was carried to the market-place of that town, where some protestants having just been executed by the soldiers, he was shewn the dead bodies, in order that the sight might intimidate him. On beholding the shocking objects, he said, calmly, *You may kill the body, but you cannot prejudice the soul of a true believer; but, with respect to the dreadful spectacles which you have here 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 in standing at a distance, and shooting at the body as at a mark.

DANIEL RAMBAUT, of Villaro, the father of a numerous family, was apprehended, and with several others, committed to prison, in the gaol of Paysana. Here he was visited by several priests, who, with continual importunities, did all they could to persuade him to renounce the protestant religion, and turn papist; but this he peremptorily refused, and the priests finding his resolution, pretended to pity his numerous family, and told him that he might yet save his life, if he would subscribe to the belief of the following:

ARTICLES:

- 1. The real presence in the host.
- 2. Transubstantiation.
- 3. Purgatory.

- 4. The pope's infallibility.
- 5. That masses said for the dead will release souls from purgatory.
- 6. That praying to saints will procure the remission of sins.

M. Rambaut told the priests that neither his religion, his understanding, or his conscience, would suffer him to subscribe to any of the articles, for the following reasons:

- 1. That to believe the real presence in the host, is a shocking union of both blasphemy and idolatry.
- 2. That to fancy the words of consecration performs what the papists call transubstantiation, by converting the wafer and wine into the real and identical body and blood of Christ, which was crucified, and which afterwards ascended into heaven, is too gross an absurdity for even a child to believe, who was come to the least glimmering of reason; and that nothing but the most blind superstition could make the Roman catholics put a confidence in any thing so completely ridiculous.
- 3. That the doctrine of purgatory was more inconsistent and absurd than a fairy tale.
- 4. That the pope's being infallible was an impossibility, and the pope arrogantly laid claim to what could belong to God only, as a perfect being.
- 5. that saying masses for the dead was ridiculous, and only meant to keep up a belief in the fable of purgatory, as the fate of all is finally decided on the departure of the soul from the body.
- 6. That praying to saints for the remission of sins is misplacing adoration; as the saints themselves have occasion for an intercessor in Christ. Therefore as God only can pardon our errors, we ought to sue to him alone for pardon.

The priests were so highly offended at M. Rambaut's answers to the articles to which they would have had him subscribe, that they determined to shake his resolution by the most cruel method imaginable: they ordered one joint of his fingers to be cut off every day, till all his fingers were gone: they then proceeded in the same manner with his toes; afterwards they alternately cut off daily, a hand and a foot; but finding that he bore his sufferings with the most admirable patience, encreased both in fortitude and resignation, and maintained his faith with stedfast resolution, and unshaken constancy, they stabbed him to the heart, and then gave his body to be devoured by dogs.

PETER GABRIOLA, a protestant gentleman of considerable eminence, being seized by a troop of soldiers, and refusing to renounce his religion, they hung a great number of little bags of gunpowder about his body, and then letting fire to them, blew him up.

ANTHONY, the son of Samuel Catieris, a poor dumb lad who was extremely inoffensive, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops; and soon after the same ruffians entered the house of Peter Moniriat, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death, as they were unable to assist themselves, or to help each other.

DANIEL BENECH being apprehended, had his nose slit, his ears cut off; and was then divided into quarters, each quarter being hung upon a tree; and Mary Monino had her jaw bones broke, and was then left to languish till she was famished.

MARY PELANCHION, a handsome widow, belonging to the town of Villaro, was seized by a party of the Irish brigades, who having beat her cruelly and ravished her, dragged her to a high bridge which crossed the river, and stripping her naked in a most indecent manner, hung her by the legs to the bridge, with her head downwards towards the water, and then going into boats, they fired at her till she expired.

MARY NIGRINO and her daughter, who was an idiot, were cut to pieces in the woods, and their bodies left to be devoured by wild beasts. Susanna Bales, a widow of Villaro, was immured till she perished through hunger; and Susanna Calvio, running away from some soldiers and hiding herself in a barn, they set fire to the straw and burnt her.

PAUL ARMAND was hacked to pieces; a child named Daniel Bertino was burnt; Daniel Michialino had his tongue plucked out, and was left to perish in that condition; and Andrea Bertino, a very old man who was lame, was mangled in a most shocking manner, and at length had his belly ripped open and his bowels carried about on the point of an halbert.

CONSTANTIA BELLIONE, а protestant ladv. being apprehended on account of her faith, was asked by a priest if she would renounce the devil and go to mass; to which she replied, "I was brought up in a religion by which I was always taught to renounce the devil, but should I comply with your desire, and go to mass, I should be sure to meet him there in a variety of shapes." The priest was highly incensed at what she said, and told her to recant, or she should suffer cruelly. The lady, however; boldly answered that she valued not any sufferings he could inflict, and in spite of all the torments he could invent, she would keep her conscience pure and her faith inviolate. The priest then ordered slices of her flesh to be cut off from several parts of her body, which cruelty she bore with the most singular patience, only saying to the priest, what horrid and lasting torments will you suffer in hell, for the trifling and temporary pains which I now endure. Exasperated at this expression, and willing to stop her

tongue, the priest ordered a file of musqueteers to draw up and fire upon her, by which she was soon dispatched, and sealed her martyrdom with her blood.

A young woman named JUDITH MANDON, for refusing to change her religion and embrace popery, was fastened to a stake, and sticks thrown at her from a distance, in the very same manner as that barbarous custom which was formerly practised on Shrove Tuesday of *shying at cocks* as it was termed. By this inhuman proceeding, the poor creature's limbs were beat and mangled in a terrible manner, and her brain was at last dashed out by one of the bludgeons.

DAVID PAGLIA and PAUL GENRE, attempting to escape to the Alps, with each his son, were pursued and overtaken by the soldiers in a large plain. Here they hunted them for their diversion, goading them with their swords, and making them run about till they dropped down with fatigue. When they found that their spirits were quite exhausted, and that they could not afford them any more barbarous sport by running, the soldiers hacked them to pieces, and left their mangled bodies on the spot.

A young man of Bobbio, named MICHAEL GREVE, was apprehended in the town of La Torre, and being led to the bridge, was thrown over into the river. As he could swim well, he swam down the stream, thinking to escape, but the soldiers and mob followed on both sides the river, and kept stoning him, till receiving a blow on one of his temples, he was stunned, and consequently sunk and was drowned.

DAVID ARMAND was ordered to lay his head down on a block, when a soldier, with a large hammer, beat out his brains. David Baridona being apprehended at Villaro, was carried to La Torre, where refusing to renounce his religion, he was tormented

by means of brimstone matches being tied between his fingers and toes, and set fire to and afterwards, by having his flesh plucked off with red hot pincers, till he expired. Giovanni Barolina, with his wife, were thrown into a pool of stagnant water, and compelled, by means of pitch-forks and stones, to duck down their heads till they were suffocated.

A number of soldiers went to the house of JOSEPH GARNIERO, and before they entered, fired in at the window, to give notice of their approach. A musquet ball entered one of Mrs. Garniero's breasts as she was suckling an infant with the other. On finding their intentions, she begged hard that they would spare the life of the infant, which they promised to do, and sent it immediately to a Roman Catholic nurse. They then took the husband and hanged him at his own door, and having shot the wife through the head, they left her body weltering in its blood, and her husband hanging on the gallows.

ISAIAH MONDON, an elderly man, and a pious protestant, fled from the merciless persecutors to a cleft in a rock, where he suffered the most dreadful hardships; for, in the midst of the winter, he was forced to lay on the bare stone, without any covering; his food was the roots he could scratch up near his miserable habitation; and the only way by which he could procure drink was to put snow in his mouth till it melted. Here, however, some of the inhuman soldiers found him, and after having beaten him unmercifully, they drove him towards Lucerne, goading him with the points of their swords. Being exceedingly weakened by his manner of living, and his spirits exhausted by the blows he had received, he fell down in the road. They again beat him to make him proceed; when, on his knees, he implored them to put him out of his misery by dispatching him. This they at last agreed to do; and one of them stepping up to him, shot him through the head with a pistol, saying, There, heretic, take thy request.

MARY REVEL, a worthy protestant, received a shot in her back as she was walking along the street. She dropped down with the wound, but recovering sufficient strength, she raised herself upon her knees, and lifting her hands towards heaven, prayed, in a most servant manner, to the Almighty; when a number of soldiers who were near at hand fired a whole volley of shot at her, many of which took place, and put an end to her miseries in an instant.

Several men, women, and children secreted themselves in a large cave, where they continued for some weeks in safety. It was the custom for two of the men to go when it was necessary, and by stealth, procure provisions. These were, however, one day watched, by which the cave was discovered, and soon after, a troop of Roman catholics appeared before it. The papists that assembled upon this occasion were neighbours, and intimate acquaintances of the protestants in the cave; and some of them were even related to each other. The protestants, therefore, came out, and implored them, by the ties of hospitality, by the ties of blood, and as old acquaintances and neighbours not to murder them.

But superstition overcomes every sensation of nature and humanity; so that the papists, blinded by bigotry, told them they could not shew any mercy to heretics, and therefore, bad them all prepare to die. Hearing this, and knowing the fatal obstinacy of the Roman catholics, the protestants all fell prostrate, lifted their hands and hearts to heaven, prayed with great sincerity and fervency, and then bowing down, put their faces close to the ground, and patiently awaited their fate, which was soon decided, for the papists fell upon them with unremitting fury, and having cut them to pieces, left their mangled bodies and limbs in the cave.

GIOVANNI SALVAGIOT, passing by a Roman catholic church, and not taking off his hat, was followed by some of the congregation, who fell upon and murdered him.

JACOB BARREL and his wife, having been taken prisoners by the earl of St. Secondo, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, he delivered them up to the soldiery, who cut off the woman's breasts, and the man's nose, and then shot both through the head.

ANTHONY GICUO, a protestant of a wavering disposition, went to Periero with an intent to renounce his religion and embrace popery. This design he communicated to some priests, who highly commended it, and a day was fixed upon for his public recantation. In the mean time, Anthony grew fully sensible of his perfidy, and his conscience tormented him so much, night and day, that he determined not to recant, but to make his escape. This he effected, but being soon missed and pursued, he was taken. The troops on the way did all they could to bring him back to his design of recantation; but finding their endeavours ineffectual, they beat him violently on the road. When coming near a precipice, he took an opportunity of leaping down it, and was dashed to pieces.

A protestant gentleman of considerable fortune, at Bobbio, being highly provoked by the insolence of a priest, retorted with great severity; and among other things, said that the pope was Anti-Christ, mass was idolatry, purgatory a farce, and absolution a cheat. To be revenged, the priest hired five desperate ruffians, who, the same evening, broke into the gentleman's house and seized upon him in a violent manner. The gentleman was terribly frightened, fell on his knees, and implored mercy; but the desperate ruffians dispatched him without the least hesitation.

CHAP. XI.

A Narrative of the Piedmontese War.

THE massacres and murders, already mentioned to have been committed in the vallies of Piedmont, nearly depopulated most of the town and villages. One place only had not been assaulted, and that was owing to the difficulty of approaching it: this was the little commonalty of Roras, which was situated upon a rock.

As the work of blood grew slack in other places, the earl of Christople, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, determined, if possible, to make himself master of it; and with that view, detached three hundred men to surprize it secretly. The inhabitants of Roras, however had intelligence of the approach of these troops, when captain Joshua Gianavel, a brave protestant officer, put himself at the head of a small body of the citizens, and waited in ambuscade to attack the enemy in a small defile.

When the troops appeared, and had entered the defile, which was the only place by which the town could be approached, the protestants kept up a smart and well directed fire against them, and still kept themselves concealed behind bushes from the sight of the enemy. A great number of the soldiers were killed and the remainder receiving a continued fire, and not seeing any to whom they might return it, thought proper to retreat.

The members of this little community then sent a memorial to the marquis of Pianessa, one of the duke's general officers, setting forth, "that they were sorry, upon any occasion, to be under the necessity of taking up arms; but that the secret approach of a body of troops, without any reason assigned, or any previous notice sent of the purpose of their coming, had greatly alarmed them; that as it was their custom never to suffer any of the military to enter their little community, they had repelled force by force, and should do so again; but in all other respects, they possessed themselves dutiful, obedient, and loyal subjects to their sovereign, the duke of Savoy."

The marquis of Pianessa, that he might have the better opportunity of deluding and surprizing the protestants of Roras, sent them word in answer, "That he was perfectly satisfied with their behaviour, for they had done right, and even rendered a service to their country, as the men who had attempted to pass the defile were not his troops, or sent by him, but a band of desperate robbers, who had, for some time, infested those parts, and been a terror to the neighbouring country." To give a greater colour to his treachery, he then published a proclamation, which ran thus:

To the inhabitants of all the Towns, Villages, Hamlets, &c. in Piedmont, and the Appendages thereunto belonging, and to the united Troops belonging to or in the pay of his Highness the Duke of Savoy, greeting:

WHEREAS the inhabitants of Roras have bravely and loyally routed, killed, or expelled, a band of bloody robbers, and desperate outlaws, and thereby rendered an essential service to the country in general. Be it, therefore, known, that all persons are strictly ordered and commanded, in the duke's name, not to injure, molest, or disturb any of the inhabitants of Roras, but to do them every possible service, in return for the benefit which the state has received from them.

PIANESSA

Given at the Camp near Villaro.

Yet, the very day after this plausible proclamation, and specious conduct, the marquis sent five hundred men to possess themselves of Roras, while the people, as he thought, were lulled into perfect security by his specious behaviour. Captain Gianavel, however, was not to be deceived so easily: he, therefore, laid an ambuscade for this body of troops, as he had for the former, and compelled them to retire with very considerable loss. Though foiled in these two attempts, the marquis Pianessa determined on a third, which should be still more formidable; but first he imprudently published another proclamation, disowning any knowledge of the second attempt.

Soon after, seven hundred chosen men were sent 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. The protestant captain Gianavel; at the head of a small body, though he had lost the defile, determined to dispute their passage through a fortified pass that led to the richest and best part of the town. Here he was successful, by keeping up a continued fire, and by means of his men being all complete marksmen.

The Roman catholic commander was greatly staggered at this opposition, as he imagined that he had surmounted all difficulties. He, however, did his endeavours to force the pass, but being able to bring up only twelve men in front at a time, and the protestants being secured by a breast-work, he found he should be baffled by the handful of men who opposed him.

Enraged at the loss of so many of his troops, and fearful of disgrace if he persisted in attempting what appeared so impracticable, he thought it the wisest thing to retreat. Unwilling, however, to withdraw his men by the defile at which he had entered, on account of the difficulty and danger of the enterprize, he designed to retreat towards Villaro, by another pass called Piampra, which, though hard of access, was easy of descent. But in this he met with a disappointment, for captain Gianavel 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 that all his attempts were frustrated, and that every artifice he used was only an alarm-signal

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to the inhabitants of Roras, resolved to act openly, and therefore proclaimed that ample rewards should be given to any one who would bear arms against the obstinate heretics of Roras, as he called them; and that any officer who would exterminate them should be rewarded in a princely manner.

This engaged captain Mario, a bigoted Roman catholic and a desperate ruffian, to undertake the enterprize. He, therefore, obtained leave to raise a regiment in the following six towns: Lucerne, Borges, Samolas, Bobbio, Bagnol, and Cavos.

Having completed his regiment, which consisted of a thousand men, he laid his plan not to go by the defiles or the passes, but to attempt gaining the summit of a rock, from whence he imagined he could pour his men into the town without much difficulty or opposition.

The protestants suffered the Roman catholic troops to gain almost the summit of the rock, without giving them any opposition; or ever appearing in their sight: but when they had almost reached the top, they made a most furious attack upon them; one party keeping up a well-directed and constant fire, and another party rolling down huge stones.

This stopped the career of the papist troops: many were killed by the musquetry, and more by the stones, which beat them down the precipices. Several fell sacrifices to their hurry, for by attempting a precipitate retreat, they fell down, and were dashed to pieces; and captain Mario himself narrowly escaped with life, for he fell from a craggy place into a river which washed the foot of the rock. He was taken up senseless, but afterwards recovered, though he was ill of the bruises for a long time; and at length, fell into a decline at Lucerne, where he died.

Another body of troops was ordered from the camp at Villaro, to make an attempt upon Roras; but these were likewise defeated, by means of the protestants ambush-fighting, and compelled to retreat again to the camp at Villaro. After each of these signal victories, captain Gianavel made a suitable discourse to his men,

causing them to kneel down, and return thanks to the Almighty for his providential protection; and usually concluded with the XIth Psalm, where the subject is placing confidence in God, and which has been thus beautifully paraphrased:

> I put my trust in God alone, Why do the faithless cry, "Arise—make haste—begone—begone, "Fly to the mountains, fly."

Why should I, like a timorous bird, Take wing and fly away? My Lord will timely aid afford, My Saviour is my stay.

The proud and crafty bend their bow, Their arrows they prepare; Malicious foes more daring grow, With Zion they make war.

If her foundations he destroyed, What can the righteous do? Our help is in the name of God, Whose word is always true.

Jehovah in heav'n prepares his seat, Eternal is his throne; Upon the earth he sets his feet, And looks in mercy down.

The suff'rings of his saints he sees, He hears their fervent pray'rs; Delivers them from their distress, And scatters all their fears.

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The Lord's all searching eye surveys The sons of violence; They walk in dark and slipp'ry ways, Till justice plucks them thence.

Jehovah sincerely loves the just, Who aim at things divine; On those who in their Saviour trust, His beaming blessings shine.

CHAP. XII.

Continuation of the Piedmontese War.

THE marquis of Pianessa was greatly enraged at being so much baffled by the few inhabitants of Roras; he, therefore, determined to attempt their expulsion, in such a manner as could hardly fail of success.

With this view he ordered all the Roman catholic militia of Piedmont to be raised and disciplined. When these orders were completed, he joined to the militia eight thousand regular troops, and dividing the whole into three distinct bodies, he designed that three formidable attacks should be made at the same time, unless the people of Roras, to whom he sent an account of his great preparations, would comply with the following conditions:

- 1. To ask pardon for taking up arms.
- 2. To pay the expenses of all the expeditions sent against them.
- 3. To acknowledge the infallibility of the pope.
- 4. To go to mass.
- 5. To pray to the saints.
- 6. To wear beads.
- 7. To deliver up their ministers.
- 8. To deliver up their school-masters.
- 9. To go to confession.
- 10. To pay loans for the delivery of souls from purgatory.
- 11. To give up captain Gianavel at discretion.
- 12. To give up the elders of their church at discretion.

The inhabitants of Roras, on being acquainted with these conditions, were filled with an honest indignation; and in answer, sent word to the marquis that sooner than comply with them they

would suffer three things, which, of all others, were the most obnoxious to mankind, viz.

- 1. Their estates to be seized.
- 2. Their houses to be burnt.
- 3. Themselves to be murdered.

Exasperated at this message, the marquis sent them this laconic epistle:

To the obstinate Heretics inhabiting Roras.

You shall have your request, for the troops sent against you have strict injunctions to *plunder*, *burn*, *and kill*.

PIANESSA.

The three armies were then put into motion; and the attacks ordered to be made thus: the first by the rocks of Villaro; the second by the pass of Bagnol; and the third by the defile of Lucerne. The troops forced their way by the superiority of numbers, and having gained the rocks, pass, and defile, began to make the most horrid depredations, and exercise the greatest cruelties. Men they hanged, burnt, racked to death, or cut to pieces; women they ripped open, crucified, drowned, or threw from the precipices, and children they tossed upon spears, minced, cut their throats, or dashed out their brains. One hundred and twenty-six suffered in this manner, on the first day of their gaining the town.

Agreeable to the marquis of Pianessa's orders; they likewise plundered the estates and burnt the houses of the people. Several protestants, however, made their escape, under the conduct of captain Gianavel, whose wife and children were unfortunately made prisoners, and sent under a strong guard to Turin.

The marquis of Pianessa wrote a letter to captain Gianavel, and released a protestant prisoner, that he might carry it 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 him, his wife and children should be put to death; and so large a reward should be given to take him, dead or alive, that even some of his own confidential friends should be tempted to betray him, from the greatness of the sum.

To this epistle the brave Gianavel sent the following answer:

My LORD MARQUIS,

THERE is no torment so great or death to cruel, but what I would prefer to the abjuration of my religion: so that promises lose their effects, and menaces only strengthen me in my faith.

With respect to my wife and children, my lord, nothing can be more afflicting to me than the thoughts of their confinement, or more dreadful to my imagination, than their suffering a violent and cruel death. I keenly feel all the tender sensations of husband and parent; my heart is replete with every sentiment of humanity; I would suffer any torment to rescue them from danger; I would die to preserve them.

But having said thus much, my lord, I assure you that the purchase of their lives must not be the price of my salvation. You have them in your power it is true; but my consolation is that your power is only a temporary authority over their bodies: you may destroy the mortal part, but their immortal souls are out of your reach, and will live hereafter to bear testimony against you for your cruelties. I therefore recommend them,

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and myself, to God, and pray for a reformation in your heart.

JOSHUA GIANAVEL.

This brave protestant officer, after writing the above letter, retired to the Alps with his followers; and being joined by a great number of other fugitive protestants, he harassed the enemy by continual skirmishes.

Meeting one day with a body of papist troops near Bibiana, he, though inferior in numbers, attacked them with great fury, and put them to the rout without the loss of a man, though himself was shot through the leg in the engagement by a soldier who had hid himself behind a tree; but Gianavel perceiving from whence the shot came, pointed his gun to the place, and dispatched the person who had wounded him.

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Captain Gianavel, hearing that a captain Jahier had collected together a considerable body of protestants, wrote him a letter, proposing a junction of their forces. Captain Jahier immediately agreed to the proposal, and marched directly to meet Gianavel.

The junction being formed, it was proposed to attack a town inhabited by Roman catholics called Garcigliana. The assault was given with great spirit, but a reinforcement of horse and foot having lately entered the town, which the protestants knew nothing of, they were repulsed, yet made a masterly retreat, and only lost one man in the action. The next attempt of the protestant forces was upon St. Secondo, which they attacked with great vigour, but met with a strong resistance from the Roman catholic troops, who had fortified the streets, and planted themselves in the houses, from whence they poured musquet-balls in prodigious numbers. The protestants, however, advanced, under cover of a great number of planks, which some held over their heads, to secure them from the shot of the enemy from the houses, while others kept up a welldirected fire; so that the houses and intrenchments were soon forced, and the town taken.

In the town they found a prodigious quantity of plunder which had been taken from the protestants at various times and different places, and which were stored up in the warehouses, churches, dwelling houses, &c. This they removed to a place of safety, to be distributed, with as much justice as possible, among the sufferers.

This successful attack was made with such skill and spirit, that it cost very little to the conquering party; for the account of the loss on both sides stands thus:

Casualties	
Regular Piedmontese troops killed	250
Soldiers belonging to the Irish brigades killed	40
Auxiliaries killed	160
Wounded	511
Total, killed and wounded of the papists	961
Killed of the protestants	17
Wounded of ditto	26
Total, killed and wounded of the protestants	43

Five protestant officers, viz. Gianavel, Jahier, Laurentio, Genolet, and Benet laid a plan to surprize Briqueras. To this end they marched in five respective bodies, and by agreement, were to make the attack at the same time. The captains Jahier and Laurentio passed through two defiles in the woods, and came to the place in safety, under cover; but the other three bodies made

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their approaches through an open country, and consequently, were more exposed to an attack.

The Roman catholics taking the alarm, a great number of troops were sent to relieve Briqueras from Cavors, Bibiana, Senile, Campiglione, and some other neighbouring places. When these were united, they determined to attack the three protestant parties that were marching through the open country. The protestant officers, perceiving the intent of the enemy, and not being at a great distance from each other, joined their forces with the utmost expedition, and formed themselves in order of battle. In the mean time, the captains Jahier and Laurentio had assaulted the town of Briqueras, and burnt all the out houses, to make their approaches with the greater ease; but not being supported as they expected by the other three protestant captains, they sent a messenger, on a swift horse, towards the open country, to enquire the reason. The messenger soon returned, and informed them that it was not in the power of the three protestant captains to support their proceedings, as they were themselves attacked by a very superior force in the plain, and could scarce sustain the unequal conflict.

The captains Jahier and Laurentio, on receiving this intelligence, determined to discontinue the assault on Briqueras, and to proceed, with all possible expedition, to the relief of their friends on the plain. This design proved to be of the most essential service, for just as they arrived at the spot where the two armies were engaged, the papist troops began to prevail, and were on the very point of flanking the wing commanded by captain Gianavel. The arrival of these troops turned the scale in favour of the protestants; and the papist forces, though they fought with a most obstinate intrepidity, were totally defeated. A great number were killed and wounded on both sides, and the baggage, military stores, &c. taken by the protestants were very considerable.

Captain Gianavel, having information that three hundred of the enemy were to convoy a great quantity of stores, provisions, &c. from La Torre to the castle of Mirabac, determined to attack them on the way. He accordingly began the assault at Malbec, though with a very inadequate force. The contest was long and bloody, but the protestants, at length, were obliged to yield to the superiority of numbers, and compelled to make a retreat, which they did with great regularity, and but little loss.

Captain Gianavel advanced to an advantageous post, situated near the town of Villaro, and then sent the following information and commands to the inhabitants:

- 1. That he should attack the town within twenty-four hours.
- 2. That with respect to the Roman catholics who had borne arms, whether they belonged to the army or not, he should act by the law of retaliation, and put them to death for the numerous depredations and many cruel murders they had committed.
- 3. That all women and children, whatever their religion might be, should be safe.
- 4. That he commanded all male protestants to leave the town, and join him.
- 5. That all apostates, who had through weakness, abjured their religion, should be deemed enemies, unless they renounced their abjuration.
- 6. That all who returned to their duty to God, and themselves, should be received as friends.

The protestants, in general, immediately left the town, and joined captain Gianavel with great satisfaction; and the few, who through weakness or fear had abjured their faith, recanted their abjuration, and were received into the bosom of the church. As the marquis of Pianessa had removed the army, and encamped in quite a different part of the country, the Roman catholics in Villaro thought it would be folly to pretend to defend the place with the small force they had. They, therefore fled with the utmost

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precipitation, leaving the town, and most of their property, to the discretion of the protestants.

CHAP. XIII.

Sequel of the Piedmontese War.

THE protestant commanders having called a council of war, resolved to make an attempt upon the town of La Torre, for four particular reasons, viz.

- 1. Because it was a place of great importance.
- 2. Because it contained a great quantity of military stores and provisions.
- 3. Because the inhabitants had been some of the most rigid of all the persecutors of the protestants.
- 4. Because it was garrisoned by troops drafted from the Irish brigades, who were the most cruel of all the troops to the protestants whom they took prisoners.

The papists being apprized of the design, detached some troops to defend a defile, through which the protestants must make their approach; but these were defeated, compelled to abandon the pass, and forced to retreat to La Torre.

The protestants proceeded on their march, and the troops of La Torre, on their near approach, made a furious sally, but were repulsed with great loss, and compelled to seek shelter in the town. The governor now only thought of defending the place, which the protestants began to besiege in form; but after many brave attempts and furious assaults, the commanders determined to abandon the enterprize for several reasons, particularly, because they found the place itself too strong, their own number too weak, and their cannon not adequate to the task of battering down the walls.

This resolution being taken, the protestant commanders began a masterly retreat, and conducted it with such regularity, that the enemy did not chuse to pursue them, or molest their rear, which they might have done, as they passed the defiles.

The next day they mustered, reviewed the army, and found the whole to amount to four hundred and ninety five men. They then held a council of war, and planned an easier enterprize: this was to make an attack upon the commonalty of Crusol, a place inhabited by a number of the most bigoted Roman catholics, and who had exercised, during the persecutions, the most unheard of cruelties on the protestants.

The people of Crusol, hearing of the design against them, fled to a neighbouring fortress situated on a rock, where the protestants could not come at them, for a very few men could render it inaccessible to a numerous army. Thus they secured their persons, but were in too much hurry to secure their property, the principal part of which, indeed, had been plundered from the protestants, and now luckily fell again to the possession of the right owners. It consisted of many rich and valuable articles, and what, at that time, was of much more consequence, viz.

A great quantity of military stores. Four hundred head of cattle. Six hundred sheep and goats. A greater number of cheeses, Many sacks of flour, Several buts of wine, And good store of raisins.

The day after the protestants were gone with their booty, eight hundred troops arrived to the assistance of the people of Crusol, having been dispatched from Lucerne, Briqueras, Cavors, &c. But finding themselves too late, and that a pursuit would be in vain, not to return empty handed, they began to plunder the neighbouring villages, though what they took was from their friends. After collecting a tolerable booty, they began to divide it, but disagreeing about the different shares, they fell from words to blows, did a great deal of mischief, and then plundered each other.

On the very same day in which the protestants were so successful at Crusol, some papists marched with a design to plunder and burn the little protestant village of Rocappiatta, but by the way they met with the protestant forces belonging to the captain's Jahier and Laurentio, who were posted on the hill of Angrognia. A trivial engagement ensued, for the Roman Catholics, on the very first attack, retreated in great confusion, and were pursued with much slaughter. After the pursuit was over, some of the straggling papist troops, meeting with a poor peasant, who was a protestant; tied a cord round his head and strained it till his skull was quite crushed.

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Captain Gianavel and captain Jahier concerted a design together, to make an attack upon Lucerne; but captain Jahier not bringing his forces at the time appointed, captain Gianavel determined to attempt the enterprize himself.

He, therefore, by a forced, march, proceeded towards that place during the whole night, and was close to it by break of day. His first care was to cut the pipes that conveyed water into the town, and then to break down the bridge, by which alone provisions from the country could enter.

He then assaulted the place, and speedily possessed himself of two of the out-posts; but finding he could not make himself master of the place, he prudently retreated with very little loss, blaming, however, captain Jahier, for the failure of the enterprize.

The papists being informed that captain Gianavel was at Angrognia with only his own company, determined, if possible, to surprize him. With this view, a great number of troops were detached from La Torre, and other places. One party of these got to the top of a mountain, beneath which he was posted; and the

other party intended to possess themselves of the gate of St. Bartholomew.

The papists thought themselves sure of taking captain Gianavel and every one of his men, as they consisted but of three hundred, and their own force was two thousand five hundred. Their design, however, was providentially frustrated, for one of the papist soldiers imprudently blowing a trumpet before the signal for attack was given, captain Gianavel took the alarm, and posted his little company so advantageously at the gate of St. Bartholomew, and at the defile by which the enemy must descend from the mountains, that the Roman catholic troops failed in both attacks, and were repulsed, with very considerable loss.

Soon after, captain Jahier came to Angrognia, and joined his forces to those of captain Gianavel, giving sufficient reasons to excuse his already-mentioned failure. Captain Jahier now made several secret excursions with great success, selecting always some of the most active troops, belonging both to Gianavel and himself. One day he had put himself at the head of only forty-four men, to proceed upon an expedition, when entering a plain near Offac, he was suddenly surrounded by a large body of horse. Captain Jahier and his men fought desperately, though oppressed by odds, and killed the commander in chief, three captains, and fifty-seven private men of the enemy. But captain Jahier himself being killed, with thirty-five of his men, the rest surrendered. One of the soldiers cut off captain Jahier's head, and carrying it to Turin, presented it to the duke of Savoy, who rewarded him with six hundred ducatoons.

The death of this gentleman was a signal loss to the protestants, as he was a real friend to, and champion of the reformed church. He possessed a most undaunted spirit, so that no difficulties could deter him from undertaking an enterprize, or dangers terrify him in its execution. He was pious without affectation, and humane without weakness; bold in the field, meek

in a domestic life, of a penetrating genius, active in spirit, and resolute in all his undertakings.

To add to the afflictions of the protestants, captain Gianavel was, soon after, wounded in such a manner that he was obliged to keep to his bed. They, however, took new courage from misfortunes, and determining not to let their spirits droop, attacked a body of papist troops with great intrepidity. The protestants were much inferior in numbers, but fought with more resolution than the papists, and at length routed them, with considerable slaughter. During the action, a serjeant named Michael Bertino, was killed; when his son, who was close behind him, leaped into his place, and said, *I have lost my father; but courage, fellow-soldiers, God is a father to us all.*

Several skirmishes likewise happened between the troops of La Torre and Tagliaretto, and the protestant forces, which in general terminated in favour of the latter.

A protestant gentleman named Andrion raised a regiment of horse, and took the command of it himself. The sieur John Leger persuaded a great number of protestants to form themselves into volunteer companies; and an excellent officer named Michelin instituted several bands of light troops. These being all joined to the remains of the veteran protestant troops, (for great numbers had been lost in the various battles, skirmishes, sieges, &c.) composed a respectable army, which the officers thought proper to encamp near St. Giovanni.

The Roman catholic commanders, alarmed at the formidable appearance and encreased strength of the protestants forces, determined, if possible, to dislodge them from their encampment. With this view they collected together a large force, consisting of the principal part of the garrisons of the Roman catholic towns, the draft from the Irish brigades, a great number of regulars sent by the marquis of Pianessa, the auxiliary troops, and the independent companies.

These having formed a junction, encamped near the protestants, and spent several days in calling councils of war, and disputing on the most proper mode of proceeding; Some were for plundering the country, in order to draw the protestants from their camp; others were for patiently waiting till they were attacked; and a third party were for assaulting the protestant camp, and trying to make themselves masters of every thing in it.

The last of them prevailed, and the morning after the resolution had been taken was appointed to put it into execution. The Roman catholic troops were accordingly separated into four divisions, three of which were to make an attack in different places; and the fourth to remain as a body of reserve to act as occasion might require.

One of the Roman catholic officers, previous to the attack, thus harangued his men:

FELLOW SOLDIERS,

YOU are now going to enter upon a great action, which will bring you fame and riches. The motives for your acting with spirit are likewise of the most important nature; namely, the honour of shewing your loyalty to your sovereign, the pleasure of spilling heretic blood, and the prospect of plundering the protestant camp. So, my brave fellows, fall on, give no quarter, kill all you meet, and take all you come near."

After this inhuman speech the engagement began, and the protestant camp was attacked in three places with inconceivable fury. The fight was maintained with great obstinacy, and perseverance on both sides, continuing without intermission for the space of four hours; for the several companies on both sides relieved each other alternately, and by that means kept up a continual fire during the whole action.

During the engagement of the main armies, a detachment was sent from the body of reserve to attack the post of Castelas, which, if the papists had carried, it would have given them the command of the vallies of Perosa, St. Martino, and Lucerne, but they were repulsed with great loss, and compelled to return to the body of reserve, from whence they had been detached.

Soon after the return of this detachment, the Roman catholic troops, being hard pressed in the main battle, sent for the body of reserve to come to their support. These immediately marched to their assistance, and for some time longer held the event doubtful, but at length the valour of the protestants prevailed, and the papists were totally defeated, with the loss of upwards of three hundred men killed, and many more wounded.

When the syndic of Lucerne, who was indeed a papist, but not a superstitious one, saw the great number of wounded men brought into that city he exclaimed, *Ah*! *I thought the wolves used to devour the heretics, but now I see the heretics eat the wolves.* This expression being reported to M. Marolles, the Roman catholic commander in chief at Lucerne, he sent a very severe and threatening message to the syndic, who was so terrified that the fright threw him into a fever, and he died in a few days.

This great battle was fought just before the harvest was got in; when the papists, exasperated at their disgrace, and resolved on any kind of revenge, spread themselves by night in detached parties over the finest corn fields of the protestants, and set them on fire in sundry places. Some of these straggling parties, however, suffered for their conduct; for the protestants, being alarmed in the night by the blazing of the fire among the corn, pursued the fugitives early in the morning, and overtaking many, put them to death. The protestant captain Bellin, likewise, by way of retaliation, went with a body of light troops, and burnt the suburbs of La Torre, making his retreat afterwards with very little loss.

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A few days after, captain Bellin, with a much stronger body of troops, attacked the town of La Torre itself, and making a breach in the wall of the convent, his men entered, driving the garrison into the citadel, and burning both town and convent. After having effected this, they made a regular retreat, as they could not reduce the citadel for want of cannon.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Intercessors to the Duke of Savoy, which Occasioned the Suspension of the Piedmontese War.

MANY protestant princes, and states in different parts of Europe, looking with detestation upon the cruel persecutions carried on against the protestants of Piedmont, and the unjust and apprehensive war into which they had been forced merely for selfpreservation; their concern was carried beyond compassion, for they interested themselves in favour of the innocent sufferers, and endeavoured to negotiate a pacification.

Among these intercessors, the protestant cantons of Switzerland were the most particularly distinguished. They, at the very publication of the order of Gastaldo, which first openly countenanced the persecution, sent a memorial in favour of the protestants to the duke of Savoy, to which he returned a complimental, but cold answer, and in a very polite manner declined their mediation.

When the news of the massacres, murders, and depredations in the vallies of Piedmont reached Switzerland, the protestants were greatly afflicted; and as they could not relieve the reformed Piedmontese by negotiation, they determined to do it by subscription. They accordingly railed considerable sums of money to assist the fugitives who escaped, and the sufferers who had been plundered. Nor did their kindness stop here, for they wrote to the States General of the United Provinces to assist the protestants of Piedmont with their subscriptions, and interfere in their favour. This the States General promised to do, and though they were slow in their proceedings, they, in process, became open parties in the affair.

At a meeting of the protestant cantons, it was determined to send an embassy to the duke of Savoy, in favour of his protestant subjects. Accordingly Gabriel Weis, captain general of Bern, was dispatched to Turin, where, in the most respectful terms, he proposed to the duke of Savoy the three following articles:

- 1. That all of the reformed religion who had survived the massacre, should be restored to their ancient privileges.
- 2. That all the protestant prisoners should be enlarged.
- 3. That all the protestant subjects of the duke of Savoy should have free liberty to exercise their religion.

The duke of Savoy, in answer, said he was not accountable for his actions to any sovereign or state existing; but with respect to the articles under consideration, he must refer general Weis to the marquis of Pianessa.

The general well knew that the marquis was one of the most culpable persons in the persecution and massacres, yet to leave no stone unturned that might be of service to the protestants, he waited upon him with great seeming respect, when the marquis began a very long justification of his own conduct, throwing every kind of blame that was possible upon the protestants.

General Weis replied that the persecution and massacres were so notoriously public that they could not be denied. That every man had an undoubted right to serve God according to his own opinion. That the protestants of the vallies of Piedmont had a legal title to enjoy their estates and houses, as their ancestors had, at various times, received them by grant or purchase, from the duke's predecessors.

The marquis then said that the easiest mode of coming to an accommodation was for general Weis to go and engage the protestants to lay down their arms, which would conciliate the duke of Savoy's favour more than any thing else that could be proposed.

General Weis proceeded to Peroso, where he was attended by all the chief protestant commanders, whom he informed of all he

had done in their favour. The officers returned thanks in the name of all the reformed of the vallies of Piedmont, to the protestant cantons of Switzerland for their strenuous endeavours, and to general Weis for the great trouble he had taken. With respect to the proposal, they said, if the protestant cantons would engage that a treaty should be carried on upon honest and honourable terms, they were ready to accede, and to lay down their arms: but without some such security, they could never venture to trust those who had so often deceived them; those whose bigotry and prejudices made them their enemies; in fine, those whose chief political and religious maxim was *never to keep faith with heretics*, as they were pleased to call them.

General Weis returned with this answer, which the duke of Savoy (being instigated by the marquis of Pianessa) pretended to be highly offended at, and therefore declared he could not do any thing for his protestant subjects. The Swiss thus failing in their good intentions, grew discouraged from any farther proceedings in favour of the Piedmontese, and determined to wait till they saw in what manner other protestant states would act.

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An account of the distresses of the protestants of Piedmont being laid before Oliver Cromwell, lord protector of England, he immediately issued orders for briefs to be read in all the churches of the kingdom to raise contributions for their relief, and the money was sent them with all possible expedition.

Cromwell likewise sent Mr. Samuel Morland as envoy to the king of France, to mediate with the duke of Savoy in their behalf, and wrote to all the protestant powers of Europe to interest themselves in favour of the poor sufferers.

Mr. Morland was very courteously received at the court of France, and the French monarch wrote a polite answer with his own hand to Cromwell. Having dispatched his business in the

Gallic dominions, Mr. Morland set off for Savoy, and arriving at the court of Turin, presented his credentials.

On the day appointed for public audience, Mr. Morland was received with great seeming cordiality, and made a speech in favour of the Piedmontese protestants. The duke behaved with much politeness, but the duchess dowager of Savoy, who was a bigoted Roman catholic, a professed enemy to the protestants, and a self-conceited politician, thought proper to make the following oration:

SIR,

"WE cannot but applaud the singular charity of his highness, the lord protector of England towards rebel subjects. We have no doubt, but the condition of our refractory people has been represented to him as lamentable indeed. Sorry are we that malice should clothe the parent-like chastisement, which we were under the necessity of inflicting on them in the garb of cruelty, and shew that as persecution, which was only correction. But we hope, when his highness is well apprized of the provocation given, he will approve of the duke of Savoy's subsequent conduct."

Mr. Morland took but little notice of this speech, but kept very fair with the duke, who treated him with all possible complaisance, and seemed to pay the utmost respect to the lord protector's dispatches.

As soon as it was known that Cromwell had publicly interested himself in favour of the oppressed protestants of Piedmont, the protestant princes and states of Europe were zealous to espouse their cause: so that in a short time, the following respectable list appeared, warmly to forward their interest:

- 1. The king of Denmark.
- 2. The States-general.

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- 3. The protestant cantons of Switzerland
- 4. The king of Sweden.
- 5. The elector Palatine.
- 6. The elector of Brandenburg.
- 7. The duke of Wirtemburg.

The duke of Savoy, finding how formidable his protestant subjects might become by the powerful influence of Cromwell, thought proper to dismiss Mr. Morland with this message: "That he would assure his highness, the lord-protector, that most circumstances relative to the persecutions and massacres of the protestants of the vallies of Piedmont, were exaggerated, misrepresented, or maliciously invented. Yet, to shew his great respect for his highness, he would pardon his rebellious subjects, and do honour to the lord-protector's mediation, by restoring them to their former privileges."

Thus had these injured people a temporary respite, and pecuniary relief, from their calamities and wants, by means of the protector of England: temporary, because the Roman catholics were not sincere, but acted under the terror of Cromwell's power, and meant to break the treaty as soon as possible; and pecuniary, because the sums raised by subscription to relieve their wants were amazingly great, those in England and Wales alone amounting to thirty-eight thousand and ninety-seven pounds seven shillings and three-pence.

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After the death of Cromwell, of whom most of the sovereigns of Europe stood in awe, though an open persecution was not immediately authorized, yet the duke of Savoy connived at any illegal proceeding against his protestant subjects, and had so influenced the courts of judicature, that they could obtain no redress whatever for any injuries done them.

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Hence the protestants, though they were not publicly murdered, were so severely tormented, that many of them broke their hearts, and found that comfort in death which the injustice of man denied them.

Death is a cure for ev'ry ill, A balm for ev'ry wound; How safe, how undisturb'd, how still, Men rest beneath the ground!

Soon as we lay the weary head With silence in the grave, And sleep secure among the dead, We no more sorrows have.

Oh! what a pleasure 'tis to die, How sweet to yield our breath; Life is a mortal malady, Whose only cure is death.

Yet here without reluctance stay, Till God shall call you hence; Then chearfully the voice obey, And put off flesh and sense.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Renewal of the Persecutions Against the Protestants of the Vallies of Piedmont, in the Years 1686 and 1687.

IN the year 1686, the treaties in favour of the protestants were all again broken through, and a violent persecution commenced against them, which was began as usual, by an order from the then reigning duke of Savoy, to prohibit the exercise of any religion but the Roman catholic, on pain of death, and confiscation of effects. Another edict immediately followed, consisting of three articles, viz.

- 1. That all the protestant churches should be demolished.
- 2. That all the protestant ministers should be banished.
- 3. That the children of protestant parents should not be suffered to go to any schools, unless they were kept by Roman catholic teachers.

To counteract these edicts, the protestants, in a most humiliating manner, presented four petitions to the duke of Savoy, which modestly represented their grievances, and prayed for a repeal of those obnoxious statutes. But they soon found that all their endeavours to obtain redress would be ineffectual, as they were informed the king of France had, in a manner, compelled the duke of Savoy to publish those edicts, and to act as he had done; and was to furnish an army, either to facilitate the persecution, or to carry on a war if the protestants resisted.

The poor Piedmontese knew well that if they tamely submitted, they must undergo the most horrid cruelties, and suffer death at last; therefore they thought proper to arm themselves, and prepare to repel force by force. The protestant cantons of Switzerland, interesting themselves in favour of the Piedmontese upon this occasion, sent an ambassador to the duke of Savoy, who only returned for answer, "That his engagements with France opposed the success of their negotiation, whereby he had obliged himself to extirpate the protestants out of his country."

The protestants, on hearing this, began to make preparations to prevent the progress of the French army; and on the other hand the duke of Savoy published a proclamation to deceive them, if possible, by which he allowed the protestants to leave his dominions, and take the whole of their property with them, provided they did not carry any kind of offensive weapons, but more particularly fire-arms. The protestants, however, were not to be deluded by such a specious pretence, as they well knew the nature of popish treachery, and the various articles used by Roman catholics to delude persons of another communion.

The duke of Savoy, being joined by the French troops, resolved to attack the protestants on the 22d of April, 1686. The battle was begun in the morning early, and continued till noon with great obstinacy, when the papists gave way, and the protestants obtained a complete victory.

Exasperated at this defeat, the duke drew a large supply of troops from several garrisons, and a reinforcement of French and Swiss forces arriving; he determined to carry on the war with vigour; and accordingly prosecuted it with such success that a party of the protestants agreed to lay down their arms, and quit the country. As soon as the protestants had parted from their means of defence, agreeable to the negotiation, the papists, forgetful of every sacred tie and solemn engagement, massacred them, without distinction of sex or age, and put to death a great number of innocent persons in cold blood.

After this cruel tragedy, the duke of Savoy and the marshal Catinat, general of the French forces, burnt the houses of the protestants where ever they came. Hearing that several protestants had fortified themselves in a little village, they laid siege to it, and making themselves masters of it, put all the garrison and inhabitants to the sword.

At Lucerne such numbers of prisoners were brought from various places, that twelve thousand were executed in that town only. Some French soldiers, entering the valley of St. Martin, murdered all the men and children, and having ravished the women, they stripped them quite naked, and compelled them to march before the army in that condition, as guides. Many other savage enormities were committed in this valley, among which was the murder of six men, twenty women, and several children who had voluntarily surrendered upon a promise of safety.

Daniel Pelene, a worthy protestant, was flead alive; Margaret Sabrojotte was stabbed to death with daggers; and her infant daughter, of about seven months old, was dashed to pieces against the rocks.

Some soldiers found a woman named Jolmonate, in the hole of a rock called Carbonieres. They carried her immediately to their colonel, a Savoyard, who demanded how long she had been in that retreat, and in what manner she had subsisted? She replied, she had concealed herself eight days, and lived upon the milk of a goat she took with her. The colonel then bade her inform him in what places her friends and acquaintance were hid; but she protested that she knew not of the concealment of any other person; for which reply she had lighted matches placed between her fingers and toes, and was then thrown from a high rock, and dashed to pieces.

The worthy M. Liedet, minister of Prabe, was found in the mountains, and carried to the castle of Lucerne, where the duke of Savoy then happened to be: the duke proposed to him to turn Roman catholic, which he refused with great resolution; when the duke ordered him to be kept continually in the stocks, and fed upon bread and water only, which was practised with rigour during the space of several weeks. At length he was threatened with death, unless he embraced the Roman catholic persuasion. To

which he replied, he well knew, by their own edicts and proclamations, they could not put him to death with any colour of justice, as he had never appeared in arms; nevertheless, he should think himself happy to be thought worthy of suffering for the cause of his Redeemer. Having received sentence of condemnation, he met his fate with that fortitude which always inspires a real Christian with true courage in the hour of danger, and expired in the flames, a chearful martyr to the cause of truth.

The persecutions were thus carried on with great rigour, and the war pursued with a more than savage barbarity, on which account many of the protestants withdrew from the fruitful vallies of Piedmont, and retired to Geneva, or settled in the Swiss cantons of Switzerland or in the electorate of Brandenburg, where they were received with every possible degree of kindness, and lands allotted for their residence.

The duke of Savoy having expelled so many of his subjects from Piedmont, turned his thoughts to re-people that fine country with Roman catholics. He, therefore, by making many advantageous offers drew many papist families to emigrate from Germany, France, Poland &c. to settle in the vallies; and thus he hoped, in a few years, to fill them again with inhabitants.

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Perhaps that warm attachment, that natural affection for the place of our nativity, which is distinguished by the name of *love of our country*, was never more conspicuously shewn than in the case of some of these poor exiled protestants. Those who had retired to Switzerland, though safe and easy in their situation, pined after their native vallies, and languished away three years, in lamenting their absence from the country which had given them birth.

Full of these ideas, about nine hundred of the banished protestants, who had resided, during their exile, near the lake of Geneva, determined to re-possess themselves of some parts of the

vallies of Piedmont, or to perish in the attempt. With this view they persuaded three hundred French refugees to join them, and then crossing the lake of Geneva in the night, they entered Savoy without any resistance, as none of the Savoyards had the least notion of such a visit. The protestants now chose a minister, named Arnold, and a person, called Turel, to command them. These seized on two villages, and obliging the inhabitants to furnish them with provisions, they paid honestly for what they had, and then passed on to the bridge of Trembliers. At this bridge, which is built over the deep and rapid river of Arve, they might have been stopped, had the duke of Savoy's forces been apprized of their expedition; but as their proceedings were unknown, their progress as yet was not impeded. When the duke of Savov was acquainted with their march, the boldness of the enterprize greatly surprized him, and he immediately dispatched several bodies of troops to stop them at the defiles and passes. The protestants had five encounters with these troops, in all which they were successful, but more particularly so in one, fought at the pass of Sulbetran, where they were attacked by a considerable body of dragoons, under the command of the marquis de Larree; when the dragoons were defeated, and two hundred of them, with the marquis himself, slain.

These, and several other successes which attended the protestants, greatly alarmed the duke of Savoy, and to add to his terrors, intelligence was brought that the Piedmontese protestants who had retired to Bradenburg were on their march towards Piedmont, to assist their friends, and that several protestant states likewise meant to give them succour. The duke of Savoy now began to repent of his severe conduct to the protestants, and to make them amends, published an edit, by which he restored all their privileges.

This conduct incensed the court of France against him, and M. Catinat was sent with an army of sixteen thousand men to compel him to extirpate the protestants entirely from his dominions. The

duke of Savoy, enraged at being thus treated by the king of France, rather as a tributary vassal than as a sovereign prince, and at being constantly dictated to by that haughty monarch, solicited the aid of the emperor of Germany, and the king of Spain, and invited the protestant troops to join his army.

Germany and Spain sent considerable bodies of troops to the duke, and the protestants having joined him, he declared war against France. The French were soon after routed in a general engagement, in which the protestant forces were of infinite service; and at length, the French troops were totally driven out of Piedmont, and the war was terminated in favour of the duke of Savoy.

The Piedmontese protestants were now made as happy as they could wish. Every former privilege was renewed, and many new regulations made in their favour. They were firmly established in their favourite vallies, and their friends, who had been exiled into other countries, returned upon this happy change of affairs to take possession of their former habitations. When the duke of Savoy, however, made peace with France soon after, it was stipulated that he should banish the French refugees from the vallies, and protect none but his own subjects; this he did, when the exiles retired to and settled in the electorate of Brandenburg.

CHAP. XVI.

Account of the Persecutions of Michael de Molinos, a Native of Spain.

MICHAEL DE MOLINOS, a Spaniard of a rich and honourable family, entered, when young, into priest's orders, but would not accept of any preferment in the church. He possessed great natural abilities, which he dedicated to the service of his fellow-creatures, without any view of emolument to himself. His course of life was pious and uniform; nor did he exercise those austerities which are common among the religious orders of the church of Rome.

Being of a contemplative turn of mind, he pursued the track of the mystical divines, and having acquired great reputation in Spain, and being desirous of propagating his sublime mode of devotion, he left his own country and settled at Rome. Here he soon connected himself with some of the most distinguished among the literati, who so approved of his religious maxims that they concurred in assisting him to propagate them; and in a short time he obtained a great number of followers, who, from the sublime mode of their religion, were distinguished by the name of Quietists.

In 1675, Molinos published a book, entitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, to which were subjoined recommendatory letters from several great personages. One of these was by the archbishop of Reggio; a second by the general of the Franciscans; and a third by father Martin de Esparsa, a jesuit, who had been divinity professor both at Salamanca and Rome.

No sooner was the book published than it was greatly read, and highly esteemed, both in Italy and Spain; and this so raised the reputation of the author, that his acquaintance was coveted by the most respectable characters. Letters were written to him from numbers of people, so that a correspondence was settled between

him and those who approved of his method, in different parts of Europe. Some secular priests, both at Rome and Naples, declared themselves openly for it, and consulted him, as a sort of oracle, on many occasions. But those who attached themselves to him with the greatest sincerity were some of the fathers of the Oratory; in particular three of the most eminent, namely, Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci. Many of the cardinals also courted his acquaintance, and thought themselves happy in being reckoned among the number of his friends. The most distinguished of them was cardinal d'Estrees, a man of very great learning, who so highly approved of Molinos's maxims, that he entered into a close connection with They conversed together daily, and notwithstanding the him. distrust a Spaniard has naturally of a Frenchman, yet Molinos, who was sincere in his principles, opened his mind without reserve to the cardinal; and by this means a correspondence was settled between Molinos and some distinguished characters in France.

Whilst Molinos was thus labouring to propagate his religious mode, father Petrucci wrote several letters and treatises relative to a contemplative life; but he mixed in them so many rules for the devotions of the Romish church, as mitigated that censure he might have otherwise incurred. They were written chiefly for the use of the nuns, and therefore the sense was expressed in the most easy and familiar stile.

Molinos had now acquired such reputation that the jesuits and dominicans began to be greatly alarmed, and determined to put a stop to the progress of this new method. To do this it was necessary to decry the author of it; and as heresy is an imputation that makes the strongest impression at Rome, Molinos and his followers were given out to be heretics. Books were also written by some of the jesuits against Molinos and his method; but they were all answered with great spirit by Molinos.

These disputes occasioned such a disturbance in Rome that the whole affair was taken notice of by the inquisition. Molinos and his book, and father Petrucci, with his treatises and letters, were brought under a severe examination; and the jesuits were considered as the accusers. One of the society had, indeed, approved of Molino's book; but the rest took care he should not be again seen at Rome. In the course of the examination both Molinos and Petrucci acquitted themselves so well, that their books were again approved, and the answers which the jesuits had written were censured as scandalous.

Petrucci's conduct on this occasion was so highly approved that it not only raised the credit of the cause, but his own emolument; for he was soon after made bishop of Jesus, which was a new declaration made by the pope in their favour. Their books were now esteemed more than ever, their method was more followed, and the novelty of it, with the new approbation given after so vigorous an accusation by the Jesuits, all contributed to raise the credit, and encrease the number of the party.

The behaviour of father Petrucci in his new dignity greatly contributed to encrease his reputation, so that his enemies were unwilling to give him any further disturbance; and indeed, there was less occasion given for censure by his writings than those of Molinos. Some passages in the latter were not so cautiously expressed, but there was room to make exceptions to them; while, on the other hand Petrucci so fully explained himself as easily to remove the objections made to some parts of his letter.

The great reputation acquired by Molinos and Petrucci occasioned a daily encrease of the Quietists. All who were thought sincerely devout, or at least affected the reputation of it, were reckoned among the number. If these persons were observed to become more strict in their lives and mental devotions, yet there appeared less zeal in their whole deportment as to the exterior parts of the church ceremonies. They were not so assiduous at mass, nor so earnest to procure masses to be said for their friends; nor were they so frequently either at confession or in processions.

Though the new approbation given to Molinos's book by the inquisition had checked the proceedings of his enemies; yet they

were still inveterate against him in their hearts, and determined, if possible, to ruin him. They insinuated that he had ill designs, and was, in his heart, an enemy to the Christian religion: that under pretence of raising men to a sublime strain of devotion, he intended to erase from their minds a sense of the mysteries of christianity. And because he was a Spaniard, they gave out that he was descended from a Jewish, or Mahometan race, and that he might carry in his blood, or in his first education, some seeds of those religions which he had since cultivated with no less art than zeal. This last calumny gained but little credit at Rome, though it was said an order was sent to examine the registers of the place where Molinos was baptized.

Molinos finding himself attacked with great vigour, and the most unrelenting malice, took every necessary precaution to prevent these imputations being credited. He wrote a treatise intitled, *Frequent and Daily Communion*, which was likewise approved by some of the most learned of the Romish clergy. This was printed with his *Spiritual Guide* in the year 1675; and in the preface to it he declared that he had not written it with any design to engage himself in matters of controversy, but that it was drawn from him by the earnest solicitations of many pious people.

The jesuits, failing in their attempts of crushing Molinos's power in Rome, applied to the court of France, when, in a short time, they so far succeeded that an order was sent to cardinal d'Estrees, commanding him to prosecute Molinos with all possible rigour. The cardinal, though so strongly attached to Molinos, resolved to sacrifice all that is sacred in friendship to the will of his master. Finding, however, there was not sufficient matter for an accusation against him, he determined to supply that defect himself. He therefore went to the inquisitors, and informed them of several particulars, not only relative to Molinos, but also Petrucci, both of whom, together with several of their friends, were put into the inquisition.

The New Book of Martyrs

When they were brought before the inquisitors, (which was in 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; and though Molinos's examination was much longer, it was generally expected he would have been likewise discharged: but this was not the case. Though the inquisitors had not any just accusation against him, yet they strained every nerve to find him guilty of heresy. They first objected to his holding a correspondence in different parts of Europe; but of this he was acquitted, as the matter of that correspondence could not be made criminal. They then directed their attention to some suspicious papers found in his chamber; but Molinos so clearly explained their meaning that nothing could be made of them to his prejudice.

At length, cardinal d'Estrees, after producing the orders sent him by the king of France for prosecuting Molinos, said he could prove against him more than was necessary to convince them he was guilty of heresy. To do this he perverted the meaning of some passages in Molinos's books and papers, and related many false and aggravating circumstances relative to the prisoner. He acknowledged he had lived with him under the appearance of friendship, but that it was only to discover his principles and intentions: 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 saw into the secrets of Molinos; but determined not to take any notice till a proper opportunity should offer of crushing him and his followers.

In consequence of d'Estrees's evidence, Molinos was closely confined in the inquisition, where he continued for some time, during which period all was quiet, and his followers prosecuted their mode without interruption. But on a sudden, the jesuits determined to extirpate them, and the storm broke out with the most inveterate vehemence. The count Vespiniani and his lady, Don Paulo Rocchi, confessor to the prince Borghese, and some of his family, with several others (in all seventy persons) were put into the inquisition, among whom many were highly esteemed both for their learning and piety. The accusation laid against the clergy was their neglecting to say the breviary; and the rest were accused of going to communion without first attending confession. In a word, it was said they neglected all the exterior parts of religion, and gave themselves up wholly to solitude and inward prayer.

The countess Vespiniani exerted herself in a very particular manner on her examination before the inquisitors. She said she had never revealed her method of devotion to any mortal but her confessor, and that it was impossible they should know it without his discovering the secret; that therefore, it was time to give over going to confession if priests made this use of it, to discover the most secret thoughts entrusted to them; and that, for the future, she would only make her confession to God.

From this spirited speech, and the great noise made in consequence of the countess's situation, the inquisitors thought it most prudent to dismiss both her and her husband, lest the people might be incensed, and what she had said might lessen the credit of confession. They were, therefore, both discharged, but bound to appear whenever they should be called upon.

Besides those already mentioned, such was the inveteracy of the jesuits against the quietists, that within the space of a month upwards of two hundred persons were put into the inquisition; and that method of devotion which had passed in Italy as the most elevated to which mortals could aspire, was deemed heretical, and the chief promoters of it confined in a wretched dungeon.

In order, if possible, to extirpate quietism, the inquisitors sent a circular letter to cardinal Cibo, as the chief minister, to disperse it through Italy. It was addressed to all prelates, informing them that whereas many schools and fraternities were established in several parts of Italy, in which some persons, under a pretence of leading people into the ways of the spirit, and to the prayer of quietness,

instilled into them many abominable heresies. Therefore a strict charge was given to dissolve all these societies, and to oblige the spiritual guide to tread in the known paths; and in particular, to take care none of that sort should be suffered to have the direction of the nunneries. Orders were likewise given to proceed, in the way of justice, against those who should be found guilty of these abominable errors.

After this a strict enquiry was made into all the nunneries in Rome; and most of their directors and confessors were discovered to be engaged in this new method. It was found that the Carmelites, the nuns of the Conception, and those of several other convents, were wholly given up to prayer and contemplation; and that instead of their beads, and the other devotions to saints or images, they were much alone, and often in the exercise of mental prayer: that when they were asked why they had laid aside the use of their beads, and their ancient forms, their answer was their directors had advised them so to do. Information of this being given to the inquisition, they sent orders that all books written in the same strain with those of Molinos and Petrucci, should be taken from them, and that they should be compelled to return to their original form of devotion.

The circular letter sent to cardinal Cibo produced but little effect, for most of the Italian bishops were inclined to Molinos's method. It was intended that this, as well as all other orders from the inquisitors, should be kept secret; but notwithstanding all their care, copies of it were printed and dispersed in most of the principal towns in Italy. This gave great uneasiness to the inquisitors, who use every method they can to conceal their proceedings from the knowledge of the world. They blamed the cardinal, and accused him of being the cause of it; but he retorted on them, and his secretary laid the fault on both.

During these transactions, Molinos suffered great indignities from the officers of the inquisition; and the only comfort he received was from being sometimes visited by father Petrucci.

Though he had lived in the greatest reputation in Rome for some years, he was now as much despised as he had been admired, being generally considered as one of the worst of heretics.

The greater part of Molinos's followers who had been placed in the inquisition, having abjured his mode, were dismissed; but a harder fate awaited Molinos, their leader.

After laying a considerable time in prison, he was, at length, brought again before the inquisitors, to answer to a number of articles exhibited against him from his writings. As soon as he appeared in court, a chain was put round his body, and a wax-light in his hand, when two friars read aloud the articles of accusation. Molinos answered each with great steadiness and resolution; and notwithstanding his arguments totally defeated the force of all, yet he was found guilty of heresy; and condemned to imprisonment for life.

When he left the court he was attended by a priest, who had borne him the greatest respect. On his arrival at the prison he entered the cell allotted for his confinement with great tranquillity; and on taking leave of the priest, thus addressed him: *Adeiu*, *father, we shall meet again at the day of judgment, and then it will appear on which side the truth is, whether on my side, or on yours.*

During his confinement he was several times tortured in the most cruel manner, till, at length, the severity of the punishments overpowered his strength, and finished his existence.

The death of Molinos struck such an impression on his followers, that the greater part of them soon abjured his mode; and by the assiduity of the jesuits, quietism was totally extirpated throughout the country.

So afraid of death are most men, though life is, at best, but a painful journey, and filled with all those varieties and follies described in Jeremiah, chap. XVII. and Isaiah, chap. II. v. 22, and which have been thus paraphrased:

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Man is a thing of nought, his days Like empty shadows flee; He blindly wanders in a maze Of sin and vanity.

The breath of man is in his nose; Whereof has he to boast? A noxious blast upon him blows, And he drops into dust.

Great meh have great infirmities, They disappoint our hope: Cursed is he whoe'er relies On such a rotten prop.

How often are we apt to say, "How happy should we be, "If we might spend our ev'ry day "With men of piety?"

Yet ah! how vain, how foolish are The best and holiest men! How soon their weaknesses appear! Nor are they free from sin.

All men are liars from the womb, And far estrang'd from God. Lord, let us never from thee roam. Nor trust in flesh and blood.

BOOK VII.

Of the Persecutions in BOHEMIA, GERMANY, &c.

CHAP. I.

Of the Persecutions in BOHEMIA Under the Papacy.

THE Roman pontiffs having usurped a power over several churches, were particularly severe on the Bohemians, which occasioned them to send two ministers and four lay-brothers to Rome, in the year 977, to obtain redress of the pope. After some delay their request was granted, and their grievances redressed. Two things in particular they were permitted to do, viz. to have divine service performed in their own language, and to give the cup to the laity in the sacrament.*

The disputes, however, soon broke out again, the succeeding popes exerting their whole power to impose on the minds of the Bohemians; and the latter, with great spirit, aiming to preserve their religious liberties.

^{* [}CHCoG: The refusal to give the cup to the 'laity' was an abomination that appears to have begun in the Roman church in the thirteenth century. The apostolic and protestant churches have always used both the bread and wine, just as Christ taught. Not giving wine to the laity was used to show that the clergy were more righteous than (and superior to) the laity. It was also quicker, easier and cheaper. In the Second Vatican Council, held from 1962 to 1965, it was agreed that bishops could allow the laity to have "communion under both kinds" under certain circumstances. Even today, many Roman 'churches' still regularly refuse the cup to the laity.]

A.D. 1375, some zealous friends of the gospel applied to Charles, king of Bohemia, to call an æconomical council, for an enquiry into the abuses that had crept into the church, and to make a full and thorough reformation. The king, not knowing how to proceed, sent to the pope for directions in what manner to act; but the pontiff was so incensed at the affair that his only reply was, *Severely punish those rash and profane heretics*. The monarch, accordingly, banished every one who had been concerned in the application, and to oblige the pope, laid a great number of additional restraints upon the religious liberties of the people.

John Huss, and Jerom of Prague, two holy and pious men, being condemned by order of the council of Constance, fifty-eight of the principal Bohemian nobility interposed in their favour. Nevertheless they were cruelly burnt, and the pope, in conjunction with the council of Constance, ordered the Romish clergy every where to excommunicate such as adopted their opinions, or commiserated their fate.

These orders occasioned great contentions between the papists and the reformed Bohemians, which was the cause of a violent persecution against the latter. At Prague the persecution was extremely severe, till, at length, the reformed being driven to desperation, armed themselves, attacked the senate-house, and threw twelve senators, with the speaker, out of the senate-house windows, whose bodies fell on spears which were held up by others of the reformed in the street, to receive them.

Being informed of these proceedings, the pope came to Florence, and publicly excommunicated the reformed Bohemians, exciting the emperor of Germany, and all kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms, in order to extirpate the whole race; and promising, by way of encouragement, full remission of all sins whatever to the most wicked person, if he did but kill one protestant Bohemian.

This occasioned a bloody war; for several Popish princes undertook the extirpation, or at least expulsion, of the proscribed people; and the Bohemians, arming themselves, prepared to repel force by force, in the most vigorous and effectual manner. The popish army prevailing against the protestant forces at the battle of Cuttenburgh, the prisoners of the reformed were taken to three deep mines near that town, and several hundreds were cruelly thrown into each, where they miserably perished.

A merchant of Prague, going to Breslaw, in Silesia, happened to lodge in the same inn with several priests. Entering into conversation upon the subject of religious controversy, he passed many encomiums upon the martyred John Huss and his doctrines. The priests taking umbrage at this, laid an information against him the next morning, and he was committed to prison as an heretic. Many endeavours were used to persuade him to embrace the Roman catholic faith; but he remained stedfast to the pure doctrines of the reformed church. Soon after his imprisonment, a student of the university was committed to the same gaol; when, being permitted to converse with the merchant, they mutually comforted each other.

On the day appointed for execution, when the gaoler began to fasten the ropes to their feet, by which they were to be dragged through the streets, the student appeared quite terrified, and offered to abjure his faith, and turn Roman catholic, if he might be saved. The offer was accepted, his abjuration was taken by a priest, and he was set at liberty. A priest applying to the merchant to follow the example of the student, he nobly said, "Lose no time in hopes of my recantation, your expectations will be vain. I sincerely pity that poor wretch, who has miserably sacrificed his soul for a few more uncertain years of a troublesome life; and so far from having the least idea of following his example, I glory in the very thoughts of dying for the sake of Christ." On hearing these words, the priest ordered the executioner to proceed; and the merchant being drawn through the city, was brought to the place of execution, and there burnt.

Pichel, a bigotted popish magistrate, apprehended twenty-four protestants, among whom was his daughter's husband. As they all owned they were of the reformed religion, he indiscriminately condemned them to be drowned in the river Abbis. On the day appointed for the execution, a great concourse of people attended, among whom was Pichel's daughter. This worthy wife threw herself at her father's feet, bedewed them with tears, and in the most pathetic manner implored him to commiserate her sorrow, and pardon her husband. The obdurate magistrate sternly replied, "Intercede not for him, child, he is a heretic, a vile heretic." To which she nobly answered, "Whatever his faults may be, or however his opinions may differ from yours, he is still my husband, a name which at a time like this, should alone employ my whole consideration."

Pichel flew into a violent passion, and said, "You are mad! cannot you, after the death of this, have a much worthier husband?" No, Sir, (replied she) my affections are fixed upon this, and death itself shall not dissolve my marriage vow. Pichel, however, continued inflexible, and ordered the prisoners to be tied with their hands and feet behind them, and in that manner to be thrown into the river. As soon as this was put into execution, the young lady watched her opportunity, leaped into the waves, and embracing the body of her husband both sunk together into one watery grave. An uncommon instance of conjugal love in a wife, and of an inviolable attachment to and personal affection for her husband. Well may we exclaim on this pathetic occasion:

Is there no bright reversion in the sky? For those who bravely think, or greatly die; Why bade ye else, ye heav'ns her soul aspire, Above the vulgar flight of low desire.

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A pious minister, four other men, and four boys, were seized by a troop of soldiers near Prague, and sent to the bishop of the diocese; where the prelate said to them, *You must either be burnt or abjure your faith, for it is founded on heresy.* To this the minister answered in the name of the rest: *The gospel teaches otherwise, so you must either blot the pure precepts which we profess out of your bible, or approve of our faith.* The four men and four boys, continuing stedfast in their religion, were ordered, together with the minister, to be burnt the next day; which sentence was accordingly executed, and they met a temporary fire, through which they were sure of passing to eternal bliss.

Martin Loquis, being asked what he thought of the host, answered, *The body of Christ is in heaven, and he hath but one, not many bodies.* for which answer he was severely tortured, as was one of his associates; and a short time after, both were shut up in a prodigiously large tar barrel and burnt.

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In the year 1459, several pious persons in Bohemia, consisting of lords, spiritual and temporal, and many of the commonalty, petitioned his Bohemian majesty for permission to retire to a hilly country on the confines of Silesia; where they might, without molestation, enjoy the practice of their religion according to their consciences. This being granted, they built towns, and erected churches; living according to the primitive simplicity, and keeping as near as possible to the purity of the doctrines of Christ, as delivered by himself and his apostles [ie. Apostolic Christians].

The success of these people greatly alarmed the Romish clergy, who were exceedingly violent against them, and thundered from their pulpits such sentences as follow: *Put out these sparks before they grow to a flame that will consume us; nip the heretics in the bud.* They likewise influenced the king against them, persuading him they were fomenting a sedition on the borders of

the kingdom; in consequence of which he ordered some of these innocent people, who came on business to Prague, to be apprehended and put to the rack. But as no formal information was laid against them, and as their sufferings did not extort any confession from them, he ordered them to be dismissed, after they had been most miserably tormented.

The Roman catholics gave the name of *Picards* to these people; some historians say from their doctrines resembling those of the Waldenses of Picardy in France; and others affirm that the appellation is derived from an eminent preacher among them, named Picardus. But whatever be the derivation, the word itself was used as a term of reproach, and applied by the papists always by way of derision or contempt.

Through the instigation of the priests, the king published an edict prohibiting any person, on pain of death from administering the sacrament to the Picards; and soon after a new edit appeared, by which they were totally banished the kingdom.

Many of these poor people, on the publication of the last edit, sought refuge in rocks, caves, and woods, not knowing where else to retire for safety. To conceal themselves the better, they never made a fire to dress any victuals in the day time, as the smoak might betray them, and lest in the night the blaze should have the same effect, they always prepared their food in the deep recess of some capacious cave. As it was the depth of winter, and the ground covered with snow, they went in companies to explore the woods for game to subsist on; but always had the precaution to trail boughs after them, that the impression of their footsteps might be effaced.

Thus lived or rather existed the Picards, struggling through hardships in the midst of a dreary country, and surrounded by mortal enemies. Providence was their hope; purity of conscience their comfort; seeking food their business and reading the bible every evening in a cave, while sitting round a small fire, their amusement, They elected pastors to worship God with some degree of regularity, and chose elders, that a necessary subordination might be preserved. Content while unmolested, they evinced that happiness is of no situation in life, but may fly from opulence to poverty, from conveniencies to difficulties, and from palaces to caves.

It was suggested by some of the elders that the Picards should join themselves to the Waldenses of Moravia and Austria, incorporate themselves into one church, and become one people. To this a learned pastor answered, "Nothing could be more agreeable to me, than to unite with the Waldenses of Moravia and Austria; their doctrines are as pure as ours, but though their religion is the same, through fear they only profess it privately, and under the dread of persecution go publicly to mass. Thus they attend to doctrines they don't believe, and are witnesses to superstitions they abhor; they sacrifice to timidity, and cover their real sentiments with the veil of hypocrisy; they are protestants in their hearts, and papists in their practice; till this evil is removed, I cannot consent to unite with them; but let them become undissembled protestants, and I am ready to promote the union."

These sentiments being universally approved, several elders and pastors were dispatched to Moravia and Austria, at once to make the proposal, and state the objection. When the Waldenses heard the proposal, they were highly pleased with it, and with respect to the objection, they acknowledged themselves to be in the wrong; and sent for answer, *We shall not be tenacious of an error, we will quit our hypocrisy, and for the sake of uniting with people who have suffered the greatest hardships on account of their religion, publickly profess ourselves to be what we really are.*

Thus far the design went on prosperously, but the court of Germany gaining information of the whole affair, began a most furious persecution in Moravia and Austria before the union took place. This entirely frustrated the plan; for the Waldenses sunk under their sufferings, and consented to keep up the usual appearances, that they might live unmolested. Thus were the Picards disappointed of their union with the Waldenses, and obliged to continue among their rocks, and in their caves. They, however, considerably encreased; for, attracted by the purity of their doctrines and simplicity of their lives, many forsook ease and affluence to join them, sacrificing the indulgencies of the body to the good of the soul, and seeking that ease of conscience in caves which they could not find in cities.

In the year 1460, the king of Bohemia published a very severe edict against all protestants; commanding the Bohemian nobility and magistrates not only to seize them wherever they could find them on their estates, and within their districts, but to pursue them to their retreats, to hunt them in their recesses, and to do every thing they possibly could towards their extirpation.

This occasioned the martyrdom of many of the Picards, as the papist nobility and magistrates took great pains to find them and aced very rigorously in persecuting all such as they could ensnare. Yet the edict was but partially obeyed, as several of the Bohemian nobles were protestants, and gave the Picards protection; by which means their encrease was so great that by the year 1500, they had many churches on those noblemens estates, or among the rocks.

CHAP. II.

Continuation of the Persecutions in Bohemia.

AT the commencement of the reign of Vladislaus, king of Bohemia, a learned pastor drew up an apology for the Picards about 1471, and having inscribed it to the king, made it public.

As this work caused many to embrace the opinions of the Picards, it gave the Romish clergy great offence. To counteract its effects, they contrived one of the most artful and at the same time infamous schemes that could enter into the imagination. This was to suborn a cunning and abandoned villain to pretend he was a Picard, and had been an elder among the people of that denomination, but shocked with their abominable practices, had quitted both their religion and rocks, and came to Prague to embrace the Roman catholic persuasion.

This impostor made a pretended abjuration of protestantism in the cathedral church of Prague, and then inveighed bitterly against the Picards, pretending great contrition for having been one of their sect The priest likewise published his cure, containing his reasons for leaving the Picards, and his charges against them, which were as follow:

- 1. That they were guilty of blasphemy.
- 2. Prayed not to the Virgin Mary.
- 3. Abused the saints.
- 4. Traduced the sacraments.
- 5. Mingled themselves incestuously.
- 6. Committed fornication.
- 7. Were guilty of adultery.
- 8. Thought murder no crime.
- 9. Were thieves.
- 10. Practised lying.

11. Encouraged perjury.

12. Took a pride in drunkenness.

To add to the atrociousness of the transaction, this scandalous impostor was conducted through most of the cities and towns, and his case read in all the popish churches of Bohemia. This scheme might have had a dangerous effect, had not its contrivers defeated themselves. Happily for the Picards, neither the priest who drew up the case, nor the impostor himself, knew any thing of the country people they pretended to describe and abuse: so that a publication of a modest answer to the case by a Picard pastor undeceived the public, and even convinced the most prejudiced that the whole was a fiction, fabricated by the priests, to answer the most cruel and infamous purposes.

The impostor himself was, at length, so tormented by his conscience that he openly recanted his pretended abjuration, turned protestant in reality, confessed all he had said to be a forgery, and publicly declared *he had never been among the rocks where the Picards resided, or conversed with a Picard in his life.*

This affair, instead of injuring, served the cause of protestantism; for many papists, perceiving what engines were set at work against the Picards, began to enquire minutely into their tenets, and finding the purity of the doctrines they professed, it induced several to renounce the Roman catholic persuasion, and embrace their opinions.

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In the year 1510 an edict was prepared, ordering an immediate and general massacre of all the protestants that could be found in Bohemia. This edict was presented to the assembly of states at Prague by two bishops, but several of the Bohemian nobility opposing it, eighteen months expired before it could be brought to

a determination. At length, the chancellor carried it through the assembly, and it was signed by the king for publication.

Immediately after the publication of the edict, six protestants were seized at Prague and condemned to the flames. When they came to the place of execution, the presiding officer, having a friendship for one of the prisoners, entreated him to recant, and offered to give him a year's time to consider of it, if he would promise his endeavours to abjure protestantism. The prisoner, however, nobly refused his offer, and exclaimed, *A year's time! It is too much, too much by such a delay, to lose the company of these worthy companions.* Then walking boldly up to the stake, he was fastened with the rest, and they were all burnt together.

A gentleman of opulence who resided at a beautiful villa, in a town on the confines of Bohemia, made his house an asylum for distressed protestants. Some papists hearing of this, broke in and murdered all the concealed protestants and servants; after which, five of the ruffians found the gentleman in a room to which he had retired, when they suddenly twisted a rope round his neck and strangled him.

A venerable and learned man, with his landlady, a widow of sixty, were both burnt together, with all their books. Many were tortured to death upon the rack, some hanged, and others drowned.

A man and his wife being sentenced to death, were condemned to suffer by extremes; that is, the one was ordered to be burnt, and the other drowned: so that the two who were joined by marriage might perish by different elements, fire and water.

Two German merchants who came to Prague about business, were accused by some monks, of being protestants. As they did not deny the charge, they were condemned to be burnt. When they came to the place of execution, one of them, addressing himself to the other, said, "Since Jesus Christ suffered so much to redeem us, let us chearfully suffer for him, and rejoice that we have found such favour as to be deemed worthy of dying for the word of God."



A GENTLEMAN of Bohemia, after having his whole Family murdered, STRANGLED by Five RUFFIANS for relieving distressed Protestants.

As soon as the torch was put to the faggots that were to burn them, the other of these martyrs exclaimed, with an audible voice, "Lord Jesus! In thy sufferings thy prayers were for the enemies that persecuted thee: let us, like thee, forgive and pray for our enemies: may the Almighty forgive the king of Bohemia, the people of Prague, and the clergy, who have brought us to these flames; for they know not what they do, though their hands are full of blood."

Many of the nobles and senators who had signed the edict for the persecution of the protestants met with fatal accidents and untimely deaths. Those occurrences were deemed very singular, and at length, by their frequency, became so particularly remarked that they gave birth to a proverb which still subsists, not only in Bohemia, but in many parts of Germany; and implies,

> "If some evil you'd know, To the Picards turn foe."

> > * * * * * * * * * *

The emperor Charles V. in the year 1547, ordered that all the decrees of the council of Trent against the protestants, should be put in force with the utmost rigor, in every part of his extensive dominions.

This severe order occasioned a most dreadful persecution throughout the greatest part of Europe; for as the emperor's power was very extensive, so the cruelties practised were almost innumerable. None, however, suffered more than the protestants of Bohemia; for the nobles had their estates sequestered; the rich merchants and traders were fined so heavily that their ruin ensued; and the poor, who had no money to pay by way of mitigation, for thinking and acting right, were:

Racked	Hanged
Burnt	Drowned
Sawed asunder	Stabbed
Thrown from rocks	Boiled in oil
Torn by wild horses	Immured and starved
Cut to pieces	Beheaded
Had boiling lead poured down their throats	Were thrown on spears
Hung up by the ribs	Crucified with their heads downwards

The king of Bohemia, to complete what the emperor Charles V. had began, issued a proclamation which contained four clauses, viz.

- 1. To shut up all protestant churches.
- 2. To banish all protestant nobles.
- 3. To burn all protestant clergymen.
- 4. To hang all protestant school-masters.

Upon this proclamation, several protestants who had escaped the persecution by hiding themselves, determined to withdraw from Bohemia, and seek an asylum in some other country. An uninhabited part of Poland was fixed upon as the place of retreat, and they removed to it, with all possible secrecy, in three bands; quitting the place of their nativity to enjoy their religion in quiet, and follow the dictates of their consciences without molestation.

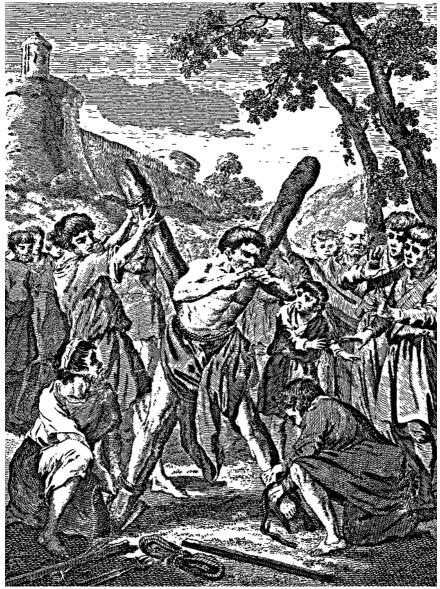
But oh! when from our country we depart, The native fondness clings around the heart; That charm that seems where'er we drew our breath,

And makes our birth-place haunt us ev'n to death.

But when these worthy wanderers arrived in Poland they were greatly disappointed; for though the spot they had fixed upon for their residence was uninhabited and uncultivated, yet the bishop of that part of the country, who deemed it in his diocese, procured an order from the king to drive them from thence. This mandate he executed with rigour, and the poor protestants proceeded to Ducal Prussia, where Albert, duke of Brandenburgh, to whom that country belonged, appointed them a district to inhabit in the diocese of a protestant bishop named Paul Speratus, who very kindly received them, and assisted them with great humanity, till they had built houses for their residence, and cultivated lands for their subsistence.

Several protestants, however, still remained in the rocks, woods, and caves of Bohemia, which the king well knowing, ordered rewards to be set upon their heads, but more particularly for apprehending the clergy. But his endeavours were so little successful that in the course of several months he could only procure three clergymen, and seven or eight of the laity to be taken. One of the clergymen escaped in a most singular manner, from a strong dungeon in the castle of Prague, and got safe to Prussia, where he joined the protestants who had emigrated to that country. Another was three times racked, and then having been imprisoned seventeen years, fell a martyr to the hardships of his confinement; and the third was burnt for refusing to recant.

The baron of Scanaw, not having obeyed the orders for banishment, was apprehended, and charged with being an heretic, and with having a treasonable design to subvert the government. Being condemned to the rack, before the executioners had time to fasten the cords, he suddenly cut out his own tongue, and then wrote upon a piece of paper these words:



The BARON of SCANAW in BOHEMIA After having cut out his own Tongue to prevent accusing himself or others of Heresy, then Racked to Death.

I did this extraordinary action, because I would not, by means of any tortures, be brought to accuse myself, or others, as I might, through the excruciating torments of the rack, be impelled to utter falsehoods.

This singular occurrence surprized all present, but did not save the baron from the rack, who was tormented with such severity that he soon expired.

CHAP. III.

Persecutions in Bohemia in the Seventeenth Century, with the Siege of Prague.

AT the latter end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth century, the Bohemians were blessed with two merciful protestant kings, viz. Maximilian and Rodolphus. These monarchs would not suffer any person to be persecuted or put to death for differing in opinion concerning their mode of worship. Hence during their reigns, the protestants greatly encreased, and the reformed religion appeared in such a very flourishing state as to predominate in Bohemia, so that even the members of the assembly of the states were protestants.

On the death of Rodolphus, Ferdinand emperor of Germany, succeeded to the throne of Bohemia. This monarch, being a rigid Roman catholic, soon gave a different turn to the face of affairs, and made the protestants suspect an impending storm. Indeed, the first act of his authority pretty clearly discovered his intentions, for he issued a proclamation, prohibiting the protestants from printing any work which had not first passed the inspection of the chancellor; and at the same time, the chancellor had orders not to suffer any to pass the press.

The priests took an advantage of this proclamation; they published a great variety of pamphlets against the protestants, filled with the blackest accusations, teeming with the grossest falsehoods, and fabricated with the utmost sophistry.

These dangerous publications did a great deal of mischief among the ignorant, and it was a great mortification to the learned of the reformed religion that they could not procure the publication of any work to refute such villainous slanders, invented by interested persons for the most infamous purposes. Ferdinand soon after, still farther to distress the protestants, ordered:

- 1. That services should not be performed in any protestant church, unless a priest and a Roman catholic magistrate were present.
- 2. Suspended all the edicts in favour of the protestants; and
- 3. Commanded the protestants, on pain of death, not to assemble in any manner, at each others houses, or in societies, meetings, &c. or by any other mode, except at divine service.

These arbitrary proceedings alarmed the protestants in general, and the assembly of the states in particular. Ferdinand, who was at Vienna, would not receive any petitions that represented the grievances of his Bohemian protestant subjects, or take any measures that might afford them redress. The assembly of the states therefore, by a public edict, reprobated the emperor's proceedings, as rash, arbitrary and unwarrantable, and ordered all the jesuits to be banished, as the principal contrivers of these mischiefs.

It must be acknowledged that the proceedings of the assembly of states were rather precipitate, and gave their enemies the shadow of some accusations against them. The emperor took an immediate advantage of the step they had taken, by proclaiming all the protestant Bohemians traitors, and ordering a formidable army of Imperialists to enter Bohemia.

The assembly of the states, with all possible expedition, did every thing in their power to avert the impending danger. They chose thirty military directors, called all the protestants capable of bearing arms together, and formed alliances with the Moravians and Silesians, who were in general of the reformed religion.

Being thus strengthened and prepared, they proceeded to declare publicly,

- 1. That Ferdinand emperor of Germany, was elected to the throne of Bohemia by collusion; that he was supported by a faction, a tyrant in the administration, and an enemy to the rights, privileges, and religion of the Bohemians.
- 2. The assembly of the states therefore decree that Ferdinand, emperor of Germany, has no right to the throne of Bohemia, and is not king thereof.
- 3. The people of Bohemia are of course free from any kind of allegiance to the said Ferdinand, emperor of Germany; but are bound in the strictest ties of allegiance to Frederick, elector palatine of the Rhine; who is their lawful sovereign, having been unanimously chosen to that dignity by the assembly of the states, who, as representatives and delegates of the people, have alone power to bestow the crown.

The imperial army had already taken two protestant towns, and put all the inhabitants to the sword without distinction of sex or age; but the general Dampier sent word to the emperor, he did not imagine he should without a reinforcement be able to face the protestant army, or force the city of Prague. Ferdinand, who was more exasperated at the assembly of the states calling his title to the crown of Bohemia in question than at any of their previous proceedings, complied with his general's request, and sent another formidable body of troops into Bohemia, under the command of general Maximilian. When the protestant forces of Bohemia were united with those of Silesia and Moravia, the new elected king Frederick took upon himself the command and prepared to give the Imperalists battle. The armies under the generals Dampier and Maximilian, having formed a junction, a desperate engagement ensued, in which both parties for a considerable time maintained their ground with the most determined obstinacy. At length, the superior numbers and discipline of the Imperalists prevailed, and the protestant army was routed with great slaughter.

The conquerors immediately invested Prague, and proposed favourable terms in case of a speedy surrender. The place accordingly capitulated, but the terms were not kept, as many depredations and cruelties were permitted with impunity by the Imperial commanders.

When this expedition was first undertaken, a question had been debated by the pope and emperor concerning the disposal of the protestants if Bohemia should be conquered. The pope was for putting them all to death, but the emperor answered, the expedient had so often failed, that it would be impolitic to proceed in so harsh a manner; for the protestants sought death for the sake of religion, by which they obtained the reputation of martyrs and encouraged others in a brave and inflexible opposition to the power of Rome.

The pope then proposed banishment, and the emperor replied he had no objection to making them exiles, provided he made them beggars also, by not suffering them to carry off any of their money or effects out of his dominions. The army acted according to these maxims, previously agreed upon: the plunder of Prague was given to the officers; of the neighbouring villages and towns to the common soldiers; and of the other places in Bohemia to the ecclesiastics. It is, however, to be observed that the emperor reserved to himself all the public treasures, and the pope received a handsome present out of the plunder of the commanders.

When the public depredations had a little subsided, the emperor made use of the following subtle artifice. In a proclamation, he pretended to lament the severities with which war obliged the mildest monarchs to act; he knew, he said, that many depredations must be committed in the course of a campaign, but hoped his Bohemian subjects had suffered as little as could be well felt upon such calamitous occasions.

Having thus affected to be unacquainted with the manner in which the people had been plundered, he set forth that the exigencies of the state, and the lowness of his finances, made an immediate supply of money necessary. He promised therefore, if the Bohemians would advance such a stipulated sum, that the troops should be withdrawn from all the cities, towns, and villages, till matters could be amicably adjusted.

The emperor had two views in this cunning proclamation; the first was to throw the odium of the cruelties and depredations committed by his troops from himself to his officers; and the last was to induce the Bohemians to bring forth their concealed treasures, for he did not doubt, though much had been taken by his plundering army, but much still remained secreted. The scheme had the desired effect; the Bohemians began to execrate the Imperial commanders, and in order to purchase the absence of the troops, produced their hidden treasures in jewels, plate, and money to the proposed value mentioned by the emperor.

As soon as the emperor had received the money, he broke his Imperial word by quartering a certain number of troops in every city, town, village, and hamlet in the kingdom, and informing the protestant inhabitants that they must not only find these troops in lodging and board, but likewise cloath and pay them. Thus were these oppressed people compelled to purchase their own slavery and pay the ruffians who distressed them; for ruffians the troops may with propriety be called, as they were instructed to behave with every degree of insolence and barbarity to those upon whom they were quartered; and their own savage dispositions were such that they took care not only to fulfil, but to exceed their commissions.

That the distresses of the Bohemians might be permanent and lasting, the emperor made use of the following cruel and oppressive methods:

1. He laid several heavy taxes upon various commodities, and more particularly upon the necessaries of life.

- 2. Just before the time appointed to receive his taxes, he lowered the value of money very considerably, by which the people paid much more than the assessment seemed to demand.
- 3. As soon as his taxes were received, he raised the value of money again, as a sure method of keeping the Bohemians poor.
- 4. As the protestants of Bohemia had been so much plundered, robbed, and defrauded, either under military execution, or the sanction of oppressive edict, gold and silver coin began to grow scarce, notwithstanding the industry and commercial spirit of these people. The emperor therefore introduced a great quantity of counterfeit coin, but commanded that his troops and tax-gatherers should be paid in good money only. By this scheme he was sure that his own coffers, or his own troops, would in time receive all the money of real intrinsic value, and the Bohemians be only possessed of such coin as a decree would upon any occasion render useless.

By these tyrannical and arbitrary proceedings did the emperor oppress the poor Bohemian protestants, and if at any time a hint was given him by his nobles that his proceedings were rather too harsh, he would reply in a Latin sonnet, which may be thus rendered into English, and which contains the genuine and infamous sentiments of a despotic tyrant:

> When subjects grow rich and live well, They grow proud, and are apt to rebel; In pleasures they lose their allegiance, And forget in high feeding obedience.

But when subjects are kept poor and low, Rebellion his face dares not shew; In truth to themselves they may grumble, But still they're obedient and humble.

Therefore if a monarch would live at his ease, On the sinews of war he should prudently seize; For money alone is the powerful rein, That proud faction can check and rebellion restrain.

CHAP. IV.

Persecutions in Bohemia after the Institution of the High Court of Reformers.

THE emperor Ferdinand, whose hatred to the Bohemian protestants was without bounds, not thinking he had sufficiently oppressed them, instituted a *High Court of Reformers*, upon the plan of the inquisition, with this difference, that the reformers were to remove from place to place, and always to be attended by a body of troops.

These reformers consisted chiefly of jesuits, and from their decisions there was no appeal, by which it may be easily conjectured that it was a dreadful tribunal indeed. This bloody court, attended by a body of troops, made the tour of Bohemia, in which they seldom examined or saw a prisoner, suffering the soldiers to murder the protestants as they pleased, and then to make a report of the matter to them afterwards.

The first victim of their cruelty was an aged minister, whom they killed as he lay sick in bed; the next day they robbed and murdered another, and soon after shot a third as he was preaching in his pulpit.

A nobleman and a clergyman who resided in a protestant village, hearing of the approach of the high court of reformers and the troops, fled from the place, and secreted themselves. The soldiers, however, on their arrival, seized upon a schoolmaster, and asked him where the lord of that place and the minister were concealed, and where they had hid their treasures. The schoolmaster replied he could not answer either of the questions. They then stripped him naked, bound him with cords, and beat him most unmercifully with cudgels. This cruelty not extorting any confession from him, they scorched him in various parts of his body; when, to gain a respite from his torments, he promised to

shew them where the treasures were hid. The soldiers gave ear to this with pleasure, and the schoolmaster led them to a ditch full of stones, saying, *Beneath those stones are the riches ye seek for*. Eager after money, they went to work, and soon removed those stones, but not finding what they sought after, beat the schoolmaster to death, buried him in the ditch, and covered him with the very stones he had made them remove.

Some of the soldiers ravished the daughters of a worthy protestant before his face, and then tortured him to death. A minister and his wife they tied back to back, and burnt. Another minister they hung upon a cross beam, and making a fire under him, broiled him to death. A gentleman they hacked into small pieces; and they filled a young man's mouth with gunpowder, and setting fire to it, blew his head to pieces.

As their principal rage was directed against the clergy; they took a pious protestant minister, and tormented him daily for a month together, in the following manner, making their cruelty regular, systematic, and progressive.

- 1. They placed him amidst them, and made him the subject of their derision and mockery, during a whole day's entertainment, trying to exhaust his patience, but in vain, for he bore the whole with a true Christian fortitude.
- 2. They spit in his face, pulled his nose, and pinched him in most parts of his body.
- 3. He was hunted like a wild beast, till ready to expire with fatigue.
- 4. They made him run the gauntlet between two ranks of them, each striking him with a twig.
- 5. He was beat with their fists.
- 6. He was beat with ropes.
- 7. They scourged him with wires.
- 8. He was beat with cudgels.

- 9. They tyed him up by the heels with his head downwards, till the blood started out of his nose, mouth, &c.
- 10. They hung him up by the right arm till it was dislocated, and then had it set again.
- 11. The same was repeated with his left arm.
- 12. Burning papers, dipped in oil, were placed between his fingers and toes.
- 13. His flesh was torn with red hot pincers.
- 14. He was put to the rack.
- 15. They pulled off the nails of his right hand.
- 16. The same repeated with his left hand.
- 17. He was bastinadoed on his feet.
- 18. A slit was made in his right ear.
- 19. The same repeated on his left ear.
- 20. His nose was slit.
- 21. They whipped him through the town upon an ass.
- 22. They made several incisions in his flesh.
- 23. They pulled off the toe nails of his right foot.
- 24. The same repeated with his left foot.
- 25. He was tied up by the loins, and suspended for a considerable time.
- 26. The teeth of his upper jaw were pulled out.
- 27. The same was repeated with his lower jaw.
- 28. Boiling lead was poured upon his fingers.
- 29. The same repeated with his toes.
- 30. A knotted cord was twisted about his forehead in such a manner as to force out his eyes.

During the whole of these horrid cruelties, particular care was taken that his wounds should not mortify, and not to injure him mortally till the last day, when the forcing out of his eyes proved his death.

Innumerable were the other murders and depredations committed by those unfeeling brutes, and shocking to humanity

were the cruelties which they inflicted on the poor Bohemian protestants. The winter being far advanced, however, the high court of reformers, with their infernal band of military ruffians, thought proper to return to Prague; but on their way meeting with a pastor, they could not resist the temptation of feasting their barbarous eyes with a new kind of cruelty, which had just suggested itself to the diabolical imagination of one of the soldiers. This was to strip the minister naked, and to alternately cover him with ice and burning coals. This novel mode of tormenting a fellow creature was immediately put in practice, and the victim expired beneath the torments, which seemed to delight his inhuman persecutors.

CHAP. V.

Of the Articles Proposed to the Protestant Congregations in Prague, the Capital of Bohemia, and the Succeeding Persecutions.

THE articles proposed by order of the emperor Ferdinand to the protestant congregations in Prague were six in number, and in substance as follows:

- 1. The protestants shall raise a sufficient sum of money to pay the imperial army in Germany.
- 2. They shall publicly renounce Frederic, elector palatine of the Rhine, as their king, and not acknowledge any sovereign except Ferdinand, emperor of Germany.
- 3. They shall introduce into their churches the Roman catholic rites and ceremonies.
- 4. Their ministers shall be re-ordained, according to the methods practised by the church of Rome.
- 5. Their ministers shall repudiate their wives, or get a dispensation from the archbishop for continuing with them.
- 6. Such of the protestant ministers as will renounce the ecclesiastical functions, and quit their churches to Roman catholic clergymen, shall have the favour of the emperor, and be promoted to places of profit and honour.

The protestants of Prague having a general meeting upon the subject, soon came to a determination and gave unanimously this answer:

The articles proposed are contrary to conscience, justice, and reason. We cannot, therefore, comply with any of them.

This reply greatly incensed the emperor, and the consequence of it was an edict expressly levelled against all the clergy of Prague, in which they are charged with having occasioned the late war, and procuring the election of Frederic, elector palatine of the Rhine, to the throne of Bohemia, and for which they were commanded to depart the city of Prague within three days, and the kingdom of Bohemia within eight days, never to return on pain of death.

The lamentations of the people on having their ministers thus driven from them may be better conceived than described; and what added to their grief was the churches which thus became vacant, being given to the jesuits.

The next step was to remove the ministers from all the other cities of Bohemia, and this task was assigned to the *High Court of Reformers*. The commissioners of this court proceeded as usual, attended by troops, that their infamous work might be executed with greater expedition.

Arriving at the city of Slana, on a sabbath day, they immediately went to the principal church. A pious clergyman was at that time reading and expounding the gospel, when one of the commissioners sent a soldier to bid him give over. The minister, however, proceeding, the commissioner himself advanced to the pulpit, and in a loud voice exclaimed, *Impertinent preacher, leave babbling*, and at the same time struck the bible out of his hand. The minister calmly rebuked him, saying, *You are extremely unreasonable, you will neither enter into heaven yourself, nor suffer others to do it.* The soldiers then seized the minister and used him extremely ill; and the *High Court of Reformers* ordered him to depart the city within three days. The other protestant ministers of Slana, taking it for granted they should not be more favourably used, left the place and thus eluded the indignities they might otherwise have received.

As the jesuits were appointed to the vacancies occasioned by the banishment of the protestant ministers from Prague, so monks and friars were appointed to all similar vacancies in other places.

When the high court of reformers came to Guttenburgh, they banished twenty-one ministers, who were so much beloved that they departed regretted by all, and accompanied by many; for several merchants, traders, and common artificers, determining not to forsake their pastors, went with them as voluntarily exiles.

In many parts, however, the natural love to the place of nativity so far prevailed, that several ministers concealed themselves in the houses of persons whom they thought they could confide in, or fled to neighbouring woods and caves, intending to live a secluded life, till a change of measures, or some favourable opportunity, permitted them to return to their pastoral care. The High Court of Reformers having intelligence of these things offered considerable rewards to any who would betray the concealed, or apprehend the secluded protestant clergy. Bribes bear great temptation, and avarice overcoming confidential friendship, occasioned many to be delivered up by treachery. Among these was a worthy minister, of whom the commissioners of the high court of reformers demanded how many he had baptized, how often he had administered the sacrament, &c. To which he replied, "I have not been idle since I was a minister; I baptized as many as possible, and administered the sacrament to all who desired it; but cannot at present ascertain the particular numbers." Being offered his life if he would change his religion, he said, "This body of mine is subject to corruption, and is far gone in decay; then why would you attempt to impede its dissolution, and wish thereby to injure my immortal and only valuable part." After a specious and partial trial, he was condemned to death, and on the day of execution the public cryer went before him, repeating these words: "This man is to die for being guilty of sedition." But the minister every time replied, in a loud voice, It is false, I was never guilty of sedition, but am to

suffer for the sake of Christ. This so offended the commissioners that they directed the captain of the troops to give orders that the trumpets might sound every time he attempted to speak, to drown his voice. At the place of execution, his right hand was first cut off, after which he was beheaded and quartered, his quarters being placed on four poles, and his head on a fifth.

Some of the commissioners of the high court of reformers went to a nobleman named Charles de Zerotina, who maintained on his estates, and within his jurisdiction, twenty four-protestant ministers, whom they told he must immediately discharge. He answered that in matters of religion he thought himself not subject to any person existing, and in the present case would not obey them; but was, however, willing to appeal to the emperor. They allowed him fourteen days to prosecute his appeal, in which time, not receiving any answer from court, they waited upon him again, and left the alternative to himself, whether he chose to discharge the ministers, or let them do it. He told them warmly, *he could not in conscience banish those whom he knew to be the real servants of Christ, nor could he suffer them to do so much injustice within his jurisdiction.*

The commissioners, without taking notice of what the nobleman said, issued citations for all the inhabitants of the district, clergy and laity, to attend them the next morning. The citations being complied with, the emperor's edict was publicly read, and the ministers were asked if they would obey it, when one, in the name of the rest, replied; "*That they wholly relied upon the will of God, whom they served in the gospel of his son, and therefore would not voluntarily forsake their flock.*" One of the commissioners said, "Will you forsake your heresy, and embrace the Roman catholic faith?" They unanimously answered in the negative, when the commissioner pronounced sentence of banishment, ordering them to quit the country within eight days. The nobleman not being sufficiently powerful to oppose the troops who were with the commissioners, could not prevent the sentence

from taking place; but to shew as much respect to the ministers as possible, he had them conveyed at his own expence, to a place in Hungary, where the protestant religion was tolerated.

A secret order was soon after issued by the emperor, for apprehending all noblemen and gentlemen, who had been principally concerned in supporting the protestant cause, and in nominating Frederic, elector Palatine of the Rhine, to be king of Bohemia. These, to the number of fifty, were apprehended in one night, and at one hour, and brought from the places where they were taken to the castle of Prague, and the estates of those who were absent from the kingdom were confiscated, themselves were made outlaws, and their names fixed upon a gallows, as marks of public ignominy.

The high court of reformers then proceeded to try the fifty who had been apprehended and two apostate protestants were appointed to examine them. These examinants asked a great number of unnecessary and impertinent questions, which so exasperated one of the noblemen, who was naturally of a warm temper, that he exclaimed, opening his breast at the same time, "Cut here, search my heart, you shall find nothing but the love of religion and liberty: those were the motives for which I drew my sword, and for those I am willing to suffer death."

As none of the prisoners would change their religion, or acknowledge they had been in an error, they were all pronounced guilty; but the sentence was referred to the emperor. When that monarch had read their names, and an account of the respective accusations against them, he passed judgment on all, but in a different manner, as his sentences were of four kinds, viz.

Death.

Banishment.

Imprisonment for life.

Imprisonment during pleasure.

The twenty being ordered for execution were informed they might send for jesuits, monks, or friars to prepare for the awful change they were to undergo; but that no protestants would be permitted to come near them. This proposal they rejected, and strove all they could to comfort and chear each other upon the solemn occasion.

On the morning of the day appointed for the execution, a cannon was fired as a signal to bring the prisoners from the castle to the principal market-place, in which scaffolds were erected and a body of troops were drawn up to attend the tragic scene.

The prisoners left the castle with as much chearfulness as if they had been going to an agreeable entertainment instead of a violent death, singing this verse of the XLIVth Psalm, as they proceeded to the market-place:

Arise, Oh Lord! and timely haste To our deliverance make; Redeem us, Jehovah! if not for ours Yet for thy mercy's sake.

Exclusive of soldiers, jesuits, priests, executioners, attendants, &c. a prodigious concourse of people attended to see the exit of these devoted martyrs, who were executed in the following order:

I. Lord SCHILIK.

This nobleman was about fifty years of age, and was possessed of great natural and acquired abilities. When he was told he was to be quartered, and his parts scattered in different places, he smiled with great serenity, saying, *The loss of a sepulchre is but a trifling consideration*. A gentleman who stood by, crying, Courage, my lord! He replied, *I have God's favour, which is sufficient to inspire any one with courage: the fear of death does not trouble me; formerly I have faced him in fields of battle, to oppose Anti-Christ; and now dare face him on a scaffold, for the sake of Christ.* Having said a short prayer, he told the executioner he was ready, who cut off his right hand and his head, and then quartered him.

His hand and head were placed upon the high tower of Prague, and his quarters distributed in different parts of the city.

II. Lord Viscount WINCESLAUS.

This venerable nobleman, who had attained the age of seventy years, was equally respectable for learning, piety, and hospitality. His temper was so remarkably patient that when his house was broke open, his property seized, and his estates confiscated, he only said, with great composure, The Lord has given, and the Lord has taken away. Being asked why he could engage in so dangerous a cause as that of attempting to support the elector Palatine Frederic against the power of the emperor, he replied, "I acted strictly according to the dictates of my conscience, and to this day, deem him my king. I am now full of years, and wish to lay down life, that I may not be a witness of the farther evils which are to attend my country. You have long thirsted for my blood; take it, for God will be my avenger. Then approaching the block, he stroked his long grey beard, and said, Venerable hairs, the greater honour now attends ye, a crown of martyrdom is your portion. Then laying down his head, it was severed from his body at one stroke; and placed upon a pole in a conspicuous part of the city.

III. Lord HARANT.

Lord Harant was a man of good sense, great piety and much experience gained by travel, as he had visited the principal places in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Hence he was free from national prejudices, and had collected much knowledge:

> By travel crown the arts, and learn abroad The general virtues which the wise applaud; To study nations we advise betimes, And various kingdoms know, and various climes; Each observation with discretion class,

Mark what is worthy, what is trivial pass.

The accusations against this nobleman were his being a protestant, and having taken an oath of allegiance to Frederic, elector Palatine of the Rhine as king of Bohemia. When he came upon the scaffold he said, "I have travelled through many countries, and traversed various barbarous nations, yet never found so much cruelty as at home. I have escaped innumerable perils both by sea and land and surmounted inconceivable difficulties, to suffer innocently in my native place. My blood is likewise sought by those for whom I, and my forefathers, have hazarded our lives and estates; but, Almighty God, forgive them, for they know not what they do." He then went to the block, kneeled down, and exclaimed, with great energy, *Into thy hands, O Lord! I commend my spirit; in thee have I always trusted; receive me, therefore, my blessed Redeemer.* The fatal stroke was then given, and a period put to the temporary pains of this life.

IV. Lord FREDERIC DE BILE.

This nobleman suffered as a protestant and a promoter of the late war: he met his fate with serenity, and only said he wished well to the friends whom he left behind, forgave the enemies who caused his death, denied the authority of the emperor in that country, acknowledged Frederic to be the only true king of Bohemia, and hoped for salvation in the merits of his blessed Redeemer.

V. Lord HENRY OTTO.

When lord Otto first came upon the scaffold, he seemed greatly confounded, and said, with some asperity, as if addressing himself to the emperor, "Thou tyrant Ferdinand, your throne is established in blood; but if you kill my body, and disperse my members, they shall still rise up in judgement against you." He then was silent, and having walked about for some time, seemed to recover his fortitude, and growing calm, said to a gentleman who stood near, I was, a few minutes since, greatly discomposed, but now I feel my spirits revive; God be praised for affording me such comfort; death no longer appears as the king of terrors, but seems to invite me to participate of some unknown joys. Kneeling before the block, he said, Almighty God! to thee I commend my soul, receive it for the sake of Christ, and admit it to the glory of thy presence. The executioner put this nobleman to considerable pain, by making several strokes before he severed the head from the body.

VI. The Earl of RUGENIA.

Superior abilities, and unaffected piety, distinguished this nobleman. On the scaffold he said, "We who drew our swords, fought only to preserve the liberties of the people, and to keep our consciences sacred: as we were overcome, I am better pleased at the sentence of death than if the emperor had given me life; for I find that it pleases God to have his truth defended, not by our swords, but by our blood." He then went boldly to the block, saying, *I shall now be speedily with Christ*, and received the crown of martyrdom with great courage.

VII. Sir GASPER KAPLITZ.

This gentleman was 86 years of age. When he came to the place of execution, he addressed the principal officer thus: "Behold a miserable ancient man, who has often entreated God to take him out of this wicked world, but could not till now obtain his desire; for God reserved me till these years to be a spectacle to the world, and a sacrifice to himself: therefore God's will be done." One of the officers told him, in consideration of his great age, that if he would only ask pardon he would immediately receive it. "Ask pardon, exclaimed he, I will ask pardon of God whom I have frequently offended; but not of the emperor to whom I never gave any offence: should I sue for pardon, it might be justly suspected I

had committed some crime for which I deserved this condemnation. No, no, as I die innocent and with a clear conscience. I would not be separated from this noble company of martyrs." So saying, he resigned his neck to the block.

VIII. PROCOPIUS DORZECKI.

This gentleman on the scaffold said, "We are now under the emperor's judgement; but in time he shall be judged, and we shall appear as witnesses against him." Then taking a gold medal from his neck, which was struck when the elector Frederic was crowned king of Bohemia, he presented it to one of the officers; at the same time uttering these words, "As a dying man, I request, if ever king Frederic is restored to the throne of Bohemia, that you will give him this medal. Tell him, for his sake, I wore it till death, and that now I willingly lay down my life for God and my king." He then laid down his head, and submitted to the fatal blow.

IX. DIONYSIUS ZERVIUS.

This gentleman was brought up a Roman catholic, but had embraced the reformed religion for some years. When upon the scaffold the jesuits used their utmost endeavours to make him recant and return to his former faith, but he paid not the least attention to their exhortations. Kneeling down he said, *They may destroy my body, but cannot injure my soul, that I commend to my Redeemer*; and then patiently submitted to martyrdom, being at that time fifty-six years of age.

X. VALENTINE COCKAN.

This was a person of considerable fortune and eminence, perfectly pious and honest, but of trifling abilities; yet his imagination seemed to grow bright, and his faculties to improve on death's approach, as if the impending danger refined the understanding. Just before he was beheaded, he expressed himself

with such eloquence, energy, and precision, as greatly amazed those who knew his former deficiency in point of capacity.

The souls dark cottage, batter'd, and decay'd, Lets in new lights, through chinks, which time has made; Leaving the old, both worlds at once they view, Who stand upon the threshold of a new.

XI. TOBIAS STEFFICK.

This gentleman was remarkable for his affability and serenity of temper. He was perfectly resigned to his fate, and a few minutes before his death spoke in this singular manner, "I have received, during the whole course of my life, many favours from God, ought I not therefore chearfully to take one bitter cup, when he thinks proper to present it? Or rather, ought I not to rejoice that it is his will I should give up a corrupted life for that of immortality?"

XII. Dr. JESSENIUS.

This able student in physic was accused of having spoken disrespectful words of the emperor, of treason in swearing allegiance to the elector Frederic, and of heresy in being a protestant: for the first accusation he had his tongue cut out, for the second he was beheaded; and for the third, and last, he was quartered, and the respective parts exposed on poles.

XIII. CHRISTOPHR CHOBER.

This gentleman, as soon as he stepped upon the scaffold, said, "I come in the name of God, to die for his glory; I have fought the good fight, and finished my course; so, executioner, do your office." The executioner obeyed, and he instantly received the crown of martyrdom. XIV. JOHN SHULTIS.

No person ever lived more respected, or died more lamented, than this gentleman. The only words he spoke before he received the fatal stroke were, "The righteous seem to die in the eyes of fools, but they only go to rest. Lord Jesus! thou hast promised that those who come to thee shall not be cast off. Behold, I am come; look on me, pity me, pardon my sins, and receive my soul."

XV. MAXIMILIAN HOSTIALICK.

This gentleman was famed for his learning, piety, and humanity. When he first came on the scaffold, he seemed exceedingly terrified at the approach of death. The officer took notice of his agitation. He said, "Ah! Sir, now the sins of my youth crowd upon my mind; but I hope God will enlighten me, lest I sleep the sleep of death, and lest mine enemies say, we have prevailed." Soon after he said, "I hope my repentance is sincere, and will be accepted, in which case the blood of Christ will wash me from my crimes." He then told the officer he should repeat the song of Simeon; at the conclusion of which the executioner might do his duty. He accordingly said, *Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation*; at which words his head was struck off at one blow.

XVI. JOHN KUTNAUR.

When this gentlemen came to the place of execution, a jesuit said to him, "Embrace the Roman catholic faith, which alone can save and arm you against the terrors of death." To which he replied. "Your superstitious faith I abhor, it leads to perdition, and I wish for no other arms against the terrors of death, than a good conscience." The jesuit turned away, saying sarcastically, *The protestants are impenetrable rocks*. You are mistaken, said Kutnaur, it is Christ that is the rock, and we are firmly fixed upon him.

This person not being born independent, but having acquired a fortune by a mechanical employment, was ordered to be hanged. Just before he was turned off, he said, "I die, not for having committed any crime, but for following the dictates of my conscience, and defending my country and religion."

XVII. SIMEON SUSSICKEY.

Sussickey was father-in-law to Kutnaur, and like him, was ordered to be executed on a gallows. He went chearfully to death, and appeared impatient to be executed, saying, "Every moment delays me from entering into the kingdom of Christ."

XVIII. NATHANIEL WODNIANSKEY.

This person was hanged for having supported the protestant cause, and the election of Frederic to the crown of Bohemia. At the gallows the jesuits did all in their power to induce him to renounce his faith. Finding their endeavours ineffectual, one of them said, If you will not adjure your heresy, at least repent of your rebellion. To which Wodnianskey replied, "You take away our lives under a pretended charge of rebellion; and not content with that, seek to destroy our souls. *Glut yourselves with blood and be satisfied, but tamper not with our consciences.*"

Wodnianskey's own son then approached the gallows, and said to his father, "Sir, if life should be offered to you on condition of apostasy, I entreat you to remember Christ, and reject such pernicious overtures." 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 that constancy of which I shall leave them an example." He had no sooner concluded these words, than he was turned off, receiving the crown of martyrdom with great fortitude.

XIX. WENCESLAUS GISBITZKEY.

This person, during his whole confinement, had great hopes of life given him, which made his friends fear for the safety of his soul. He, however, continued stedfast in his faith, prayed fervently at the gallows, and met his fate with singular resignation.

XX. MARTIN FOSTER.

This was an ancient cripple; the accusations against whom were being charitable to heretics, and lending money to the elector Frederic. His great wealth, however, seems to have been his principal crime; and that he might be plundered of his treasures, was the occasion of his being ranked in this illustrious list of martyrs.

CHAP. VI.

Of the General Confiscation of the Protestants Effects in Bohemia, and the Various Subsequent Oppressions.

SOON after the execution of the twenty noblemen and gentlemen at Prague, an edict passed to confiscate the effects of the protestants in Bohemia, either in the whole or in part; that is, such as had borne arms were to forfeit all they were worth, and those who had not, half of what they possessed. At the same time the protestants were strictly prohibited from selling, conveying away, making over, or spoiling any of their goods, or destroying their property, to prevent its falling to the emperor.

With respect to the mode of giving up the property, it was thus: Every protestant was obliged on pain of death, to appear before the magistrate of the district in which he lived, and make oath of what he was worth, when the whole, or the half was taken, according to the assessment. The sum of money paid into the emperor's treasury by means of this edict was surprizing, considering how frequently those of the reformed religion had been robbed, pillaged, and defrauded; but such was the unremitting industry, and astonishing diligence of the Bohemian protestants, that they surmounted every difficulty, and by their commercial spirit, overcame that poverty to which they were so frequently reduced.

In one of these districts, while the examinations were carrying on, some of the Bohemians pleaded their total innocence in every respect whatever, as far as regarded the emperor or the state. To which the magistrate jocosely replied, "Though you may not have actual sins, yet you are guilty of the original sins of heresy and wealth, and therefore cannot be exempted from punishment." This may serve to shew the opinion the Roman catholics themselves entertained of the emperor's proceedings. By such cruel means many families were reduced from opulence to poverty; and several who formerly kept good houses, and had servants to command, were compelled by bitter necessity, to enter into the service of Roman catholics, and became vassals to their very destroyers. Such revolutions in life, however, are not to be deemed real misfortunes, since they are meant by the Almighty as trials, or are sent as scourges for our crimes or follies. Misfortunes have, besides, these advantages; they teach us patience, humility, fortitude, forbearance, and temperance, and furnish us with the means of knowing ourselves.

> One week's extremity will teach us more, Than long prosperity has done before; Death is forgotten in our easy state, But troubles mind us of our final fate; The doing ill affects us not with fears, But suffering ill brings sorrow, woe, and tears.

In order to make the most of the sequestered estates, they were divided into lots, and given at certain stipulated prices to the officers in the Imperial army, instead of their pay; for such was the insatiable temper of the emperor that he would be guilty of any oppression or meanness to gain money, or of any artifice to keep it in his coffers.

Indefatigable in violent proceedings, and ever studying new modes of injustice and oppression, the emperor still continued to act with all possible illegality and cruelty to the protestants by successively publishing edicts:

- 1. To burn all the archives and charters of the kingdom.
- 2. To banish all public school-masters and private tutors who would not go to mass.
- 3. To prevent protestants from suing in courts of law.

These edicts were soon followed by another still more severe, which was to banish all persons who would not conform, in six

months time, to go to mass and confession. Some left the kingdom on account of this edict, but most of the [corrupt] protestants found means to elude it, by bribing the priests to give them certificates that they had been at mass and confession, and thus fallaciously pretended a dissembled apostacy.

One evil action is soon followed by another: this dissimulation, which was certainly very wrong, as it amounted to a denial of God in order to deceive the emperor, encouraged the priests to go a step farther. They insinuated to the protestants that they might retain their own religion; and yet for the peace of the state, and quiet of themselves, acknowledge the popish bishops to be the visible heads of the church. This maxim many came into; and thus, by making one specious delusion succeed another, the priests seduced many of the protestants from their faith before they were aware of their danger.

The emperor, being informed that many Roman catholic noblemen, gentlemen, and mechanics of Bohemia had protestant wives, issued a proclamation, commanding such wives, unless they would change their religion, to quit the kingdom. This proclamation, which was not relished by the Roman catholics themselves, was near creating a dangerous insurrection, which the emperor being apprized of, altered it, ordering that the protestant wives of Roman catholics might reside in Bohemia during their husband's lives; but on the demise of their consorts they were to be banished, unless they embraced the Romish persuasion. As the emperor well knew that many protestants still continued in Bohemia, under various pretences, disguises, and concealments, he ordered the following six articles to be proclaimed in every city, town, and village of the kingdom, to prevent, as much as possible, the encrease of protestantism.

1. That whosoever is not of the religion of the sovereign of Bohemia, shall not enjoy any place or post of profit or trust, or be permitted to carry on any trade, commerce, or manufactory.

- 2. That whosoever shall suffer privately in his house, preaching or the performance of any religious ceremony, such as baptism, matrimony, &c. shall forfeit half his property, and be imprisoned six months: but if he protects or harbours a preacher, he shall lose the whole of his goods, and life.
- 3. Those who labour at their occupations on Roman catholic holidays shall suffer a month's imprisonment, and pay ten florins.
- 4. Any will not made by a Roman catholic, shall be null and void.
- 5. No youth shall be bound apprentice, or permitted to learn a trade, unless he is a confirmed Roman catholic.
- 6. If it is discovered that any of the poor in hospitals, almshouses, &c. are not Roman catholics, they shall be turned out from thence, and lose the benefit of the charity, unless they renounce their faith, and become members of the church of Rome.

Besides the publication of these articles, premiums and rewards were offered for the apprehending of concealed protestants, many of whom were betrayed and persecuted by various means.

It being discovered that a small company of protestants used to assemble and perform divine worship in a stable, a scheme was laid to catch them in the midst of the ceremony. This was done, and the windows and doors being closed up, the place was guarded till all the protestants within were famished.

A gentleman who was taken upon information; being asked if he would recant, replied, "Conscience neither will, or can be forced." The magistrate, seeing some soldiers present, said, cut him to pieces, which they did immediately. Some protestants, who had been long imprisoned, petitioned to be executed, saying in the prayer of their petition, they wished for nothing more than to be released by death. This favour, however dreadful, met with a denial, merely because it was requested; a priest going to the gaol, and giving this answer to the prisoners petition: "The emperor does not thirst after your blood, but after the welfare of your souls; besides, your artifice is seen through, you with for the reputation of martyrdom; but you are base heretics, and therefore unworthy of any thing in which ye might glory." These poor protestants were afterwards left to languish out a miserable existence in prison, falling martyrs, in process of time, to the inclemencies of their dungeon.

A protestant surgeon was thrown into a pit filled with adders and snakes, by which he was stung to death. A gentleman who had been betrayed to the jesuits, was put into a loathsome dungeon till his feet rotted off, and he soon after died of a mortification.

Four worthy protestants being apprehended, had their faith assailed by alternate torments, till they expired under them. These torments were to keep them nine days and nights quite naked in an open place, though it was the midst of winter; then to confine them nine days and nights more in a close room, with a great fire in it till they were almost suffocated; and lastly to keep them the same length of time, without any food or drink.

Every one who betrayed a protestant was handsomely rewarded, but every Roman catholic who harboured a protestant, was fined an hundred pieces of silver, or a month's imprisonment for each night's entertainment; and on the repetition of the offence, the offender was himself to be considered in the light of a protestant, and punished accordingly.

Inanimate things were not exempt from the notice of the persecutors, for orders were given, throughout Bohemia;

1. To burn all protestant bibles, prayer books, &c.

- 2. To deface all pictures of John Huss, Jerom of Prague or any other reformer.
- 3. To pull down all statues set up in honour of Frederic, elector Palatine of the Rhine.

The absurdity of popish malice was so great that those who thought proper to give their children the name of Frederic in baptism were obliged to pay a fine, and even after that, were deemed disaffected persons.

Malice, like air unbounded flows, And flaming darts around it throws, Seeking through rage, or making foes.

CHAP. VII.

General Persecutions in Germany.

THE general persecutions in Germany were principally occasioned by the doctrines and ministry of Martin Luther. Indeed, the pope was so terrified at the success of that courageous reformer that he determined to engage the emperor, Charles the Fifth, at any cost, in the scheme to attempt their extirpation.

To this end;

- 1. He gave the emperor two hundred thousand crowns in ready money.
- 2. He promised to maintain twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, for the space of six months, or during a campaign.
- 3. He allowed the emperor to receive one half of the revenues of the clergy of the empire during the war.
- 4. He permitted the emperor to pledge the abbey-lands for five hundred thousand crowns, to assist in carrying on hostilities against the protestants.

Thus prompted and supported, the emperor undertook the extirpation of the protestants, against whom, indeed, he was particularly enraged himself; and for this purpose a formidable army was raised in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

The protestant princes, in the mean time, formed a powerful confederacy, in order to repel the impending blow. A great army was raised, and the command given to the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse. The Imperial forces were commanded by the emperor of Germany in person, and the eyes of all Europe were turned on the event of the war.

At length the armies met, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which the protestants were defeated, and the elector of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse were both taken prisoners. This fatal blow was succeeded by a horrid persecution, the severities of which were such that exile might be deemed a mild fate, and concealment in a dismal wood pass for happiness. In such times a cave is a palace, a rock a bed of down, and wild roots delicacies.

Those who were taken experienced the most cruel tortures that infernal imaginations could invent; and by their constancy evinced that a real Christian can surmount every difficulty, and despise every danger, to acquire a crown of martyrdom.

HENRY VOES and JOHN ESCH, being apprehended as protestants, were brought to examination; when Voes, answering for himself and the other, gave the following answers to some questions asked by a priest, who examined them by order of the magistracy.

Priest. Were you not both, some years ago, Augustine friars? *Voes.* Yes.

Priest. How came you to quit the bosom of the church of Rome? *Voes.* On account of her abominations.

Priest. In what do you believe?

Voes. In the Old and New Testament.

Priest. Do you believe in the writings of the fathers, and the decrees of the councils?

Voes. Yes, if they agree with scripture.

Priest. Did not Martin Luther seduce you both?

Voes. He seduced us even in the very same manner as Christ seduced the apostles; that is, he made us sensible of the frailty of our bodies, and the value of our souls.

This examination was sufficient; they were both condemned to the flames, and soon after, suffered with that manly fortitude which becomes Christians, when they receive a crown of Martyrdom.

HENRY SUTPHEN, an eloquent and pious preacher, was taken out of his bed in the middle of the night, and compelled to

walk barefoot a considerable way, so that his feet were terribly cut. He desired a horse, but his conductors said, in derision, *A horse for an heretic; no, no, heretics may go barefoot*. When he arrived at the place of his destination, he was condemned to be burnt; but during the execution, many indignities were offered him, as those who attended, not content with what he suffered in the flames, cut and slashed him in a most terrible manner.

Many were murdered at Halle; Middleburgh being taken by storm, all the protestants were put to the sword, and great numbers were burned at Vienna.

An officer being sent to put a minister to death, pretended, when he came to the clergyman's house, that his intentions were only to pay him a visit. The minister, not suspecting the intended cruelty, entertained his supposed guest in a very cordial manner. As soon as dinner was over, the officer said to some of his attendants, "Take this clergyman, and hang him." The attendants themselves were so shocked, after the civility they had seen, that they hesitated to perform the commands of their master; and the minister said, "Think what a sting will remain on your conscience, for thus violating the laws of hospitality." The officer, however, insisted upon being obeyed, and the attendants, with reluctance, performed the execrable office of executioners.

PETER SPENGLER, a pious divine of the town of Schalet, was thrown into the river and drowned. Before he was taken to the banks of the stream, which was to become his grave, they led him to the market-place, that his crimes might be proclaimed; which were not going to mass, not making confession, and not believing in transubstantiation. After this ceremony was over, he made a most excellent discourse to the people, and concluded with a kind of hymn of a very edifying nature, which it would be unnecessary to translate, as the following poem in the English language, on the same subject, and from the same text, preserves the sentiments.

THE CHRISTIAN UNION. JOHN, Chap. XVII Ver. 21.

That they all may become one as thou father art in me and I in thee; that they also may become one in Us.

Jesus, thy name is sweet to me, For worlds I would not part from thee; Of all the names in heaven above, There's none replete like thine with love.

In THEE immortal beauties shine, In THEE the united brethren join; In THEE all ransomed souls delight, In THEE thy peoples hearts unite.

Thou art our God, and thou alone, May we in spirit all be one; One with each other let us be, And one with Christ eternally.

Thy people, Lord, are of one mind, And each to each in hearts conjoined; Nor earth, nor hell, nor depth, nor height, Their fellowship can disunite.

Jesus, Jehovah's only Son, With God the Father thou art one; So are thy children one with thee, In sweet and endless unity.

The world may all to pieces break, The earth and seas endure a rack; The church of Christ for ever stands, Immovable in Jesus' hands.

A protestant gentleman being ordered to lose his head for not renouncing his religion, went to the place of execution. A friar came to him, and said these words in a low tone of voice, "As you have a great reluctance publicly to abjure your faith, whisper your confession into my ear, and I will absolve your sins." To this the gentleman loudly replied, "Trouble me not, friar, I have confessed my sins to God, and obtained absolution through the merits of Jesus Christ." Then turning to the executioner, he said, "Let me not be pestered with these men, but perform your duty." On which his head was struck off at a single blow.

Wolfgang Scuch and John Huglin, two worthy ministers, were burned, as was Leonard Keyser, a student of the university of Wertemburgh: and George Carpenter, a Bavarian, was hanged for refusing to recant protestantism.



CHAP. VIII.

Continuation of General Persecutions in Germany.

THE Persecutions in Germany having subsided many years, again broke out in 1630, on account of the war between the emperor and the king of Sweden, for the latter was a protestant prince, and consequently the protestants of Germany espoused his cause, which greatly exasperated the emperor against them.

The Imperialists having laid siege to the town of Passewalk, (which was defended by the Swedes) took it by storm, and committed the most horrid cruelties on the occasion. They pulled down the churches, burnt the houses, pillaged the properties, massacred the ministers, put the garrison to the sword, hanged the towns-men, ravished the women, smothered the children; &c. &c.

A most bloody tragedy was transacted at Magdeburg, in the year 1631. The generals Tilly and Pappenheim, having taken that protestant city by storm, upwards of twenty thousand persons, without distinction of rank, sex, or. age, were slain during the carnage, and six thousand were drowned in attempting to escape over the river Elbe. After this fury subsided, the remaining inhabitants were stripped naked, severely scourged, had their ears cropped, and being yoked together like oxen, were turned adrift.

The town of Hoxter was taken by the popish army, and all the inhabitants as well as the garrison were put to the sword; when the houses being set on fire, the bodies were consumed in the flames.

At Griphenburg, when the Imperial forces prevailed, they shut up the senators in the senate-chamber, and surrounding it by lighted straw, suffocated them.

Franhendal surrendered upon articles of capitulation, yet the inhabitants were as cruelly used as at other places, and at Heidelburg many were shut up in prison and starved.

The cruelties used by the Imperial troops under count Tilly in Saxony, are thus enumerated:

Half strangling, and recovering the persons again repeatedly.

Rolling sharp wheels over the fingers and toes.

Pinching the thumbs in a vice.

Forcing the most filthy things down the throat, by which many were choaked.

Tying cords round the head so tight that the blood gushed out of the eyes, nose, ears and mouth.

Fastening burning matches to the fingers, toes, ears, arms, legs, and even tongue.

Putting powder in the mouth and setting fire to it, by which the head was shattered to pieces. Tying bags of powder to all parts of the body, by which the person was blown up.

Drawing cords backwards and forwards through the fleshy parts.

Making incisions with bodkins and knives in the skin.

Running wires through the nose, ears, lips, &c.

Hanging protestants up by the legs, with their heads over a fire, by which they were smoak dried.

Hanging up by one arm till it was dislocated.

Hanging upon hooks by the ribs.

Forcing people to drink till they burst.

Baking many in hot ovens.

Fixing weights to the feet, and drawing up several with pullies. Tearing with wild horses.

Drawing by the heels through the streets.

Hanging, Strangling, Stifling, Burning, Roasting, Broiling, Stabbing, Crucifying, Frying, Immuring, Racking, Poisoning, Ravishing, Cutting off tongue, Ripping open nose, ears, &c., Breaking the bones, Sawing off the limbs, Rasping off the flesh, Hacking to pieces and Drowning.

These enormous cruelties will be a perpetual stain on the memory of count Tilly, who not only permitted, but even commanded his troops to put them in practice. Whenever he came, the most horrid barbarities and cruel depredations ensued: famine and conflagration marked his progress; for he destroyed all the provisions he could not take with him, and burnt all the towns before he left them; so that the full result of his conquests were murder, poverty, and desolation.

An aged and pious divine they stripped naked, tied him on his back upon a table, and fastened a large fierce cat upon his belly. They then pricked and tormented the cat in such a manner, that the creature, with rage tore his belly open, and gnawed his bowels.

Another minister, and his family were seized by these inhuman monsters; when they ravished his wife and daughter before his face, stuck his infant son upon the point of a lance, and then surrounding him with his whole library of books, they set fire to them, and he was consumed in the midst of the flames.

In Hesse-Cassel some of the troops entered an hospital, in which were principally mad women, when stripping all the poor wretches naked, they made them run about the streets for their diversion and then put them to death.

In Pomerania some of the Imperial troops entering a small town, seized upon all the young women and girls of upwards of ten years, and then placing their parents in a circle, they ordered them to sing psalms while they ravished their children, or else they swore they would cut them to pieces afterwards. They then took all the married women who had young children, and threatened if they did not consent to the gratification of their lusts, to burn their children before their faces in a large fire which they had kindled for that purpose.

A band of count Tilly's soldiers meeting with a company of merchants belonging to Basil, who were returning from the great market of Strasburg, they attempted to surround them: all escaped, however, but ten, leaving their properties behind. The ten who were taken begged hard for their lives; but the soldiers murdered

them, saying, You must die because you are heretics, and have got no money.

The same soldiers met with two countesses, who, together with some young ladies, the daughters of one of them, were taking an airing in a landau. The soldiers spared their lives, but treated them with great indecency, and having stripped them all stark naked, bade the coachman drive on.

By the means and mediation of Great-Britain, peace was at length restored to Germany, and the protestants remained unmolested for several years, still some new disturbances broke out in the Palatinate which were thus occasioned:

The great church of the Holy Ghost, at Heidelburg, had, for many years, been shared equally by the protestants and Roman catholics, in this manner: the protestants performed divine service is the nave or body of the church; and the Roman catholics celebrated mass in the choir. Though this had been the custom time immemorial, the elector Palatine, at length, took it into his head not to suffer it any longer, declaring that as Heidelburg was the place of his residence, and the church of the Holy Ghost, the cathedral of his principal city, divine service ought to be performed only according to the rites of the church of which he was a member. He then forbade the protestants to enter the church, and put the papists in possession of the whole.

The aggrieved people applied to the protestant powers for redress, which so much exasperated the elector that he suppressed the Heidelburg catechism. The protestant powers, however, unanimously agreed to demand satisfaction, as the elector, by this conduct, had broke an article of the treaty of Westphalia; and the courts of Great Britain, Prussia, Holland &c. sent deputies to the elector, to represent the injustice of his proceedings, and to threaten, unless he changed his behaviour to the protestants in the Palatinate, that they would treat their Roman catholic subjects with the greatest severity. Many violent disputes took place between the protestant powers, and those of the elector, and these were greatly augmented by the following incident: the coach of the Dutch minister standing before the door of the resident sent by the prince of Hesse, the host was, by chance carrying to a sick person; the coachman took not the least notice, which those who attended the host observing, pulled him from his box, and compelled him to kneel. This violence to the domestic of a public minister was highly resented by all the protestant deputies; and still more to heighten these differences, the protestants presented to the deputies three additional articles of complaint.

- 1. That military executions were ordered against all protestant shoe-makers who should refuse to contribute to the masses of St. Crispin.
- 2. That the protestants were forbid to work on popish holidays, even in harvest-time, under very heavy penalties, which occasioned great inconveniences, and considerably prejudiced public business.
- 3. That several protestant ministers had been dispossessed of their churches, under pretence of their having been originally founded, and built by Roman catholics.

The protestant deputies, at length, became so serious as to intimate to the elector that force of arms should compel him to do the justice he denied to their representations. This menace brought him to reason, as he well knew the impossibility of carrying on a war against the powerful states who threatened him. He, therefore, agreed that the use of the body of the church of the Holy Ghost should be restored to the protestants. He restored the Heidelburg catechism, put the protestant ministers again in possession of the churches of which they had been dispossessed, allowed the protestants to work on popish holidays; and ordered that no person should be molested for not kneeling when the host passed by. These things he did through fear; but to shew his resentment to his protestant subjects, in other circumstances where protestant states had no right to interfere, he totally abandoned Heidelburg, removing all the courts of justice to Manheim, which was entirely inhabited by Roman catholics. He likewise built a new palace there, making it his place of residence; and being followed by the Roman catholics of Heidelburg, Manheim became a flourishing place.

In the mean time the protestants of Heidelburg sunk into poverty and many of them became so distressed, as to quit their native country, and seek an asylum in protestant states. A great number of these coming into England in the time of queen Anne, were cordially received here, and met with a most humane assistance, both by public and private donations.

In 1732, above thirty thousand protestants were, contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, driven from the archbishopric of Saltzburg. They went away in the depth of winter, with scarce cloaths to cover them, and without provisions, not having permission to take any thing with them. The cause of these poor people not being publicly espoused by such states as could obtain them redress, they emigrated to various protestant countries, and settled in places where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion, without hurting their consciences, and live free from the trammels of popish superstition, and the chains of papal tyranny.

CHAP. IX.

Account of the Lives, Sufferings and Martyrdoms of JOHN HUSS and JEROM of PRAGUE; who were both Burnt to Death at Constance in Germany, for Maintaining the Doctrines of WICKLIFFE, the English Reformist.

JOHN HUSS [Jan Hus] was born at Hussenitz, a village in Bohemia, about the year 1380. His parents gave him the best education their circumstances would admit, and having acquired a tolerable knowledge of the classics at a private school, he was removed to the university of Prague, where he soon gave strong proofs of his mental powers, and was remarkable for his diligence and application to study.

In 1408 Huss commenced bachelor of divinity, and was afterwards successively chosen pastor of the church of Bethlehem in Prague, and dean and rector of the university. In these stations he discharged his duties with great fidelity, and became, at length, so conspicuous for his preaching, (which was in conformity with the doctrines of Wickliffe) that it was not likely he could long escape the notice of the pope and his adherents, against whom he inveighed with no small degree of asperity.

The English reformist Wickliffe had so kindled the light of reformation that it began to illumine the darkest corners of popery and ignorance. His doctrines spread into Bohemia, and were well received by great numbers of people, but by none so particularly as John Huss, and his zealous friend and fellow-martyr, Jerom of Prague.

Queen Anne, the wife of Richard II. was daughter to the emperor Charles IV. and sister to Winceslaus, king of Bohemia. She was a princess of great piety and knowledge, and had strongly patronized Wickliffe. Upon her death in 1394, several of her attendants, returning into Bohemia, carried with them many of Wickliffe's books, which were read with much avidity, and tended greatly to promote the cause of the reformation.

The archbishop of Prague, finding the reformists daily encreasing, issued a decree to suppress the farther spreading of Wickliffe's writings: but this had an effect quite different to what he expected, for it stimulated the friends of these doctrines to greater zeal, and almost the whole university united in propagating them.

Huss had considerable influence in the university, 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 in that seminary, by which many Germans had been obliged to leave it and retire to Leipsic, who afterwards became, on that account, his most inveterate enemies.

Being strongly attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, Huss strongly opposed the decree of the archbishop, who, however, at length obtained a bull from the pope, giving him commission to prevent the publishing of Wickliffe's doctrines in his province. By virtue of this bull, the archbishop condemned the writings of Wickliffe: he also proceeded against four doctors who had not delivered up the copies of that divine, and prohibited them, notwithstanding their privileges to preach to any congregation. Dr. Huss, with some other members of the university, protested against these proceedings; and entered an appeal from the sentences of the archbishop.

The affair being made known to the pope, he granted a commission to cardinal Colonna, to cite John Huss to appear personally at the court of Rome, to answer the accusations laid against him; of preaching both errors and heresies. Dr. Huss desired to be excused from a personal appearance; and was so greatly favoured in Bohemia that king Winceslaus, the queen, the nobility, and the university, desired the pope to dispense with such an appearance; and also that he would not suffer the kingdom of

Bohemia to lie under the accusation of heresy, but permit them to preach the gospel with freedom in their places of worship.

Three proctors appeared for Dr. Huss before cardinal Colonna. They endeavoured to excuse his absence, and said they were ready to answer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared Huss contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly. The proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed four cardinals to examine the process: these commissioners confirmed the former sentence, and extended the excommunication, not only to Huss, but to all his friends and followers.

From this unjust sentence Huss appealed to a future council, but without success; and notwithstanding so severe a decree, and an expulsion in consequence from his church in Prague, he retired to Hussenitz, his native place, where he continued to promulgate his new doctrine, both from the pulpit, and with the pen.

The letters which he wrote at this time were very numerous; and he compiled a treatise, in which he maintained that reading the books of protestants could not be absolutely forbidden. He wrote in defence of Wickliffe's book on the Trinity; and boldly declared against the vices of the pope, the cardinals, and the clergy of those corrupt times. He caused a writing to be fixed on the church of Bethlehem, charging the Roman catholic clergy with the following errors:

- 1. Of saying that we ought to pay adoration to the pope.
- 2. That the priests can remit the pain and guilt of sin.
- 3. That every one must obey his superiors, whether their commands are just or unjust.
- 4. That every excommunication, just or unjust, binds the excommunicated.

He wrote also many other books, all of which were penned with such strength of argument, as greatly to facilitate the spreading of his doctrines.

The persecutions against the protestants in England had been carried on for some time, and the most cruel scenes were exhibited. They now extended as far as Germany and Bohemia, where Dr. Huss and Jerom of Prague, were particularly marked out to suffer death in the cause of religion.

In the month of November, in the year 1414, a general council was assembled at Constance,* in Germany, in order, as was

^{*} This council was one of the most important events of the fifteenth century, and the greatest synod, perhaps, that ever was held, considering the dignity and number of princes, prelates, and doctors who assisted at it, after the example of the emperor himself. As a matter of curiosity we shall lay the particulars before our readers. According to the lists made at the emperor's arrival, by his order, there were above one hundred thousand foreigners then in and about the city. Not a kingdom, republic, state, and scarce a city or community in Europe, but had its ambassadors or deputies at it. Thirty-six thousand beds were set up for new comers, and at one time were no less than thirty thousand horse in the city. The pope had six hundred persons in his retinue, and the emperor four thousand. There were thirty cardinals, who, with four patriarchs and two of the pope's legates, had full one thousand two hundred attendants. Here were twenty-seven archbishops, two hundred and six bishops, thirty-three titular bishops, above one hundred and fifty other prelates, and two hundred and three abbots, who all together may be supposed to have at least five thousand in their retinue. Prelates, priests, and presbyters were reckoned at eighteen thousand: besides which there were eighty thousand laymen, all strangers; fourteen auditors of the rota, twenty-seven prothonotaries, eighteen auditors of the sacred palace, and as many secretaries of the pope, who had two hundred under them; and there were computed to be two hundred and forty-two writers of apostolic bulls, forty-seven writers plenipotentiary, exclusive of one thousand two hundred scribes or writers of other kingdoms, and their servants. The pope and cardinals had one hundred and twenty-three attorneys, and two hundred and seventy-three proctors, with each a man to wait on him: there were four hundred and forty-four doctors of divinity and law, with their servants, exclusive of sixty-five heralds at arms, virgers of the consistory, beadles and other petty officers; with

pretended, for the sole purpose of determining a dispute then depending between three persons who contended for the papacy; but the real motive was to crush the progress of the reformation.

John Huss was summoned to appear at this council; and to encourage him, the emperor sent him a safe-conduct, giving him permission freely to come to and return from the council. When Huss received this information, he told the persons who delivered it, "That he desired nothing more than to purge himself publicly of the imputation of heresy; and that he esteemed himself happy in having so fair an opportunity of it, as at the council to which he was summoned to attend."

Towards the latter end of November, Huss set out on his journey to Constance, accompanied by two Bohemian noblemen, who were among the most eminent of his disciples, and who followed him merely through respect and affection. He caused some placards, or writings, to be fixed upon the gates of the churches of Prague, in which he declared that he went to the

above one thousand persons in their retinue. The attendants of the laity were numerous in proportion: the emperor, the four electors present, with other sovereign princes, dukes, marquisses, and burgroves, one hundred and twenty-eight counts, six hundred barons, &c. had upwards of four thousand men for their guard. There were also one hundred and six envoys, or deputies, from several places, with about one thousand six hundred in their retinue; above six hundred gentlemen, and twenty-three thousand knights and military officers, with their servants; and the garrison consisted of about two thousand. There were likewise eightyfarriers, eighty-eight carpenters and blacksmiths, six sixty-five apothecaries, one thousand six hundred barbers, two hundred and fortytwo bankers, one hundred and twenty-two shoe-makers, two hundred and twenty-eight tayors (all masters) with the journeymen of each; and three hundred vintners, and victuallers, with their drawers, &c.-This famous council, which lasted four years and forty-five sessions, made that infamous canon, "That faith is not to be kept with heretics, nor with those suspected of heresy." and it asserted the authority of a council to be above that of a pope.

council to answer all allegations that might be made against him. He also declared, in all the cities through which he passed that he was going to vindicate himself at Constance, and invited all his adversaries to be present on the occasion.

The civilities, and even reverence, which Huss met with on his journey were beyond imagination, The streets, and sometimes the very roads, were lined with people, whom respect, rather than curiosity, had brought together. He was ushered into the towns with great acclamations; and it may be said that he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. He could not help expressing his surprize at the treatment he received: "I thought (said he) I had been an outcast. I now see my worst friends are in Bohemia."

As soon as Huss arrived at Constance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. A short time after his arrival came one Stephen Paletz, who was employed by the clergy at Prague to manage the intended prosecution against him. Paletz was afterwards joined by Michael de Cassis, on the part of the court of Rome. These two declared themselves his accusers, and drew up a set of articles against him, which they presented to the pope and the prelates of the council.

It has been already observed that the attendance of Dr. Huss at Constance was by the emperor's own request, who gave him a safe-conduct: notwithstanding which, according to the maxim of the council, that "faith is not to be kept with heretics," when it was known that he was in the city, he was immediately arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace.

This violation of common law and justice was particularly noticed by one of Huss's friends, who urged the Imperial safe-conduct; but the pope replied *he* never granted any safe-conduct, nor was he bound by that of the *emperor*.

While Huss was in confinement, the council acted the part of inquisitors. They condemned the doctrines of Wickliffe, and even ordered his remains to be dug up and burnt to ashes; which orders were strictly complied with.

In the mean time the nobility of Bohemia and Poland strongly interceded for Huss; and so far prevailed as to prevent his being condemned unheard, which had been resolved on by the commissioners appointed to try him.

When he was brought before the council, the articles exhibited against him were read; they were upwards of forty in number, and chiefly extracted from his writings. But the principal allegations against him were his propagating the following opinions:

- 1. That there was no absolute necessity for a visible head of the church.
- 2. That the church was better governed in the apostolic times without one.
- 3. That the title of holiness was improperly given to man.
- 4. That a wicked pope could not possibly be the vicar of Christ; that he denied the very authority on which he pretended to act.
- 5. That liberty of conscience was every person's natural right.
- 6. That ecclesiastical censures, especially such as touched the life of man, had no foundation in scripture.
- 7. That ecclesiastical obedience should have its limits.
- 8. That no excommunication should deter the priest from his duty.
- 9. That preaching was as much required from the minister of religion, as alms-giving from the man of ability; and that neither of them could hide his talent in the earth without incurring the divine displeasure.

These, and many other frivolous allegations, Dr. Huss refuted with a manly eloquence; at the same time recommending himself and his cause to God. After his examination, he was taken from the court, and a resolution was formed by the council to burn him as an heretic if he would not retract. He was then committed to a filthy prison, where, in the day-time, he was so laden with fetters

on his legs that he could hardly move; and every night he was fastened by his hands to a ring against the wall of the prison.

After continuing some days in this situation, many noblemen of Bohemia interceded in his behalf. They drew up a petition for his release, (at least upon bail) the substance of which was as follows: "That Dr. John Huss, freely, and of his own accord, came to Constance under the emperor's safe conduct, and that against law and reason he had been imprisoned before he is heard, and at present is greatly tormented with hunger, thirst, and fetters; though formerly, at the council of Pisa, held in the year 1410, those who were declared heretics were allowed their liberty. But Dr. John Huss, though neither convicted nor condemned, has been imprisoned and cruelly treated: and though the king of Bohemia and nobles here present have most earnestly desired and required that his safe-conduct might not be violated, and that the said Dr. John Huss might be publicly heard, he being ready to tender a reason of his faith. But the said John Huss is greatly distressed with fetters and irons, and so weakened with hunger and thirst that his life is in great danger: wherefore we most earnestly desire, that for the honour of the safe-conduct granted him by the king, and for the preservation of the honour of the kingdom of Bohemia, and of your own also, you will be pleased to enter upon the affair relating to John Huss, his life being in great danger by his imprisonment if it be longer delayed."

This petition was presented to the council by several of the most distinguished nobles of Bohemia; notwithstanding which, so many enemies had Huss in that court, that not the least attention was paid to it, and the wretched and persecuted reformer was compelled to bear with the punishment inflicted on him by that merciless tribunal.

A few days after this 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 arguments from the word of God, and I will submit my judgment to him." This christian and pious answer had no effect, because he would not take the authority and learning of the council upon trust, without the least shadow of an argument offered. The deputies, therefore, finding they could not make any impression on him, departed, greatly astonished at the strength of his perseverance.

On the 4th of July Dr. Huss was brought, for the last time, before the council. After a long examination he was desired to abjure, which he refused without the least hesitation. The bishop of Lodi then preached a bloody persecuting sermon, (concerning the destruction of heretics) the prologue to his intended punishment. After the close of the sermon his fate was determined, his vindication disregarded, and judgment was pronounced. His books were condemned, and he was declared a manifest heretic.; he was convicted of having taught many heresies and pernicious errors; of having despised the keys of the church and ecclesiastical censures; of having seduced and given scandal to the faithful by his obstinacy, and having rashly appealed to the tribunal of Christ. The council therefore censured him for being obstinate and incorrigible, and ordained, "That he should be degraded from the priesthood, his books publicly burnt, and himself delivered to the secular power."

Huss heard this sentence without the least emotion. At the close of it he kneeled down with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and with all the magnanimity of a primitive martyr, thus exclaimed: "May thy infinite mercy, O my God! pardon this injustice of mine enemies. Thou knowest the injustice of my accusations: how deformed with crimes I have been represented: how I have been oppressed with worthless witnesses, and a false

condemnation; yet O my God! let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs."

These excellent sentences were esteemed as so many expressions of treason, and tendered 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 was painted devils, with this inscription: "A ringleader of heretics."

Our heroic martyr received this mock mitre with an air of unconcern, which seemed to give him dignity rather than disgrace. A serenity, nay even a joy appeared in his looks, which indicated that his soul had cut off many stages of a tedious journey in its way to the realms of everlasting peace.

After the ceremony of degradation was over, the bishops delivered Huss to the emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gates of the church; and on the 6th of July he was led to the suburbs of Constance, to be burnt alive.

On his arrival at the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sung several portions of the Psalms, looked stedfastly towards heaven, and repeated these words: "Into thy hands, O Lord! do I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O most good and faithful God!"

When the chain was put about him at the stake, he said, with a smiling countenance, "My Lord Jesus Christ was bound with a harder chain than this for my sake, and why then should I be ashamed of this old rusty one?"

When the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was so officious as to desire him to abjure. "No, said Huss, I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips I now seal with my blood." He then said to the executioner, "You are now going to burn a Goose, (Huss signifying Goose in the Bohemian language) but in a century you will have a swan whom you can neither roast nor boil." If he was prophetic he must have meant Martin Luther, who shone about an hundred years after, and who had a Swan for his arms.

The flames were now applied to the faggots, when our martyr sang an hymn, with so loud and chearful a voice that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combustibles, and the noise of the multitude. At length his voice was interrupted by the severity of the flames, which soon closed his existence.

The duke of Bavaria ordered the executioner to throw all his cloaths into the flames; after which his ashes were gathered together and cast into the Rhine. Thus fell John Huss, a martyr to the doctrines of the Gospel which Wickliffe had propagated, and which struck so essentially at the root of corrupt religion, and the secular interest of the clergy, that it is little to be wondered at that he, as well as his friend Jerom, should be persecuted with the utmost severity.

While Huss was in prison he wrote several treatises, which were collected together after his death, and published at Nuremburg, in 1588. As was also a second volume, containing a harmony of the four evangelists and commentaries on several of the epistles in the New Testament, &c.

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JEROM of PRAGUE, who was the companion of Dr. Huss, and may be said to be co-martyr with him, was born at Prague, and educated in that university, where he particularly distinguished himself for his great abilities and learning. He likewise visited several other learned seminaries in Europe, particularly the universities of Paris, Heidelburg, Cologne, and Oxford. At the latter place he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, and being a person of uncommon application, he translated many of them into his native language, having, with great pains, made himself master of the English tongue.

On his return to Prague he professed himself an open favourer of Wickliffe, and finding that his doctrines had made a considerable progress in Bohemia, and that Huss was the principal promoter of them, he became an assistant to him in the great work of reformation.

When Huss went to the council of Constance, Jerom very earnestly exhorted him to bear up firmly in the cause he had undertaken; and in particular, to insist strenuously on the corrupt state of the clergy and the necessity of reformation. He added, if he should hear in Bohemia that Huss was overpowered by his adversaries, he would immediately repair to Constance, and furnish him with all the assistance that laid in his power.

Jerom promised no more than what he intended strictly to perform. As soon as he was informed of the difficulties under which Huss laboured, he immediately set out for Constance, notwithstanding he received many pressing letters from Huss, insisting on his putting off the design, as dangerous to himself and unprofitable to the cause of the reformation.

On the 4th of April, 1415, Jerom arrived at Constance, about three months before the death of Huss. He entered the town privately, and consulting with some of the leaders of his party whom he found there, was convinced he could not be of any service to his friend.

Finding that his arrival at Constance was publicly known, and that the council intended to seize him, he thought it most prudent to retire. Accordingly, the next day he went to Iberling, an Imperial town about a mile from Constance. From this place he wrote to the emperor, and proposed his readiness to appear before the council, if he would give him a safe-conduct: but this was refused. He then applied to the council, but met with an answer no less unfavourable than that from the emperor.

Being thus disappointed, Jerom caused papers to be put up in all the public places in Constance, particularly on the doors of the cardinals houses, in which he professed his readiness to appear at Constance in the defence of his character and doctrine, both which, he said, had been greatly defamed. He also declared that if any error should be proved against him, he would, with great readiness retract it; begging only that the faith of the council might be given for his security.

Not receiving any answer to these papers, he set out on his return to Bohemia. He had the precaution to take with him a certificate signed by several of the Bohemian nobility then at Constance, testifying that he had used all prudent means in his power to procure a hearing.

Jerom, however, did not thus escape. He was seized at Hirsaw, by an officer belonging to the duke of Sultbach, who though unauthorized so to act, had little doubt of obtaining thanks from the council for so acceptable a service.

The duke of Sultbach, having Jerom now in his power, wrote to the council for directions how to proceed. The council, after expressing their obligations to the duke, desired him to send the prisoner immediately to Constance. The elector Palatine met him on the way, and conducted him into the city himself, riding on horseback with a numerous retinue, who led Jerome in fetters by a long chain; and immediately on his arrival he was committed to a loathsome dungeon.

Jerom was treated nearly in the same manner as Huss had been, only that he was much longer confined, and shifted from one prison to another. At length, being brought before the council, he desired that he might plead his own cause, and exculpate himself; which being refused him, he broke into the following exclamation.

"What barbarity is this! For three hundred and forty days have I been confined in a variety of prisons. There is not a misery, there is not a want, which I have not experienced. To my enemies you have allowed the fullest scope of accusation: to me, you deny the least opportunity of defence. Not an hour will you now

indulge me in preparing for my trial. You have swallowed the blackest calumnies against me. You have represented me as an heretic, without knowing my doctrine; as an enemy to the faith, before you knew what faith I professed: as a persecutor of priests, before you could have any opportunity of understanding my sentiments on that head. You are a general council: in you centre all this world can communicate of gravity, wisdom, and sanctity: but still you are men, and men are seducible by appearances. The higher your character is for wisdom, the greater ought your care to be, not to deviate into folly. The cause I now plead is not my own cause: it is the cause of men: it is the cause of christians; it is a cause which is to affect the rights of posterity, however the experiment is to be made in my person."

This speech had not the least effect. Jerom was obliged to hear his charge read, which was reduced under the following heads:

- 1. That he was a derider of the papal dignity.
- 2. An opposer of the pope.
- 3. An enemy to the cardinals.
- 4. A persecutor of the prelates.
- 5. And hater of the Christian religion.

To these several charges Jerom answered with an amazing force of elocution and strength of argument. "Now, (said he) wretch that I am! Whither shall I turn me! To my accusers? My accusers are as deaf as adders. To you, my judges? You are all prepossessed by the arts of my accusers."—After this speech Jerom was immediately remanded to his dungeon.

Poggius, a Roman catholic historian, and a great enemy to Jerom, candidly acknowledges that in all he spoke, he said nothing unbecoming a great and wise man. "To confess the truth, (says he

in a letter to his friend at Rome) I never knew the art of speaking carried so near the model of ancient eloquence. It was amazing, with what force of expression, with what fluency of language, and with what excellent reasoning, Jerom answered his adversaries; nor was I less struck with the gracefulness of his manner, the dignity of his action, and the firmness and constancy of his whole behaviour. It grieved me to think so great a man was labouring under so atrocious an accusation. For myself, I enquire not into the merits of it; resting satisfied with the decision of my superiors."

The trial of Jerom was brought on the third day after his accusation, and witnesses were examined in support of the charge. The prisoner was prepared for his defence, which appears almost incredible when we consider he had been three hundred and forty days shut up in loathsome prisons, deprived of day-light, and almost starved for want of common necessaries. But his spirit soared above those disadvantages under which a man less animated would have sunk; nor was he more at a loss for quotations from fathers and ancient authors, than if he had been furnished with the finest library.

The most bigoted of the assembly were unwilling he should be heard, knowing what effect eloquence is apt to have on the minds of the less prejudiced. At length, however, it was carried by the majority, that he should have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in such an exalted strain of moving elocution that the heart of obdurate zeal was seen to melt, and the mind of superstition seemed to admit a ray of conviction. He made an admirable distinction between evidence as resting upon facts, and as supported by malice and calumny. He laid before the assembly the whole tenor of his life and conduct. He observed that the greatest and most holy men had been known to differ in points of speculation, with a view to distinguish truth, not to keep it concealed. He expressed a noble contempt of all his enemies, who would have induced him to retract the cause of virtue and truth.

He entered upon an high encomium on Huss, and declared he was ready to follow him in the glorious track of martyrdom. He then touched upon the most defensible doctrines of Wickliffe; and concluding with observing that it was far from his intention to advance any thing against the state of the church of God; that it was only against the abuse of the clergy he complained: and that he could not help saying, it was certainly impious that the patrimony of the church, which was originally intended for the purpose of charity and universal benevolence, should be prostituted to the pride of the eye, in feasts, popish vestments, and other reproaches to the name and profession of christianity.

Jerom received many interruptions from the impertinence of some, and the inveteracy of others; but he answered every one with so much readiness and vivacity of thought, that at last they were ashamed and he was permitted to finish his defence. His voice was clear and pleasant: pliable to captivate every passion and able to conciliate every affection. In short, he was pitied by his friends, and even admired by his enemies. The trial being over, Jerom received the same sentence that had been passed upon his martyred countryman. In consequence of this he was, in the usual stile of popish affectation, delivered over to the civil power; but as he was a layman he had not to undergo the ceremony of degradation. They had prepared a cap of paper painted with red devils, which being put upon his head, he said, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he suffered death for me, a most miserable sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head; and I, for his sake will wear this cap."

Two days were allowed him in hopes that he would recant; in which time the cardinal of Florence used his utmost endeavours to bring him over. But they all proved ineffectual: Jerom was resolved to seal his doctrine with his blood; and he suffered death with the most distinguished magnanimity. In going to the place of execution he sung several hymns; and when he came to the spot, which was the same where Huss had been burnt, he kneeled down and prayed fervently. He embraced the stake with great chearfulness and resolution; and when the executioner went behind him to set fire to the faggots, he said, "Come here and kindle it before my eyes; for if I had been afraid of it, I had not come to this place, having had so many opportunities of making my escape."

The fire being kindled, he sung an hymn, but was soon interrupted by the flames; and the last words he was heard to say were these:

Hanc animam in flammis offero, Christe, tibi! "This soul, in flames I offer, Christ, to thee!"

Thus died these two Bohemian martyrs, whose blood may be truly said to have been the feed of the reformed church. While to the friendship that subsisted between them may be justly applied the following words of the poet:

Great souls by instinct to each other turn, Demand alliance, and in friendship burn.

BOOK VIII.

History of the Persecutions in the LOW COUNTRIES.

CHAP. I.

Of the Persecutions in the NETHERLANDS, while they were under the Dominion of the Emperor of Germany.

THE light of the gospel having successfully spread over the Netherlands, the pope instigated the emperor to commence a persecution against the protestants; when many thousands fell martyrs to superstitious malice and barbarous bigotry; among whom the most remarkable were the following:

WENDELINUTA, a pious protestant widow, was apprehended on account of her religion, when several monks, unsuccessfully, endeavoured to persuade her to recant. As they could not prevail, a Roman catholic lady of her acquaintance desired to be admitted to the dungeon in which she was confined, and promised to exert herself strenuously towards inducing the prisoner to abjure the reformed religion. When she was admitted to the dungeon, she did her utmost to perform the task she had undertaken; but finding her endeavours ineffectual, she said, *Dear Wendelinuta, if you will not embrace our faith, at least keep the things which you profess secret within your own bosom, and strive to prolong your life*.

To which the widow replied, *Madam, you know not what you say; for with the heart we believe to righteousness, but with the tongue confession is made unto salvation.* As she positively refused to recant, her goods were confiscated, and she was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution a monk held a

cross to her, and bade her kiss and worship God. To which she answered, "*I worship no wooden god, but the eternal God who is in heaven.*" She was then executed, but through the beforementioned Roman catholic lady, the favour was granted that she should be strangled before fire was put to the faggots.

Two protestant clergymen were burnt at Colen. A tradesman of Antwerp named Nicholas, was tied up in a sack, thrown into the river and drowned. Pisiorius, a learned student, was carried to the market of a Dutch village in a fool's coat and committed to the flames.

Sixteen protestants having received sentence to be beheaded, a protestant minister was ordered to attend the execution. This gentleman performed the function of his office with great propriety, exhorted them to repentance, and gave them comfort in the mercies of their Redeemer. As soon as the sixteen were beheaded, the magistrate cried out to the executioner, "There is another stroke remaining yet; you must behead the minister, he can never die at a better time than with such excellent precepts in his mouth, and such laudable examples before him." He was accordingly beheaded, though even many of the Roman catholics themselves reprobated this piece of treacherous and unnecessary cruelty.

GEORGE SCHERTER, a minister of Saltzburg, was apprehended and committed to prison for instructing his flock in the knowledge of the gospel. While he was in confinement he wrote a confession of his faith; soon after which he was condemned, first to be beheaded, and afterwards to be burnt to ashes. In his way to the place of execution he said to the spectators, "That you may know I die a true Christian, I will give you a sign." This was indeed verified in a most singular manner; for after his head was cut off, the body lying a short space of time

with the belly to the ground, it suddenly turned upon the back, when the right foot crossed over the left, as did also the right arm over the left: and in this manner it remained till it was committed to the flames.

A pious tradesman was burnt at Dornick. A gentleman was hanged in Suevia for speaking too freely his religious sentiments. Many were put to death in Brussels for being of the reformed religion. In Louviana, a learned man named Percival was murdered in prison; and Justus Insparg was beheaded for having Luther's sermons in his possession.

GILES TILLEMAN, a cutler of Brussels, was a man of great humanity and piety. Among others he was apprehended as a protestant, and many endeavours were made by the monks to persuade him to recant. He had once, by accident, a fair opportunity of escaping from prison, and being asked why he did not avail himself of it, he replied, "I would not do the keepers so much injury, as they must have answered for my absence had I got away." When he was sentenced to be burnt, he fervently thanked God for granting him an opportunity, by martyrdom, to glorify his name. Perceiving, at the place of execution, a great quantity of faggots, he desired the principal part of them might be given to the poor, saying, a small quantity will suffice to consume me. The executioner offered to strangle him before the fire was lighted, but he would not consent, telling him that he defied the flames: and indeed, he gave up the ghost with such composure amidst them, that he hardly seemed sensible of their effects.

In the years 1543 and 1544, the persecution was carried on throughout all Flanders in a most violent and cruel manner. Some were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, others to perpetual banishment; but most were put to death either by hanging, drowning, immuring, burning, the rack or burying alive.

A fishmonger of Ghent, named MARTIN, had for many years lived a very dissolute life, when the monks of a monastery, which he served with fish, took peculiar delight in his company. Becoming, however, sensible of his errors, he renounced them, embraced the protestant religion, and lived a very pious and exemplary life. This change for the better so greatly exasperated the monks, that they had him apprehended, and finding he would not recant, at their instigation he was condemned to be burnt. At the stake one of the monks said, Martin, unless you again return to the church, and embrace the Roman catholic faith, you will pass from this temporal to an eternal fire. To which he replied, *Was I to do as you advise me, I should be sure of an eternal fire; but while I remain as I am, my sufferings will be over with these temporal flames.*

Two young ladies of rank were burnt at Delden. And at Dornick one Adrian Taylor was beheaded, and his wife being placed in an iron cage, was buried alive in the earth.

A family, consisting of a widow and four children, were apprehended as protestants at Mechlin. On their examination the mother and two eldest sons remained stedfast in their faith; but the younger son and daughter consented to recant. This judgment was then passed: The mother to be imprisoned during life; the two eldest sons to be burnt; and the younger son, with the daughter, to be acquitted, and sent home. This sentence was strictly executed; the younger son and daughter were sent home, and allowed to take possession of the imprisoned parent's effects; the unhappy mother was closely confined, where she soon ended her days through want of fresh air, proper exercise, and necessary food; and the two elder sons received the crown of martyrdom with great fortitude, one of them saying, as soon as the flames touched him, *O what a trifling pain is this, compared to the glory which is to reward it.*

The magistrates of Strasburg, hearing that a minister named PETER BRULY was very busy and successful, issued an order for apprehending him, and commanded the sentinels at the gates very strictly to examine all who attempted to leave the city, that he might not escape. Though the greatest vigilance was used to discover Bruly, yet some humane persons concealed him for the space of three days, and then designed to facilitate his escape, by letting him down from a window in a basket by night, to an open place without the walls of the city. This design was almost effected, when a stone tumbled from the walls just as he reached the ground, and falling on his leg, broke it in a most shocking manner. The noise alarming the guards, they went round and apprehended him, when, instead of repining at what to another might have appeared a misfortune, he exclaimed, in a kind of rapture, "Thank God! for by this accident it seems, he intends I shall stay here to bear witness to the truth of the gospel; I am particularly happy in so distinguishing an honour." He was kept several months in prison, and every endeavour used to persuade him to recant; but the magistrates, finding their labours for that purpose ineffectual, ordered him to be burnt in a slow fire; the excruciating torments of which he bore with a manly fortitude, and gave up his soul with a Christian resignation; hoping, through the merits of his Redeemer, in a glorious resurrection, when:

From every corner of the extended earth, The scattered dust shall join in second birth; The severed particles unite again, And kindred atoms rally into men; The various joints resume their ancient seat, And every limb its former task repeat.

CHAP. II.

Continuation of the Persecutions in the Netherlands, while they were under the Dominion of the Emperor of Germany.

A minister, named MOCE, was condemned to be burnt for his religion; and a friar, at the stake, tied a bag of powder about his neck, which when the flames reached it, blew up, gave a kind of bounce, and shattered the minister's head to pieces: the friar gravely telling the people that the noise they heard was the devil leaving the heretic's body through the force of the flames. To such ridiculous lengths will superstition carry the weak! And such are the absurdities propagated by bigotry!

Another minister was kept a long time in prison, and afflicted with various torments; at length they put out his eyes, pared off the ends of his fingers, and then skinning his head, rubbed it with salt till he expired.

At Antwerp a clergyman, named CHRISTOPHER FABRI, was apprehended, and condemned to be burnt. The majority of the inhabitants of Antwerp being protestants, and Fabri having the affection of all who knew him, a tumult ensued, and an attempt was made to rescue him. The people began the attack by throwing stones at the magistrates, officers, guards, priests, and executioner, which obliged them all to retire. The executioner, however, before he left the stake, took an opportunity to stab Fabri; so that the people, when they came to unbind him from the stake, to their great surprize, found him dead.

FOUR GERMANS, intending to quit their own country and settle in England, were apprehended as protestants in their passage through the Netherlands. These were Nicholas and Barbara his

wife; and Austin, with Marian his wife, who were all imprisoned at Bruges. Nicholas was first tried, and condemned to be burnt. When he came to the stake, he was told he might pray privately; but if he offered to speak to the people, he should be immediately gagged. Forgetting, however, the injunction, and having the emperor Charles V. full in his mind, he suddenly exclaimed, *O Charles, Charles, how long will thy heart be hardened!* On which the magistrates ordered him to be gagged and burnt immediately.

Austin was likewise condemned to the flames, when being at the stake, a monk said, Let me entreat you to recant, and have pity upon your soul. To which Austin replied, *The care I take of my soul I think is evident, by willingly giving my body to be burnt, sooner than sin against my conscience.* Fire being put to the wood, he was soon consumed; and Marian, his wife, was buried alive. With respect to Barbara, the wife of Nicholas, she recanted, and by that means saved her life.

HOSTIUS, a pious protestant, was burnt at Norden, in Friesland for speaking against transubstantiation. Bertrand, a German protestant, having snatched the host from the hands of a priest at Dornick, was tormented with all the cruelties that the most infernal imagination could devise, and then roasted by a slow fire. Soon after, two protestants were beheaded for singing psalms in the vulgar tongue.

JAMES FABER, an aged man, of excellent good sense, but without elocution, being condemned to death, was asked to defend the tenets of the doctrines he followed; when he made this remarkable reply, I cannot satisfy you by reasoning, but I can abide by, and suffer for the gospel: which he soon after did, being burnt for his constancy and stedfastness in truth.

A worthy protestant named GODFRID, being condemned to the flames, died in a most heroic manner. A priest at the stake called out to him, "Recant, and do not die an heretic." To which he replied, "Recant I shall not, but why call me heretic? Take that term back to yourself, and give me the appellation of an unprofitable servant of Christ." The executioner would have strangled him as a favour, before fire was put to the faggots, but he said, "Friend, learn obedience to your superiors, perform your duty exactly, and execute in the most precise manner the sentence passed upon me by the judges, without showing me the least indulgence; for I'll assure you I am not afraid of the flames, and would not, on any account, decline experiencing any torment that might be inflicted for the sake of Christ."

At Lisle the protestants were obliged to be exceedingly secret in their performance of divine worship, and often joined in prayer in garrets, cellars, &c. One of the mos particular places of meeting was the house of Robert Oguire, a pious protestant, who not only encouraged the reformed to meet in his house, but gave them the most salutary practical instructions. The magistrate being informed of these things, and that Baudizon Oguire, the son of the before-mentioned Robert Oguire, was very active in making professions to protestantism, proceeded, with a proper guard, to Oguire's house. When they arrived there, they bound the whole family, Baudizon excepted, who happened to be abroad. In order to apprehend him likewise, they remained quiet in the house till his return, when one of the serjeants opening the door, suddenly seized him, saying at the same time, "Sir, you are welcome," and bound him like the rest. As they passed through the streets, Baudizon pronounced this prayer in an audible voice: "O Lord, almighty God, assist us with thy grace to confess the holy truth, with all purity of heart before men; and grant us fortitude to seal the same with our blood, for the edification of thy servants." In prison they were confined in separate dungeons; and at the expiration of a few days, being brought to examination, the three following articles were exhibited against Robert Oguire:

- 1. You refuse to attend mass.
- 2. You dissuade others from attending it.
- 3. You keep a conventicle, in which erroneous doctrines are preached.

To these articles the accused person boldly replied, according to the respective charges:

- 1. I acknowledge that I always did refuse to attend mass, because I looked upon the ceremony as ridiculous and idolatrous.
- 2. I have dissuaded others from attending mass, because I would not willingly see them run into absurdities, which I myself shunned.
- 3. I have suffered worthy and honest people to meet at my house not to propagate erroneous doctrines, but for their mutual edification; for the doctrines being pure, and consonant to the gospel, tended only to the advancement of God's glory, and the salvation of mankind.

Robert Oguire being removed from the bar, Baudizon was placed at it, and asked what they did at their private meetings. To which he replied, "Whenever we assembled together in the name of Christ, it was our custom first to fall upon our knees, and humbly confess our sins before the divine majesty of the Almighty God, imploring his forgiveness, and soliciting for his grace. This done, we proceeded to pray that the gospel might be purely preached, and properly understood; that the emperor might enjoy all imaginable happiness, you the magistrates of this city prosper, and our enemies reform." The rest of the prisoners avowed their faith with equal fortitude, when they were all ordered to be racked to make them confess the names of every one who usually attended their meetings. This they nobly refused to do, and heroically suffered the most excruciating torments, rather than betray their friends.

In order to intimidate the rest, Robert Oguire and his son Baudizon were ordered to be burnt alive A friar who attended she execution said, "Consider, the hour which is to finish your days is come." To which the father answered, "Praised be the Lord for this happy release from a double confinement: the loathsome prison of enemies, and our own sinful prison of flesh." The friar continued his discourse thus: "Reflect on thy errors, reflect on thy age, and remember that thou hast a soul: save that before it is too late; give ear to me, and I will ensure thy salvation." To which the father replied with indignation, "Presumptuous man, how darest thou presume a power which appertains to God alone? None can forgive my sins, or grant me salvation, but the Almighty, who is in heaven; and it is to him only that I appeal, and refer my cause." The friar then turning to Baudizon, said, "Take pity on thy soul." "Pity, (replied he) don't you perceive what pity I take on it, when I resign my body to the flames for its sake?" When fastened to the stake. Baudizon asked if he might make a confession of his faith? He was answered, that if he would he might confess to a friar; but this he rejected with disdain, and began to sing an applicable portion of the XVIth Psalm, which in the new version is thus translated:

> Protect me from my cruel foes, And shield me, Jehovah, from harm, Because my trust I still repose In thy Almighty arm.

My soul all help but thine doth flight, All Gods but thee disown; Yet can no deeds of mine requite The goodness thou hast shown.

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But thou who strictly virtuous are, And love the thing that's right, To favour always and prefer, Shall be my chief delight. How shall their sorrows be encreased, Who other gods adore. Their bloody offerings I detest, Their very name abhor.

My lot is fallen in that blessed land Where God is truly known; He fills my cup with liberal hand, Tis he supports my throne. In nature's most delightful scene, My happy portion lies; The place of my appointed reign, All other land outvies.

When he had proceeded thus far, the ignorant friar exclaimed, Hear him, hear the blasphemous wretch! This is one of his hymns, this is one of the heretical songs with which he used to beguile the minds of the people. To this curious exclamation Baudizon replied, Simple idiot, are you so totally unacquainted with the Sacred Writings, as not to know what I sung was part of one of David's Psalms? Call ye the writings of that holy penman blasphemies? Can you suppose that any uninspired pen could produce a composition equal to the works of his inspiration? But it is not surprising, that an illiterate and idolatrous bigot should mistake a sacred production for the words of heresy. The friar, being greatly enraged to have his ignorance so publicly detected, desired that fire might be instantly put to the faggots. The executioner complied, and as the flames encreased, Baudizon said aloud, "Almighty God; accept the sacrifice of our bodies, for the sake of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ." He then made a

pause, and in about a minute proceeded thus: "Yet a little while, and we shall enter into the heavenly mansions." When the flames surrounded both father and son, they exclaimed in conjunction, "Lord Jesus Christ, thou Son of God! into thy hands we commend our spirits;" and soon after expired. These two pious martyrs being thus dispatched, the friars began to tamper with the rest of the family, and by their seducing arguments, at length prevailed with Robert Oguire's widow to abjure her faith. After she had signed her abjuration, they persuaded her to attempt bringing her son Martin to recantation. This task she readily undertook, and was soon admitted to her son's dungeon. When Martin found the errand upon which his mother came, he was struck with amazement, and bitterly bewailed her apostacy, exclaiming, Ah! mother, is it possible, that after what my father and brother suffered, you should abjure your religion? Shall the wife and parent of martyrs deny him that redeemed her? How can you expect salvation from a God you have abjured? Oh! that I had been sacrificed to their malice before I had seen this day!" The mother was sensibly touched at his tears and lamentations, and the terrors of her conscience presented to her imagination the enormity of her crime Struck with contrition for the error into which she had run, she burst into tears, saying, "Father of infinite mercies, commiserate me a miserable sinner: cover my transgressions by the righteousness of thy son: receive me again into favour: strengthen me to abide by my first confession, and to remain stedfast therein to my latest breath."

When the friars found that instead of seducing her son, she had returned to her primitive faith, they were much exasperated, and threatened her with death. But she cried, "Satan avaunt; get thee behind me, for thou hast neither part nor portion in me. I will now, 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."

This change was productive of the immediate condemnation of both mother and son to be burnt alive, and their ashes scattered in the air. After the sentence was passed, as they were returning to prison, Martin said, "Blessed be God Almighty, who has granted us this opportunity of triumphing over our enemies. Let us be thankful that we are, like our Redeemer, honoured with persecution, and shall, for his sake, be crowned with martyrdom." A friar who heard these words, replied, "It may now be plainly perceived, vile heretic, that thou art possessed, mind and body, with a devil, as were thy father and brother who are now in hell." To this ridiculous speech, Martin answered, "Your reviling I despise; your malice will stand up in judgement against you, and God will this day turn your curses into blessings before himself and all his angels."

While they remained in prison, previous to the execution, two persons of eminent quality visited the dungeon in which Martin was confined, one of whom addressed him in this manner. "Young man, I have compassion both on your youth and good qualities: be governed by me, save your life; embrace the doctrines of the church of Rome, and I will present you not only with my friendship, but with the sum of an hundred pounds." This proposal Martin rejected with disdain, saying, "Sir, you tempt me with temporal bribes, but do not think me so simple as to forsake an eternal kingdom for the enjoyment of a transitory life. It is too late now to speak of earthly things, I will give ear to none but spiritual expressions." Martin and his mother were soon after carried to the place of execution, where, just as the fire was put to the faggots, the mother said, We are Christians, we do not suffer for murder, theft, or any other crime; but merely because we will not subscribe to more than the word of God warrants us to believe. When the flames reached them, they both cried, Lord Jesus into thy hands we commend our spirits, and soon after expired, as the fire burnt with great fierceness and rapidity.

CHARLES CONNICK, a friar of Ghent, by conversing with some of the reformed clergy, and attentively perusing protestant

books, became at length fully sensible of the errors of the church of Rome, and ashamed that he had so long been the slave of such ridiculous superstitions. The absurdities that principally struck him were:

- 1. That St. Peter was infallible, and received from Christ the keys of heaven and hell, with power to excommunicate, anathematize, or curse people, and to forgive or absolve sins; and from these premises, founded in error, they infer that as St. Peter was the first bishop of Rome, his successors, the popes, must likewise be infallible and have the power to curse those who offend them, or absolve the sins of such as pay their court to the Romish church.
- 2. The supposition of the pope being the universal head of the Christian church, and the supreme rule in state affairs, as well as those which are merely ecclesiastical. Of his being empowered to inaugurate and depose kings and princes, as well as to obtain or excommunicate bishops and priests, &c.
- 3. The belief that the pope can grant indulgences for committing sins, and dispensations for the perpetration of crimes.
- 4. The vain imagination of such a place as purgatory, where souls are purified by fire, before they are qualified to enter into eternal bliss; and the silly supposition that priests, by saying masses, can deliver souls from the fire of purgatory, at the instigation of, and being paid by, the relations or friends of the deceased.
- 5. Prohibiting the laity from reading the holy scriptures, and thus depriving people, not only of the natural liberty of the mind, but preventing them from using that reason with which God has blessed them in the thing that most essentially concerns them, viz. the care of their salvation.
- 6. Receiving the apocrypha into the canon of the authentic scriptures, and believing oral traditions which are enveloped in fables and chimeras.

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- 7. Making seven sacraments instead of the two real ones, viz. Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, the other five being confirmation, penance, extreme unction, taking orders, and marriage.
- 8. The doctrine of transubstantiation.
- 9. The worship of the Virgin Mary, angels, saints, images, &c. and the making offerings and prayers to each.
- 10. The enjoining a state of celibacy, or single life, to their priests.
- 11. The making a distinction between mortal and venial sins, to serve the purposes of avarice and ambition; for if the guilty person is able and willing to pay for a pardon, the sin is called venial, and he receives absolution for his money.
- 12. Auricular confession, in which one sinner hears the sins of another, and pretends to forgive them.
- 13. The injunction of strictly keeping Lent, by abstaining from all kinds of flesh; yet, at the same time, admitting the people to feast in the most luxurious manner, upon the finest fish, dressed in the richest sauces. Such is the affinity between popish divinity and philosophy, and such the ridiculous injunctions which are delivered with so much solemnity, commanded with such authority, and kept so very strictly.
- 14. Saying masses for the dead as well as the living, in order to make a *gain of godliness*; by which theology is turned to a trade, prayers are converted to merchandize, and the imposition supplies the priests with regular annuities.
- 15. The pretence that the fire of purgatory has eight degrees of heat, by which the priests gain considerable sums of money: for they pretend to know the particular degree to which the soul of the deceased is confined, and charge accordingly for the masses by which it is to be released.
- 16. Making it a mortal sin for any person to doubt of the Roman tenets, though ever so ridiculous, absurd, or contradictory to sense and experience.

- 17. The imposition of penance for sin, and the remission of penance for money, by which the *painful* may be exchanged for the *pecuniary* expiation; and the rich, if they sin most, may buy off the punishment, and suffer less than the poor, who sin least.
- 18. Deeming all other religions heretical, and looking upon every one out of the pale of the Roman catholic church as in a state of perdition.
- 19. The persuasion that Roman catholics, who live exemplary lives, have the power of working miracles.
- 20. The canonization of many persons as saints, particularly such as have left large donations to the church.
- 21. Confining men and women in monasteries and convents, and to a state of celibacy, contrary to the order of nature, and the ordinances of God.
- 22. The inhumanity of propagating religion by persecution, which has always been a principal rule, and darling tenet of the church of Rome.
- 23. The cruelty of erecting inquisitions, and other judicial offices, for the sole purpose of fettering the human mind, extorting confessions to serve popish designs, and forcing people to subscribe to and believe religious tenets; to which, in their consciences, they cannot assent.
- 24. Placing a great part of the essence of religion in vain and ridiculous ceremonials, fasts, festivals, processions, pilgrimages, orders, officers, and a variety of other innovations equally absurd, which have crept into the Romish church long since the gospel was delivered by Christ, and his apostles, in its primitive purity.

Reflecting seriously on all these superstitions, defects and errors in the church of Rome, and comparing them with the pure doctrines of the reformed church, Charles Connick, at length, became a zealous protestant. His change was no sooner known,

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than it drew upon him the indignation of the priesthood, who soon had him apprehended.

On his trial he boldly confessed his faith, pointed out the reasons of his change, and nobly declared that he was ready to suffer whatever torments they could inflict, for the sake of the doctrines he had newly embraced. A person in power told him, if he would recant, a canonship should be immediately given him, and that he would take particular care of his future promotion in the church. To this Connick replied, "" Sir, I thank you for your fancied kindness, but cannot accept your offer without offending God. Wealth, badly obtained, is poverty; and promotion which injures the conscience, degradation. I am ready to suffer any thing; but those horrors of mind which attend such as these worldly views, sin against conviction." Finding him resolute in his principles, sentence of death was passed upon him, and he was soon after burnt.

It is worthy commemoration, that the person who informed against him, that was the principal cause of his suffering, soon after fell into a dejection of spirits, and was succeeded by the most dreadful horrors of conscience, which in a short time terminated his miserable life.

CHAP. III.

Persecutions in the Netherlands, under the Duke of Alva.

PHILIP the Second, king of Spain, son of the emperor Charles the Fifth, was a most bigoted Roman catholic, and a monarch of a most tyrannical spirit. Disgusted at the encrease of the reformed religion in the Netherlands, he determined, if possible, totally to extirpate protestantism from thence. With this view he sent the duke of Alva, at the head of a considerable army, to pursue the protestants with the utmost rigour, and either compel them to change their religion, or murder them without distinction. These orders occasioned a persecution as severe and bloody as any recorded in history.

The duke of Alva exercised the most aggravated cruelties, sparing neither sex, age, or condition, and treating the protestants whom he could get into his power, with almost unparalleled barbarity. Indeed he gloried in inhumanity, and thought the refined cruelty of his actions a peculiar merit. Such was his bloody disposition that at a public entertainment he vauntingly said, "I have approved myself a champion of the Roman catholic persuasion, and a severe scourge to heresy; for exclusive of the numbers who have perished in war, above eighteen thousand protestants have, by my express orders, been dispatched by the common executioners." A boast that marks his sanguinary temper more strongly than any laboured description!

The duke of Alva dispatched his son, Don Frederic, to Zutphen with a considerable body of troops. This young nobleman, who inherited the bloody disposition of his father in the fullest extent, was received by the burghers without the least opposition. He, however, no sooner got admittance into the town, than the whole place became a scene of confusion, blood, and horror. The spectacle presented innumerable dead bodies swimming down the

river which runs through the town, and whose waters were tinged with blood: many gentlemen and citizens hanging before their own doors: matrons, wives, widows, and young girls, bewailing the loss of fathers, husbands, brothers; and of their chastity, which the brutal soldiers were permitted, with impunity, to violate: infants stuck upon spears: many persons burnt, racked, tortured, and cut to pieces: some perished in the flames that consumed their houses; and in fine, none escaped the general carnage. After the inhabitants were all murdered, the town was razed to the ground, and a heap of ruins only remained, as a monument of the most wanton barbarity.

Don Frederic then proceeded to Harlaem, to which he laid siege. The inhabitants made a vigorous defence, and held out a considerable time; but provisions growing scarce, they were under the necessity of living upon the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, &c. and even these being consumed, they were at length compelled to The capitulation was conditional, namely, it was surrender. stipulated that the inhabitants should not be molested in their lives and proprieties of the town any ways injured by the troops, provided the sum of two hundred and forty thousand florins was paid for the security of both. The inhabitants, to save their persons from cruelty, and their houses from plunder, readily paid the money, and Don Frederic entered the place. This cruel general, the next day issued out orders that at the tolling of a great bell, all the burghers and soldiers should bring their arms to the state-house. This being done, he commanded that the citizens should all go into the cloister of Zyel, the women and children into the cathedral church, and the soldiers of the garrison into another church.

The officers were then singled, out, and sent to close confinement; and the houses of the citizens were plundered while they remained in the cloister. The ensuing day, three hundred Walloons were beheaded or hanged; and the morning following, captain Riperda, with his lieutenant, were beheaded; a minister named Stembach, was hanged; and two hundred and forty-seven soldiers were driven into the sea and drowned.

Several successive days produced executions equally barbarous and unjust, in one of which three hundred more burghers and soldiers were executed. Simon Simonson, a pious minister, was burnt, and three capital men were beheaded. All the English and Scots were then ordered to lose their heads; and the sick were likewise taken out of the Great Hospital, when every individual of them were beheaded before its gates. The bloody Don Frederic, upon this occasion, gave a great proof of his want of feeling, by saying, with an air of jocularity, "I have ordered many to be put to death for rebellion and heresy; but I commanded the execution of the sick people in the hospital through motives of kindness, as beheading is the most expeditious mode of curing lingering disorders, and giving immediate ease to those who would otherwise languish out a life of misery."

A party of the garrison troops, being confined in a small wing of the fortifications, were utterly forgotten, and perished for want of food, before Don Frederic, or his people, recollected any thing about them.

The inhabitants of Valenciennes, being protestants, had their town invested by an officer named Noicarmos. They held out about three months, and then surrendered upon good conditions. Noicarmos, however, no sooner got possession of the place, than he hanged the soldiers, burnt the clergy, confiscated the goods of the merchants, plundered the burghers, and behaved with indiscriminate barbarity to all ranks of people.

JOHN HERWIN, a Flandrian soldier of wicked life and libertine principles, had occasion to make a voyage to England in the year 1560. He was entertained in the house of a brewer, a man of great piety and humanity. The brewer frequently persuaded the soldier to attend divine service at the Dutch church: he, at first, went reluctantly: it then became more agreeable; and, at last, he found a peculiar pleasure in hearing the words of the gospel. From being alarmed for the safety of his soul, he perceived that the thing which most interested him in this life was repentance. Taking a review of his past life, he shuttered, on recollecting the many crimes he had committed, and became a sincere penitent for his past follies.

When he returned to Flanders, his change of religious sentiments being known, he was apprehended at Honscot. As the officer was conducting him to gaol, they met a company of drunken men, which occasioned the officer to make this observation: "A great number of the reformed reside in this town, who pretend to great purity of life; but it is not a sign they follow those precepts they pretend to believe, by their disease." "Then you believe drunkenness to be a crime?" said Herwin, "Certainly I do." replied the officer. "What can be the reason then (answered Herwin) that you suffer those people to pass you without apprehending them, when you acknowledge they are in the actual commission of sin by being intoxicated; and, at the same time, are taking me to gaol, because I will not believe things that are contrary to common sense? Is it more criminal to think according to the dictates of conscience, than to act contrary to it?" To this the officer did not chuse to reply, but proceeded to the prison, where Herwin was put into close confinement, but his hopes in Christ gave him consolation, and his fortitude of mind supported the weakness of his body.

On his trial, Herwin answered with great steadiness and propriety, to every charge against him. It being demanded what he thought of the real presence in the sacrament; he replied, *The highest dwelleth not in temples made with human hands*; and then exhorted his judges to seriously try the doctrines of the church of Rome upon the true touch stone of the gospel, when the baseness of their composition, and their fallacy, would appear. Having made a full confession of his faith, he desired a speedy decision of his case; but was only answered, The best thing you can do is to recant. To which he replied, *My faith is not built upon man's unsettled opinions, but upon a rock that is immovable.* He was remanded to prison, where some artful friars, chosen for the purpose, frequently attended to induce him to abjure his faith. They chiefly attempted to make him believe transubstantiation, thinking if he would once subscribe to that absurd doctrine, the rest would be no material obstacles. To effect this, they quoted many passages from the fathers, which seemed to countenance that ridiculous tenet; but Herwin happily kept close to the scriptures, and literally refuted them from the gospel itself.

To enliven his spirits, in a manner at once pious and amusing, Herwin frequently sung some of the Psalms of David and having a fine voice, many people crowded towards that part of the prison in order to hear him. To put a stop to this innocent exercise, the gaolers placed two notorious malefactors in the same dungeon with Herwin, that they might either prevent his singing, or drown the psalm-tunes with profane songs. In a few days, however, these malefactors contrived to break out of the prison and escape. They would have had Herwin gone off with them, but he refused, upon the noble principle of compassion to others, fearing his flight should be charged on some other protestants of the town, who might be apprehended on a suspicion of having facilitated and found him means to escape.

When one of the gaolers informed Herwin sentence of death was passed on him, he kneeled down, and with great fervour thanked God for thinking him worthy of a glorious crown of martyrdom. Some unsuccessful attempts were still made to bring him to recantation, and on the morning appointed for execution he was taken to church, and obliged to attend mass. At the elevation of the host, a friar said, "Is not Jesus Christ now between the priest's hands?" *No, (replied Herwin) for he is in heaven, at the right hand of his father.* At the place of execution he said, "Behold how this wicked world rewards the servants of Jesus Christ; while I was a beastly drunkard, a sharping gamester, a profane swearer,

and a dissolute libertine, I remained free from bonds or molestation, and was even caressed and deemed a good fellow, for being completely wicked.—Strange abuse of words and ideas! But when I began, through God's grace, to repent of my follies, reform my manners, and lead an inoffensive and pious life, the world made war upon me; and even the magistrates, who ought to encourage morality, became my enemies. Yet I am not discouraged; for sure the servant is inferior to his Lord, and as they persecuted Christ, it would be impiety in me to complain." He then sung the thirtieth psalm, being joined in that part of his devotion by many of the spectators, who sincerely pitied, or rather Several friars, indeed, attempted to give him admired him. interruption, but he disregarded them, and would not answer their absurd speeches. Having finished his devotions, he went into a kind of cabin, built with faggots, where, being fastened to a stake, he was strangled, and then light being put to the faggots, his body was consumed in the flames

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JOHN DE BOSCANE, a zealous protestant, was apprehended on account of his faith, in the city of Antwerp. On his trial he stedfastly professed himself to be of the reformed religion, which occasioned his immediate condemnation. The magistrate, however, was afraid to put him to death publicly, as he was popular through his great generosity, and almost universally beloved for his inoffensive life and exemplary piety. A private execution being determined on, an order was given to drown him in prison. The executioner, accordingly, put him into a large tub; but Boscane struggling, and getting his head above the water, the executioner stabbed him with a dagger in several places, till he expired. JOHN DE BUISONS, another protestant, was, about the same time, secretly apprehended, and privately executed at Antwerp. The number of protestants being great in that city, and the prisoner much respected, the magistrates feared an insurrection, and for that reason ordered him to be beheaded in prison.

Upon a public festival, when many Romish superstitions were to be exhibited in the city of Antwerp, in commemoration of some saints canonized by the pope, the protestants, by previous agreement, determined not to be present at the idolatrous ceremonies. They, accordingly, withdrew from the city early in the morning, and retired to a secret recess in a neighbouring wood, where they hoped to pass the day, and perform their devotions without interruption. A magistrate, entitled the Drosart of Marksem, being informed of these particulars, went with a number of his officers, in order to find them. Having paraded the wood in vain, they applied to some shepherds boys, and promised them new cloaths, if they would conduct them to the place where the protestants were assembled in the wood. Won by the promise, the boys accepted the offer, and conducted them to the very spot. On perceiving the drosart and his officers, many of the protestants were for retreating; but their minister called to them, bade them not fear, and ordered them to stay.

The protestants, indeed, from the superiority of numbers might have resisted; but little mischief was done, as the main intent of the drosart seemed to be the seizure of the minister. In this, however, he failed; for a young man named Bartholomew was apprehended by mistake, and conveyed to prison, before the blunder was discovered. On his examination, the drosart said to him, "Cannot a young man like you, in the prime of life, and full possession of health, be content with a faith that grants considerable indulgencies to the passions? Recant, therefore, in time; embrace a religion whose church is splendour, whose robes are adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones: whose ceremonies are

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superb, and whose voice is music; and forsake a church and faith hated, poor, despised, and exposed to contempt and persecution." To these persuasions Bartholomew answered with great fortitude: "Riches cannot constitute happiness; the treasures of this world are trivial, when put in competition with eternal bliss; and that which is esteemed valuable among worldly minded men, may be abominable in the sight of God." He was, soon after, condemned to death, and suffered martyrdom by being beheaded.

A.D. 1568, three persons were apprehended in Antwerp, named SCOBLANT, HUES, and COOMANS. During their confinement they behaved with great fortitude and chearfulness, confessing that the hand of God appeared in what had befallen them, and bowing down before the throne of his Providence. In an epistle to some worthy protestants, they express themselves in the following words:

Since it is the will of the Almighty that we should suffer for his name, and be persecuted for the sake of his gospel, we patiently submit, and are joyful upon the occasion: tho' 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 comfortless in confinement, for we have faith; we fear not affliction, for we have hope; and we forgive our enemies, for we have charity. Be not under apprehensions for us, we are happy in confinement through the promises of God, glory in our bonds, and exult in being thought worthy to suffer for the sake of Christ. We desire not to be released, but to be blessed with fortitude; we ask not liberty, but the power of perseverance; and with for no change in our condition,

but that which places a crown of martyrdom upon our heads.

Scoblant was first brought to his trial: when, persisting in the profession of his faith, he received sentence of death. On his return to prison, he earnestly requested the 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 whom I firmly put my trust, has washed me from my iniquities. I am now going to throw off this earthly mantle of clay, to be clad in robes of eternal glory, by whose celestial brightness I shall be freed from all errors. I hope I may be the last martyr to papal tyranny, and the blood already spilt found sufficient to quench the thirst of popish cruelty; that the church of Christ may have rest here, as his servants will hereafter."

On the day of execution, he took a pathetic leave of his fellow prisoners. At the stake he fervently said the Lord's Prayer, and sung the fortieth psalm: then commending his soul to God, he was burnt alive.

Hues, soon after, died in prison; upon which occasion Coomans wrote thus to his friends: "I am now deprived of my friends and companions; Scoblant is martyred, and Hues dead, by the visitation of the Lord: yet am I not alone; I have with me the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; he is my comfort, and shall be my reward. Pray unto God to strengthen me to the end, as I expect every hour to be freed from this tenement of clay."

On his trial, he freely confessed himself of the reformed religion, answered with a manly fortitude to every charge against him, and proved the scriptural part of his answers from the gospel. The judge told him the only alternatives were *recantation* or *death*: and concluded by saying, "Will you die for the faith you profess?" To which Coomans replied, "I am not only willing to die, but to suffer the most excruciating torments for it: after which my soul

shall receive its confirmation from God himself, in the midst of eternal glory." Being condemned, he went chearfully to the place of execution, and died with the most manly fortitude, and Christian resignation.

Villains in vain from death wou'd fly, The good and just with pleasure die; To those who walk in virtue's way, Death has no sting, tho' he may slay.

In Flanders, the duke of Alva's persecution was carried on with peculiar cruelty. A worthy protestant, named GILES ANNIK, and JOHN, his son, having some reason to suspect that they should be speedily apprehended, suddenly withdrew and retired to Emden. Indeed, they went away so precipitately that their wives were left behind; but in the ensuing year they returned to fetch them, having secretly corresponded the whole time. They came incognito to the town of Renay, where their wives resided, and took their lodging privately in the dusk of the evening, at the house of an honest man named Lewis Meulin. Unfortunately, however, for these worthy protestants, the magistrates had agreed, that very night, to make a general search for the seizure of such as professed the reformed religion. Entering the house of Meulin; they seized Annik, his son John, and Meulin himself. These, with many others were conveyed to prison, and kept a considerable time before they were brought to an examination. In the interval they strove to administer comfort to each other; and every individual seemed to forget his own sorrows, in order to administer consolation to his The Almighty blessed their pious fellows in affliction. endeavours, and chearfulness, instead of tribulation, appeared to inhabit the prison.

This happy communion of worthy minds for mutual comfort, brings to our recollection some lines, called the *Meeting of Christian Friends*, which are as follow:

Now with joint concert we sing, Glory to our God and king; We our hearts and voices raise, Sweetly singing Jesus' praise.

Jesus we are bound to bless, King of Salem, prince of peace; First begotten from the dead, Christ, our sovereign Lord, and head.

We subsist by Jesus' care, Live in him, and move, and are; He, in ev'ry desert land, Holds us in his gracious hand.

He in ev'ry time and place, Manifests his saving grace. Ev'ry day, and ev'ry hour, We experience his great pow'r.

Now we see each other's face, Gladly we unite in praise; While we taste our Saviour's love, Doubts and fears, and cares remove.

Let us walk with God below, In his likeness daily grow; Till our joyful spirits rise, To behold him in the skies.

When they were brought to trial, Giles Annik, the father, was condemned to be burnt; but John Annik, the son, and Meulin, the landlord, were ordered to be beheaded. These sentences were,

soon after, executed; and all three died with the utmost exemplary Christian resignation: in particular, John Annik saw the very man who apprehended him near the scaffold, and calling to him to approach, shook him cordially by the hand and said, *I freely forgive thee*.

A pious widow belonging to the town of Renay was apprehended for having (about two years before) permitted a minister to preach in an outhouse near her dwelling. This lady, who was remarkable for her benevolence, as well as every other Christian virtue, they kept seven months in prison, before they brought her to a trial; the result of which was condemnation to death. Previous to the execution, she was visited by a priest, who told her he came to comfort her; but she spoke to him with such graceful energy, and impressed the gospel truths so fully upon his mind, that when he left her, the tears trickled down his cheeks; and he said with a sigh, *I came to give you comfort, but I find I have more need of receiving comfort from you.* A few days after she was beheaded on a scaffold, and met her fate with such consummate fortitude as would have done credit to the greatest hero.

CHRISTOPHER GAUDERIN was brought up by the abbot of Haname; but that priest dying, he learnt the weaving business, and became a very expert workman. As the business of weaving was, at that time, very profitable, his gains were considerable. Money, however, did him more harm than good; for as he was naturally inclined to a libertine life, it furnished him with the means of indulging his disposition in every riotous excess. Few evenings passed but he gave himself up to drunkenness; holidays were to him days of debauchery, and the sabbath he broke as regularly as it came. Thus he lived the slave of lust, and sacrifice of riot, courting perdition in his actions, and swallowing destruction in intoxicating draughts of liquor. Happily, a pious and sober man came to work with him, who, observing the life that Gauderin led, exhorted him to repentance and reformation.

Gauderin, at first, turned what he said into ridicule; but at length, some of the expressions forcibly striking him, penetrated to his very heart; he saw himself black with every crime, and was dreadfully shocked at the reflection of his past conduct. succeeded; a thorough reformation was Repentance the consequence, and an entire change of life ensued. Instead of oaths and execrations, prayers and supplications employed his tongue: he forsook taverns for churches, delighted in sermons in lieu of profane discourses, and made the perusal of the holy scriptures his This providential change caused the principal amusement. protestants to make him a deacon, which trust he discharged with great assiduity and fidelity. Among the duties of his office, the distribution of alms was an essential part; to perform this, he made a journey to Oudenard, in order to give some assistance to the poor of that place. He was here betrayed, seized as a protestant, and carried to prison. The officer who apprehended him having formerly known him in the abbot's house, asked how he came to turn heretic? To which he replied, "I am not an heretic, but a true believing Christian; and what I learned of the abbot, I am now ashamed to remember."

Gauderin was visited in prison by several friars, who attempted to make him abjure his faith, by the most specious arguments they could use; but he defended the doctrines he had embraced with such spirit, from the word of God itself, that he soon silenced all his adversaries upon religious topics. As he was, at that time, only about thirty years of age, one said to him, "Consider better of the affair; be not obstinate, and do not cast yourself away in the prime of life." To this Gauderin answered, "Man's life consists but of two days, the day of birth, and the day of death; and as the one is as certain as the other, I am willing to pass into eternity as soon as possible." On his trial he was sentenced to death; and being informed one evening by the gaoler

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that the next day was appointed for his execution, he immediately retired, and spent several hours in fervent prayer. On the fatal morning he washed himself, put on a clean shirt, and appeared with all the decency possible, saying to his fellow-prisoners, "I am now going to be married, and hope, ere noon, to drink of the wine of the kingdom of heaven." Three other prisoners were to suffer at the same time, to whom he gave all the consolation in his power. A friar coming to them, said, *I come to convert you*. To whom Gauderin replied, *Away, thou seducer of souls, we have nothing to do with thee.*

The executioner coming to put gags in their mouths, one of them said, "What! Shall we not have liberty, at the last hour of our lives, to praise God with our tongues?" But Gauderin comforted him, by observing, *That the more wrong their enemies did them, the more favour they should find in the sight of God*. Ropes were then put about their necks, which being run through pullies fastened to a gibbet, they were drawn up by their necks, and hanged till they were dead.

A woman of a pious turn of mind, was apprehended as a protestant, and when carried before a magistrate, all that the accuser could allege against her was that he had heard her sing psalms; and seen her read the Bible. So oppressive, however, are the Roman catholic magistrates, that these frivolous accusations were deemed sufficient to convict her. After her condemnation, she was kept in prison till quite emaciated; so that when the day appointed for her execution arrived, she was too feeble to stand upright. A stool was, therefore, placed in the midst of the scaffold, and she being seated on it, the executioner, at one stroke, severed her head from her body.

GILES DE MEYER, a protestant of the clerical function, was a man of great learning and piety. All persons of the reformed religion who had the happiness to know him, revered his character;

as, exclusive of his abilities, he was just, humane, benevolent, and affable; seeking all opportunities of doing good, forgiving evil, and making his practice a comment on his preaching. His doctrines were such as all doctrines intended for general benefit ought to be, viz. of a practical nature. He took pains to fix the wavering, confirm the pious, and comfort the afflicted, by pointing out, and explaining, such texts as more particularly related to their cases. But, above all things, he, in a very peculiar manner, laboured to prevent their falling into the Romish superstitions, and shewed the absurdity of the popish idolatry in its most glaring colours. As the place of Giles de Meyer's residence was about a mile from Ghent, the clergy of that city were alarmed at what they heard of his popularity and proceedings. Finding, at the same time, that many persons whom they had been used to esteem as professed Roman catholics, began to treat their doctrines and authority with contempt, they imputed their defection to Meyer's assiduity in making proselvtes to protestantism.

These considerations induced them to determine on his destruction. He was, accordingly, apprehended and cast into a deep dungeon, where he remained a considerable time without light, and with scarcely any food. He, however, bore all they could inflict patiently, praised God for deeming him worthy to suffer for his sake, and implored his assistance to strengthen and grant him fortitude to sustain all the attacks of his enemies.

The priests, thinking it would be of singular service to the cause of popery to bring a man of his learning and popularity to their communion, spared no pains to make him abjure his religion, and embrace the Roman catholic persuasion. Splendid offers, profuse promises, and cruel menaces were respectively tried, and tried in vain. He was stedfast to his faith; and to their great mortification, made use of the gospel to combat their arguments, and of his own natural integrity to reject their offers.

Exasperated at his perseverance, they brought him before the judicial tribunal, where he was partially tried, and unjustly

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condemned to be hanged. He was conducted to the place of execution by some of the duke of Alva's Spanish soldiers, who thought the court had dealt with too much clemency with him, and that hanging was a death not sufficiently painful. Disregarding, therefore, the sentence, they determined to burn him. That he might not, however, be too soon out of his misery, they bound cords round his limbs, and straining them hard, cut his flesh in several places. All this he bore with the greatest resignation; so that the Spaniards were quite enraged at his patience, and striking him many severe blows, they cried, "Is there no making you feel?" The captain, not to be behind with his men in inhumanity. struck him on the face with his gauntlet, by which he was disfigured in the most shocking manner. They then surrounded him with faggots at some distance, and setting fire to them, burnt, or rather roasted, him. This dreadful death he bore with a manly and Christian patience, calling upon the name of the Lord while he remained capable of speech; after which he continued with his eyes fixed up to heaven, till he expired.

PETER COULOUGUE, a goldsmith of Breda, had, for some years, been a protestant deacon, the reformed meeting privately at his house to perform divine service. Information of this being given to the magistrates, Peter Coulougue was apprehended and committed to the common prison; but as many visited him here to comfort and assist him, he was removed to the castle, where he could receive no consolation from his friends, as none were admitted to approach him but his maid-servant, who was daily allowed to bring him food. One day, having brought his dinner, at her departure she said; Be stedfast in your faith, and God will comfort you. The centinel overhearing these inoffensive words, reported them to the magistrates, who gave orders to detain her when she came again to the prison, and confine her as an impious heretic. Peter Coulougue was now deprived of all human assistance, as none were suffered to approach him but the gaolers and priests: he was compelled to live on the gaol allowance; and soon after, put to the rack, the tortures being inflicted on him with the utmost severity.

Having thus tortured the master, their next vengeance was to be wreaked on the maid. They accordingly, brought her in view of the bloody apparatus, and told her she must undergo the rack. "What occasion (said she) is there to torture me; you can extort nothing by the rack but what I am willing to reveal in a voluntary manner? If what you want to know concerns my faith, I'll freely make a confession of it, or answer satisfactorily and truly, to any questions, without giving you trouble, or being myself put to pain?" This reasonable speech had not the effect she intended; racked she must be, they told her, unless she would immediately recant. As she absolutely rejected the idea of abjuring her faith, they began to prepare the dreadful apparatus. "If I must undergo these tortures, (said she) pray give me leave for a few minutes, to offer a prayer to the Almighty, that he would grant me strength to sustain with fortitude, what I am doomed to bear?" This favour being granted, she kneeled down, and prayed with great fervency.

During this interval one of the commissioners of the inquisition, who attended upon the occasion, fainted away. The dreadful operation was delayed till his recovery, and as soon as he came to himself he would not suffer it to be executed, but ordered the gaolers to conduct her back to her dungeon; so that she escaped the rack by the accident. This incident, did not, however, save her life, for both master and maid were, soon after, condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution, an almost general compassion seemed to reign in the breasts of most present; and when they were fastened to the stake, several so far disregarded their own danger as to embrace them.

Both master and maid, in their countenances, shewed the tokens of Christian fortitude, and chearful resignation. The maid

addressed herself thus to the spectators: "Dear brothers and sisters, be always obedient to the word of God, and fear not those who can kill only the body, but have not any power over the soul. With respect to myself, this is my nuptial day, and I am now going to meet my glorious spouse Jesus Christ, and to be wedded to eternal salvation." The master was then strangled and the body burnt; but the maid was burnt without being strangled. Such was the rigour of popish cruelty, to act to both sexes without justice, and shew not the least indulgence to the softer sex!

To conclude, multitudes were murdered in different parts of Flanders. In the city of Valence, in particular, fifty-seven of the principal inhabitants were butchered in one day, for refusing to embrace the Romish superstition; and great numbers were suffered to languish in confinement, till they perished through the inclemency of their dungeons.

> But what the martyrs here sustain, Is only transitory pain; Tortures just felt, and quickly o'er, That when once past torment no more: While heav'nly bliss rewards bestows, And joys eternal heal their woes.

But what's the persecutor's fate? The stings of conscience, heav'nly hate; A dreaded death for blood that's shed, With horrors planted round the bed; A fate in endless fire to dwell, A lasting residence in hell.



CHAP. IV.

The Life of WILLIAM NASSAU, Prince of Orange, a Most Celebrated Champion of, and Martyr to, the Protestant Religion; and the First Founder of the Commonwealth of the United Provinces.

THE prince whose life we are about to relate, was one of the most extraordinary persons that any age, or nation, ever produced; and possessed, in an eminent degree, most, if not all, of those *great* and *good* qualities which have separately distinguished other heroes; as if Providence had blended in one composition, the respective virtues of many shining characters.

In speaking of this great man, a French nobleman says,

"The victories and conquests of Alexander and Cæsar do not so much deserve our admiration as those of William of Nassau The first was master of all Greece, and at the head of a warlike and welldisciplined army; the other absolutely commanded half the Roman legions, who governed all the world. With these great forces and advantages they entered upon the stage, made their first victories the forerunners to the next, and pursued their blows; one overthrew the empire of the Persians, and the other the Roman commonwealth. But prince William of Nassau equalled the glory of those great conquerors, by attacking the formidable power of king Philip of Spain, with only a small army, and by maintaining himself against him. His courage, was always greater than his misfortunes; and when all the world thought him ruined, and he was driven out of the Netherlands, he entered them again almost immediately, at the head of a new army, and by his great conduct laid the foundation of a commonwealth that has since covered the ocean with its fleets.

His enemies had no other way to ruin him than by a base treachery, which he might have avoided, if he had reposed less confidence in the love of the people who served him instead of guards, and considered him as the father, and tutelar guardian of their country. After having reflected on all the illustrious persons that have lived before him, I can meet with no one that approached his profound wisdom but Gasper de Coligny, admiral of France. He was so great a man that D'Avila, his enemy, was forced to own he was more talked of in Europe than the king of France himself. This admiral, after the loss of several battles, was so far from being broken and ruined, and continued still so powerful, that his enemies were obliged to grant him a peace; and had it not been for an instance of treachery, which will be eternally abhorred by all good men, he might have ended his days in peace; and done great service to his country, by the conquest of the Low Countries.

But the ill maxims of those priests who would conform all religion to the humours and passions of popes and princes, and the doctrine that no faith ought to be kept with rebels and heretics and that it is lawful to do an evil to bring about a greater good, added to the powerful motive of revenge, prevailed over all the ties of honour and faith, which ought always to be sacred and inviolable."

William Nassau, prince of Orange, was born in the year 1533, at the castle of Dillimburgh, in the province of Nassau. At a proper age he attended the celebrated emperor Charles V; in the

quality of page; and that monarch was equally a friend to his virtues, and an admirer of his modesty. Many were surprized to see so great a sovereign trust the most important secrets to one whose years were so tender, and communicate the weightiest affairs to a stripling. When Charles the Fifth resigned the Imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand, William Nassau was appointed to carry it, upon which singular occasion he said, "Sire, I am exceedingly unhappy at having imposed upon me the unwelcome task of carrying that crown to another, which my late uncle, Henry of Nassau, put upon your head."

At the age of twenty-two years only, William Nassau was made commander in chief of the Imperial forces in the Netherlands; and in the discharge of his duty, he not only kept the French army at bay, but built the towns of Charlemont and Philipville, in sight of the enemies forces.

The great confidence which the emperor placed in William Nassau was detrimental to him in the favour of his son Philip, who succeeded to the throne of Spain and the Netherlands. The emperor, indeed, recommended him strenuously to Philip; but the latter being a prince of a narrow mind and partial understanding, was envious of his virtues and fearful of his popularity.

The prince of Orange soon took notice of the king's coldness and reserve, and received a particular affront when that monarch was about to embark at Flushing for Spain. Just as he was going on board the ship, he complained that the people of the Netherlands thwarted him in every request he made them, which he looked upon to originate from the prince of Orange's influence. To this the prince submissively answered, "That the people acted voluntarily." when the king replied in an angry tone, "No, 'tis owing to thee, thee, thee!" repeating the word *thee* three times with great asperity. On receiving this affront, the prince coldly took leave, and the king went on board.

Previous to his departure, the king had mortified the prince in another particular, by making cardinal Granville, his professed enemy, governor of the Netherlands; an office which had been in the house of Nassau time immemorial, and which the prince passionately desired to possess.

From Philip's ill behaviour to the prince in particular, and inveteracy against the protestants in general, the commotions in the Low Countries took their rise. An elegant writer, upon the occasion, says, "This ought to be a warning never to drive great minds to despair. We meet with a thousand instances of this nature in history, but particularly the singular case of Narses. This famous eunuch; after his great services were slighted, (for the empress Sophia, consort of the emperor Justin the Second, had sent him word that she would make him spin with her women) replied, 'He would weave such a web, that she and the whole empire should never be able to unweave.' To be as good as his word, he put himself at the head of the Lombards, conquered the greatest part of Italy, some portions of Germany, France, &c. At length, he quietly died in his bed at Naples, in spite of all the numerous designs laid to destroy him."

The prince of Orange, in the same manner, was driven to the greatest extremities, and stimulated to the most rigorous resentment. The people honoured his family, and loved his person, therefore they felt the injuries he received as affronts to themselves; but to account more particular for his great popularity, it is necessary to say a few words with respect to his character. He was of a middle stature and brown complexion, but pleasing aspect: his hair was of a chestnut colour; his appearance engaging, his manner affable, and his words so pointed and applicable to the subject in question that his sentences were looked upon as oracles. In the time of the emperor Charles V. none lived with so much splendor as the prince of Orange: he entertained foreign princes and ministers at his house, with a degree of grandeur and elegance truly royal; and was, indeed the glory of the emperor's court. He pursued the same conduct in the beginning of Philip's reign, which gave occasion to that ungrateful monarch to upbraid him with his

extravagance in the prescription he published against him, and to accuse him of having abused his favours. The prince, in his *Apology to the King*, replied, "That so far from having any obligations to the king, or enriching himself in his service, he had borne the principal expence of the court, composed of many nations; the king taking so little care, and acting with so much avarice, that he was forced to defray most of the charges out of his own pocket."

His splendid manner of living, and insinuating address, engaged the affections of all who knew him; and he took precedence of all the other nobles of the court, by reason that the house of Nassau had once produced an emperor, viz. Adolphus, who was killed at the battle of Spires towards the close of the thirteenth century.

Philip having been bred up in Spain, had contracted the Spanish stiffness and formality, which, added to his unsocial temper, rendered him disagreeable and forbidding. When he came into the Netherlands, the people in general, and nobility in particular, conceived as much aversion and contempt for him as they had entertained love and respect for his father. Indeed the difference between the two was so manifest that it could not escape the notice even of the most unobserving. The emperor was affable, easy of access, treated all persons with a decent familiarity, and conversed with most foreigners in their own language; for he had a very retentive memory, and had studied the modern languages with peculiar assiduity. On the contrary, his son Philip seldom appeared in public, and when he did, was sullen and reserved. He always wore his cloaths in the Spanish fashion, and seldom or never expressed himself in any but the Spanish language. Hence the people of the Netherlands conceived a fixed dislike to Philip; and at a full assembly of the states held at Ghent, they made three requests to the king, who was just returned from Spain to the Netherlands:

- 1. That he should withdraw all Spanish and other foreign troops from the Netherlands.
- 2. That the cities, towns, and fortresses, should be garrisoned by natives.
- 3. That no foreigner should be governor of the Low Countries.

The king was surprized and enraged at these demands, and firmly believed that the whole was done by the contrivance, and at the instigation of the prince of Orange; but concealing his resentment, he gave the states equivocal hopes that he would comply with their demands. Before his departure for Spain, however, he made his natural sister, Margaret of Austria, duchess of Parma, absolute governess of the Low Countries; and strictly charged her to set up the Spanish Inquisition in the Netherlands, and to erect several new bishoprics. These orders threw the people of the Netherlands into a flame; for they had the strongest aversion to the very name of inquisition; and bestowed some of their hatred on the new bishops, whom they could look upon in no other light than as agents, or officers, of the inquisition.

Cardinal Granville, who had before been governor, and now acted as prime minister to the duchess of Parma, was a man of a most haughty disposition; cruel, bigotted, and imperious. He looked upon all the people with the most sovereign contempt, and treated even the nobility with studied insolence. His behaviour, at length, became so intolerable that the prince of Orange, count Egmont, and count Horn, wrote plainly to king Philip, *that if Granville was not recalled, his insupportable pride and arrogance would ruin the king's affairs in the Netherlands.*

Philip considered this remonstrance as a criminal boldness, and determined on the destruction of the prince and the two noblemen who had signed it. In order to temporize till a convenient opportunity, he thought proper to dissemble, a task no ways difficult to him, who had a mind naturally framed for treachery. He, therefore recalled Granville; but the people were

still dissatisfied with the duchess of Parma's administration, and displeased with the public proceedings. To obtain some redress, two noblemen, viz. count John de Bergues, and John de Montmorency, lord of Montigny, undertook to go to the Spanish court, and lay the grievances of the people before the king.

They, accordingly, went to Philip, and gave him an ample account of the discontent that reigned in the Netherlands; of the commotions that were likely to succeed unless proper remedies were applied, and of the most feasible methods of easing the minds of the people. But there two worthy noblemen, who took such pains to prevent the ensuing calamities, were basely murdered for their pains, which put the other nobles of the Netherlands upon their guard.

When the prince of Orange was informed that Philip intended to send the duke of Alva into the Netherlands, with a considerable body of Spanish and Italian forces, he solicited permission to resign his governments of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Burgundy, which was refused him; and at the same time, he was desired to take a new oath of allegiance. As this oath obliged such as took it to do their utmost endeavours for the extirpation of those who professed the reformed religion, it is no wonder that the prince absolutely refused to take it. He likewise told the officer who proposed to administer it to him, "That as he had already taken one oath of allegiance to the king, it was an affront to his honour to propose another, unless his fidelity was called in question." This oath was refused by many other noblemen and gentlemen, who were either protestants themselves, or possessed such liberal sentiments that they despised the idea of persecution for the sake of religion.

As soon as the duchess of Parma began to establish the inquisition and create the new bishops, according to the order of king Philip, the whole country was in commotion, and four hundred noblemen and gentlemen, headed by count Lodowick of Nassau; brother to the prince of Orange, and count Brederode,

assembled at Brussels in the Hotel de Culembourg, where they drew up a petition to the duchess of Parma to abolish the inquisition, reject the new bishops, and disannul the publication of the council of Trent.

This famous petition was presented by count Lodowick; the rest of the nobility and gentry followed him to the palace, marching two by two, modestly. dressed in plain apparel, with swords by their sides. The rich count Barlaymont, a great favourite of the duchess, on seeing many of the petitioners who were not quite so opulent as himself, cried out, They are only gueux (beggars), and therefore their petition is not worth regarding. The word Gueux, which was at this time uttered in contempt, was afterwards applied to the party, as the word Hugonot was to the reformed of France; and even adopted by the protestants themselves as an appellation of honour, for they would exultingly say, They gloried in being free beggars rather than rich The confederate nobility and gentry distinguished slaves. themselves by wearing grey cloaths, and carrying the beggars bag and scrip; and at all their public entertainments the word Gueux was given to the first toast. They likewise wore at their collars a medal of gold, one side of which was stamped with the image of the king, and on the reverse were two hands joined, holding a bag with this inscription beneath: Fidele au roi jusquá la besace; that is, "Faithful to the king even to the bag," On the liveries of their servants these noblemen and gentlemen had some device relative to begging; and they publicly declared, "They would sacrifice their fortunes, and reduce themselves to beggary, to support so just a confederacy."

Affairs daily appearing more critical, the prince of Orange entered into a conference at Dendermonde, with the counts Egmont, Horn, Hockstract, and his brother Lodowick, concerning the public welfare. The majority were for taking up arms, and opposing the entrance of the Spanish and Italian forces into the Netherlands, as their absolute ruin would be the result of the

introduction of those troops, which was evident from some important letters intercepted by the prince of Orange.

Count Egmont, governor of Flanders and Artois, warmly opposed this proposition, declaring that they ought to trust the king's clemency. "The king's clemency (said the prince of Orange sternly) will be your ruin: you will serve him as a bridge to pass into Flanders, when the bridge will be destroyed as soon as he is over. If you, therefore, have so little care for your safety, I'll provide for mine by retiring to Germany." To this severe speech the count answered, *Then farewell prince without possessions*. To which the prince replied, *Farewell count without a head*. which prophetic sarcasm proved but too true, as count Egmont was afterwards beheaded.

An edict soon after appeared, declaring all who had presented the petition against the inquisitions and all such as did not assist in the extermination of the protestants to be guilty of high treason. This was, in fact the greatest part of the nobility, many of the gentry, and the majority of the common people.

This edict was followed by a powerful army commanded by the duke of Alva. The duke passed from Spain into Italy, and then entered Luxemburg by the way of Savoy. Previous to the arrival of the duke of Alva, the prince of Orange had retired to Germany, but published a manifesto before his departure, setting forth, "That the king of Spain, under the pretence of establishing an inquisition and erecting new bishoprics, had designed, from the first, to force them to such conduct as he might construe into rebellion, which would give him an opportunity of introducing a powerful army to destroy the liberties of the people, and make them slaves. On their imputed defection he would form a despotic government, and deem them vassals by right of conquest. Arbitrary notions were natural to Spaniards, and the Spanish administration had acted in this very manner with respect to the Indies, Naples, Sardinia, Sicily, Milan, &c. &c.

These severe insinuations of the prince were confirmed by the cruel conduct of the duke of Alva, whose unjust and violent proceedings were universally condemned throughout Europe. At his first entering the Netherlands, he established a sovereign council of twelve judges, of which he made himself president. Exclusive of himself, only two noblemen belonged to this council, viz. Barlaymont and Norcairme; the rest were men of the long robe; and among them was John Vorgas, a Spaniard, a man so remarkable for his cruelty, that the Spaniards used to say of him proverbially, "It requires the keen knife, and ferocious temper of John Vorgas, to cut off the gangrene of the Low Countries." Another of the council, named Hessels, made it his constant practice to sleep, or at least to pretend to be asleep, when any prisoner was tried before him; and when the clerk of the court waked him to give sentence, he always said, in a careless manner, rubbing his eyes at the same time, Away with him, away with him; to execution with the heretic, to execution with the heretic. This Hessels often swore he would hang the governors of Ghent, Imboire, and Richove, if he could ever get them into his power, without taking the trouble to try them. By the fortune of war, however it happened that he was taken prisoner, and his threats being well known, he was hanged without process, in the sight of those very governors.

This council the duke of Alva, and the Roman catholics, called the *Council of Troubles*; but the protestants gave it the appellation of the *Council of Blood*. All other councils and courts in the Netherlands were obliged to appeal to this; but from this there was no appeal whatever. Hence the interest of this arbitrary council may be easily suggested, and its operations soon became too glaring for any to mistake its original design.

An opulent burgher, for being a protestant and wealthy, became obnoxious to one of the council. He was immediately apprehended, tried, and condemned to death. With his hands tied behind him he was fastened to the tail of a horse, and in that manner dragged to the place of execution, where he was hanged on a gallows.

At Brussels eighteen lords and gentlemen were executed in two days. Among these were two noble brothers, the barons of Battembourg; John de Montigny, lord of Villiers; and the lord de Huy, a natural son of the count of Namur. Drums were ordered to be beat with great violence during the whole time of execution, that the dying speeches of the prisoners might not be heard, nor their complaints of the injustice and inhumanity of their treatment understood by the people. A few days after the above executions, or rather murders, those two celebrated noblemen, the counts Egmont and Horn were put to death. The first of these, count Egmont, who met with the fate the prince of Orange surmised, had formerly rendered himself famous by defeating the French on two remarkable occasions, at the battle of St. Quintin's, and the battle of Gravelins. The French resident being present at the execution, wrote word to his court that he had seen that head cut off which twice made all France tremble

At the Hague, four Dutch clergymen suffered death for turning protestants, after having been confined for a very considerable space of time. Their names were Arent Vas, Sybrand Janson, Adrian Jan and Walter Simonson.

They were first publicly declared heretics, and then degraded. The ceremony of degradation was performed in this manner: being clad in sacerdotal habits, they were brought before a bishop and two abbots. The abbots cut off some of their hair, scraped the crowns of their head with a knife, and likewise scraped the tips of the fingers, with which they had made the elevation at the altar. The bishop then pulled off their habits, saying, *I strip you of the robe of righteousness*. To which one of the clergymen replied, *Not so, but rather of the robe of unrighteousness*.



MARTYRDOMS of FOUR DUTCH PROTESTANTS Who were Strangled and Burnt at the Hague.

And then looking sternly at the bishop, he went on thus: You knew the truth formerly yourself, but have maliciously rejected it; but you must give an account of your actions at the day of judgement. The bishop trembled, and the spectators were struck with amazement, as the person who uttered the words was a learned, pious, honest, and venerable man, being seventy years of age.

When the victims were delivered over to the magistrate, the bishop desired him to be as favourable as possible to them, which ridiculous affectation of kindness occasioned the clergyman who spoke the before mentioned words to exclaim in Latin, Quam Pharisaice! implying, "How Pharisaical!" or, "How hypocritical is such behaviour!" At the place of execution, Adrian Jan's father cried out, Dear son, suffer courageously, a crown of eternal life is prepared for you. The officers prevented him from proceeding, but the martyr's sister, who was in another place among the crowd of spectators, exclaimed with a loud voice, Brother, be courageous; your sufferings will not last long; the door of eternal life is open to you. They were first strangled, and then burnt, amidst the lamentations of some thousands of spectators, who would have rescued them but for the Spanish guards; and could not but severely regret, that men of the most unspotted characters and inoffensive lives, should be put to violent deaths, only for differing in opinion from their persecutors.

When the cardinal Granville heard that a great number of protestant noblemen, gentlemen, and others were seized by the duke of Alva's troops, he, said hastily, *Is Silence taken*? meaning the prince of Orange to whom he had formerly given that appellation, on account of his great secrecy. Being answered in the negative, he said, *Pish; then the duke of Alva has done nothing yet*.

To proceed with some appearance of justice, the Council of Twelve, or Council of Blood, summoned the prince of Orange to appear before their tribunal, to answer for his conduct, but he refused to obey the summons, appealing to the states of Brabant as his natural judges, or to the king of Spain himself as a knight of the golden Fleece; it being the peculiar privilege of those who belong to that order, not to be tried by any sub-delegate, but by the king himself as president, and by the other knights as peers.

The prince of Orange's refusal to obey thee summons was resented in a mean and ignominious manner by the duke of Alva, who not being able to get the prince himself into his custody, seized his son, a youth of only thirteen years of age, (who was in the college of Lovain for education) and sent him prisoner to Spain. The prince of Orange now determined to act upon the offensive, and do himself justice by force of arms. With this view he raised troops in Germany, which he detached into Friesland under the command of count Lodowick, his brother, who successfully began the campaign by defeating the count D' Aremberg, commander of the Spanish forces in that part of the Low Countries. Count D' Aremberg was slain in the engagement, as was count Adolphus of Nassau, brother to the prince of Orange, and to count Lodowick.

The duke of Alva hearing of this transaction, hastened to meet Lodowick, and attacking him unexpectedly, totally routed his army. Many of the Germans perished in their retreat, and count Lodowick himself narrowly escaped with his life.

The prince of Orange, who had a soul superior to misfortune, on receiving intelligence of this blow, immediately used his utmost efforts to furnish another army, and soon procured twenty-four thousand horse and foot, which were afterwards joined by six thousand French protestants, under the command of Francis Hengist, lord of Genlis. With this army he entered the Netherlands, preparing the way for his approach by a manifesto in which he explained his reasons for taking up arms. Before it was possible to advance towards the duke of Alva, it was deemed necessary to cross the river Maese, which, at that time was thought impracticable, from the swelling of the stream, and rapidity of the current. The prince, however, affected his passage, which so surprized the duke of Alva, that he said, '*The prince of Orange's army must certainly consist of birds, for they could not cross the Maese without flying over it.* Upon this occasion the duke of Alva displayed the most consummate military skill: his extraordinary prudence and firmness (says a writer of that age) can never be enough admired, since he found out an excellent way of beating his enemies without fighting, whereas other victories are usually won by bloody and hazardous battles. When the prince of Orange crossed the Maese and entered into Brabant, the duke, who would not stake the Netherlands upon the success of a battle against an army stronger than his own, fortified all the towns, covered himself behind rivers, removing from one advantageous post to another, and contemning the attempts of the prince to bring him to battle.

The prince encamped his army in twenty-nine different places, without being able to draw the duke to an engagement: the towns being awed by the strong garrisons placed in them, did not offer to open their gates as the prince expected; and the army began to be in want of provisions, as the duke of Alva took care to lay waste the country in his removal from post to post.

The prince proposed a retreat to France, where the army could have plenty of provisions, and assist the Hugonots; but this the officers absolutely refused to comply with, alledging that they engaged with him to oppose the king of Spain, but not the king of France, nor would they consent to enter that country. This occasioned him to disband his army, reserving to himself a body of twelve hundred horse, and pay the troops with what ready money he had, with the sale of his plate, artillery, and baggage, and with the mortgage of the principality of Orange.

In his retreat with his twelve hundred horse, the prince met eighteen companies of foot, and three hundred horse, belonging to the duke of Alva, whom he attacked and defeated. Great numbers of the Spaniards were slain, among whom was a son of the duke of Alva; and many considerable persons were taken prisoners.

The prince of Orange, with his select body of cavalry entered France, and together with his brothers Lodowick and Henry, and the duke of Deux Ponts, went to the assistance of the Hugonots. The prince of Orange was in several actions which were fought with various success, between the protestant and popish armies, and upon every occasion gave the most signal proofs of his valour and military skill. At length, the protestants received a total defeat near Poitiers, from which battle the prince escaped with four persons belonging to his own company, and disguising themselves like peasants, they got safe to the country of Nassau.

Soon after, the famous admiral of France, Coligny, was defeated in another engagement; and he, together with count Lodowick, and a body of Hugonot horse, likewise retreated to Nassau. Here the admiral persuaded the prince of Orange to grant naval commissions to several eminent persons who had been driven from the Netherlands by the duke of Alva's cruelty and oppressions; for he not only behaved with the utmost barbarity to the protestants, but oppressed the papists, by making all the inhabitants of the Netherlands, indiscriminately, pay a tenth part of the value of all commodities and moveables which they vended, a twentieth part of all inmoveables, and an hundredth part of what they possessed.

The prince of Orange took this advice, many ships were fitted out, and at length, a formidable fleet made several successful cruizes against the Spaniards. The prince of Orange and the naval refugees were successful at sea in every action; and the prince, by means of his fleet, possessed himself of Holland and Zealand. The duke of Alva was preparing to re-take these places when he heard that Mons was taken by count Lodowick, which gave him great uneasiness, and occasioned him to turn all his thoughts towards the recovery of that important city.

The duke of Alva, accordingly, laid siege to Mons in form, and pressed it with vigour; and count Lodowick made a most brave and gallant defence. In the interim the prince of Orange had procured another army in Germany, and was promised assistance, both of men and moneys from France, that court pretending to have taken umbrage at many things in the king of Spain's conduct, and the duke of Alva's proceedings. The prince again entered the Netherlands, where the people, tired with the oppressions and shocked at the cruelties of the Spaniards, received him with demonstrations of joy. Ruremonde readily submitted, the gates of Malines immediately flew open to him, and Louvain furnished him with a sum of money. The other cities and towns seemed ready to follow their example, and his fleet was equally fortunate at sea. In this successful train of his affairs, he determined to attempt the relief of Mons, but while he was on the march for that important place he received some intelligence, which at once prevented his intentions, and clouded that bright sun of success which had darted such chearful rays on his party.

He was informed that the court of France, ever consummate in deceit, had treacherously betrayed him; that it never designed to advance any money, or to assist him in the least, in the conquest of the Netherlands. The French had, indeed carried their arts of dissimulation so far as to send an army of seven thousand men under the pretence of relieving Mons; but at the same time they gave intelligence to the duke of Alva, in what manner he might surprize their own general. He took his measures accordingly; the French were defeated, and many of the soldiers slain fell as sacrifices to the cruel policy of their own perfidious court.

By the treachery of France, when every thing appeared so much in his favour, the prince was forced to retreat, for the German troops began to mutiny for want of pay, which the prince was unable to give them, as he entirely depended on the loan of money promised him by the French court. By his address, however, he appeased the mutiny, and then sent word to his brother

Lodowick to make the best terms he could with the duke of Alva, as it was out of his power to relieve him. During the retreat, the prince was one night very near losing his life; for a body of eight hundred Spanish troops, each with a chosen foot-soldier mounted behind him, entered the camp, and penetrated as far as the prince's tent, who must have been murdered, had not his little dog, on hearing the noise, waked him by clawing his face. An alarm was immediately given, and the prince was so expeditious in collecting together a body of his men, that the scheme cost the Spaniards dear, as most of them fell sacrifices to their temerity.

Though the prince of Orange was thus unfortunate at land his naval force had great success. Count de la Mark, a brave and expert commander, with thirty ships, surprized the *Brill*. The capture of this important place so elated the count that he ordered a picture to be painted, the main figures in which were himself, and the duke of Alva with a pair of spectacles upon his nose, standing behind him. The humour of this piece arose from the word *Brill*, which, in the Flemish language, implies *Spectacles*, and from the Dutch proverb, which signifies, *He is contemptible who wants light*.

Several attempts were made to re-take the Brill, but they all proved abortive, from the great bravery of the count de la Mark. Soon after the cities and towns of Horn, Alkmar, Edam, Gonde, Oudewater, Gorcum, Leyden, Harlaem, and all Zealand, the city of Middleburg excepted, declared for the prince of Orange.

The affairs of the protestants in general, and of the prince of Orange in particular, having taken another favourable turn, by means of the naval successes, the prince went to Holland and began to establish a kind of government in those parts of the Netherlands possessed by his adherents. The fleur Theodoric de Sonoy, he made lieutenant-governor of North-Holland; Charles Boissel, governor of Flushing: and his brother, Lewis Boissel, admiral of the fleet.

At a general meeting of the States of Holland and Zealand, the supreme power of administration was unanimously given to the prince of Orange; the title of King, indeed, was offered, but he refused it, contenting himself with the authority; of which the very first use he made was to banish all Roman catholic ceremonies out of the churches; though he permitted the people to be of what religion they thought proper, and to think as they pleased. He could not, indeed, bear the idea of restraining their opinion, but he thought the public exhibition of idolatrous ceremonies both profane and impolitic.

The duke of Alva having reduced Mons, and being greatly mortified at the loss and revolt of so many places in the Netherlands, dispatched his son Don Frederic to recover them, being himself indisposed. Don Frederic, at all places, and upon all occasions, behaved with the most unexampled barbarity, and seemed to glory in the cruelties he exercised. This atrocious behaviour, however, did the Spanish cause great disservice, and united the inhabitants of the Netherlands more and more against them.

The Spaniards fitted out a fleet under the command of count de Bossut, an able officer, and a great favourite of Alva's; and the principal ship, commanded by Bossut himself, was called the *Inquisition*. This fleet, however, was defeated by that of the prince of Orange, and Bossut himself was taken prisoner.

King Philip having discovered, when too late the impolicy of cruel proceedings to reduce a revolted people to obedience, recalled the duke of Alva, and his son Frederic, from the Netherlands, and appointed Lewis de Requeseus, governor of Milan, to succeed in the administration of public affairs. In the beginning of the government of Requeseus, the Spanish forces under the command of Sancho D'Avila, a general of great experience, defeated the protestant troops commanded by count Lodowick of Nassau. In the unfortunate battle, count Lodowick, and his brother count Henry of Nassau, with Christopher count Palatine were killed: and all the baggage, with sixteen pieces of cannon, taken.

The prince of Orange was sensibly affected by the loss of the battle, as well as of his brothers, whom he tenderly loved; and the Spaniards; receiving new spirits from their success, immediately laid siege to Levden, which, however, was saved by the banks breaking down, and letting in the sea, by which accident a great part of the Spanish army was drowned. During the continuance of the siege, the inhabitants wore in their hats little labels of paper, with this inscription: Rather serve a Turk than the pope or a Spaniard, who use equal violence to body and conscience: and when letters were sent them from some of their own countrymen yet in the interest of Spain, advising them to surrender, they replied, We will defend ourselves to the last extremity; and when we have exhausted all our provisions, and eaten our left hands, we shall still have our right hands remaining to guard us from the tyranny of the Spaniards. To prevent all ideas of a surrender, we perfectly well remember the cruelties practised at Harlaem, Malines, Zutphen, and Harden.

After the providential delivery of Leyden, the prince of Orange entered the city in a kind of triumph, and was received with the most joyful acclamations. Soon after this he founded the university of Leyden, which has since been so famous all over Europe, and endowed it with many great privileges.

The governor Requeseus now thought proper to enter into a treaty at Breda, which, however, did not prove effectual by the disagreement of the parties; for the States of Holland and Zealand demanded,

- 1. The total departure of the Spaniards from the Netherlands.
- 2. The free meeting of the States.
- 3. The full exercise of the protestant religion.

To these articles the governor replied, "That the Spanish troops should be withdrawn, and an act of oblivion passed; but that the king of Spain would never consent to tolerate in his dominions any but the Roman Catholic religion.

Hence the treaty broke off, and the States immediately after coined money; on one side of which was stamped the Lion of Holland holding a naked sword, with this motto:

Securius bellum pace dubia.

Which implies,

"War is safer than a doubtful peace,"

The governor Requeseus dying, the greater part of the Spanish troops mutinied for want of pay, and not perceiving any likelihood of receiving their arrears, they determined to pay themselves by plundering all the cities and towns which still remained faithful to the Spanish government. This they did in so cruel and licentious a manner that the inhabitants determined to follow the example of those places which had declared for the prince of Orange, and to form a perpetual alliance against Spain.

The famous treaty of Ghent, made A.D. 1576, was the consequence of this determination. This treaty included all the Low Countries except Luxemburg, and consisted of twenty-five articles, of which the six following are the principal:

- 1. That there should be a general amnesty of all that was past.
- 2. That all things should continue in the same posture they were in at the time of the treaty.
- 3. That a solemn oath should be taken mutually to assist each other, to free the country from the yoke of the Spaniards, and other foreigners.
- 4. That all placards and condemnations made on the account of the late troubles, should be suspended till the meeting of the STATES-GENERAL.
- 5. That all prisoners, particularly the count de Bossut, should be set at liberty.

6. That the pillars, trophies, and statues, with inscriptions, which had been erected by the duke of Alva should be pulled down, particularly that which was set up at the court at Antwerp, and the pyramid he had raised in the place where the Hotel de Culembourg formerly stood, which Hotel he had destroyed, because the nobility met there to draw up an address against the inquisition.

In pursuance of this treaty, the castles belonging to the following places were to be demolished: Ghent, Valenciennes, Cambray, Utrecht, and Groningen: the reason of which was that no garrisons should have it in their power to curb or overawe the burghers.

After the death of Requeseus, Don John of Austria, a natural son of the emperor Charles V. and brother to king Philip, was nominated governor of the Netherlands. He imagined he could easily recover the Low Countries, having a very great opinion of himself, and a very mean one of the Dutch. These were the very rocks on which the duke of Alva split; for he used to say, *That he could stifle the Hollanders with their own butter*; which after the loss of the United Provinces, they retorted by saying, *They had choaked him with their cheese*.

On his arrival in the Netherlands, Don John affected great moderation, and pretended the king of Spain would accede to the people's own conditions, if they returned only to their allegiance. The prince of Orange having assembled the States upon this occasion, addressed them in this laconic speech:

"FRIENDS, and BROTHER-FREEMEN,

"IF you value your liberties, drive the duke of Austria from the Netherlands: be not deluded into false hopes by his fair promises. Angry princes know how to dissemble, but never forget an affront longer than it is out of their power to resent it. The king of Spain

will not be sparing of his words, or promises, to conceal his resentments; but when opportunity offers, you will be the objects of his vengeance. Remember a maxim of the Roman emperors, that *they who had offended their princes ought to be numbered among the dead.*"

Don John took up his residence in Brussels, but soon beginning to act in a very tyrannical manner; the people were alarmed for their liberties, and thought of driving him from thence by force of arms. Don John being apprized of this, judged it proper privately to withdraw, alledging that the burghers had a design upon his person. He then recalled the Spanish and German troops, and surprized the castle of Namur, while the States-General took up arms, and the burghers of Brussels solicited the assistance of the prince of Orange.

The prince went from Antwerp to Brussels upon the New Canal in a kind of triumph; the burghers of Antwerp marching on one side of the water and those of Brussels on the other. They made a noble appearance being clad in gilt armour; and the boats had a fine effect, as they were profusely decorated with the most gaudy streamers. In the city of Brussels he was received with the loudest acclamations of joy, and immediately declared *Governor-general of Brabant, and Superintendant of the financies of the United Provinces*.

It may here be proper to observe that though the life of this prince was crossed by many unforeseen misfortunes, and strange disappointments, capable of sinking the spirits of a man of less resolution, yet these accidents were frequently sweetened by those pleasures which, in spite of self-denying philosophy, delight the most social; such as the particular applause of the great, the general acclamations of the people, and the admiration of the world. Some sovereigns rule over the bodies only of their people, but he could command their bodies, and was the prince of their

minds; their persons and purses were at his service, and he reigned as the monarch of their affections. But great success, superior talents, and shining qualities are sure to create jealousy in some sordid minds.

Envy will merit as its shade pursue, But like the shadow prove the substance true.

This was the case with the prince of Orange: the homage paid by the generality of the people to his high birth, great experience, and transcendent merit, raised the jealousy, and exerted the envy of several lords and gentlemen, who formed a confederacy against him; at the head of which appeared the duke of Arschot, governor of Flanders, The marquis of Havret, Count de Lalain and his brother, Lord Montigny, the viscount of Ghent, Count Egmont the successor of him who was beheaded, the fleurs de Compigny, Rassniguem and Sueveguem.

The intent of this confederacy was to offer the government of the Low Countries to the archduke Matthias, brother to Rodolphus, emperor of Germany. They had no doubt but he would accept the offer, and if occasion required, assist them with an army for the establishment of himself in so valuable a government. With respect to their own interest, it was stipulated that the principal offices in the government were to be divided among them, and that they were to have greater liberties in the enjoyment of those offices than was enjoyed by the persons who then possessed them. Add to these reasons the gratification of their envious dispositions, by the deposition of the prince of Orange, which perhaps might be the principal satisfaction they proposed to themselves; for bad men take a peculiar pleasure in ruining those virtues which they have not resolution enough to imitate, or are sensible they cannot reach.

The prince of Orange being apprized of this storm, had the address to evade it, and prevent its affecting him; for by drawing count de Lalain, who had great interest in the army, over to his

party, and sowing discord among the other members of the confederacy, he defeated its effects. Hence it has been observed that he could turn poisons into antidotes, and by complying with the times, make his very enemies serve him, and *win his way by yielding to the tide*.

Don John, duke of Austria, died soon after of a broken heart, as some affirm, on account of his being unable to subdue the Netherlands; but others assert that he fell a sacrifice to poison, administered thy the secret orders of his brother king Philip, who was continually jealous of his aspiring temper and ambitious views. The duke of Parma was appointed to succeed Don John, and was joined by a party of malcontents, which rendered him very formidable.

This occasioned a meeting of the States-General, in A.D. 1580, when the prince of Orange represented that considering the desertion of some provinces, and the defection of several powerful men who wished, by means of the duke of Parma, to reconcile themselves to the Spanish monarch, the commonwealth was in great danger: he, therefore, seriously recommended them to come to some effectual determination. The only alternatives are (said he) an accommodation with Spain, or the choice of some neighbouring prince for your sovereign. "To trust Spain (said he) I can never advise, as you could have no security whatever for your religion, your lives, or your properties. If you call in any neighbouring prince to rule over you, and strengthen your cause, I would strenuously recommend the duke of Anjou and Alencon, only brother to Henry III. king of France, as your interest becoming his would be a great addition of strength and power to the States."

This advice was received with applause, and deputies immediately sent to the duke of Anjou, with an invitation to take upon him the sovereignty of the Low Countries, upon these conditions:

- 1. The States of Holland, Brabant, Flanders, Zealand, Utrecht, and Friezeland were willing to acknowledge him as their sovereign, and to let his posterity reign after him, on these conditions contained in the ensuing articles:
- 2. That he should leave matters of religion in the same posture as he found them at that time.
- 3. That he should preserve the privileges of the provinces.
- 4. That he should call an assembly of the States-General every year.
- 5. Nevertheless, that they should have the power to assemble occasionally, without his calling them together.
- 6. That he should not put any person into the possession of government, place, or employment, without the concurrence of the States-General.
- 7. That if he invaded any of their privileges or immunities, he should forfeit his right, and they be absolved from their oaths of allegiance, and free to elect another prince.

The duke of Anjou embraced the terms, and prepared an Army to assist the States, and establish himself. In the mean time the duke of Parma, at the head of the Spanish army, was exceedingly active, making himself master of several important places, particularly Breda, and then proceeding to besiege Cambray.

The duke of Anjou, hearing that Cambray was invested, marched to its relief, at the head of an army of his own troops, consisting of ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and compelled the duke of Parma to raise the siege. This success so pleased the Dutch that a meeting of the States was called at the Hague, and it was declared, *That the king of Spain had forfeited all* manner of sovereignty to the Netherlands, and that the inhabitants thereof were absolved from any oaths of allegiance they might have taken to him, or from considering him as their prince. The arms of Spain were then defaced, the great seal broke, and their whole determination published in a manifesto, which begins with

these remarkable words: "A prince is appointed by God Almighty, the head of his people to defend them from oppression, as a shepherd to guard his flock; but when a prince, instead of defending, oppresses, they may chuse another lord to govern them in justice, according to their privileges.

At the end of the campaign the duke of Anjou made a voyage to England to solicit the hand of queen Elizabeth in marriage, a contract having been made, and rings exchanged on both sides. The queen, however, with respect to the marriage, put him off with a variety of excuses, but supplied him with money, with some ships under admiral Howard, and sent with him the earl of Leicester, and an hundred gentlemen, who carried with them a train of five hundred inferior persons.

On the return of the duke of Anjou to the Low Countries, he made a triumphal entry into the city of Antwerp, which was to the last degree magnificent. All the sides of the canals, and the streets, were lined with burghers or soldiers, in splendid dresses or gilt armour. Triumphal arches, adorned with beautiful emblematic figures and expressive inscriptions, were placed in various parts of the city. The procession was grand, the prince of Orange and the duke of Anjou marching under a canopy of gold cloath from the port to the grand piazza, where a theatre was built, upon which was erected a superb throne. The duke of Anjou was placed on the throne, and then cloathed in the ducal cap, and mantle of red crimson velvet, lined with ermine, by the prince of Orange.* He

^{*} Some may be surprised that the prince of Orange should so readily resign the sovereignty, which had been formerly conferred upon him, to another. But he justly thought it was better to lose a little power than all. Though the duke of Anjou was sovereign, he was deemed second in power, and first in reputation. On the contrary, had he not advised the States to court this alliance, they must, of course, have lost their liberties, and he his life; for his money was spent, his jewels and plate pledged, and his principality of Orange mortgaged. So that the only result of the feeble opposition he could have made, after the defection of the malecontents, would have been his falling a sacrifice to the Spanish

then publicly swore, in the pretence of the States, the officers of the city, and a great concourse of people, "That he would religiously observe the treaty concluded with the States, guard the privileges of the provinces, and govern, not by his will, but by equity and justice." The states and magistrates, when he had taken his oath, swore fidelity to him as their sovereign prince.

Great rejoicings were made upon this occasion, but they were interrupted by an attempt made upon the life of the prince of Orange. A Spanish factor named Jaurigny, fired a pistol at him loaded with one ball, which broke several of his teeth, and pierced his left cheek. The soldiers were so enraged at this attempt that they cut the Spaniard to pieces; and the citizens were so grieved that public prayers were put up for his safety.

As soon as the prince of Orange was able to travel, he went with the duke of Anjou to Ghent, where a conspiracy was discovered against both the princes, The chief person concerned was Nicholas Salvedo, a Spaniard, who confessed that he had received four thousand crowns from the duke of Parma to destroy both the duke of Anjou and the prince of Orange, by poison or any other means he could devise. His accomplice, Francis Baza, an Italian, confessed the same thing. Baza was ordered to be executed at Ghent, but stabbed himself previous to the time appointed for his execution. Salvedo was sent to Paris, and by order of the parliament, was torn to pieces by four horses at the Greve.

A strange alteration soon happened in the conduct of the duke of Anjou, which is thus related by one who was personally connected with him, and intimately acquainted with the affairs of the Low Countries at that time.

"The duke of Anjou, imitating the conduct of Rehoboam, who ruined himself by following the counsel of young men, by the advice of the fleurs de Fervaques, St. Agnan, de la Rochepot, and

monarch's resentment.

other hot-headed young fellows that governed him, without acquainting the prince of Orange, the duke of Montpensier, count de Laval, or any other lords who were capable of giving him good counsel, resolved (contrary to his oath, and against all justice) to seize, the same day, on all the most considerable cities of the Netherlands, particularly Dunkirk, Dendermonde, Bruges, and Antwerp itself; not being able (as he said) to bear any longer the great authority of the prince of Orange, and his own limited power; complaining that he was only a sovereign in name. As a proof of his resentment he alledged that the people of Antwerp had laid a design to destroy him in his lodgings, and having rebelled by so rash an act, he was consequently absolved from his oath.

Stimulated by these weak arguments, he, with his French troops, surprized Dunkirk and Dendermonde, but failed in his attempts upon Bruges and Antwerp. At the latter city, seventeen companies of his troops entered the walls, and the remainder of his army remained without. The burghers, however, flew to arms, and attacked the French who had entered with such vigour that they compelled them to retreat the way they came. At the gate through which they entered a terrible slaughter was made, and those without were unable to assist those within; for the dead bodies filled up the gateway, and equally prevented the entry of one party, or the retreat of the other. In short, in this action; which in history is termed, the *Enterprize upon Antwerp*, more were stifled than killed by the sword; the French losing fifteen hundred men; three hundred of whom were officers and gentlemen; and the Antwerpers eighty-three burghers.

These atrocious proceedings, so contrary to his oath, determined the States to divest the duke of Anjou of all sovereign authority; which they soon after did, when he retired to Chateau Thierry, and in about a year's time, died of a broken heart.

The prince of Orange being again chief of the United Provinces; chose the city of Delft for the usual place of his residence, designing to spend there the remainder of his days; and

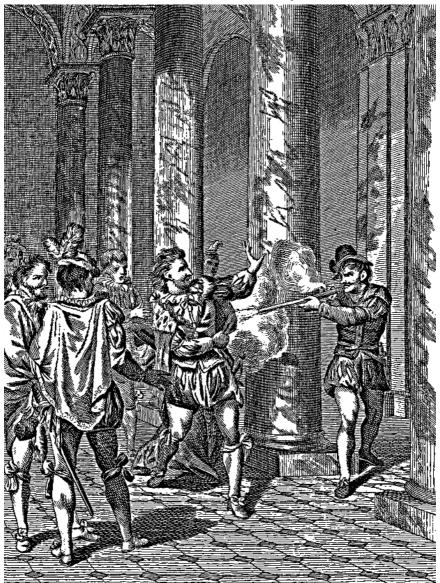
chose a new coat of Arms, viz. A sea-gull, which always rises in storms; the motto being:

Sævis tranquillus in undis In English: Undisturbed in the midst of stormy waves.

This worthy and great prince at last fell a sacrifice to treachery, being assassinated in the fifty-first year of his age, by Baltazar Gerard, a native of Franche Comté, in the province of Burgundy. This murderer, in hopes of a reward here and hereafter, for killing an enemy to the king of Spain, and in enemy to the Catholic religion, undertook to destroy the prince of Orange. Having procured fire-arms, he watched him as he passed through the great hall of his palace to dinner, and demanded a passport. The princess of Orange, observing that the assassin spoke with an hollow and confused voice, asked who he was? saying, she did not like his countenance. The prince answered, it was one that demanded a passport, which he should presently have.

Nothing farther passed before dinner; but on the return of the prince and princess through the same hall, after dinner was over, the assassin standing concealed as much as possible by one of the pillars, fired at the prince; the balls entering at the left side, and passing through the right; wounding in their passage the stomach and vital parts. On receiving the wounds, the prince only said, *Lord have mercy upon my soul, and upon this poor people*, and then expired immediately.

The lamentations throughout the United Provinces were general, on account of the death of the prince of Orange; and the assassin, who was immediately taken, received sentence to be put to death in the most exemplary manner; yet such was his enthusiasm, or folly, that when his flesh was torn by red-hot pincers, he coolly said, *If I was at liberty, I'd commit such an action over again*.



The PRINCE of ORANGE, the great supporter of the Protestants, SHOT at Delft in Holland, by BALTAZER GERARD, a papist Ruffian.

The prince of Orange's funeral was the grandest ever seen in the Low Countries, and perhaps the sorrow for his death the most sincere, as he left behind him the character he honestly deserved, viz. that of:

FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE.

BOOK IX.

Persecutions in LITHUANIA, POLAND, HUNGARY, &c.

CHAP. I.

Persecutions in LITHUANIA.

THE persecutions in Lithuania began in 1648, and were carried on with great severity by the Cossacks and Tartars. The cruelty of the Cossacks was such that even the Tartars, at last, grew ashamed of it, and rescued some of the intended victims from their hands.

The barbarities exercised were these:

Skinning alive	Boring the shin bones
Cutting off hands	Beheading
Taking out the bowels	Hanging
Cutting the flesh open	Stabbing
Putting out the eyes	Cutting off feet
Pouring melted lead	Sending to perpetual
into the flesh	banishment
Scalping	

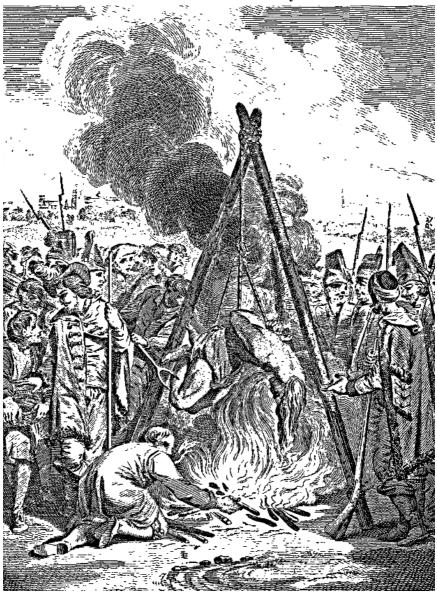
The Russians taking advantage of the devastations which had been made in the country, and of its incapability of defence, entered it with a considerable army, and like a flood bore down all before them. Every thing they met with was an object of destruction; they razed cities, demolished castles, ruined fortresses, sacked towns, burnt villages, and murdered people. The ministers

of the gospel were peculiarly marked out as the objects of their displeasure, though every worthy Christian was liable to the effects of their cruelty.

ADRIAN CHALINSKY, a clergyman venerable for his age, conspicuous for his piety, and eminent for his learning, was suddenly seized upon in his own house, partially tried, and speedily condemned. Having his hands and legs tied behind him, he was roasted alive by a slow fire; only a few chips, and a little straw being lighted at a time, in order to make his death more lingering.

A father and son named SMOLSKY, both ministers near Vilna, had their heads sawed off. A gentleman of the clerical order, in the town of Hawloczen, named Slawinskin, was cut piecemeal by slow degrees. Some perished by being exposed, during the frosty season, to the inclemency of the weather: many were flayed alive, several hacked to pieces, and great numbers sent into slavery.

As Lithuania recovered itself after one persecution, succeeding enemies again destroyed it. The Swedes, the Prussians, and the Courlanders carried fire and sword through it; and continual calamities, for some years, attended that unhappy district. It was then attacked by the prince of Transylvania, who had in his army, exclusive of his own Transylvanians, Hungarians, Moldavians, Servians, Walachians, &c. These, as far as they penetrated, wasted the country, destroyed the churches, rifled the nobility, burnt the houses, enslaved the healthy, and murdered the sick.



ADRIAN CHALINSKY A Protestant Clergyman ROASTED ALIVE by a slow fire, in the Great Duchy of Lithuania.

A clergyman who wrote an account of the misfortunes of Lithuania in the seventeenth century, says,

"In consideration of these extremities, we cannot but adore the judgment of God poured upon us for our sins, and deplore our sad condition. Let us hope for a deliverance from his mercy, and wish for restitution in his benevolence. Though we are brought low, though we are wasted, troubled, and terrified, yet his compassion is greater than our calamities, and his goodness superior to our afflictions. Our neighbours hate us at present, as much as our more distant enemies did before: they persecute the remnant of us still remaining, deprive us of our few churches left, banish our preachers, abuse our schoolmasters, treat us with contempt, and oppress us in the most opprobrious manner. In all our afflictions the truth of the gospel shone among us, and gave us comfort; and we only wished for the grace of Jesus Christ, (not only to ourselves, but to soften the hearts of our enemies) and the sympathy of our fellow Christians."

The reflections of this pious minister, who imputes the sufferings of the Lithuanian protestants to their crimes, in not practising the truths they understood and conforming to the gospel which they believed; and his hopes for relief from the merits of Jesus Christ brings to our recollection one of the finest pieces of poetry in the French language, called the *Repentant Libertine*, by Monsieur Barreaux, a new translation of which we here present to our readers:

Almighty God! though you, as mankind's friend, Excuse their follies, and their joys extend,

Yet my great faults thy vengeance must demand; And call for thunder even from mercy's hand.

Yes, such my crimes, such my offences are, They leave not justice any room to spare; Heavens interest demands I should not live; Thy clemency itself the stroke must give.

Strike then the blow, overwhelm me with my woes, Let not my tears thy equity oppose: Then thunders roar, and forked lightnings blaze, In perishing, thy avenging hand I'll praise; For wheresoever thy dreadful thunders fall, The blood of Christ redeems me from them all.

CHAP. II.

Persecutions in POLAND, Including a History of the Destruction of the City of Leśna.

IT has been the fate of many pious people, in all ages of the world, to bear the cross of Christ, and suffer persecutions on account of their opinions; for *those who are born after the flesh have always been enemies to such as are born after the spirit.*

The protestants of Poland were persecuted in a dreadful manner. The ministers in particular were treated with the most unexampled barbarity; some having their tongues cut out because they had preached the gospel truths; others being deprived of their sight on account of having read the bible; and great numbers were cut to pieces for not recanting.

Private persons were put to death by various methods; the most cruel being usually preferred. Women were murdered without the least regard to their sex; and the persecutors even went to far as to cut off the heads of sucking babes and fasten them to the breasts of their mothers.

Even the solemnity of the grave did not exempt the bodies of protestants from the malice of persecutors; for they sacrilegiously dug up the bodies of many eminent persons, and either cut them to pieces and exposed them to be devoured by birds and beasts, or hung them up in conspicuous and public places. Among the devastations made by the persecutions, the most important was the destruction of the noble city of Leśna, in Great Poland. A particular and circumstantial account of the cruel transactions attending the ruin of that city having been published by some who were witnesses of and materially concerned in the sufferings that ensued, we shall select such parts of the narrative as are most interesting and consonant to the plan of our work. Leśna, which word implies a *Grove of Hazel trees*, was originally a village in Poland, on the confines of the Lower Silesia. It rose, however to the dignity of a city, and became both populous and opulent. Religion was here reformed by the illustrious Andrew, count Palatine of Berristein, according to the rights of the Bohemian confession; and so well accepted were the pure doctrines of the gospel, that Leśna became a kind of metropolis for protestantism in that part of the country.

At the time of the Bohemian persecution in 1620, many protestants fled to Poland, most of whom settled at Leśna. The number of there was greatly encreased in A.D. 1628 and 1629, when a fierce persecution raged in Bohemia and Silesia. By the addition of such numbers of inhabitants, Leśna became so considerable as to have three marketplaces, four churches, above twenty considerable streets, and a public seminary of learning.

The citizens then surrounded the city by a wall, encompassed it with a trench, erected gates for ornaments, built towers for its defence, and constructed a noble town-house for public proceedings. Hence Leśna, became a market of trade, a seat of politeness, and an asylum for the distressed: religion flourished, manufactures thrived, and industry was encouraged.

The Roman catholics viewing with hatred the thriving state of religion in Leśna, strove to injure that city by every means in their power. Their first attack was by several accusations laid before Sigismund, king of Poland, suggesting that *Leśna was a confluence for men of all nations, a den of outlaws, an asylum for heretics, and a receptacle of traytors to the king and government.*

Luckily the king disbelieved the calumnies, and thus the Roman catholics, at that time, were defeated in their malicious intentions. In 1653, a plot was laid by the Roman catholic party, that some of the emperor's troops quartered in Silesia should privately attack, and suddenly plunder Leśna, putting all the protestants to the sword; but this scheme being divulged two days before its intended execution, the whole design was happily rendered abortive.

Soon after, the prince Palatine of Belse, lord of Leśna, dying, left his estates divided among his children. Leśna fell to his son lord Boguslaus, who was just then returned from his travels. The Roman catholics took so much pains with this young nobleman that they at length persuaded him to renounce the pure faith of Christ, and embrace popery. For his apostacy he was rewarded with great places, being created captain-general of Great Poland and arch-treasurer of the realm. Yet the papists could not make him an enemy to the protestants, or induce him to persecute nor abridge the people of Leśna of their liberties and privileges; but he still preserved inviolate all the franchises and immunities granted them by his forefathers.

This devise was then put into practice; the bishop of Posnania demanded, for the use of the Roman catholics, the principal church of Leśna, alledging that as it was founded by Roman catholics, it ought not to be used by heretics. Lord Boguslaus replied to this demand that his grandfather Andrew, count Palatine of Bernstein, had built a small church on purpose for the Roman catholics, whose numbers were but few, in order that the protestants, who were very numerous, might exercise their religion in the principal church.

This answer so exasperated the Roman catholics that they accused the count of unjustly suffering a Romish church to be kept for the service of heretics. As this accusation was made to the assembly of the States, he was obliged to appear, and the same persons being accusers and witnesses, he lost the cause, and the principal church of Leśna was ordered to be resigned to the Roman catholics. The only thing that he could obtain in favour of his protestant vassals was being permitted to build another church for themselves.

In 1655 the Swedes made an irruption into Poland and committed many depredations. The Roman catholics thought,

though this was of disadvantage to their country, to turn it to the advantage of their religion; for they laid the whole affair upon the protestants, alledging that the Polish protestants in general, and the protestants of Leśna in particular, had invited the Swedes, who were of the reformed religion, to make these incursions. Hence the Polish nobility of the Romish persuasion, began to embody themselves to repel the invaders. The clergy were very active upon the occasion, threatening excommunication to those who did not take up arms, and promising great rewards, with a relaxation of the pains of purgatory, to such as would assist not only to drive the Swedes from Poland but to exterminate the protestants.

The Romish clergy having thus awakened the suspicions, and appealed to the passions of the people, the latter took it for granted that the protestants were guilty, and began a most furious persecution. Every city, town, and village presented scenes of horror and cruelty; no inhumanity was left unthought of, no barbarity unpractised. Age, sex, or rank, made no distinction; all protestants fell alike, the undistinguished victims of bigoted rage. Fathers of families were butchered in the sight of their relations and domestics, who beheld (while unable to assist them) the blood of worthy protestants besprinkle the floors of their own houses, and stain those apartments which had been the scenes of their former happiness. Tender mothers had infants snatched from their arms, and barbarously stuck upon pikes or cruelly thrown into the fire before their faces. Chaste matrons, faithful wives, and virtuous virgins were abused with the most indelicate inhumanity: ravished in the presence of fathers, husbands, brothers, and friends; and then, to complete the scene of horror, murdered without remorse. Faithful domestics were racked to death for refusing to tell where their employers had hid their valuables.

The city of Leśna particularly suffered in this persecution, as we shall circumstantially relate. The inhabitants, for some time before the persecution began, received intimation of the intent of the popish party; but they either disbelieved the intelligence, or suffered themselves to be lulled into carelessness by a too fatal security.

On Easter-day, however, a party of catholic Poles broke into the house of a protestant minister in the territory of Leśna, but at some distance from the city. They plundered all they could find, and stole or destroyed every thing in the house. The minister himself was diligently sought for, but being at Leśna at the time, he happily escaped their fury; but they took his servant, a Bohemian named Martin Multz, and hanging a great stone about his neck, threw him into the river, where he was drowned.

This transaction began to terrify the inhabitants of Leśna, and some were for quitting the place, and securing themselves, and their effects, in such countries as tolerated the protestant religion. The magistrates, however, over-ruled these intentions, and persuaded the people to take an oath of fidelity to each other. Exclusive of the citizens and inhabitants capable of bearing arms, three troops of Swedish horse were quartered in the city as auxiliaries to the protestants. These made many successful excursions in the day-time, and the armed citizens mounted guard Thus they thought themselves secure, the citizens at night. depending on the strength of the place, and the courage of those who were to defend it; and the Swedes assuring them, that no army, or body of men, could possibly approach Lesna without their being sensible of it, from continually scouring the country; and therefore, the early intelligence they could always give would prevent any attack, before the inhabitants could be able to repel it.

Thus self-lulled into a fancied security, what must have been the astonishment of the Leśnians, when, early one morning, they saw a multitude of armed persons issue from the neighbouring woods, and draw up in regular order, not above half a mile from the suburbs of the city? An alarm was immediately given, the citizens flew to their arms, and mounted the walls. Consternation seized the women, fear the children, and suspense the men. The magistrates were greatly surprized that no trumpeter, or flag of

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intelligence appeared, to acquaint them with the design of those who made such a formidable appearance before their walls. The enemies who threatened the city of Leśna were papist Polanders, headed by some of the most bigoted of the Polish Roman catholic nobility. They began their operations by destroying a lime-kiln in the suburbs. On this commencement of hostilities the Swedish horse issued from the city, and several severe skirmishes ensued, in which many, both of the Poles and Swedes, were killed.

Some of the inhabitants of Leśna, who acted only on foot, left the city to assist the Swedish horse. The Poles perceiving this, made a sham retreat towards the woods; and by that means drew both horse and foot after them, till they were a considerable way from the city. They then faced about and returned to the charge with great impetuosity, and repulsed both the Swedish horse, and Leśnian foot. About four hundred Polish cavalry pursued them so far that they were near entering the gates at the same time. This was, however, prevented by the warden shutting the gate when the popish troops were just close to it. No farther mischief happened that day but the burning of some granaries and windmills, and setting fire to the outward parts of the suburbs.

During the night a strict guard was kept by the men upon the walls and at the gates, while the women assembled in the churches and marketplaces, and incessantly offered up prayers to heaven for protection and succour. In the morning, as no enemy appeared, the Leśnians determined to bury the dead. Upon examination they found that about forty of the inhabitants of Leśna and Swedes, had been killed in the various skirmishes and actions of the preceding day; but of the popish party, upwards of an hundred were slain, among whom was the commander in chief, named Cresky, a man of consummate abilities as an officer, and possessed of the most undaunted courage.

A principal Officer, named by the administrator, and several of his retinue, having privately left Leśna, many of the people were thrown into consternation; and petitions were presented to the

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magistracy, that the women and children might be sent from the city before the enemy renewed the attack. These petitions were founded principally on three reasons, viz.

- 1. That the women and children might be in a place of safety.
- 2. That in case of a close siege, by the removal of so many mouths, the provisions might last longer.
- 3. That the men might not be infected by female and infant terrors, interrupted by their cries and tears, or unmanned by their entreaties.

A worthy magistrate was greatly against complying with the prayer of these petitions; and to induce the rest of the magistracy to embrace the same sentiments, he thus addressed them:

FELLOW CITIZENS,

I cannot look upon your proposal to send away the women and children without disapprobation. You cannot let them go unaccompanied by a convoy. Those who go as a convoy will not return; consequently, your garrison will be weakened, and your incentives to fight removed. Your hearts will be with your wives and children, and not in your breasts, to combat the enemy. Anxious for their safety, you will be solicitous to fly to them, rather than die on the ramparts. Of old, the Spartans took their wives and children to the wars with them, that the dearest objects of their affections might be present to inspire them with a greater degree of ardour; and love gave that force to courage which duty could not perform. To answer in form the reasons on which the petitions are founded; I must observe:

- 1. That the removal of the women and children will not be a security of their safety, as they may be intercepted and taken in their retreat.
- 2. That the removal of so many mouths will be no material saving of provisions; as what will appear necessary to furnish the convoy, cannot but diminish greatly the stock of the garrison.
- 3. That the terrors and tears of the women, instead of disarming, will stimulate the men to act more arduously in their defence.

The arguments, however, of this worthy magistrate had not the desired effect; the fears of the people prevailed, and a majority of the council gave way to their apprehensions. The Swedish commander, indeed, joined with the magistrate in wishing to prevent any persons from being suffered to leave the town, and proposed even to force the opulent not to shew so bad an example; but this motion was likewise over-ruled. Several of the clergy petitioned for dismission, and leave of absence, urging that the Roman catholic enemy would chiefly direct their rage against them. A gentleman, on hearing this petition, said, he wondered the clergy, above all persons, could make such a petition, as it was more particularly incumbent on them to stay at such a time of public danger, in order to administer spiritual comfort to their flock, and sustain their wounded against the terrors of death.

Arguments however, were useless against the effects of fear: the petitioners persisted in their importunity, and many were suffered to depart. Accordingly, three hundred wagons and carts, loaded with persons of both sexes, goods, cloaths, provisions, &c. left the city that evening. This ill-advised and inconsiderate flight of part of the clergy and citizens of Leśna, together with the women, children, &c. was one of the most unhappy steps that could be taken; for the papist Poles, terrified at the warm reception they had met in their attack, and the capacity in which the Leśnians appeared to defend themselves, had determined to abandon the enterprize; but hearing of this transaction, it gave them new spirits. They judged that factions had divided the city, fear seized the people, and irresolution presided in the council; for without fear none would have fled; and had fortitude or resolution been in the council, none would have been suffered to go.

Thus encouraged, the Polish commanders sent a letter to the magistrates of Leśna, demanding a surrender of the city, and promising good terms on an immediate compliance, but threatening destruction to the city, and themselves, if they refused to accede to the proposals. At the same time they informed them they had received such reinforcements as would enable them to take the town by storm.

The citizens were thrown into great consternation by this letter, and what redoubled their fears was the want of gunpowder, as that necessary commodity was nearly exhausted in the late attack. Being informed that the enemy were approaching, they entirely lost their courage, threw away their weapons, and fled. The Swedish troops seeing the citizens in such a panic, caught the general contagion, and made a precipitate retreat. The magistrates and members of the council were the last, but not the least expeditious, of those who took to flight; and thus was a fine city left almost destitute of inhabitants in a few hours; for none remained but the aged, the sick, some cripples, a small number of courageous citizens who determined to stay at all events, and the Roman catholics.

The Swedish troops retreated to Franstad, and the citizens made the best of their way over the moors, to the passes of Thorland and Krosken; but many were lost in the bogs and morasses by mistaking their way.

At Leśna a trumpeter appeared at the Posnania gate, and sounding his instrument, demanded to know the intentions of the citizens. He was answered by one Kolechen, a man of great learning, and one of those citizens who had the courage to stay and

wait the event, notwithstanding his possessions and wealth were much greater than many of those who fled. He told the trumpeter that the gates were open, the Swedes gone, and the citizens who remained were ready to surrender at discretion.

Several of the Polish nobility then advanced towards the gate, when Kolechen found some difficulty to persuade them that such numbers of the citizens were fled; for, on receiving the first intelligence of it, they conceived some treachery, as they well knew that if a proper degree of fortitude had been displayed, Leśna might have held out for a very considerable time.

At length these nobles, and those who attended them as delegates from the army, being persuaded of the truth of the intelligence they had received, entered the city, where they were entertained by Dlugos, a rich senator; but growing intoxicated with some very strong wine they had drank, reason forsook them, and they began first with threats to menace, and then attempted by violence to seize Kolechen. He, however, escaped from them, and saved himself by flight.

Towards night the delegates returned to the army to report what they knew. The ensuing morning the army advanced, entered the city, and put all they met with to the sword. Even the Roman catholics did not escape, as the troops would not believe them when they said they were of that persuasion. They made the deaths of the unhappy victims a diversion, and seemed to amuse themselves with refining upon cruelty. Their principal barbarities were:

Plucking out the eyes, Slitting the nose, Cutting out the tongue, Cutting off the hands, Cutting off the feet, Beheading.

They plundered the shrine of prince Frederic, landgrave of Hesse, who, about half a year before, was slain at Costena, and

buried at Leśna. Among other things they took some gold and silver keys that were in the coffin, the silk lining, the ermine robe which was about the corpse, &c.

Upon this occasion there appeared to be a prejudice against Leśna in the breasts of the Poles, which bordered upon madness; for the city was stocked with immense quantities of merchandize, household goods, provisions, &c. which would have greatly enriched, and been useful to the plunderers: but instead of carrying these away, they determined to destroy Leśna, and every thing in it, the very same day on which they entered it.

This, indeed, had been a preconcerted design, for they had brought with them several waggons loaded with pitch, tar, torches, and other combustible matters, in order totally to destroy the city, and exterminate the inhabitants. They set it on fire, accordingly, in several places, being particularly careful that the churches and other public works should not escape the conflagration; and saying in derision that the remains should merit this motto:

En cmeres ubi Leśna suit. Which implies, Where fairest Leśna stood of old, Now only ashes we behold.

The fire continued burning three days with incredible fury; and to complete the work, seventy mills, with a beautiful park in the neighbourhood, were destroyed, the mills being burnt and the trees of the park, with the enclosures, cut down.

The inhabitants of some of the neighbouring villages, alarmed by the conflagration, came towards Leśna with an intent, if possible, to extinguish the flames; but the troops murdered them for their pains, and burnt the villages to which they belonged for their officiousness. The property destroyed upon this occasion is inconceivable; nor was the destruction of several fine libraries a circumstance the least to be lamented. The sick in the hospitals and work-houses, and all the aged who were bed-ridden, fell indiscriminate martyrs to the dreadful conflagration. Such are the dreadful effects of bigot rage, partial malice, and wild revenge!

The refugee Leśnians applied to the burning of their city the following text, relative to the destruction of Zion by the Babylonians.

Lamentations, chap. I. v.12 to 17.

Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith Jehovah hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger. From above hath he sent fire into my bones, and it prevaileth against them: he hath spread a net for my feet, he hath turned me back: he hath made me desolate, and faint all the day. The yoke of my transgressions is bound by his hand; they are wreathed, and come up upon my neck: he hath made my strength to fall, the Lord hath delivered me into their hands from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord has trodden under foot all my mighty men in the midst of me: he hath called an assembly against me. Zion spreadeth forth her hands, and there is none to comfort her.

* * * * * * * * * * *

As a singular circumstance is particularly recorded upon this occasion, we shall not omit its insertion. Some of the refugee Leśnians, as soon as they had passed the Polish boundary, stopped at a village of Silesia, called Czirna, which is only about two miles from Leśna: from hence they beheld the flames devouring the place which was their late residence. While they viewed the terrific scene with afflicted eyes, the smoak and fire blowing that way, a leaf of paper, half burnt, fell upon the ground. One of the Leśnians picked it up, and finding it to be a leaf of the Bible began to peruse it, when the first text he cast his eye upon was these words: *With what measure ye meet it shall be measured to you again.* Matt. chap. VII. v.2. He afterwards perused several other texts of scripture which it contained, tending to comfort the afflicted, and directing them to put their trust and confidence in the providence of God. This leaf was afterwards presented to a Silesian lord, and placed in a museum as a valuable and sacred curiosity.

The people of Leśna, who had fled to this village, had a sermon preached to them upon these words: *Render unto them a recompence, O Lord! according to the works of their hands*, Lament. chap. III. v.64. which they thought verified by the attacks of the Poles upon Cosrena, which was defended by a Swedish garrison. The Poles made many furious assaults, but were always repulsed with loss: and at length, forced to retire in confusion.

The Polish Roman catholic nobles and clergy now had a great difference with the priests. The nobles accused the priests with having made them burn a great many valuable things which they might have carried away; and the priests accused the nobles of having neglected to exterminate the heretics, as they called the protestants, using at the same time, this remarkable expression: *You have burnt the birds nest, but let the birds escape.*

> O Lord, how little do we know; How little of thy presence feel? While we continue here below, And in these earthly houses dwell.

When will these veils of flesh remove, And not eclipse our sight of God? When wilt thou take us up above, To see thy face without a cloud?

Shew thy omnipotence to save, The characters of sin efface;

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Thine image on our hearts engrave, And let us feel thy sweet embrace.

Dart in our hearts a heavenly ray, A ray which still may shine more bright; Encreasing to a perfect day, Till we awake in endless light.

CHAP. III.

Narrative of the Delegates from the Inhabitants of the City of Leśna, which was Published in England during the Protectorship of Oliver Cromwell.

AFTER the destruction of Leśna, the scattered remnants of the inhabitants sent delegates to several protestant powers to procure assistance; and in particular to England when a considerable sum of money was raised by contribution for their relief. The delegates who came to England by the permission of Oliver Cromwell published the following paper, entitled,

The utmost Fury of Anti-Christ against the Protestant, or Reformed Church of the Bohemian Confession in Poland, briefly related.

"WHILE it pleased God, by the means of Wickliffe, to kindle the light of the gospel in Great-Britain, John Huss asserted the truth of Jesus Christ in the midst of the thick darkness of popery in Bohemia. By the providence of God many thousands were stirred up to receive the gospel, who despising the cruelty of tyrants, planted the faith till it took deep root, and grew up into many flourishing churches. Shortly after, Anti-Christ breathing out his fury, (in a dreadful persecution) the truth was banished from Bohemia, and the professors being driven from thence, transplanted the gospel into Poland, where being favourably entertained by king Sigismund, they, in a short time, became so numerous as to be little inferior to the papists with respect to numbers, and were soon able to boast equal authority and privileges.

Hence it came to pass that the kings, at their coronation, not only promised but solemnly swore protection to such as disagreed from the Romish religion; and therefore, they proceeded not to open persecutions, save only in those cities where the jesuits had seated themselves in power, viz. Cracovia, Posen, Lublin, Vilna, &c. where, by their disciples, and by their stirring up the common people to fury, many of the churches of the reformed professors were, a long time since, demolished, and diverse ministers cruelly massacred.

Nevertheless, the malice of their enemies remained unallayed, they were many ways afflicted; first indirectly; afterwards by pretences under colour of law, until those churches being overthrown, were not many years ago reduced to a very inconsiderable number; especially in the reign of the late king, when the papists being confident they might act with impunity, brought things to such a pass that there were no more than twenty-one congregations remaining in Great Poland and those were in a declining state. But among these twenty-one remaining churches, the chief, and as it were the mother of them all, was that of Leśna, which was divided into three congregations, the Bohemian, Polonian, and German, each of which had their own pastors; but the communicants were jointly about two thousand. This church, therefore, was, in the first place, exposed to the enemies malice; and in the next, destined to ruin, on account of its being famed, and much frequented because of the synod celebrated, and by reason of its having a protestant university and printing house, from whence books of the reformed religion were frequently published to the world

In the year 1655, when the Swedish army from Pomerania drew near the borders of Poland and the nobility were summoned to arms, according to the custom of the country, the papists broke out into many violent expressions, saying, the heretics have invited the enemy, and therefore ought to be put to the sword, and extirpated. These reports, though false, were circulated with industry, and though built on falsehood, easily found credit among the sworn enemies to the gospel, who sought nothing so much as our ruin. Hereupon the papists, who at first intended to come to an accommodation with the Swedish army, being terrified by its power, changed their intent, and concluded to surrender all Great Poland entirely into the king's protection; and namely, the royal cities of Posen, Calissen, Meseric, and Leśna, which was expressly added. In a short time after, they turned their arms not against the Swedes, but against our evangelical professors, as conspiring with the Swedes upon the account of religion.

They first began with the inhabitants of Leśna, with the vindictive resolution of putting all to the sword, and destroying that heretical city (as they called it) by fire; and they would have effected both, had not God, by sending some persons to give them intelligence of the design, possessed many of the citizens with fear, who, leaving their estates and properties, fled; and thus, within the space of a few hours, a most populous city, abounding with all manner of wealth, was left almost destitute of inhabitants, who in a miserable condition, were wandering about the neighbouring woods and marshes of Silesia. But the Polish nobility, with their papist army entered into the city, and did what they pleased, slaying a number of old decrepit people and sick persons that were not able to save themselves by flight. The city itself was then ransacked and destroyed by fire, which continued burning three days, so that nothing remained but rubbish and ashes.

In what manner they would have used the refugee citizens who fled, but more especially the pastors, they shewed by their heroic conduct to those remaining, and in other places, by the most savage slaughtering of diverse ministers of the church, and other faithful members of Christ of both sexes; for of all that they laid hold on, they gave no quarter, but cruelly put every one to death with most exquisite tortures. They endeavoured to force Samuel Cardus, pastor of the church of Czuertzinen, to renounce his religion by miserably treating him with all manner of cruelty. But as he resisted both their importunities and barbarities, they first put out his eyes, and led him about for a spectacle to the people: they then pulled off his fingers ends with pincers; and as he continued still stedfast to his faith, poured melted lead down his throat; and at length severed his head from his body by jamming the neck between two folding doors.

JoHN JACOBIDES, pastor of the church of Dembinck, ALEXANDER WARTENS, his colleague, and another person were seized at Lubin, and after having, for some hours, been exposed to the derision of the people, they cut their throats with a razor, threw them headlong into a pit, and covered them with dung.

The papists had, for some time, sought after a young man named ANDREW OXLITUS, who had been educated for a clergyman. Some of his pursuers,

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at length, found him in an open field, and having cut off his head with a scythe, they slashed both that and the body to pieces in a most shocking manner. The same fate befell ADAM MILTA, a citizen of Leśna; but they more cruelly handled an old man, of above seventy years of age, whose name was SIMON PUTEN; and many others, whose names it were too tedious to relate.

Of the barbarous executions upon the weaker sex, besides other examples, many horrid trophies were erected in the city of Leśna. A pious matron who was the mother of three children, not being expeditious enough to leave the city, was slain in the open street, where they cut off her hands and feet, and cutting off her childrens heads, they laid two of them at her breasts, and the third by her side. Another woman, having her hands and feet cut off, and her tongue cut out, was tied up in a sack, where she expired in the most miserable manner.

It is notoriously known how their fury exerted itself even against the dead: some they dragged out of their graves and cut to pieces, as at Zichlin; others they exposed naked for a public spectacle, as at Leśna, of which outrageous transaction we had an example even in the dead body of his most serene highness the landgrave of Hesse, who was some time before slain in a barbarous and tyrannical manner at Costena, but buried by the protestants at Leśna. Similar were the effects of their fury upon the body of the most noble Arciszevius, the brave admiral of the Hollanders, in Brazil, whose body was dragged from its tomb, and found, after the conflagration of the city, in the streets. Leśna being destroyed, the fury of the papists proceeded to the persecution of others: so that they, in a short time, utterly demolished all our congregations, not only driving away the ministers, but destroying the churches; particularly at Karmin, Skochy, Dembinck, Czrieuzin, &c.

At Skochy in particular, sixty Bohemian exiles of both sexes, were cruelly put to death.

What we have represented is the miserable state and condition of our congregations, five thousand of whom, exclusive of children, are miserably dispersed in banishment, being reduced to wander about the marshes of Silesia, Lusatia, Hungary, &c. where they are destitute of comfort, and exposed to the envy and hatred of the papists. The protestant ministers and pastors dare not openly preach to them, or administer the sacrament, but in private meetings among woods, or in fens; where they can only be seen by God himself, who beholds at once their calamities, and chears their spirits in the midst of adversity.

Destitute of common necessaries, they suffer all the afflictions incident to hunger and nakedness, and are become a remarkable spectacle of calamity to the Christian world; for it has pleased the sovereign wisdom who governs all things that we should be inheritors of the cross and persecutions of those men from whom we have derived the original of our doctrine, and eternal succession; for we are the remaining progeny of the Waldenses, with whom being raised from the ashes of Huss, and with whom combining into the same holy fellowship of the faith and afflictions of Christ, we have, for two whole ages and more, been perpetually subject to the like calamities, until we, at length, suffered the extremities already related, greater than was known in the memory of our fathers, and which threaten us with utter destruction, unless God prevents such an event.

This exigency constrains us, with tears of sorrow, to set forth our distress, and apply to the sensibility of others for the relief of our own afflictions. If therefore, there exists any consolation for the love of Christ, any comfort for Christian affection, any fellowship and friendship for the sake of the gospel and its humane precepts, we beg that our miseries may be considered, and that Christian commiseration may warm the pious into benevolence. Let those not perish, whom the same faith, and the same spirit of truth, has so nearly joined in spiritual relationship as Christian brethren. Rather pity our afflictions, and relieve our necessities, as they have not been the consequence of crimes, or follies, but are the effects of the malice of our enemies, who have persecuted our forefathers and now persecute us, only because we differ from them in religious opinion.

Signed in the name of the said distressed churches, by their delegates and exiles, for the cause of Christ.

ADAM SAMUEL HARTMAN, pastor of the church of Leśna, in Poland and rector of the university there.

PAUL CYRIL, A member of the university of Leśna.

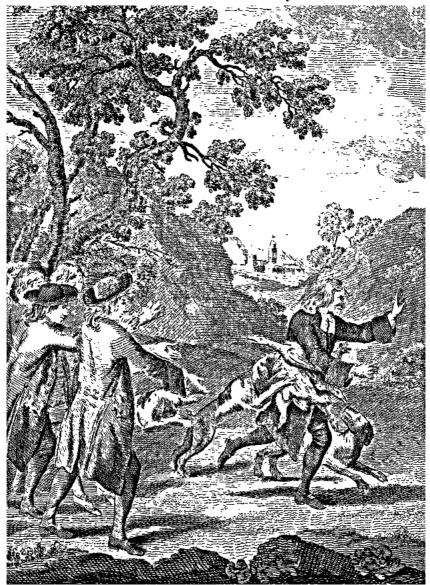
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A bishop of a very cruel nature presided over a considerable diocese in Hungary. This prelate was superficially learned, and habitually morose. His superstition made him give a ready ear to any tale which might be told him against those whom he called

and considered as heretics. His bigotry caused him to mistake malice for zeal, and his sanguinary disposition inflamed him to the greatest barbarities. A character of this kind is certainly more proper for the office of a gaoler than the mission of a preacher, or for the business of an executioner than the trust of a prelate. In consequence of such a temper, joined to so much power; this bishop spoke of the protestants in conversation with malice, preached against them in the pulpit with fury; and treated them, whenever they fell into his hands, with cruelty. Innumerable appear to have been the persons who, by his order, were partially tried, condemned unheard, and executed without remorse. Shooting, drowning, hanging, beheading, &c. he deemed favours; and thought them too mild for heretics: a long imprisonment in a loathsome dungeon, personal ill usage, scorn, contempt, derision, a scanty allowance of provisions that made life labour under a lingering famine, were the mildest modes of treatment that he thought a protestant deserved, and the dreadful torments that he made many of them suffer.

Being informed that a protestant clergyman had arrived from some distant part to one of the towns within his jurisdiction, the bishop sent some of his dependants to apprehend him, and gave them strict orders to bring what books he had, to search for his papers, and to take particular notice of what he was about when they apprehended him. They came accordingly to the house, and waited at the door for some time, when they burst into the place and seized him: they then packed up his books and papers, and brought him to the bishop. The haughty prelate examined him with great ferocity, and treated him with much insolence. The accusations formed against him were as follow:

- 1. Professing the reformed religion.
- 2. Keeping by him the Bible in the vulgar tongue.
- 3. Having in his possession several manuscript sermons, apparently written by himself, and several books in favour of the protestant persuasion.



A PROTESTANT MINISTER of HUNGARY With Ducks, Geese and Fowls tied round his Body and HUNTED to DEATH by DOGS.

To these charges he answered, "That the profession of the reformed religion was agreeable to his conscience; that the Bible was a precious book in all tongues; that the sermons of his writing were consonant to the precepts of the gospel; and the books found in his lodgings were truly orthodox, and written by learned and pious authors."

His defence being deemed insufficient for his justification, he was condemned to death, and by a mode of punishment as singular as it was cruel; which was by having geese, hens, ducks, &c. tied about his body. He was then compelled to run, and dogs set after him, who in attempting to catch at and tear the fowls, tore him in a most shocking manner. Jaded with running, and fatigued with the weight of the feathered creatures tied to him, he sunk to the ground, and fell a victim to the wounds he received from the devouring jaws of the dogs, who, in biting and snapping at what they thought their prey, worried and tore him to death.



CHAP. IV.

The Life of GUSTAVUS ERICSON, king of Sweden, Including an Account of the Reformation of Religion in SWEDEN, and Several Martyrdoms which happened in that Country.

IN the reign of Christian the Second, king of Denmark, the Swedish lords chose Steno Stur to be their governor. This election was opposed by Gustavus, archbishop of Upsal, who persuaded Christian, king of Denmark, to set up his claim to the crown of Sweden. Christian took his advice, and attempted to ascend the Swedish throne by force of arms, but spent a year in military operations without effecting any thing. The archbishop of Upsal was not rewarded according to his expectations; for the Danes, perceiving that he sought rather to gratify his revenge and promote his own interest, than to forward the king of Denmark's claim, were greatly incensed against him. At the same time the temporalities of his archbishopric were seized in Sweden by the governor.

The archbishop, being greatly enraged at his ill fortune, applied to the pope, who excommunicated the governor, and all the principal persons of his party, for having seized the temporalities of a son of the church. This excommunication having occasioned great divisions and factions in Sweden, the king of Denmark determined to take advantage of the intestine broils of the Swedes, and make another attack upon their country.

A formidable Danish army being raised, they entered the Swedish frontiers under the command of an able general. Steno Stur, the governor of Sweden, gave battle to the Danes, but was defeated and wounded in the action. The governor retreated precipitately to Stockholm, the capital of Sweden; and such as chose to adventure every thing for the service of their country repaired to him thither. Many discontented Swedes, and such who could suit their dispositions to the times, joined the Danish standard, and determined, at all events, to follow the tide of success.

The Danish general pursued the fugitive Swedes to Stockholm, which he blockaded, and sent to Denmark for reinforcements, his army having been too much wasted to undertake a liege. In a short time the king of Denmark in person arrived at the head of a considerable reinforcement, and the siege was immediately begun.

The Swedes defended the city with such bravery that the king of Denmark grew tired of the siege, and a negotiation for a treaty of peace was set on foot. The king however dissembled in all his proceedings, for he meant to break the treaty whenever he found it convenient, and even committed an act of the greatest treachery at the time; for pretending he did not care, on account of his personal safety, to enter the city of Stockholm without hostages. The Swedes, who were perfectly sincere in their proceedings, sent the sons of their principal nobility as pledges for his security. The Dane had no sooner got the young nobles into his possession, than he refused either to enter the city, or sign the treaty; but turned the siege again into a blockade, and putting the young nobles on board a ship, he took them with him as prisoners to Denmark. As soon as convenient, this treacherous king returned with more forces, and renewed the siege again with fresh vigour.

Among the pledges who were treacherously carried prisoners to Denmark was Gustavus Ericson, afterwards king of Sweden. This youth was the son of a Swedish nobleman named Eric, and was distantly related to the governor Steno Stur. He was imprisoned in Denmark for the space of four years, when being permitted some times to take the diversion of hunting, he found an opportunity to escape, and fled to Lubeck, one of the Hanse-Towns. Hearing that Gustavus was at Lubeck, his keeper, Sir Ericus Banner, went to that city in pursuit of him, and demanded

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the delivery of him from its magistrates. Gustavus requested a hearing, and pleaded for himself before the magistracy, alledging:

- 1. That he was no lawful prisoner to the king of Denmark, having only been delivered, among others, as a pledge for the personal safety of that monarch, during the treaty between the Danes and Swedes.
- 2. That the king of Denmark, contrary to the faith of treaties, and the honour of a king, had carried him, and the rest of the pledges, to Denmark, and there made them captives.
- 3. That now he was under the public faith of the state of Lubeck, and claimed its protection, as he had fled to it for refuge, and sought safety in it's laws.

Great disputes arose upon the occasion in the senate of Lubeck: many being of opinion that he ought to be returned to the king of Denmark, as his prisoner politically, if not equitably; and others, at the head of whom was the consul, or chief magistrate, declaring that he ought to be protected, as he had placed his confidence on them. This last opinion was approved of by the majority, and it was agreed not to give up Gustavus. The decision of the magistracy of Lubeck served the purpose of Gustavus for the present, but he had well considered the fluctuating state of all sublunary things, that the interests of nations soon change, and especially such petty states as Lubeck. For these reasons he withdrew himself to Calmer, with the privity of the consul only. An attempt being made upon his life at Calmer, he was advised by his friends to retire incognito to his own country. This advice he accepted, though he well knew its difficulty and danger; for he was under the necessity of passing through Smalland, where the Danish emissaries were exceedingly active.

During his journey he was greatly afflicted to see the delusions of one part of the people, and the oppressions of the other. Some had joined the Danish interest, allured by their insinuations; and

those who refused to act with such meanness to themselves and treachery to their country, were treated with the greatest barbarity. To deter others from such desertion from the interests of Sweden, he told those to whom he could confidentially speak that they ought to take example by many of their countrymen, who had as fair promises from the Danes, yet met with nothing but miserable bondage or cruel treatment. *There is less danger (said be) in standing the push of the Danish pike, than in committing yourselves, and all that is dear to you, to so broken a reed as their fair words; for those have already given a mortal stab to the liberties of your country. The advice of Gustavus was relished by the common people, but several Swedes of rank, being pre-engaged to the Danes, over-ruled it, and persuaded the deluded multitude that to side with the Danes was to serve themselves.*

Gustavus, finding the people in this part of the country more inclined to be quiet slaves than turbulent freemen, and to submit to oppression rather than struggle for liberty, thought proper to remove to his own patrimonial estates. Here he remained quiet for some time, but at length unbosomed himself to a dignified clergyman, and discovered to him a plan which he had formed to rescue his countrymen from oppressions and restore it to its ancient privileges.

The prelate being old, indolent, and naturally timid, attempted to dissuade Gustavus from his enterprize, alledging the advantages that every where attended the king of Denmark. He had a formidable army in the field, a powerful kingdom to draw reinforcements from, most of the towns and fortresses of Sweden were in his possession, and he had money, the sinews of war, to support him, in which necessary circumstances Gustavus was deficient. He concluded by advising him to take advantage of a proclamation just then made by the king of Denmark, which was a kind of act of oblivion, and specified a general pardon, including even Gustavus himself. Gustavus heard this advice with silence, but determined not to take it, or trust to the promises of a monarch of whose treachery and deceit he was already but too well apprized.

During the whole time of Gustavus's confinement and travels, the Danish army had continued before Stockholm, for the king not being able to reduce it by a siege, had turned the siege, once more, into a blockade; so that the Danish troops were, upon the whole near five years before that capital. During this space the king of Denmark used not only force, but all manner of artifices, to get possession of the city. He, at length, agreed to sign the treaty which he had before declined to do; to confirm the citizens in all their ancient privileges and immunities; at the same time bribing one lord, flattering another with promises of dignities and honours, and laying open future scenes of pleasure to a third, taking advantage of their avarice, pride, or libertinism.

His artifices, more than arms, at last prevailed; for by good words, fair promises, protestations, execrations, declarations, proclamations, and letters-patent, the integrity or patience of the Swedish lords were subdued. He was admitted to be their lawful king, solemnly crowned, and great rejoicings made both by Swedes and Danes. The king of Denmark, having succeeded in his main design, began next to plot the destruction of the Swedish lords. It was proposed by a Dane that the Swedish nobility should be accused of a treasonable intent to assassinate the king and destroy the whole body of Danish chiefs, which would give them a fair pretence to retaliate, and to murder the Swedish lords, as if in their own defence; but the king rejected this plot as rash and dangerous, since men driven to despair might act desperately, and in a country so populous as Sweden, an insurrection might happen, and the Danes, for all their present superiority, be entirely destroyed.

The king himself, who was all artifice and dissimulation, suggested a much more feasible plot. This was to consider the Swedish lords as excommunicated persons who were under the sentence of the Pope's curse; and it was contrived that the archbishop of Upsal, who had procured the sentence of excommunication, should again be brought upon the tapis as their accuser.

The archbishop being a bigot in principles, and revengeful by nature, was glad of an opportunity at once to please his superstition, and gratify his vanity, by sacrificing the Swedish lords, who were protestants by profession, and had been his enemies.

The better to draw the destined victims together, the king gave a grand entertainment the third day after his coronation, to all the nobility and officers, whether Danes, Swedes, Germans, or others. In the midst of the feast, to the great surprize of all who were not in the secret, the archbishop of Upsal suddenly arose, and formally accused the Swedish lords, making three articles of impeachment, viz.

- I. That they were excommunicated persons under the curse of the pope.
- II. That they had treasonably plotted against the king, and sacrilegiously robbed the church.
- III. That they had wickedly seized his estate, and deprived him of his dignity, and therefore by such usage to a prelate, and a son of the church, had violated the laws of the state and ordinances of the priesthood.

The king admitted the plea, the guards were called in and the unhappy lords seized in the very hour of festivity. This treacherous monarch, who was a disgrace to the title of sovereign, then gave orders to apprehend several eminent gentlemen and citizens, as being either directly or indirectly concerned in the transactions of the captive lords. Without a form of a trial, or being admitted to make a defence, they were that night unjustly condemned, and the next day, Nov. 8, A.D. 1520, most barbarously executed; the cruel Dane martyring in one day above one hundred

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noblemen, gentlemen and opulent citizens. The tragedy, however, was not to end here; for while the people were struck with a panic at the barbarity of the Danes, and in the utmost consternation for the murder of their principal people, the troops were let loose upon the protestant inhabitants of that fine city, where a most dreadful slaughter ensued; no respect being paid to sex, age, rank, or profession. To be a protestant and a Swede was sufficient for the Danes to exercise all the malignant cruelty that the most infernal imagination could devise.

Avarice succeeded barbarity; for immediately after the massacre of Stockholm, the king seized upon the estates of the deceased, and allowed his troops to plunder their houses. His next proceedings were to publish an edict, ordering every Swede to deliver up his arms. The edict was no sooner complied with, than the king invented another artifice of a nature so diabolically cruel. that none but a head infernally wicked could have conceived it; he framed a number of laws for the punishment of trifling offences; but the offences were such as it was hardly possible for any man to avoid committing them frequently, and the punishments were dreadfully inadequate to the crimes, as they were no less than the amputation of an arm or a leg. The policy of the king in this invention was to disable as many of the robust Swedish youth as possible (for these laws were not levelled against the Danes) and to render unservicable such as might otherwise be at one time or other induced to appear as soldiers against him.

The number of cripples he made by this infamous expedient is surprising; and the Danes were so pleased with the contrivance that it became proverbial, as they have an adage at this day with which they upbraid the Swedes, and which may be thus expressed in English;

With one arm and a wooden leg. A Swede can plough or beg his bread.

When intelligence of the massacre of Stockholm reached the ears of Gustavus, and among other particulars, that his own father, the lord Ericson, was in the list of the murdered, he was fired with indignation against the cruel and treacherous Danish king, and determined, if possible, to rescue his country from oppression. With this intent he aimed to stir up the people in the mountainous parts, but he found them ignorant, stupid, and insensible to the calls of humanity; contented with their own situation, and unwilling to assist others in distress.

Gustavus then repaired to a castle belonging to a nobleman named Aaron Peter, who had, among a few others, escaped the carnage of the lords, by being absent from Stockholm. Gustavus made himself known, and imparted to him his whole intended plan of operations. The nobleman pretended to come into his scheme, and approved of his designs, but deceitfully went and informed Bruno, the Danish lieutenant in those parts, of the whole matter, and discovered who Gustavus was. The intent of this treachery was however providentially defeated, by means of Aaron Peter's wife; for that nobleman having informed her what he was going about, she being shocked at his deceit, and wishing well to her country, gave Gustavus notice of the whole affair, who immediately provided for his safety, by making his escape to Suertso.

Gustavus soon after applied to the Dallcarls, a name given to those people who inhabit the mining parts of the country. To these he related the particulars of the horrid massacre of Stockholm, and represented the oppressions under which most of their countrymen laboured, and which would soon reach themselves, if some exertions were not made to prevent the spreading of Danish tyranny.

The Dallcarls acceded to his proposals, and told him they would hazard their lives and fortunes to rescue their countrymen from the Danish yoke, provided he would engage the inhabitants of the Eastern Dales in the enterprize. This Gustavus readily undertook, and repaired to Mora, the chief town of the Dales, accordingly.

The principal people of the Dales being assembled, Gustavus entered the audience-chamber, and addressed them with great force of eloquence, and grace of action, in the following manner:

"COUNTRYMEN, FRIENDS, and BROTHERS

"I shall not make any unnecessary preface to gain your attention, being persuaded the importance of the subject will ease me of that trouble. I beg, therefore, you will take into consideration the distracted state of affairs in Sweden, which have arisen from civil feuds and foreign treachery. Sorry am I to say that too many of our own people have been treacherously concerned in delivering up our liberties to foreign enemies; and now the poor commonalty of Sweden are sunk in misery and bathed in tears; themselves, their wives, children, and estates, are exposed to murders, rapes, torments, and rapine. I appeal for the truth of what I say to the aged; they know and cannot forget; and youth may be informed of these innumerable miseries, if they will enquire of their elders. Are ye become so groveling as to permit yourselves always to be trampled upon? Will ye suffer tyrants to oppress, and foreigners to devour you?

Call to mind the cruel government of that tyrant Ericus of Pomerania. Remember his barbarities, oppressions, and extortions, and then recollect that you, inhabitants of the Eastern Dales, rose unanimously in favour of your country and nobly hazarded all that was dear to you, to repel a tyrant. Are you less oppressed now than then? Is the treacherous Dane less cruel than the barbarous Pomeranian? Can you ever expect less infamous treatment from the

Danes, a people who bear a mortal hatred to our nation, and are themselves hated by all other nations.

Hear the cries of the survivors at Stockholm, the fatherless and the widow. Listen to the dying groans of many brave men of this nation who have fallen victims to the most cruel torments, and insatiable butcheries. Recollect the abhorred massacre of all ranks, degrees, and ages, and of each sex, contrary to public faith, promises, oaths, and engagements under hand and seal. It may be the Danes will again promise peace and justice, but did they not give the same promises to our dead friends at Stockholm? The Danes, alas! will always continue the same men, or rather monsters of inhumanity, that they have ever been. They hate us with a degree of malice that will never be satiated till they have spilt all the remains of the noble blood of Sweden: they pursue with such force of avarice as never can be gratified, while any riches remain in Sweden. In short, nothing but overrunning the whole country will put an end to their career.

You daily hear how the evil spreads, and will you not strive to prevent its reaching your own doors? Will you sit still till they seize you by the neck? Is it not better to die like men, than live like slaves? Are the Danes more than men, or we less than women? Let us rouze ourselves, my friends; command my estate, person, and life; I will adventure every thing in so laudable a service, if you will join with me, though I should be admitted to act only as a private soldier; for I had rather die in defence of my country, a free nobleman of Sweden, than live to see it under perpetual vassalage."

This speech had the desired effect; the inhabitants of the Eastern Dales professed their readiness to take arms in defence of their friends and countrymen in whose lives and liberties their own was involved, and entreated Gustavus to persuade the inhabitants of the Western Dales to join them in the enterprize. Gustavus undertook the task, but would have been unsuccessful, had not his endeavours been seconded by Sir Lawrence Olai, a knight of great importance and influence in those parts, who, to what Gustavus had urged, added, "he had lately received authentic information that the Danish tyrant intended to make a royal progress through all parts of Sweden, that he had sent to many places already to provide quarters for the troops who were to attend him, as his design was to make it a military excursion, and that he had given orders to erect gibbets in every town, on which all Swedes were to be hung without remorse, if they refused to take certain oaths, which would totally deprive them of the poor remains of their freedom."

This news, joined to Sir Laurence Olai's interest among them, and the persuasions of Gustavus, subdued their scruples, and determined them to have recourse to arms. The inhabitants of the Eastern and Western Dales, and the Dallcarls, accordingly armed themselves, appointed Gustavus their governor and captain general, and took oaths of fealty to him.

The army under Gustavus was soon joined by a great number of persons discontented with the Danish oppressions, or driven to despair by their cruelties, as well as by the relations, friends, and adherence of the nobles and others who had been murdered at Stockholm. His force being now very formidable, Gustavus proceeded to the royal copper mines, when he surprized the Danish governor and seized upon the treasures in those parts. Gustavus then divided his forces into two bands, leaving one in the mountains under the command of Peter Sueno, a brave officer, and designing it as a body of reserve to act upon any emergency. The other army he led through the country of Helsing to Gestrict, where his army was reinforced by several veterans who had formerly been in the Swedish army, and since the troubles of their country, disdaining to serve the Danes, had hid themselves in this part of the kingdom.

The archbishop of Upsal, still an enemy to his country, did all in his power to secure the principal leaders from the interest of Gustavus, but finding himself unsuccessful and despised by the Swedes, he persuaded the Danish sovereign to send a body of troops against them, saying to him, *Crush the egg before the bird of prey is hatched.* An army was accordingly sent against Gustavus, under the conduct of a Danish commander named Milen. Gustavus advancing towards the enemy, the Danes were seized with a sudden panic, and fled without waiting to be attacked, or hardly staying to see the face of the enemy they were sent against.

Encouraged by the cowardice of the Danes, Gustavus advanced towards Westerass, a rich magazine city for copper, iron, &c. with a plentiful market, a strong castle, and a formidable garrison. On his approach the garrison came out and attacked his van, but were soon driven back, and compelled to retire within the city. Gustavus's troops entered with them. The Danes rallied in the market place, and drew up behind their cannon, which were pointed towards the principal avenues, and with which they intended to give the Swedes a warm reception. Laurentius Ericus, however, one of Gustavus's general officers, discovered a narrow way where no cannon was pointed, to come at the rear of the Danes. Here he made a successful attack, and drove them from their ordnance, which saved the effusion of much Swedish blood.

Some of the Danes fled into the castle, and others taking to their boats, made their escape. Those in the castle fired red-hot bullets upon the city, and by that means set it on fire in sundry places, but the Swedish troops, by the greatest assiduity, prevented a general conflagration. The castle soon after surrendered, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. Flushed with success, Gustavus sent a detachment of his troops, under the command of his general Laurentius Ericus and Sir Laurence Olaj, to reduce the celebrated city of Upsal. The Swedes invested the city on St. Ericus's day, which is a solemn festival, kept both by Swedes and Danes through custom, from time immemorial. The Danish governor sent a message to the Swedish commander to admit of a truce for the day, that the inhabitants might, according to annual custom, go in procession to the church of Old Upsal, which is about half a mile out of the city, in order to celebrate the festival of their saint.

To this message the Swedish commander returned for answer, "That the Swedes intended to make use of the church instead of the Danes, and to enjoy the festival in their trenches." The Dane haughtily answered by a messenger, "That their being near the walls should not spoil his entertainment, for he would enjoy his mirth, and the feast in spite of them.

The imprudent governor, accordingly, borrowed the archbishop's palace, which was very commodious, made a grand entertainment, and treated all the garrison: when according to the Danish custom upon such occasions, every man got so stupidly drunk as to be reduced to a state of total insensibility. The Swedish commander well knew the probability of such an occurrence, and prepared to take the advantage that might present. To this end he attacked the city by break of day, entered without opposition, as the Danish soldiers were insensibly drunk, and thus took the place without the loss of a man. The governor was afterwards shot in attempting to escape, and died of the wounds he had received.

Eight days after the conquest of Upsal, Gustavus himself arrived there, and summoning the canons of the college, he upbraided them with treachery to their country, charged them with a great portion of the miseries which Sweden had suffered, as they and their archbishop had been the nourishers of rebellion, and the betrayers of the liberties of their country; he, therefore, insisted they should either take oaths of fealty to him, or remain prisoners of war.

The canons desired, before they took the oath of fealty, that they might be permitted to write to the archbishop. This was granted, but the archbishop received the letter with contempt, and sent word he would relieve them from their fears with an army. He was accordingly as good as his word, for the king having lent him a body of troops, he proceeded immediately from Stockholm towards Upsal. Gustavus not being able to oppose this force, thought proper to retreat: and supposing the archbishop would leave a strong garrison in the place, after having made himself master of it; he called in all his detached parties, and determined to wait in ambush for the remainder of the archbishop's army on its return to Stockholm. This plan happily succeeded: Gustavus surprized the archbishop, attacked, and gave him a total overthrow, which so inspired the Swedes that they advanced to Stockholm, and the army of Gustavus being greatly encreased by the recruits sent him, and the friends who joined him, he was become really formidable, both from success and numbers. About the same time a council of the states of west Gothland and Smalland made him their governor, and sent him many reinforcements.

Gustavus being thus strong, not only undertook the siege of Stockholm, but sent detachments from his army, who took Abbo in Finland, the castle of Steckburg, the island of Gothland, the city of Nicopen, the town of Trieflor, &c. These successes greatly strengthened him by many acceding to acknowledge him as their governor; and the Lubeckers now thought proper to assist him with money; ships, and men: the ships joined some Swedish ones who had declared for Gustavus, and these combined vessels defeated the Danish navy.

The Danish king, terrified at his ill success, fled from Sweden; and when he returned to his native country, he soon perceived that he was equally execrated there, for his many barbarous oppressions and enormous cruelties. Having always been treacherous, he dreaded the thoughts if treason in others, and of course was in a continual panic: this induced him to fly from Denmark as he had from Sweden, with his queen, children, and treasures, seeking, first of all, a refuge in Germany, and then in Flanders. In the latter place he lost his queen, an irreparable loss to him, not only as she was sister to the emperor of Germany, but on account of her eminent virtues, which so endeared her to the Danes that they offered the crown to her, though they excluded her husband; but she nobly answered, as a queen, a christian, and a wife, *That she would rather wander in exile, and taste the cup of misery with her husband than reign without him.*

The consequences of the king of Denmark's abdication were the surrender of Stockholm, the calling of a Swedish parliament, the establishment of a respectable senate, and the chusing Gustavus for their king. The duke of Holstein was, much about the same time, elected king of Denmark; for as the former tyrant had abdicated, the nation did not chuse to be without a head. The new kings had a meeting, and concluded a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms; so that tranquillity was happily restored to both countries.

It was now the whole care of Gustavus to establish the protestant religion on a firm basis in Sweden, and to him it is owing that the superstitions of popery were banished from that country, so that he, at once, joins in his characters, the names of saviour of his country, father of his people, reformer of religion, and the greatest hero of the age in which he lived.

Many altercations happened between Gustavus and the clergy; for Gustavus was for having them live according to christian purity and abstinence, and they were for enjoying worldly wealth and honours. This gave him such disgust that he once resigned the crown; but the states persuaded him to resume it again, and gave him up the temporalities of the bishops, as a punishment for their pride and ingratitude.

The king Gustavus, now took great pains in the work of reformation, and ordered the bible to be translated into the Swedish language. In vain were plots formed against him; in vain were conspiracies hatched to ruin him: his virtue, still superior to accidents, and his courage above all dangers, surmounted every difficulty, and made him triumph over every enemy. In spite of domestic foes, foreign invaders, treacherous friends, private plots, and public designs, Gustavus died in his bed in the year 1562, leaving behind him characters which few that crave them have strove to merit, and fewer that have obtained them deserve, viz.

Magnanimous King. True Christian. Real Patriot. Gallant Knight. Valiant Soldier. Consummate General. Brave Hero. Faithful Friend. Tender husband. Fond Parent. Kind Relation, and HONEST MAN.



BOOK X.

Of the Persecutions in GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

From the Introduction of Christianity Down to the Norman Conquest.

ALL the promises relating to Christ, as the Saviour of sinners, recorded in the Old Testament, are reduced to the two following, namely, that he should suffer, and that he should be glorified. It was mentioned of him, six hundred and fifty years before he came in the flesh, that he should be a man of sorrow, and acquainted with grief; that he should be led from prison unto judgment, and none should be able to declare his generation; that he should be numbered with the transgressors; but yet the brightness of his glory was to enlighten the strength of his kingdom; was to be an everlasting religion, and of his dominion there was to be no end. He was to receive the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession: he was to triumph over all the power of darkness, and he was to open a gate by which men were to enter to everlasting happiness: he was to subdue the nations, not by a temporal sword, but by the power of his Almighty grace.

It was prophesied that the power of Christ's kingdom should bear down before it every opposition. The wisdom of God shone through the vain ignorance of corrupted nature, and divine grace triumphed over human weakness.

There is, indeed, something remarkable in this, and the more so, because it was in consequence of Christ's mean appearance in the world that he was rejected by the Jews, and despised by the Gentiles. The foundation of all greatness is laid in humility, and as the sufferings of Christ were of such a nature as to debase him to the lowest degree of humility, so God has highly exalted him. He had nothing to expect among men but sufferings: he knew for what end he came into the world, and therefore, to use the beautiful words of the prophet, he restored that which he took not away. In that important hour in which he suffered, the pangs of darkness were put to silence, and the power of God triumphed over all those hellish machinations, that had been carried on against the souls of poor mortals, from the fall of Adam down to that awful period when Christ said, *It is finished*.

In the same manner, all the promises made to believers may be reduced to two, namely, that Christians should suffer in this world, but like their divine master, they should be exalted in that which is to come. That this was really the case, in many ages and nations, has been already taken notice of in the former part of this work. We shall now bring it home, in both a general and particular manner, to those nations in which we live, for only a few trifling circumstances have yet been mentioned.

Gildas, the most ancient British writer extant, who lived about the time that the Saxons left this island, has drawn a most shocking instance of those times. This Gildas was himself a Christian, and lived somewhere in that part of Britain then called Valensia.

Into that province the Scots and Picts made continual eruptions: they plundered and burnt the churches, and nothing was more common than to see them fix the clergy on the tops of their battle-axes, and suffer them to expire in that manner. But the names of those illustrious sufferers have not been transmitted to us. The Saxons, on their arrival, being heathens like the Picts and Scots, destroyed the churches, and murdered the clergy wherever they came: but they could not destroy christianity, for those who would not submit to the Saxon yoke went and resided beyond the Severn. Neither have we the names of those christian sufferers transmitted to us; especially those of the clergy. But the most dreadful instance of barbarity under the Saxon government was the massacre of the monks of Bangor, A.D. 586. These monks were in all respects different from those men who bear the same name at present. They were not under any professional vows, but might return to the world when they pleased. They were above two thousand in number and lived in a town rather than in a convent.

They wrought in cultivating their grounds, and in such other employments as they had been brought up to. There were none of them in orders, for they went to their own parish church, and such as were sick were visited by the bishop. Besides what was necessary to support themselves, they gave all to the poor, and their lives were really divine.

Such was the manner in which these devout men lived when Ethelfrid, or Adelfrind, king of the Northumbrian Saxons seized on those parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, afterwards called Diera. In pursuing his conquests westward, he was opposed by the Britons, who killed some of his principal officers, and in revenge he massacred all the monks at Bangor, being above two thousand in number. The town was burnt down, and although there were some remains of its ruins in Bede's time, yet there are none to be seen now. These men lived in too humble, heavenly and rational a manner to have their names transmitted to posterity; and as for the manner in which they suffered, we may judge from the way of the Saxons making war and from which they derive their name. They had short swords with one edge, and a heavy thick bowl; the end of this was fixed into a wooden handle, and when they approached their enemies, they tried to get as near to them as possible; and then at one stroke cleave their skulls. Many of these swords, or rather chopping knives, are still to be seen; and as the monks were unarmed and defenceless, it was no difficult matter to massacre This king Ethelfrid had been converted to the papists them. religion, and because the Britons would not acknowledge the papal supremacy, his priests became their most bloodthirsty enemies.

Persecution was at the same time carried into Valentia, which is that part of Scotland lying between the Forth and the Roman wall. It was the fifth province into which the Romans divided Britain, but they never could keep possession of it long. As the Scottish historians are very defective in chronology, so we shall not rest upon their evidence. Bede, who was a christian Saxon, and lived in Northumberland, has assured us that many pious men were put to death in the south of Scotland by such of the heathen Saxons as landed occasionally to rob, without settling in the country. It was much about this time that the Scots received the Christian faith in the same manner as the Saxons, but the priests who inhabited the eastern parts of Scotland retained the ancient customs of the Greek church.* However, none of their differences, in point of religion, were to screen them from persecution.

In the eighth century, the Danes, a roving crew of barbarians, landed in different parts of Britain, both in England and Scotland. At first they were repulsed, but in A.D. 857, a party of them landed somewhere near Southampton, and not only robbed the people, but burnt down the churches and murdered the clergy. History has not been faithful enough to transmit to us the names of the sufferers, but we readily judge they were numerous.

In A.D. 868, these barbarians penetrated into the center of England and took up their quarters at Nottingham; but the English under their king Ethelfrid, drove them from those posts, and obliged them to retire to Northumberland; by which is meant all that vast track of land lying between the Humber and the Forth.

In their march northward, these barbarians set fire to the abbey of Barney, and murdered all the monks. They did the same at the grand abbies of Peterborough and Ely, for wherever they came they did not leave one of the monks alive. And will any man say

^{* [}CHCoG: They were actually following the practices of the Apostolic church, which included believer's baptisms and observing the seventhday Sabbath and God's Holy Days as given in Leviticus chapter 23. Over the centuries, the pope's servants tried to exterminate them.]

this was not by the instigation of the devil? For these monks were harmless men who had not given them any offence, and yet we are assured by Ingulphus, who lived soon after, that at Peterborough the monks came out with victuals to give to their merciless invaders, and were all murdered.

A party of them went to the town of Arcluid; (which was not Dumbarton, as some of the Scottish historians imagine, but that city now named Carlisle) that city they burnt to the ground, and murdered every one of the inhabitants. And here we must relate an account of an event, which does more honour to the female sex than the conduct of the Roman Lucretia. A party of the Danes, having marched as far as Coldingham abbey, the abbess was informed that they intended to attack the convent. Upon this she called her nuns together, and after laying before them the character of their pagan savage invaders for lust and cruelty, added, that she for her own part, was resolved to preserve her chastity at the expence of her beauty. Then taking up a razor she cut off her nose and upper lip, and her example was followed by all the nuns. This expedient produced the desired effect with regard to their honour, but it cost them their lives; for the brutal Danes, incensed at their disappointment, shut up the nuns in the monastery, and reduced both them and it to ashes.

In considering the nature of this action, our historians have not drawn the proper inferences from it, for they all seem to insinuate, that the nuns would not have been murdered, had the Danes enjoyed their persons; but it is evident that the nuns knew better, namely, that as soon as the barbarians had satiated their lust, they would murder every one of them, as they had done at some smaller convents. With respect to the conduct of the nuns, two things are to be considered; first, these were times of ferocity, and even the fair sex thought nothing of those things which the women in the present age would look on as barbarous. Secondly, we should consider the strength of female passions, operating under the vows of a monastic life. These women had taken a solemn oath of

chastity, and we may naturally conclude, that they believed had the Danes, even by force; carnally known them, they would have for ever been excluded from the divine favour.*

To this we may add, the love of fame, peculiar to all those women who are utterly abandoned. In what light would a whole body of women been considered by those of their own order, or by the nations in general, who from fear, or any of sort of pusillanimity, would have suffered themselves to have been ravished by a parcel of lawless barbarians? And however some may call this an act of barbarity in those women, thus to mangle themselves, yet when every thing is considered, it appears evident that they chose the least evil of the two. They knew they were to be murdered, but not till they were ravished, and therefore, that they might acquire everlasting honour, without forfeiting the divine favour, they first preserved their chastity, and then submitted to martyrdom [SEE FOOTNOTE].

They sleep in Jesus and are blest; How sweet their slumbers are; From sorrows, sufferings and sins redeemed, And free from every snare.

In 870 another body of these barbarians landed in Norfolk, and engaged in battle with the English at Hertford. Victory declared in favour of the pagans, who took Edmund king of the East Angles, prisoner, and after treating him with a thousand indignities,

^{* [}CHCoG: This entire episode is appalling. Self-mutilation has always been popular among some Roman catholic sects, but there is no Biblical support for it, nor for convents and monasteries. And Southwell then seems to suggest that all the other women he mentions who did not mutilate themselves and were raped will be rejected by God. This is NOT true and is the sort of irresponsible rubbish one would expect from the papacy, not a servant of Jehovah. And what evidence do we have that these women actually did this and that they were not raped anyway before they were murdered?—Only Roman catholic myths.]

transfixed his body with arrows and then beheaded him. The prince was much esteemed by his subjects, who built, in honour of him, the famous mitred Abby of St. Edmundsbury, which continued till the reformation, and there are some remains of it yet.

Such were some of the barbarities committed by the pagan Danes, and we shall presently find that the English catholics had learned to persecute each other.

This was about the middle of the tenth century, when Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, commanded all the clergy to put away their wives. This prelate was so cruel in nature, and such a bigot to the monastic life that he had been banished by king Edwy; but Edgar, who succeeded Edwy, recalled him. Edgar was a professed debauchee, and Dunstan sacrificed himself to all his passions. He actually became his prisoner, in order to depress the secular clergy. At that time the secular clergy lived peaceably with their wives; but this hard-hearted prelate prevailed on the lascivious king to publish an order commanding them to put all their wives away. Some of them obeyed; and the women, with their children, were turned out to starve, and those who refused had their goods seized, were thrown into prison, and many of them were put to death at the instigation of Dunstan, whom the papists afterwards canonized.* As consistent with the nature of our plan, we must give an account of the martyrs who suffered in Scotland and Ireland, so it is necessary we should take notice of the state of those nations, at the time they were rifled by the Danes, for these barbarians did not confine their depredations to England.

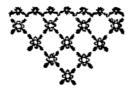
In Fifeshire they burnt many of the churches; and among the rest that belonging to the Culdees, at St. Andrews. They murdered the primate, who was the chief of the Culdees, a term we must explain to our readers. The Scottish historians have ignorantly imagined that the name Culdee was derived from the Latin words

^{* [}CHCoG: Their wives were banned contrary to Scripture, and then treated in an entirely unChristian manner, as papal aberrations increased and resistance led to yet more murders.]

Cultoris Dei. A man, in other respects qualified to have known better, derives it from *Keli Dei.* But both these derivations are false; for it is composed of two British words, *Cul*, which signifies a hood: hence the origin of the word cowl; and *Du*, black, because they wear black hoods. These men were simple in their manners, and indefatigable in their labours; they travelled from place to place, preaching to the people and lived together much in the same manner as the monks of Bangor; they were poor as to all temporal things, but they were rich in good works.

The piety of these men made them objects of abhorrence to the Danes, who, wherever they went singled out the christian priests for destruction. It is recorded that not less than two hundred of them were massacred in Scotland; and when the Scots defeated the Danes, they obliged those barbarians to build a convent in the Forth near Edinburgh, in memory of the sufferers. The remains of that convent are still to be seen, and it continued to flourish till the time of the reformation. It is not in our power to transmit to posterity the names of those illustrious sufferers, but their numbers were undoubtedly great; and there were several monuments erected to their memory in the county of Angus.

It was much the same in that part of Ireland now called Leinster; there the Danes murdered and burnt the priests alive in their own churches: they carried destruction along with them wherever they went, sparing neither age nor sex, but the clergy was the most obnoxious to them, because they ridiculed their idolatry, and persuaded their people to have nothing to do with idols. Thus we find that whenever idolatry becomes predominant, true religion is an object of its malice.



CHAP. II.

From the Norman Conquest down to the Reign of Henry IV., including John Wickcliffe and the Lollards.

ALL those persecutions and measures that we have taken notice of in the former chapter, were rather the effects of heat with barbarism, than the natural consequence of an established law. Power without law may be exercised wherever the people are ignorant, and coercive authority is strong. The persons who suffered in consequence of the causes we have already mentioned were not all ignorant, but their knowledge did not exempt them from persecution.

But we are now entering upon a period that has a series of dismal objects. The Norman princes had too much business on their hands in order to subdue this nation and oppose the Scots, to pay any regard to the immunities of the church. We say immunities because they are called so by the papists. Dreadful devastations were made among the English clergy during the reign of Henry I. in order to oblige them to part with their wives; for during the reign of this prince, celibacy was first established into a law, but still there was no law in being to punish heretics in this country.

That system of barbarity was reserved for future ages, and it was to become an engine of state policy when humanity was forgotten and virtue disregarded. However, in this period we have a dreadful instance of the persecuting nature which can inflict punishments without the sanction of a law. It is a circumstance which many of our historians have left utterly in the dark; others have treated of it in a slovenly manner; but to the eloquent pen of lord Lyttleton, was reserved the privilege of laying it before the public. In the year 1156, Henry II. held a parliament at Oxford, and before that court were brought about eighty Germans, men and women, who, to avoid persecution, had left their own country, and come over to England. From the records in the Museum, which his lordship has published, it appears that these people possessed the same sentiments with those who were afterwards called Waldenses: they denied the papal supremacy, and rejected the sacrifice of the mass, all which gave great offence to the clergy.

The king was a prince of a more humane disposition, and inclined to treat those people rather as madmen than criminals. But the power of the clergy triumphed over the humanity of the king. It was debated in parliament, whether these people should be put to death; but there was no law at that time to authorize such a proceeding. However, an order passed; for, as lord Lyttleton says, it was not an act that these people should be set at liberty, and have leave to return to their own country. With this order was a proclamation published, prohibiting any persons whatever from giving them any manner of assistance; they were not to furnish them with either victuals or lodging; and it was then in the depth of In vain did they solicit a morsel of victuals from the winter. people in the country; the priests watched to give information; and if any person assisted them, they would have been executed, outlawed, or imprisoned for life. In this forlorn condition they wandered from place to place, eating the leaves of trees, or any thing they could lay hold of.

At last the poor unhappy creatures sunk under their afflictions, and they died daily: In the compass of about one month there was not one of them left; and it may be justly said of these people that they were starved to death. If this was not martyrdom, we know not by what name to call it. However insignificant these people may appear in history, yet they left the seeds of their religion behind them. From this time down to the reign of Edward III. there were always some persons who adhered to the gospel doctrines; but we do not meet with any [recorded] acts of cruelty during that period.

It is a rule in writing of the martyrs to include in that number all those who have been sufferers for the truth. By sufferers, we mean those who were subjected to pains and penalties without being deprived of their lives. God will countenance those who suffer for his names sake, though their sufferings be ever so different. Christ is the head of his church, and his character is well expressed in the following lines:

The glorious king anointed high, To crush the rebel foes; To make the feeble gain the day, Tho' death and hell oppose.

In the reign of Edward III. the catholic church of England was extremely corrupted with errors and superstition; and the light of the gospel of Christ was greatly eclipsed and darkened with human inventions, burthensome ceremonies, and gross idolatry.

Then it pleased Almighty God, about the year 1372, to raise up JOHN WICKLIFFE, [or Wycliffe] professor of divinity in Oxford, to discover and expose the errors of these times; and this he did first in his lectures and disputations at Oxford, which were well liked and approved of by many; and afterwards by his sermons and public discourses in different places in the country. He was at that time lecturer of Lutherworth in Leicestershire, and there he made a vast number of converts to his doctrines.

Although this eminent and learned divine did not suffer death, yet there is no possibility of accounting for many of the persecutions that followed after, without taking some notice of him; for it is certain that he laid the foundation of that glorious reformation which has since taken place in these kingdoms. It is amazing to think what vast numbers of people were of Wickliffe's sentiments before he died. These people were called LOLLARDS,

a term about which there has been much dispute, but Lord Hale has made it appear that it is derived from the word *Lollio* in German, in allusion to the drawling manner in which they sung their hymns.*

Wickliffe translated the New Testament [from Latin] into English,[†] and the original copy is now in the British Museum. He was a man of the greatest learning in that age, and of the most unaffected piety. However, his integrity in adhering to those principles which he had embraced, and the whole of his deportment raised him many enemies among the clergy, who made use of all the requisites of superstition, to keep the people in a state of slavery.

Simon Sudbury was at that time archbishop of Canterbury, and being a violent persecutor, Dr. John Wickliffe was carried before him, in the presence of diverse bishops, when he was charged with heresy, and for the same deprived of his benefice. The things chiefly objected against Wickliffe were as follow:

- First, opposing the pope's authority as supreme head of the church, and successor of St. Peter.
- Secondly, teaching that the holy Eucharist, after consecration, is not the very body of Christ substantially, but figuratively.

^{* [}CHCoG: Rev. Perrin, in his *History of the Waldenses*, Chap. XII, says they were called Lollards after Rainard Lollard, a Waldensian who made converts among the English then in Guienne, who took their new faith back to England during the fourteenth century. Lollard was later martyred in Cologne in the 1370s. If true, it is likely that Wickliffe may have had interactions with these Lollards, and became their most public convert in England. This would also explain Wickliffe's "Poor Preachers" among the Lollards, who are styled very much after the "Poor Men of Lyons", an earlier Waldensian group.]

[†] [CHCoG: One of Wickliffe's (or Wycliff) papal detractors claimed that making God's Word available in the local language was like throwing pearls before swine.—Hardly a flattering description of people who were desperate to know God's Word, and who the priests pretended to teach.]

Thirdly, affirming that the gospel of Christ is a sufficient rule for the life of every Christian.

Lastly, holding that the rules by which diverse persons that were called religious are governed add no perfection to the gospel.

These things he often maintained before the bishops and the rest of the clergy at their solemn meetings, and would not recede from them.

These articles, with many others added to them by his enemies, were sent by the bishops to the pope, and the pope, with his cardinals, condemned them as heresies. At the same time they ordered his books to be burnt: but Wickliffe, in his own person, was successfully protected. The clergy did all they could to have him apprehended, but there were so many of the nobility who favoured his doctrines that he lived at his house in Lutherworth, where he died and was buried, and where the pulpit in which he preached is still to be seen. But after he had been buried fortythree years, his bones were taken out of his grave by order of the council of Constance and publicly burnt; after which his ashes were thrown into the river.

It has been objected by the papists that Wickliffe could not have been a protestant because he said mass to the host. It is true he did so, but that does not in any case apply to the argument: for although light was beginning at that time to spring up, yet the minds of the people were still darkened. They had been brought up in an attachment to ancient practises, nor was it an easy matter to remove from their minds inveterate prejudices.

In the same manner there can be no reformation in religion till some sort of system has been drawn up, which must be as near as possible to the words of the sacred scriptures. When this is once done, then the old practices are neglected or despised, and the new ones established on their ruins. Now it is certain that neither

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Wickliffe nor his followers could do either of these things.* His learning was confined to the common reading of the schools, and as for the people who entertained his sentiments, although they might have been otherwise men of strict piety, yet they had but very little knowledge. Ignorance had overspread their minds, and they were but one degree removed from the heathens. Attached to the most ridiculous rites and ceremonies, they could see no beauty in the sensibility of the gospel; and the wisdom of God appeared to them as it did to the Greeks of old, to be foolishness.

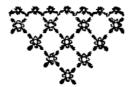
Under such circumstances it was not an easy matter to bring the minds of the people off from ancient superstitions; but for all that, here was a glorious foundation laid for that light of the gospel which men now enjoy. Notwithstanding the powers of hell, the politics of princes and the machinations of the clergy, yet the tender plant grew and prevailed against all opposition: it rose up to an amazing height, and after some struggles through scenes of blood and persecution, the reformed religion was established in England. The kingdom of Christ triumphed over the powers of darkness; and although the earth had swallowed up the poison spewed out by the dragon, yet to the earth that poison was confined.

That is, the vulgar herd were to adhere to the appearance of religion, but true believers enjoyed the substance. Such was the state of religion in England during the reign of Richard II. but a shocking and bloody revolution followed. That power, that diabolical power the clergy had long grasped after, was to be granted them, though at the expence of every moral obligation.

^{* [}CHCoG: Though there are elements of truth to Southwell's comments here, the essence is starkly different: Wycliffe and his followers, like the Waldenses, etc, had the Bible, God's Holy Spirit and the Waldenses to guide them. This is why Wycliffe and Purvey translated the Bible into English, and trained his "Poor preachers" to teach it, and why his writings inspired Jan Hus. And once Wickliffe openly rejected transubstantiation, there can be no doubt that he also refused to worship the wafer.]

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They were to have the ability to trample on the natural rights of humanity, and even to despise the civil power: they were to assume to themselves a state and dignity which no wise prince would have granted; and they were to make men offenders for a word. They were to set themselves up on a footing with the ancient nobility, and assume a power in parliament which the law had not granted them: they were to look without horror on those miseries which they inflicted on their fellow creatures, and they were to persecute those who differed from them in sentiment, under the most excruciating torments that malice could invent, or cruelty inflict; and all this without a tear of pity: which leads us to the subject matter of the next chapter.



CHAP. III.

Of the Persecution in England, from the Accession of Henry IV. to the Reign of Henry VIII.

THAT we may not lead the reader into confusion, or perplex his memory, we shall defer what we have to say concerning the persecutions in Scotland and Ireland till we have treated of those in England. And here it is necessary to take notice of some things, without the knowledge of which the reader will not be able to comprehend the nature of this work.

It is the established maxim that those who acquire fortunes by cruelty or any act of injustice, enjoy those fortunes with pain rather than with pleasure: whatever a man obtains by honest industry, he spends it under the smiles of a sincere conscience; whereas the person who either cheats or robs his neighbour has two things to fear; first, the vengeance of civil power, under a variety of different shapes; and secondly, the torturing agonizing pains of a guilty conscience.

This leads to the commission of new crimes; for as the man who has once told a lie generally tells an hundred more to support the assertions in the first, so ill gotten riches, power, or honour stand in need of the same support, and guilt being the foundation, the superstructure is raised by an accumulation of crimes.

These observations will in some measure apply to the subject we are now upon; and here we must have recourse to history to explain that bloody act by which many pious Christians suffered death.

Richard II. of England was a weak prince, and governed by favourites, many of whom were foreigners. He had disgusted the ancient nobility, who by the nature of the feudal law, were impatient of control. He had given to some of these foreigners the wardships* of the young nobility, and this was sufficient in itself to create a vast number of enemies. A restless nobility, endowed with greater powers than is consistent with the state of a free government, entered into cabals among themselves, and invited over from France, Henry, son of John of Gaunt, and made him an offer of the crown, upon condition he would redress those grievances they complained of. Richard was then in Ireland, but landing soon afterwards in Wales, he was taken prisoner and brought up to London.

A parliament met at Westminster, in which Richard signed a formal revocation of all pretensions to the crown; and Henry, duke of Lancaster, was crowned under the title of Henry IV. This happened in 1399, and the captive king was sent prisoner to the castle of Pomfret, in Yorkshire: that he was murdered in that castle cannot be doubted, but the time is uncertain. The generality of our historians make him a prisoner above two years; but this is in our opinion improbable, for as Charles I. said, "There are but few steps between the prisons and the graves of princes."

Richard had always been much favoured by the nobility of Yorkshire, and of the other northern counties, so that they did not approve of the revolution which had taken place, especially as Henry was of a sour, morose, and cruel disposition.

The crown sat tottering on his head, and many conspiracies were formed against his government. Some pretended that Richard was still alive, although nothing can be more certain than

^{*} By wardships is meant that right which the feudal law gave to our princes to dispose of minors. Thus when either an heir or an heiress was left in a state of infancy, the king seized on the rents till the child became of proper age. If the young person married without the king's consent, the whole estate was forfeited; so that here was a mighty power lodged in the crown, and an opportunity daily presented itself for the sovereign, if he was of an arbitrary disposition, to heap riches upon such of his courtiers as he had placed any confidence in, whether from motives of virtue or vice.

that he had been murdered some time before, and undoubtedly soon after his imprisonment.

Henry was now in a dismal situation indeed; there were few of the nobility he could place any trust in, and his temper was not such as to induce them to esteem and obey him from motives of love. His mind was tinctured with superstition, and he had recourse to the clergy, that dead weight to the constitution, and at all times the friends of arbitrary power.

The followers of Wickliffe, then called Lollards, were become extremely numerous, and the clergy were vexed to see them encrease; whatever power of influence they might have to molest them in an underhand manner, they had no authority by law to put them to death. However, the clergy embraced the favourable opportunity, and prevailed upon the king to suffer a bill to be brought into parliament, by which all Lollards who remained obstinate, should be delivered over to the civil power and burnt as heretics. This act was the first in this island for the burning of people for their religious sentiments; it passed in the year 1401, and was soon after put into execution.

The first person who suffered in consequence of this cruel act was William Santree or Sawtree, (for he is called by both names) formerly parish priest of the church of St. Margaret, in the town of Lynn, in Norfolk, but afterwards of St. Osyth, in London. It appears from Dr. Fuller's *Church History*, that he had formerly abjured those articles for which he suffered death before the bishop of Norwich. Therefore he was adjudged to be degraded and deprived, which was done in the following manner:

- First, from the order of priest, by taking from him the paten, chalice, and plucking the chasule from his back.
- Secondly, deacon, by taking from him the New Testament, and the stole.

Thirdly, subdeacon, by taking from him the alb and maniple.

Fourthly, acolyte, by taking from him the candlestick and taper.

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Fifthly, exorcist, by taking from him the book of constitutions. Sixthly, sexton, by taking from him the key of the church door and surplice.

To all these indignities this pious man submitted with patience, and sealed his testimony with his blood, at a stake erected for that purpose in Smithfield, where he was burnt to death with many circumstances of cruelty, to the no small pleasure of the corrupted clergy.

It is necessary in this place to observe that although this cruel act continued in force till the year 1732, yet it was not, properly speaking, a law binding on the subjects. That it never passed through the house of commons the author of this book can assert, from the records now in the British Museum. The commons entered a protest against it, and so did several of the liege nobility; but as there were no less than twenty-six mitred abbots in parliament, besides the bishops, the king gave his assent, which in violent times was not much attended to.

Historical integrity obliges us to take notice of all the consequences of this bloody act, down as far as our account of the period mentioned in this chapter reaches, and therefore we are led to mention the fate of Sir John Oldcastle,* lord Cobham.

Soon after the bloody statute already mentioned had passed, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, convened a general assembly of the clergy in the church of St. Paul's, in London, to consult of matters relating to the church, and more particularly how to suppress the Lollards, who followed the doctrines of Wickliffe; and the opinions and books of Wickliffe were, by this

^{*} The title of knight was not in ancient times conferred upon any but military persons. It was sometimes given to gentlemen, and as often refused to noblemen. A knight who was a subject, could confer the honour on a king, but a king, unless he had been knighted, could not confer it on a subject. It was superior to nobility in grandeur, though inferior in rank.

synod, said to contain heresy. The persons who made any use of them were denominated Heretics, or Lollards, a term we have already explained. The bishops and dignified clergy looked upon the doctrines and practises of the Lollards as destructive of church power; and therefore they found themselves under the necessity of doing all they could to suppress them.

In order thereunto there were twelve priests, chosen out of the university of Oxford, who were to make diligent search after, and apprehend all such heretics as they could lay hold of. The first thing these inquisitors did was to point out the necessity of removing all those of high rank, who gave any countenance to the Lollards; and none of these appeared more obnoxious to them than lord Cobham, whose family estate was in Kent, and who had, from his most early youth, embraced the doctrines of Wickliffe.

According to their usual manner, they began by lodging an information against him in the spiritual court, and accused him of maintaining Lollards in different parts of the kingdom. That he had done so there could be no doubt; for what honest man would deliberately act inconsistent with the dictates of his conscience?

But they carried the accusation much higher, for they asserted that he had protected the Lollards by force of arms, which was a falsehood, in opposition to the determinations of the synod to the contrary. And lastly, they accused him that he was of a contrary belief from the church with respect to the doctrine of the real presence, penance, image-worship, pilgrimages, and ecclesiastical power.

At last the synod resolved that a process should be commenced against him without farther delay, as a most dangerous and pernicious heretic. But some of the synod being more considerate than the rest, thought it not prudent to proceed so harshly against lord Cobham, he being a man of great family and fortune, and much in favour with the king (Henry V.). They, therefore, advised it as more proper, first to acquaint the king with the matter, and then to proceed to other measures afterwards, according to his majesty's directions.

The king heard with patience those grievous complaints of the clergy against lord Cobham, and desired them to deal gently with him, considering his rank and family; to proceed in all sorts of mildness and if possible, to restore him to the unity of the church; and if they could not succeed therein, the king promised to take the affair into his own hands, and try what he could do.

Hereupon the king sent for lord Cobham, and when he was come, he took him aside privately, and exhorted him to submit himself as an obedient child to his mother the holy catholic church, and humbly to acknowledge his fault. The character of Henry V. is well known: he was endowed with many princely virtues, but he knew by what a precarious title he held the crown. The clergy domineered over the consciences of the people; and to have opposed those designing priests would have, without much difficulty, brought about a revolution. This was the reason why he attempted to prevail on lord Cobham to drop all thoughts of opposing the clergy or the power of the church; for although Henry was no bigot, yet he was a sound politician, and knew with whom he had to contend.

On the other hand lord Cobham seems to have been convinced of the truth of those sentiments which he had embraced; for in a manly speech he told the king that he was ready and willing to obey him in every thing that did not interfere with the dictates of his conscience: that he was willing to lay down his life in defence of his person and government, and accompany him in any expedition he thought proper to undertake; but as for the pope and his clergy he would never be obedient to them, for they had no right over the concerns of men. He added that he knew the pope to be the son of perdition and Anti-Christ, the adversary of God, and the abomination and hireling in the holy place.

The king, knowing his dependence on the clergy, was chagrined at these words and left lord Cobham. seemingly

displeased. This is not much to be wondered at, when we consider that the king was then attempting the conquest of France, and the clergy had promised to assist him with money, on condition that he would cause all the Lollards to be put to death. Great minds often sink under the power of vulgar prejudices.

Soon after this, the archbishop came to the king for an answer, and was told that he might proceed against the lord Cobham in the common form. Then the archbishop, having consulted with some of the clergy, they resolved to summon lord Cobham to appear personally before them, to answer to such articles as they should assert against him.

Accordingly, the archbishop sent his apparitor with a sharp summons to Cowling-castle, where lord Cobham then dwelt: when the officer came thither he was afraid to enter the premises of so noble a person without licence, and therefore returned back without delivering his message. Then the archbishop persuaded one John Buller, doorkeeper of the king's privy chamber, to go to the lord Cobham as from the king, taking along with him the summons. This officer told lord Cobham that it was the king's pleasure he should obey the archbishop's summons; to which his lordship answered that he would have nothing to do with the hellish practices of the priests.

When the archbishop heard this, he found it was not for any private man to take lord Cobham without danger.

The result was that this nobleman was to be cited by public process; whereupon, a few days afterwards, in the month of September, the archbishop commanded that letters should be fixed on the church doors of the cathedral of Rochester, which was but three miles from lord Cobham's house, charging him to appear personally before him at Leeds,* the eleventh of the same month without any excuse whatever; but the letters were soon taken down

^{*} This was not Leeds in Yorkshire, but a small place where there was an ancient castle in Kent, near Rochester. This castle was built some few years after the Norman conquest, but there are few remains of it now left.

from the gates of the church, and conveyed away by the lord Cobham's friends. Then the archbishop caused other letters to be fixed up, but they were likewise pulled down: and because the lord Cobham did not appear at Leeds, where the archbishop sat in consistory, he was declared guilty of contempt.

Some time after this, the archbishop being informed that lord Cobham only laughed at and despised his threatnings; he, in the true spirit of popery, openly excommunicated him, and then cited him again under the severest penalties, to appear before him, on Saturday the 20th of September. At the same time, a proclamation was issued, commanding all persons to assist in taking that great apostate, and arch-heretic, (as he called him) the lord Cobham.

This worthy nobleman, finding himself exposed to so much danger from a corrupt clergy, wrote a confession of his faith, which he presented to the king; but his majesty would not look at it, commanding him to deliver it to those who were to be his judges. Then lord Cobham, who knew he had no favour to expect from the clergy, appealed to the pope, but the king would not allow of the appeal. In appealing to the pope, he could have nothing further in view than to gain time, perhaps with expectation of prevailing on the king to judge his cause; but no favour was to be shewn him, for the king ordered him to be arrested in the palace, and he was committed a close prisoner to the Tower.

There was an universal joy among the clergy, that they had got into their merciless clutches lord Cobham, and therefore they met September 20th, in the Chapter-house of St. Paul's London; when Sir Robert Morely, lieutenant of the Tower, brought lord Cobham before them.

As soon as silence was commanded, the archbishop told him that in the last general assembly of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, he had been charged with certain heresies, and by sufficient witnesses, found guilty of the same; that he had been cited to make his appearance by due form of spiritual law, but had treated the citation with contempt; that for this, he had been excommunicated both privately and publicly, but he might still have absolution, if he desired it, and would submit to the church.

Lord Cobham made no answer, but taking the following paper out of his bosom, gave it to the archbishop to read. It is extremely curious, because from it we may learn what were the sentiments of those people called Lollards, and who followed the doctrines of the great Wickliffe:

"I, John Oldcastle, knight, Lord Cobham, would have all christians to know and understand that I call God to witness, that it has been, now is, and ever, by the help of God, shall be, mine intent and will, to believe faithfully all the sacraments that ever God ordained in his holy church. And moreover, I do declare my opinion in these four points.

First, I believe that the sacrament of the altar is Christ's body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the Blessed Virgin, our lady St. Mary, crucified on the cross, dead and buried, the third day he rose from death to life, which body is now glorified in heaven.

Secondly, As for the sacrament of penance, I believe it is needful that every man who expects salvation, should forsake his sins, and do penance for them, with true confession and contrition; making due satisfaction as the law of God teacheth, otherwise he cannot be saved.

Thirdly, As for images, they are the invention of men, and whoever gives that worship to lifeless images which is due to God, or trusts to them for help is guilty of the sin of idolatry.

Fourthly, Concerning pilgrimages, I know that all men are pilgrims upon earth, either to happiness or misery. He that will not receive nor keep the

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commandments of God whilst he lives, tho' he go on pilgrimage through the world, yet if he die in this state, he shall be condemned; and he that keeps the commandments of God to the end of his life, shall be saved, though he never go on any pilgrimages at all."

The remarks we would make on these articles are that the sincere Lollards had rather confused notions of the gospel; and it appears from some remarks of Lord Hale's that they were not all of the same sentiments. Here we find lord Cobham acknowledging the real presence in the sacrament, while at the same time he denied image worship. The glorious light was but beginning to dawn. [CHCoG: The above allows that lord Cobham's views may not have been typical Lollard beliefs. Nor does he clearly state that he believes the bread is physically transformed into Christ's body, a confession of which the clergy then tried but failed to extract from him, indicating that he did NOT believe that happened.]

These articles being read, the clergy who were present consulted together, and told Lord Cobham that there were some things very good in what he advanced, but in other points he must declare his mind more freely. He was accordingly asked whether after consecration, the bread in the sacrament was the same as before, or whether it was not changed into the real body and blood of Christ. Secondly, whether he did believe the sacrament of penance, which enjoins every man to confess his sins to a priest.

In answer to these questions, Lord Cobham said he had nothing to offer besides what was in the declarations he had made. The archbishop then said to him that he had much better consider of these things, for if he did not know his opinions he would have the censure of the holy mother church, and be adjudged to die as an heretic. His lordship in Christian meekness told them they might do as they pleased; after which the court adjourned.

The next time the court met, the archbishop told lord Cobham he was arraigned as an heretic; but that he might still have absolution if he would submit to the holy mother church. Many things were mentioned to him, but he would not submit to them; so that the archbishop stood up and read the dreadful sentence, condemning him as an obstinate heretic.

As soon as this sentence was pronounced, lord Cobham said, You may do with this poor perishing body as you please, but you cannot injure my soul; he that created it will in his infinite mercy save it, and of that I have no manner of doubt; and for the articles I give you, I will stand by them to the last, and they shall contain my faith before the eternal God. He then turned himself to the people, and desired them to beware of false doctrines, to search the scriptures and find out the truth. After this he fell upon his knees, and begged that God would forgive his persecutors, if it was consistent with his blessed will.

He was then delivered to Sir Robert Morely, constable of the tower, who took him back to his former place of confinement, from whence he soon after made his escape. Whilst he was abroad he was outlawed as a traitor, and the king issued a proclamation, offering a reward to any one who would apprehend him. Having spent some time in France, he returned to his native country, but kept himself concealed in Wales, till lord Powis caused him to be apprehended, in December 1419. This was an act of baseness, because lord Cobham had before that done several things to serve lord Powis. On December 14th that year, while the parliament was sitting at Westminster, lord Cobham was brought before them, as a person who had been excommunicated: he said but little in his defence; upon which they adjudged him to be remanded back to the tower, and from thence to be conveyed to the new gallows, in the place now called Lincoln's-Inn Fields, where he was to be hanged and burnt.

This sentence was executed with shocking circumstances of severity, for they lighted the fire as soon as he was turned off.

History, however, has, in the most faithful manner rewarded his worth; and his sufferings for the protestant cause in an age of darkness will be celebrated to the latest ages of posterity. There is something however in the whole of this narrative that affords matter for serious reflection. Here was a nobleman of the highest rank in the nation, dragged before a tribunal of priests, who, by the laws of this country, had no right to judge in criminal matters, and condemned to death; and here likewise we find the parliament, to their eternal dishonour, giving a sanction to such a measure.

Does Christianity want the exertion of civil power to support it? No! The kingdom of Christ is not of this world. The clergy indeed must have been dreadfully corrupt at that time, when sheltering their hypocrisy under the mask of a zeal for religion, they could trample upon the power of the ancient nobility. Could these men imagine that their power was to be of long duration? Did they never think that all violences promote revolutions? No: they had in a surreptitious manner procured a mock statute for the burning of heretics, and they were determined that even the greatest persons in the nation should not be exempted from its fury. What condition can that nation be in that is under the dominion of priests? Did Christ ever command that his followers should intermeddle with civil affairs? Why then has it happened that Popish power has laid one half of the world desolate? The answer is obvious: the moment that men forsake the truth they sink into error, and they run on from one degree of impiety to another, till they know not where to stop. This was the case with the clergy by the time of Constantine the Great, and it continued to advance in strength, till it pleased God to open the glorious light of the everlasting gospel, by the reformations in some of the different states of Europe.

But notwithstanding all this opposition to the doctrines of the Lollards, or as they were commonly called, the Wickliffites, yet their number grew, and encreased daily. People were beginning to acquire some knowledge of letters, and many verses were written

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to ridicule the established clergy. It is certain that they were at that time very corrupt, and perhaps, in general, men of ignorance; some crimes, however, were imputed to them of which they never were guilty. That they were men of the most abandoned characters cannot be denied, but that they were guilty of unnatural practices one would rather doubt.* However, this did not exempt them from censure, for many verses were written against them, of which the following may serve as a specimen.

The English nation doth lament Of Sodomites their sin; Which Paul doth plainly signify, By idols to begin.

But generose! it is full ingrate From sinful sinners sprung, Thus to defend (though priests in name) Make bulwarks great and strong.

The next man who suffered under this bloody statute was Thomas Badley, a taylor, and a layman; and a letter having been tendered to him, which he refused, he was declared an obstinate heretic, and tied to the stake in Smithfield; where he was burnt alive, rejoicing in Jehovah his God.

The next person we read of who was tried upon this abominable statute was William Thorpe, a man of some knowledge, who adhered to all the doctrines taught by Wickliffe. He was brought many times before archbishop Arundel, and at last

^{* [}CHCoG: But why does Southwell doubt it? Numerous modern trials in multiple countries have exposed many catholic clergy as serial sexual abusers of innocent girls and boys. There is no reason to believe their perversions were any less in the past, and were likely worse as their power was then greater.]

committed a close prisoner, where he died, but in what manner cannot now be ascertained.

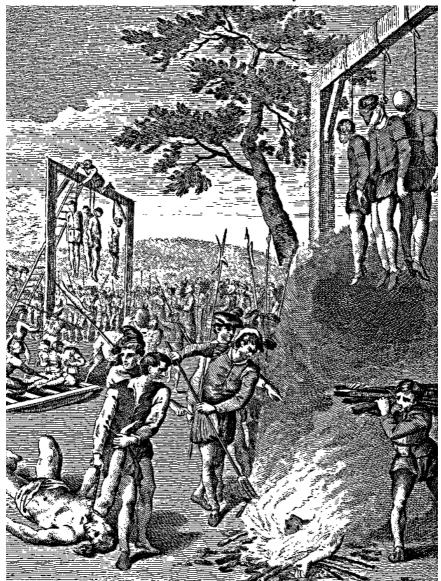
While the persecutions were beginning to rage in this manner in England they were no less violent abroad; but the particulars of these have been already mentioned.

Arundel, the archbishop already mentioned, was of such an haughty disposition, and so much in love with religious popular applause, that he ordered that the bells of London should not be rung for one whole week; however, he was not treated with that respect he thought becoming his dignity when he came into that city. Such acts of exorbitant clerical power were common enough in that age, but even those acts paved the way for that reformation under which we now live.

It is impossible, in a proper manner, to form any just idea of the corrupt state of the clergy at this time. There were three popes together, which occasioned the calling the council of Constance, to consider of these abuses. Happy would it have been, had this council confined themselves to those duties that became their characters; but this was not to take place. It would have been meritorious of them to have deposed all the three popes, and appointed a new one: but what laughing-stocks would they then have made themselves to the people.

About this time thirty-six persons, denominated Lollards, suffered death in St. Giles's, for no other reason than professing their attachment to the doctrines of Wickliffe. They were hung on giblets, and faggots being placed under them, as soon as they were suspended, fire was set to them, so that they were burnt while hanging. Only one of their names have been transmitted to us, which is that of Sir Roger Archer, whom they distinguished from the rest by stripping him stark naked, and executing him in that indecent manner.

The New Book of Martyrs



Executions of the ENGLISH LOLLARDS in the Reign of Henry IV. who were hung on Gibbets & Fires kindled under them &c. in the Fields near London, where St. Giles's Church now stands.

If there is an infallibility, (says lord Hales) it must be lodged somewhere; but where? Is it to be found in the pope? No: there have been three at one and the same time; nay, each of them performed the pontifical office, each of them excommunicated the other, and all of them pretended to infallibility.

Again, is this infallibility to be found in general councils? It cannot: general councils have anathematized each other, and condemned each others decrees. We may justly say that there is nothing infallible but the word of God. The famous council of Constance sat for a considerable time, and made a decree that they had a right to give laws to the pope, to fix the bounds of his conduct, and to call him to an account for the neglect of duty.

In the next part of their proceedings they were abominable indeed: they summoned before them John Huss and Jerom of Prague, two Bohemians, whom they ordered to be burnt alive; the particulars concerning whom have been already related.

But it was not enough for these fathers, as they were called, to murder the living, for their malice extended even to the dead.

As the clergy of all nations in Europe were under their direction, so they sent over an order to England to have John Wickliffe's bones taken up and burned before the door of that church of which he had been rector, namely, Lutterworth in Leicestershire. An eminent author, taking notice of this circumstance, says, "They spread his ashes into the Stour; the Stour conveyed them to the Avon; the Avon to the Severn; and the Severn to the sea." An emblem of his doctrine that was to spread throughout the world!

But notwithstanding all this opposition to the Lollards, yet their sentiments continued to diffuse themselves throughout the whole island of Great-Britain, less or more, as we shall have occasion to take notice of more particularly, when we come to treat of Scotland. About this time the people of England were miserably harassed by Henry Chichley, then archbishop of Canterbury. This dreadful persecutor first wreaked his vengeance on John Claydon, a freeman of London, who was arrested by the lord-mayor, and taken before the archbishop. This man being called to give an account of his opinions, frankly acknowledged that for twenty years before he had considered it as his highest glory to rank himself among those people called Lollards. He added that he had suffered many years imprisonment in different gaols, particularly three years in the Fleet, out of which prison he had been brought before John Searl, the chancellor, when he was weak enough to abjure; but having considered the affair more maturely, he returned to his former opinions, and wrote several books on religious subjects.

Having made this confession, the archbishop ordered a warrant to be made out, that his house should be searched for what were then called heretical books. Accordingly a diligent search was made, and some books were found, particularly one, entitled, "The *Lantern of Light*," which Claydon had written himself.

In this book he maintained:

- First, that the pope was Anti-Christ, and that he was the enemy to the laws of Christ.
- Secondly, that the archbishops and bishops are the children of the beast Anti-Christ.
- Thirdly, that the bishops licence for a man to preach the gospel is the character of the beast.
- Fourthly, that the court of Rome is the head of Anti-Christ, and the bishops the body.
- Fifthly, that no reprobate can be a member of the church.
- Sixthly, that Christ did never teach any but one religion.
- Seventhly, that the material church should not be decorated with gold.

- Eighthly, that all persecutions were owing to the pride and avarice of the priests.
- Ninthly, that no man had a right to give away that as an alms, which he had not justly obtained.
- Tenthly, that often singing in the church is not founded on scripture.
- Eleventhly, that bread and wine remains in the sacrament.
- Twelfthly, that the pope's decrees are unnecessary and unprofitable.
- Thirteenthly, that the laity are not bound to obey the bishops, unless they command what is consistent with the sacred scripture.
- Fourteenthly, that images are not to be worshipped.

Such were the sentiments of this man; and we may here find that however the followers of Wickliffe differed in some things, yet in general they agreed in the most leading principles in religion, namely; first, that the whole frame of popery was corrupted; and secondly, that the scriptures alone, with the grace of God, could lead men to salvation.

However, the archbishop, and the other bishops, ordered his books to be burnt, and then proceeded to declare him an heretic. He was accordingly given over to the civil power, who condemned him to be burnt in Smithfield, which sentence was executed with some circumstances of cruelty, but the martyr died rejoicing in the Lord his God. Those flames of material fire, in which the faithful martyrs suffer, convey their souls to the happy regions of uninterrupted eternal light.

Much about the same time one Richard Turning was burned alive in Smithfield, and suffered with all that constancy, fortitude, and resignation, which have so much distinguished the primitive Christians.

It will appear that this Henry Chichley, then archbishop of Canterbury, was a most violent persecutor; and the king being at that time in France, this ambitious prelate resolved to put every Lollard to death whom he could apprehend. He had his spies in every part of the country; great numbers of pious Christians were apprehended and put in prison, some of whom made their escape, and others, not having fortitude sufficient to suffer, recanted, and were absolved, after having undergone severe penances.

This circumstance of recanting is no dishonour to the cause of the reformation, nor does it in the least point out any thing false in the doctrines taught by Wickliffe. Many of those who possessed the Christian religion in the primitive times relapsed into idolatry; for such is the state of human nature that nothing less than divine grace can support the martyr under his sufferings.

The indignities which those persons laboured under who abjured are almost inexpressible: they were obliged to submit to all the cruelties that could gratify a superstitious rabble: they were led in procession round the cathedral church of St. Paul, dressed in robes of canvas, holding a wax taper lighted in one hand and a crucifix in the other: they were then obliged to mount the cross at the upper end of Cheapside, and declare their recantation aloud to the spectators; and even after all this, the priests were continually laying snares for them: for such is the nature of ecclesiastical persecution, that it knows no bounds!

Henry VI. then an infant, succeeded his father Henry V. in 1422.

Whatever cruelties were exercised upon the Lollards during this king's minority cannot be ascribed to him, but to those who acted under him. However, as Henry Chichley was not only archbishop of Canterbury, but likewise prime minister of state, consequently the Lollards had no reason to expect any favour, although they had given no offence; for these people entered into no combinations, either with that church or the state.

It is true, some of them held their private meetings in different parts, both of London and in the country; and as the parishes were then small to what they are at present, and as the priests kept a list of all their people, so it was no difficult matter for them to find out which of them absented themselves from mass: nay, the corrupt priests made it their study to find out such of their brethren as were suspected of countenancing the Lollards, and gave information thereof to the archbishop.

The first of these who suffered in this long inglorious reign was John Florence, who was apprehended in the county of Norfolk; but this man, after undergoing many indignities, had not the constancy to suffer, but recanted his opinion. A pile of lighted faggots were placed where the common criminals suffer, and being led to it he was obliged to declare that he ought to have been burned alive as an heretic.

At this time a great number of Lollards suffered, but their names have not been transmitted to us, which is not much to be wondered at when we consider that the wars were then breaking out between the houses of York and Lancaster.

In 1428, Abraham, a monk of Colchester, Milburn White, a priest, and John Wade, a priest, were all three apprehended on a charge of heresy. The principles embraced by these men, or at least those they were accused of holding, were: that after consecration the bread and wine remained the same as before; that every true Christian was a priest to God, in conformity with those words in the book of Revelations: *He has made us kings and priests unto our God*; that no man is bound by the word of God to keep Lent; that the pope is Anti-Christ; that in cases of necessity men may work at their lawful employments on holy-days; that priests may marry; that ecclesiastical censures are not to be regarded; that no man was to swear in private causes; that pilgrimages were not enjoined in the word of God; that images

ought not to be worshipped; that holy water was not necessary; that relics ought not to be worshipped; that prayers are in all places acceptable to God; that no saint ought to be prayed to; that bell-ringing was ordered to fill the purses of the priests;* and that the Roman catholic church was not the only [CHCoG: *only* should read *real*.] congregation of the faithful. They all agreed in these doctrines, and it appears that they learned them from Milburn White, who had been one of Wickliffe's scholars.

This Milburn White having been convinced of the errors of popery, resigned his living, and married a pious woman named Joan; but he still continued to teach the doctrines of Wickliffe privately. He took every opportunity of instructing the people of Norwich in the truths of the Christian religion: for this he was apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich; who, because he would not recant, declared him an obstinate heretic, and he was burned alive at Norwich. When he was brought to the stake, he intended to have spoken to the people; but one of the bishop's tenants struck him on the mouth, in order to make him silent: then he was burned alive amidst a vast crowd of spectators.

Soon after this Abraham suffered at Colchester, and with him John Whaddon; both of whom died in a constant adherence to the truth of the gospel. John Wade suffered also about the same time in London.

It appears that at this time the persecutions raged with the greatest severity in the diocese of Norwich, and the sufferers sent up their souls in flames to God: there they will be held in everlasting honour, while the names of their persecutors will be consigned to oblivion; nay, when they will suffer under the hand of avenging justice, and those whom they have persecuted will

^{*} The priests exacted a certain sum of money from all those who desired to have the bells rung. The reason was the priests gave it out that the devil hovered round the beds of dying persons, and the sound of the bells drove them away.

appear bright and unspotted before that God who sent his Son to redeem them. So true are the words of the poet:

These glorious minds how bright they shine! Whence all this whole array? How came they to those happy tents, Of everlasting day?

Through burning flames, and torturing pains, On fiery paths they trod, And meek and calmly washed their robes In their Redeemer's blood.

In the year 1430, Richard Ilvedon, a wool-comber, and a citizen of London, was brought before the archbishop, and being declared an obstinate heretic, was burnt alive on Tower-Hill, for no other reason than that he embraced and professed the doctrines of Wickliffe.

In the year 1431, Thomas Bagley, a priest, who had a living near Malden in Essex, was brought before the bishop of London, and being declared an obstinate heretic, was condemned and burned alive in Smithfield.

From there few instances, it appears that two things should be attended to; namely, the vast extent of Wickliffe's doctrine, and the unbounded malice of the priests. Here was a twilight preceding the reformation; but clouds and darkness still obstructed it. The power of the clergy was still great, and their lives were corrupt; but although the truth might for some time be obscured, yet it was not to be extinguished.

In the year 1439, Richard Wick, a priest, was burned alive on Tower-hill, for preaching the doctrines of Wickliffe. He was a man of the most exemplary piety, and looked upon by many of the

people as a saint. He had long been convinced of the errors of popery, and when brought to the stake, he told the people that although he was then to die for the truth, yet God would raise up many to make mention of his name, and maintain the truth of the gospel to future ages.

In 1440, some of the greatest persons in the kingdom were condemned to perpetual imprisonment for heresy, as being Lollards; among whom was the duchess of Gloucester, who had long been a follower of Wickliffe. It was otherwise, however, with Roger Only, a priest, who being condemned as an obstinate heretic, was burnt alive in Smithfield.

Roger Only was not so much a Lollard as some of those we have already mentioned; but he was guilty of a crime equally offensive to the clergy, namely, that he had inveighed much against the vices they practised. This was what they could not bear; and it may be justly observed that as nothing is more opposite to the truth than false religion, so none are such bitter enemies as corrupt clergymen. But as it pleased God to lay the foundation of our holy religion in the blood of our Saviour, so when the whole world was corrupted, he built the true religion on the blood of the martyrs. As there could be no remission of sins without shedding of blood, so it often seems that there can be no true church founded till some faithful confessors have laid down their lives for the truth. Whatever divine wisdom intended in doing so, this much is certain, that fact itself cannot be disputed.

In August, 1473, one Thomas Granter was apprehended in London; he was accused of professing the doctrines of Wickliffe, for which he was condemned as an obstinate heretic. This pious man, being brought to the sheriff's house on the morning of the day appointed for his execution, desired a little refreshment, and having eat some, he said to the people present, "I eat now a very good meal, for I have a strange conflict to engage with before I go

to supper." and having eaten, he returned thanks to God for the bounties of his all-gracious providence, requesting that he might be instantly led to the place of execution, to bear testimony to the truth of those principles which he had professed. Accordingly he was chained to a stake on Tower-hill, where he was burned alive, professing the truth with his last breath.

It is necessary here to observe that from the death of Richard II. till this time, there had not been a reign in which some pious person did not suffer for the truth. This is not to be wondered at, when we consider the nature of the bloody statute of Henry IV. and the confusions in the subsequent times that made way for its operations, with every circumstance of unfeeling cruelty.

April 28th, 1494, Joan Boughton, a lady of considerable rank, was burned in Smithfield for professing the doctrines of Wickliffe. This lady was a widow, and no less than eighty years of age. The night after she was burned, her ashes were all carried away from the place of execution by those people called Lollards. It was common with the priests at that time, when they could not bring home the charge of heresy against the unfortunate prisoners, to accuse them of rebellion; for it is well known that the crown sat tottering on the head of Henry VI. so that making the clergy his friends, he granted all their requests.

In 1498, the king being then at Canterbury, a priest was brought before him, accused of heresy, and who was immediately ordered to be burnt alive. Here was judgment without evidence, and execution contrary to law. The name of this priest has not been transmitted to us, but we may reasonably believe that he was a faithful adherent to the truth. This much is certain, that he was offered his life if he would recant, but he rejected it, and chose rather to suffer for the truth, than to injure his conscience by declaring those principles to be true, which he believed to be false.

He died in a firm persuasion of the truth of those sentiments which had been taught by Wickliffe.

In the year 1499, one Babram, a pious man, was brought before the bishop of Norwich, having been accused by some of the priests with holding the doctrines of Wickliffe. He confessed he did believe every thing that was objected against him. For this, he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and a warrant was granted for his execution; accordingly he was brought to the stake at Norwich, where he suffered with a constancy that would have done honour to one of the primitive martyrs.

The next year, an old man was accused before the bishop of London as a Lollard, and because he would not retract his opinions, he was condemned as an obstinate heretic. History, with the confusions of the times, has not been faithful enough to transmit his name down to the present age; but we are informed that when he was brought to the stake in Smithfield, he embraced the faggots, and endured with constancy all those tortures which the malice of his persecutors could inflict. When Christ comes to judge the world, many names that are now unknown or forgotten, will be brought forth to public view, and the Divine Redeemer will acknowledge them to be his beloved disciples, who were punished here below.

In 1506, one William Tilfery, a pious man, was burned alive at Amersham, in a close called Stony-prat, and at that time, his daughter, Joan Clark, a married woman, was obliged to light the faggots that were to burn her father. The popish priest knew nothing of natural affection. Bred up in cloysters, and after ordination obliged to live in a state of celibacy,* they are utterly

^{* [}CHCoG: In practice, they could often keep a concubine if they were not too obvious about it, but they were immediately excommunicated if they dared to marry.]

unacquainted with many of those comforts which make men happy in society.

During the same year this faithful martyr suffered, there were several persons apprehended in the diocese of Norwich and Lincoln, for having spoken disrespectfully of the clergy, and were branded in the church with red hot irons. This year also one father Roberts, a priest, was convicted of being a Lollard before the bishop of Lincoln, and burnt alive at Buckingham. He suffered with great constancy, piety, and resignation; embraced the faggots, and rejoiced that God had accounted him worthy to die for the truth of the gospel.

In 1507, one Thomas Norris was burned alive for the testimony of the truth of the gospel at Norwich. This man was a poor, inoffensive, harmless person, but his parish priest conversing with him one day, conjectured he was a Lollard. In consequence of this supposition he gave information to the bishop, and Norris was apprehended. It does not appear that he was guilty of any other crime than that of condemning the vices of the clergy; but that was sufficient to produce his destruction in this world. There is not any thing can put guilt more to the blush, than that of being told of what the guilty person's own conscience convicts him. Therefore the priests finding themselves convicted by the evidence of their own consciences, imagined the best way was to put the protestants to death. This was a diabolical work, but it was, in all respects, consistent with the notions of these people in those barbarous and ignorant times.

In 1508, one Lawrence Guale, who had been kept in prison two years, was burnt alive at Salisbury, for denying the real presence in the sacrament. It appeared that this man kept a shop in Salisbury, and entertained some Lollards in his house; for which he was informed against to the bishop; but he abode by his first testimony, and was condemned to suffer as an heretic.

A pious woman was burnt at Chippen Sudburne, by order of the chancellor, Doctor Whittenham. After she had been consumed in the flames, and the people were returning home, a bull broke loose from a butcher, and singling out the chancellor from all the rest of the company, he gored him through the body, and on his horns carried his entrails. This was seen by all the people, and it is remarkable that the animal did not meddle with any other person whatever.

CHAP. III.

Containing an Account of those Martyrs who Suffered during the Reign of Henry VIII. including Tindal.

WE are now entering upon a very important period indeed: we here find the clerical power extending itself in a manner with little opposition over the consciences of men. It is here we have seen some struggles made for the truth; and we have beheld martyrs sealing their testimonies with their blood. But here seems to have been something like a pause. The clergy imagined the flame of evangelical light was extinguished. They thought that their cruel persecutions had not left a professor alive; and therefore they gave themselves up to all manner of debauchery. They had no thought that an important revolution was about to take place; and indeed it seldom appears that men consider the nature of causes till they have seen the events which consequently flow from them.

Such was the state of religion in England when Henry VIII. ascended the throne in 1509, in the room of his father, Henry VII.

The character of Henry VIII. has been much animadverted on by our common historians, and yet we may safely venture to affirm that it was never yet properly drawn. All that has been said of him has been either general or particular; general, as an instrument in the hands of Divine Providence to bring about a reformation; or particular, as a monster of iniquity. Both parties were prejudiced, and the truth must be sought for from a higher source than any of those from which they receive their information.

Like all human characters, that of Henry's was mixed. He was educated with a view of being made archbishop of Canterbury, had his brother Arthur succeeded to the throne; but the death of that prince put a stop to his father's expectations. Brought up among the clergy, and endued with warm and violent passions, Henry had a large share of superstition in the whole of his religious concerns.

Adorned with a graceful appearance, he was no stranger to flattery; and the clergy who, while in a state of corruption, are not always the greatest friends to virtue, endeavoured to improve on his passions. He was represented by many of them as superior in knowledge to all the doctors of the church in that age. Such flattery was sufficient to have deceived a man of more experience than Henry, and we find him led down by the stream.

He had not been long on the throne when Luther opposed the doctrines of popery; and a treatise was published in Henry's name, vindicating all the doctrines of the Romish church, particularly those relating to the seven sacraments. That the king was the author of this book has been generally believed; but that he was not can be easily proved.*

The approbation, however, of the clergy, raised the king's mind to an insupportable degree of vanity: and as an encouragement for him to persecute the protestants, or any who opposed the papal doctrines, the court of Rome bestowed upon him the splendid title of Defender of the Faith. Elated with such imaginary honours, cooperating with his natural and acquired notions of superstition, he was determined in his own mind to persecute, with the utmost severity, all those who differed in sentiments from the church of Rome. That he did so cannot be disputed; but the passions of Henry were to be made submissible towards promoting nobler purposes. This will appear in the course of the present chapter, where the character of the man will be fully displayed.

There is not in the whole history of England a single reign that exhibits such a variety of busy and interesting scenes as that of Henry VIII. There was a dawn beginning to break out from a long obscurity of more than Egyptian darkness. A fatal blow had been struck at the root of the feudal institutions: the nobility, some of

^{*} There is a copy of it now in the British Museum, with a note on the inside of the title page, written by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, declaring himself to be the author.

whom had princely estates, entered into cabals and combinations against the government. The little learning the king had filled his soul with a supercilious pride; he was ostentatious in a display of his notions concerning the most abstruse points in theology.

On the other hand the queen, to all the tyranny of the Austrian family from which she was descended, added a bigotry and cruelty which might well enough suit the worst of female passions, but were far beneath the regal dignity. From such a mixture of characters, we need not be surprized to find what happened afterwards. Pedantry joined to bigotry, must form a monster indeed. By these concurring circumstances, the light of the reformation was, for some time, suppressed in England. The attempts to promote it were weak, the exertions of regal power to suppress it were strong. The priests were slow in their glory, but their last bet was at stake.

October 18, 1511, William Succling, and John Bannister, who had formerly recanted, returned again to the profession of the faith, and were burned alive in Smithfield. The crime alledged against them was for denying the real presence in the sacrament; and they died with a constancy and fortitude which would have done honour to the ancient martyrs.

In the year 1517, one John Brown, (who had recanted before in the reign of Henry VII. and borne a faggot round St. Paul's) was condemned by Dr. Wonhaman, archbishop of Canterbury, and burnt alive at Ashford. Before he was chained to the stake, the archbishop Wonhaman, and Yester, bishop of Rochester, caused his feet to be burned in a fire till all the flesh came off, even to the bones. This was done in order to make him again recant, but he persisted in his attachment to the truth till the last.

Much about this time one Richard Hunn, a merchant-taylor of the city of London, was apprehended, having refused to pay the priest his fees for the funeral of a child; and being conveyed to the

Lollards Tower, in the palace of Lambeth, was there privately murdered by some of the servants of the archbishop.

One would have thought that the malice of the persecutors would have been satiated, in consequence of this man's having been murdered; but popish cruelty knows no end! After his death the following articles were exhibited against him:

- First, that he had denied the real presence to be in the sacrament after consecration.
- Secondly, that there was no warrant in the sacred scripture for calling the pope the head of the church.

Thirdly, that the sacrament of the mass was idolatry.

- Fourthly, that auricular confession could be of no service, in order to promote the terms of acceptance with the Deity.
- Fifthly, that pilgrimages were, in all respects, an human invention.
- Lastly, that the whole frame of the church was corrupted, and therefore it ought to be reformed.

It is not our business to enquire whether this man held these sentiments, or whether they were projected by his enemies. He was dead, and consequently could not answer for himself; but a mock process was carried on against him, and his remains were burned in Smithfield, after he had been dead above two months. It was afterwards found that he had been murdered; but cardinal Wolsey, who at that time was prime minister in England, procured a pardon for the murderers.

September 24, 1518, John Stilincen, who had before recanted, was apprehended, brought before Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London, and on the 25th of October was condemned as an heretic. He was chained to the stake in Smithfield amidst a vast crowd of spectators, and sealed his testimony to the truth with his blood. He declared that he was a Lollard, and that he had always believed the opinions of Wickliffe; and although he had been weak enough to recant his opinions, yet he was now willing to convince the world that he was ready to die for the truth.

March 29, 1519, Thomas Mann was brought before the bishop of London, for declaring:

Firstly, That auricular confession was not necessary.

- Secondly, That the real presence was not in the bread after the words of consecration.
- Thirdly, That the worshipping of images was idolatry.
- Fourthly, That pilgrimages were no more than a human invention.

For these sentiments he was degraded from his clerical habit, and condemned to be burned alive in Smithfield.

The constancy with which this martyr suffered was very remarkable. Dark and confined as men's notions might have been in that age, when light was only beginning to break in upon the human mind, yet this faithful sufferer met the fire and the faggots with fortitude and resolution.

The same year, one Robert Celin, a plain honest man, was condemned by the bishop of Lincoln, and burned alive at Buckingham, for speaking against image worship and pilgrimages.

Much about this time, James Brewster, a native of Colchester, was executed in Smithfield, in London. His sentiments were the same as the rest of the Lollards, or those who followed the doctrines of Wickliffe; but notwithstanding the innocence of his life, and the regularity of his manners, he was obliged to submit to papal revenge.

During this year, one Christopher, a shoemaker, was burned alive at Newbury in Berkshire for denying those popish articles which we have already mentioned. This man had got some books

in English, which were sufficient to render him obnoxious to the Romish clergy.

In 1521, Thomas Bernard was burned alive at Norwich, for denying the real presence, and his execution was attended with some circumstances of cruelty. It is a common observation that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, and the reason is obvious; for the spectators, when they see the constancy of these martyrs, admire the truth for which they suffered, and are willing to partake with them. Looking at the stake to which the martyr is chained, they are apt to exclaim in the words of the poet:

How could we even consent to lay, Our limbs upon that bed; We wish thine envoy to convey, Our spirits in his stead.

But we are obliged to relate a more horrid and unnatural circumstance that took place this year.

John Laucenus, a plain honest man, was condemned by the bishop of Lincoln, and his own children were condemned to suffer as heretics, unless they would set fire to the faggots which were to burn their father. This was not unusual, for the popish priests, who at that time had the greatest part of the civil power in their own hands, domineered over the consciences of the people; and the more unnatural the executions, the more they considered it as conducive towards preserving church power.

A question has been stated by bishop Kennet, namely, what could induce the corrupt Roman catholics to burn those whom they called heretics, rather than put them to any other death or punishment? All respect should be paid to what has been declared by that honoured prelate; and yet he has not entered into the spirit of the argument. The truth is, the papist, in order to domineer over the consciences of the people, taught them to believe that all heretics, being deemed accursed and condemned to everlasting torments, so it was necessary that their punishment in eternity should immediately begin, before their existence in this world ceased.*

Persecution during the reign of Henry VIII. was not confined to one part of the kingdom: its baleful influence spread far and wide; there was a continual struggle between truth and superstition. Some pious men had translated into English the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments; these were eagerly copied, and thousands of them were dispersed over the kingdom; for although the art of printing had been known many years before, yet it was not then much practised. Many of the pious people kept copies written on vellum, and for that, many were apprehended and committed to prison.

About the beginning of the year 1522, Mr. Wrigsham, a glover; Mr. Langdale, a hosier; Thomas Bond, Robert Harchets, and William Archer, shoemaker, with Mrs. Smith, a widow, were apprehended on Ash Wednesday, and committed to prison. After examination, the bishop of Litchfield declared them to be heretics, and they were all condemned to be burned alive at Coventry.

Accordingly, the week before easter, the men were burned; but the case of the woman being considered as rather hard, a respite, or rather a free pardon was granted her, and one of the officers was ordered to conduct her to her own house.

^{* [}CHCoG: Though logical in a perverse way, all of this cruelty is based on false pagan myths, as indicated by the observation that the papal tortures were virtually identical to those inflicted on the pre-Constantine Christians by the pagan Romans. The Bible teaches that only the truly unrepentant wicked will go into the Lake of Fire, and they will be utterly destroyed, not tortured forever. It is the Second Death, where both body and soul are consumed (Mat 10:28, Rev 20:6-15). Their torment is the time from when they are resurrected until they are justly condemned and cast into the Lake. Our God is not a monster. Read <u>The Origin and History of the Doctrine of Endless Punishment</u> for proof.]

This fellow, whose name was Morton, while he was leading the woman home, discovered something in her sleeve, and finding that it was the creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten commandments in English, he said, Ah! Hussey, as good now as another time. He then took her back to the bishop, when she was immediately condemned, and a fire lighted on the ashes that had consumed the men; where she was burnt to death.

When we read of such horrid cruelties, we are too apt to doubt the equity of divine providence, and yet nothing in the world can be more vain. It has pleased God in all his dispensations, to mix evidence with doubt, and truth with uncertainty. Whatever the reasons are, the fact is undeniable. The strongest argument in defence of a future state of rewards and punishments, is the inadequate ideas we have of justice in this world. How often do we see the wicked, the cruel prosecutor flourishing in affluence, while modest merit, or unaffected piety, are struggling under the iron hand of oppression, or perhaps expiring in the flames? From these circumstances, we may reasonably conclude there will be a future judgment, when the wicked will be abased, and the righteous exalted.

Robert Silks, who had been condemned in the bishop's court as an heretic, made his escape out of prison, but was taken two years afterwards, and brought back to Coventry, where he was burned alive. The sheriffs always seized the goods of the martyrs for their own use, so that their wives and children were left to starve.

In 1532, Thomas Harding, who, with his wife, had been accused of heresy, was brought before the bishop of Lincoln, and condemned for denying the real presence in the sacrament. He was then chained to a stake, erected for the purpose, at Chesham in the Pell, near Botely; and when they had set fire to the faggots, one of the spectators dashed his brains out with a billet.

The priests told the people that whoever brought faggots to burn heretics would have an indulgence to commit sins for forty days. Here was a large field displayed for the indulgence of irregular passions; the flood-gates of iniquity were set open; for the people, encouraged by these indulgencies, plunged themselves into all sorts of debauchery.

Much about this time many persons of both sexes were apprehended; but they had not the fortitude to suffer. The man who professes the truth in evil times ought to be continually on his guard against pride, and seek earnestly assistance from God, to enable him to bear testimony to the truth.

The power of the Romish clergy was now at the highest, their state of corruption was now become proverbial; they had advanced to the height of a precipice, and their fall was inevitable. Henry, ever unsettled in his opinions, violent in his passions, and deeply tinctured with superstition, resolved to part with his queen, Catherine of Arragon. Most of our historians have imputed this part of Henry's conduct to his passion for Ann Boleyn. This, however, is a falsehood, first invented by the papists, and then, as a second-hand story, embraced by the protestants.

The truth is, Henry had resolved to obtain a divorce from his queen, upwards of two years before he saw Ann Boleyn. He was directed by two motives; the first was really that of conscience, on account of having married the widow of his brother;* and the second was his earnest desire to have a son to succeed him.

During the latter end of this year, Worham, archbishop of Canterbury, apprehended one Hitten, a priest, at Maidstone; and after he had been long tortured in prison, and several times examined by the archbishop, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, he

^{* [}CHCoG: As footnoted earlier, this was biblically condoned as his brother was dead: compare Lev. 20:21 with Deut 25:5. This was only another 'sin' invented by the papacy to get control over their victims. If Cranmer did not know this, his Biblical knowledge was quite poor.]

was condemned as an heretic, and burned alive before the door of his own parish church.

THOMAS BILNEY, professor of civil law at Cambridge, was brought before the bishop of London, and several other bishops, in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and being several times threatened with the stake and flames, he was weak enough to recant; but he repented severely afterwards.

For this he was brought before the bishops a second time, and condemned to death. Before he went to the stake he confessed his adherence to those opinions which Luther held; and when at it, he smiled and said, "I have had many storms in this world, but now my vessel will soon be on shore in heaven." He stood unmoved in the flames, crying out, "Jesus, I believe!" and these were the last words he was heard to utter. The sufferings of this pious and learned man hurt the cause of popery more than any thing else could have done; for it was then found that neither learning, virtue, piety, or dignified honours, could save men from the rage of persecution.

At Cambridge, Bilney studied law, graduating LL.B. and taking holy orders in 1519. Finding no satisfaction in the mechanical system of the schoolmen, he turned his attention to the Greek edition of the New Testament published by Erasmus in 1516.

During his reading in the Epistles, he was struck by the words of 1 Timothy 1:15, which in English reads, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am the chief." "Immediately", he records, "I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that my bruised bones lept for joy, Psalm

[[]CHCoG: And that is all Southwell says of this remarkable man. Foxe dedicates several pages to him. For brevity, we here add most of the Wikipedia entry on him:

51:8. After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honey or the honeycomb; wherein I learned that all my labours, my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without truth in Christ, who alone saveth his people from their sins; these I say, I learned to be nothing else but even, as St. Augustine saith, a hasty and swift running out of the right way."

The Scriptures now became his chief study, and his influence led other young Cambridge men to think along the same lines. Among his friends were Matthew Parker, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh Latimer. Latimer, previously a strenuous conservative, was completely won over, and a warm friendship sprang up between him and Bilney. "By his confession," said Latimer, "I learned more than in twenty years before."

In 1525 Bilney obtained a licence to preach throughout the diocese of Ely. He denounced saint and relic veneration, together with pilgrimages to Walsingham and Canterbury, and refused to accept the mediation of the saints.

Cardinal Wolsey appears to have summoned Bilney before him in 1526. On his taking an oath that he did not hold and would not disseminate the doctrines of Martin Luther, Bilney was dismissed. But in the following year serious objection was taken to a series of sermons preached by him in and near London, and he was dragged from the pulpit while preaching in St George's Chapel Ipswich, arrested and imprisoned in the Tower. Arraigned before Wolsey, William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and several bishops in the chapter-house at Westminster Abbey, he was convicted of heresy, sentence being deferred while efforts were made to induce him to recant, which eventually he did.

After being kept for more than a year in the Tower, he was released in 1529, and went back to Cambridge. Here he was overcome with remorse for his apostasy, and after two years he was determined to preach again what he had held to be the truth. The churches being no longer open to him, he preached openly in

the fields, finally arriving in Norwich, where the bishop, Richard Nix, caused him to be arrested. Articles were drawn up against him by Convocation, he was tried, degraded from his orders and handed over to the civil authorities to be burned. The sentence was carried out at Lollards Pit, Norwich on 19 August 1531. After witnessing Bilney's death, Bishop Nix is reported to have said, "I fear I have burned Abel and let Cain go."]

A few weeks after Bilney had suffered, Richard Byfield was cast into prison, and endured some whipping for his adherence to the doctrines of Luther. This Mr. Byfield had been some time a monk at Barnes, in Surry, but was converted by reading Tindal's [or Tyndale] version of the New Testament. He saw that either popery was false, or the New Testament was so. He had an opportunity of reading some of the ancient fathers; and from them he learned that there was a material difference between the primitive church and popery. The sufferings this man underwent for the truth were so great that it would require a volume to contain them. Sometimes he was shut up in a dungeon, where he was almost suffocated by the offensive and horrid smell of filth and stagnated water. At other times he was tied up by the arms, till almost all his joints were dislocated. He was whipped at the post several times, till scarce any flesh was left upon his back; and all this was done to make him recant. He was then taken to the Lollards Tower in Lambeth palace, where he was chained by the neck to the wall, and once every day beaten in the most cruel manner by the archbishop's servants.

At last he was brought before the bishop of London, in St. Paul's cathedral in London, where he was condemned as an heretic, and a certificate of his condemnation was sent into the court of Chancery.

Sir Thomas More, at that time high-chancellor of England, granted a writ for his execution, directed to the sheriffs of London.

Accordingly, he was taken from Newgate to St. Paul's, where he was degraded, being stripped of all his canonical habits, and delivered over to the secular power. The next day he was taken from Newgate to Smithfield, where he was chained to a stake and burned alive, amidst a great number of spectators. While he was in the fire he lifted up his right arm in a praying posture, but it soon dropped into the flames, and he expired. He continued calling on his Saviour as long as he was able to speak, and at last slept in the bosom of his father and his God.

When we consider the sufferings of these martyrs, their constancy and fortitude, we are naturally led to enquire what would support us supposing popery should, once more, become predominant in this country? The answer is that those impressions of the truth, with a conscience void of offence, and an earnest desire to do our duty will carry us through all those torments which the most merciless persecutors can inflict. It was said of Christ that because he suffered, therefore God had highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue should confess to the glory of God the father. Now as all the promises made to Christ in his human nature center in him, so they are, by way of adoption, transmitted to his faithful followers.

What encouragement does this afford to those who profess the truth? What signifies a few members suffering, when compared with elevated glory? All that will live godly in Christ must suffer persecution; that is, they will either be persecuted by the prevailing power of corruption in their hearts, or by objects which the world will present to them in the way of temptation. But in some seasons, under some circumstances, they will meet with persecutors among men. In this case let them always remember that all the sufferings men can inflict are but of a temporary nature; and let them never forget that the pleasures of sin are temporary, but the punishment is eternal.

The next person that suffered was John Tewksbury. This was a plain simple man, who had been guilty of no other offence against what was called the 'holy mother church', than that of reading Tindal's translation of the New Testament. At first he was weak enough to abjure, but afterwards repented, and acknowledged the truth. For this he was brought before the bishop of London, who condemned him as an obstinate heretic. He suffered greatly during the time of his imprisonment, so that when they brought him out to execution, he was almost dead. He was conducted to the stake in Smithfield, where he was burned; declaring his utter abhorrence of popery, and professing a firm belief that his cause was just in the sight of God.

Much about this time Valentine Treest and his wife were apprehended in Yorkshire, and having been examined by the archbishop, were deemed as obstinate heretics, and burnt. The brother of this Valentine had been so long imprisoned in the Lollards Tower at Lambeth that he lost the use of his reason, and continued so till his death. A cruel tyrant sometimes knows how to feel for sufferers, but a corrupt priest, or rather a body of corrupted priests, are deaf to all the feelings of humanity. Under the sacred name of their religion they attempt to conceal their guilt, till justice drags them out to punishment.

The next person that suffered in this reign was James Baynham, a reputable citizen in London who had married the widow of a gentleman in the Temple. He was arrested in consequence of an order from Sir Thomas More the chancellor, and carried to a dungeon in his house at Chelsea. Here Sir Thomas attempted to prevail upon him to recant his opinions, and the poor man did so; but he soon after repented, and could not be quiet in his conscience till he had made a declaration of his former sentiments. He lamented his weakness, and desired that all those who loved the truth would take an example from him.

Accordingly he was condemned, and ordered to be burned alive in Smithfield.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon when he was taken to the stake, and when chained to it he embraced the faggots, and said, "Oh, ye papists, behold! ye look for miracles; here now may you see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in bed; for it is as sweet to me as a bed of roses." Thus he resigned his soul into the hands of his Redeemer.

Soon after the death of this martyr, one Traxnel, an inoffensive countryman, was burned alive at Bradford in Wiltshire, because he would not acknowledge the real presence in the sacrament, nor own the papal supremacy over the consciences of men.

In the year 1533 a very noted martyr died for the truth. His name was John Frith, and he had been some time a student in Cambridge, but was afterwards removed to Christ's Church in Oxford. Having entered into priest orders, he obtained a living in the neighbourhood of London; but such was the force of conviction on his mind, that he declared publickly his assent to the doctrines of Luther, for which he was taken into custody, and brought before the bishop of London. The bishop asked him several questions in the usual form, and in the end declared him to be an obstinate heretic.

When he was brought to the stake in Smithfield, he embraced the faggots, and exhorted a young man who suffered with him, to trust his soul to that God who had redeemed it. Both these sufferers endured much torment, for the wind blew the flames away from them, so that they were above two hours in agony before they expired.

The name of the person who was burnt with Frith was Andrew Hewit, a native of Feversham in Kent, and only twenty-four years of age. He had served his apprenticeship in Watling-street, but was betrayed by one of his fellow-servants, and carried before Sir

Thomas More; the chancellor, who condemned him as an obstinate heretic.

During the latter end of this year, one Mr. Thomas Bennet, a school-master, was apprehended at Exeter, and being brought before the bishop, refused to recant his opinions, for which he was delivered over to the secular power, and burned alive near that city. The crime he was charged with was writing upon the door of the cathedral church at Exeter, that the pope was Anti-Christ. This declaration he stood by to the last, and neither promises nor threatnings could make him change his opinions.

When this man was brought before the bishop, to hear his condemnation read, he smiled at it with the utmost indifference; he knew he had no mercy to expect from the papists, and therefore he resigned himself to suffer consistent with the will of God. When brought to the stake, he spoke for some time to the people, exhorting them to continue stedfast in the faith, meaning those who had embraced Luther's doctrines; and taking an affectionate farewell of his scholars and other friends who attended him, he patiently, and with resignation, submitted to the flames. Such was the end of a man who was well esteemed by all those with whom he had any connections! But that period is approaching, when God will judge the world in righteousness.

Having already mentioned Mr. WILLIAM TINDAL, [commonly Tyndall] as the translator of the New Testament, as he was an Englishman, we are obliged to speak of him here, by way of digression, although he did not suffer death in England. This learned gentleman was born near the borders of Wales, and finished his studies in the university of Oxford; from whence he went to Cambridge, where he remained some time, and was afterwards a school-master in Worcestershire. From thence he removed to London, where he undertook the translation of the New Testament, which was afterwards printed at Antwerp in Flanders. He continued some years in Germany, where he embraced the doctrines of Luther. At the same time he commenced preacher, and went about preaching to such of his countrymen as were at that time exiles abroad for their religion. He was followed by great crowds of people, which highly offended the popish clergy; and at last a warrant was issued out by the emperor, to apprehend him. For some time he concealed himself from the rage of the papists, by shifting from place to place, and at last settled at Antwerp. But here he met with real enemies, and false or pretended friends.

While he resided abroad, one Henry Phillips, an Englishman, arrived at Antwerp, and getting acquainted with Tindal, pretended much friendship for him. After this, Phillips went from Antwerp to the court at Brussels, where at that time there was no ambassador from England. Here he gave information concerning Tindal, and brought with him the emperor's attorney to Antwerp together with several other officers.

Soon after this, one Poynes, with whom Tindal lodged, being sitting at his own door, Phillips's man came to him, and asked him if he knew where Tindal was? He added that his master would come and wait on him; and then departed.

Within a few days after, Poynes went to a village called Barrow, a few miles from Antwerp. There Phillips came again, and asked Mrs. Poynes if Mr. Tindal was there, and what good cheer there was in the house, or whether he would dine with him? That done, he went out to provide, and placed the officers, whom he had brought from Brussels, in the street and about the door. About noon he came again, went to Mr. Tindal, and said he had lost his purse, and begged him to lend him some money, which he did. Then said Phillips to Mr. Tindal, you shall be my guest here this day. No, said Tindal, you shall go along with me and be my guest. When the time for dinner arrived, Tindal went out with Phillips, who pretended great friendship for him; but as soon as he had got out of the door, he was apprehended by the emperor's officers, and hurried away to the castle of Fulford, fifteen miles from Antwerp, where he was confined several months in a dungeon, and then burnt alive at a stake. This was about the latter end of the year 1535.

It is a common thing with grateful people to erect statues, and embellish monuments with florid inscriptions in honour of those who have done service to their country. Now we may venture to affirm that the pious Mr. Tindal, by translating the Bible into English, did more towards expelling darkness and superstition, than any man in the age;* he was a learned, holy, and pious man. Concerning his translation of the New Testament, he there says himself, in the preface, "I call God to witness, when I shall appear at the judgment seat of Christ, to give an account of all my actions, that I have not altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience; nor would I for all the honours of this world, if they were laid at my feet."

There is not, perhaps, in the whole history of human nature, a single reign that exhibits such a variety of circumstances as that of Henry VIII. The protestant who had a glimmering light of the truth was led to the stake, and burned alive in Smithfield, with the papist who denied the royal supremacy. Of this we have a striking instance in what we are now going to relate:

One Lambert, a priest, who had been some time in Germany, returned to England persuaded in his own mind of the truth of Luther's doctrines. He did not chuse to officiate in any of the parish churches, and therefore, in order to procure a subsistence, he opened a school in London. In this situation he continued

^{* [}CHCoG: This was indeed a great work, but was not the first. Though it was both more accurate and more readable than the Wycliffe-Purvey translation from the Latin Vulgate, it preceded Tyndall's by almost 150 years. In contrast, Tyndall based his on the older Greek and Hebrew manuscripts from which the Vulgate had been translated.]

several years, till at last an information was lodged against him, and he was brought before Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.*

Notions of toleration among christians were not then known, and persecution was the effect of power.[†] When Lambert was brought before Cranmer, he was asked his opinion concerning the real presence in the sacrament, and the archbishop said all he could to persuade him to recant what he called his errors: on the other hand, Lambert supported his opinions with a strength of argument which Cranmer could not refute; and in the end, Lambert appealed to the king. This was similar to the conduct of that man, who, in attempting to get out of the frying-pan, fell into the fire.

The king was glad to have an opportunity of displaying his knowledge in theology, but as ill luck would have it, he was both the party and the judge. The poor school-master was browbeaten; the regal pomp of majesty triumphed over rational argument, and the culprit was delivered over as an obstinate heretic to the civil power. He was committed to Newgate, and the week following a warrant was granted for his execution. That the king might display his power in the most awful manner, he ordered two papists to be executed along with him, for denying his supremacy.

From what motives these Roman catholics acted is not our business to enquire; it may be possible that they arose from conscience, but of that God only is the judge. We ought to be

^{*} With respect to Cranmer, the reader must suspend his judgment till we come to speak of his sufferings; and then we shall make it appear that what has been advanced against him by the papists consists of the greatest falsehoods that could have been invented. His pretended recantation is one of the grossest falsehoods that malice could invent or credulity swallow down; and from an original record, never yet published, we shall set the character of that celebrated prelate in a proper point of view.

[†] [CHCoG: To the contrary, the Waldenses, and the other apostolic christian communities, rejected any use of force to make anyone conform to their beliefs.]

extremely tender in censuring those who differ from us in opinion; it is action, not sentiment, that we mean to represent.

Let Cæsar's due be ever paid, To Cæsar and his throne; But consciences and souls were made, To be the Lord's alone.

Lambert suffered with a constancy that will ever do honour to a Christian martyr; and when chained to the stake, he embraced the faggots that were to consume his body. Under all the excruciating torments of a cruel death, he looked for salvation through the merits of Christ Jesus, who had gone before him in the road of suffering. He professed his abhorrence of every article of popery; he declared the pope to be Anti-Christ, and that all those who lived under him were, as it were, at war with God and his church. In the midst of the flames he declared his attachment to the gospel of Christ, and sealed the testimony of those truths he had taught with his blood. When God shall come to judge the world in righteousness, persecutors will have their faces covered with shame, while the righteous will be cloathed with joy.

It is very remarkable that at this time the king's passions defeated the intention he had in view. His design was to support superstition while he depressed papal power: he did not consider that they went hand in hand together; for the powers of the human mind will always triumph over bigotry and superstition, unless clerical pride and lawless tyranny interfere. This was the case with Henry; like Tamerlane, when he marched an army against Bajazet, he did not imagine that he was drawing off the attention of that ambitious tyrant from opposing the Christian princes.

Henry's principles were deeply tinctured with superstition: he loved to hear mass, and attend to all the fopperies of popery; but his passions for women, his slavery to favourites, and above all, his unbounded pride, joined to an ill-judged and misplaced

extravagance, became, without his own designs, one of those happy instruments in the hands of Divine Providence, which, from apparent trifling causes, often produce important events. As it is in the vision which the great king of Babylon saw, namely, that a little stone was cut out of the mountains without hands: so God, in his all-wise providence, made the passions of an arbitrary tyrant subservient towards laying the foundation of those religious liberties which we now enjoy. But this is by way of digression.

In 1538, Robert Packinton, a weaver in London, and at that time a member of parliament, was thought to have had some conversation with the king concerning religion; and it was imagined that he was using his influence to prejudice his majesty against the Roman catholic faith. This man went from his own house to Mercer's chapel, in Cheapside, about five in the morning to hear prayers; but before he entered the door of the chapel, he was shot by an Italian, who lay in wait for that purpose. This horrid assassination was imputed to the dean of St. Paul's; and when we consider the temper of the clergy at that time, there can be little reason to doubt the truth of the circumstance.

The same year one Collins, a madman, suffered death with his dog in Smithfield. The circumstances were as follow: Collins happened to be in church when the priest elevated the host; and Collins, in derision of the sacrifice of the mass, lifted up his dog above his head. For this crime Collins, who ought to have been sent to a mad-house, or whipped at the cart's tail, was brought before the bishop of London; and although he was really mad, yet such was the force of popish power, such the corruption in church and state, that the poor madman and his dog were both carried to the stake in Smithfield, where they were burned to ashes amidst a vast crowd of spectators.

It is well known that according to this bloody statute of which we are now treating, no person could be condemned by a writ out of chancery till such time as he had been first excommunicated; and a man cannot be excommunicated till he has been first baptized. But surely the dog was never baptized; so we cannot see how he could be excommunicated. The abuse of church power is always attended with absurdities.

There were some other persons who suffered the same year, of whom we shall take notice in the order they lay before us.

One Cowbridge suffered at Oxford and although he was reputed to be a madman, yet he shewed great signs of piety when he was fastened to the stake, and after the flames were kindled around him.

About the same time one Purderve was put to death for saying privately to a priest, after he had drank the wine, "He blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice."

At the same time was condemned William Letton, a monk of great age, in the county of Suffolk, who was burned at Norwich for speaking against an idol that was carried in procession; and for asserting that the sacrament should be administered in both kinds.

Some time before the burning of these men, Nicholas Peke was executed at Norwich; and when the fire was lighted, he was so scorched that he was as black as pitch. Dr. Reading standing before him with Dr. Hearne and Dr. Spragwell, having a long white wand in his hand struck him upon the right shoulder, and said, Peke, recant, and believe in the sacrament. To this he answered, "I despise thee and it also;" and with great violence he spit blood, occasioned by the anguish of his sufferings. Dr. Reading granted forty days indulgence for the sufferer, in order that he might recant his opinions. But he persisted in his adherence to the truth, without paying any regard to the malice of his enemies; and he was burned alive, rejoicing that Christ had counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake.

At this time the numbers of people who embraced the reformation were daily encreasing, and they were the more so in consequence of their being depressed by the civil power. Cromwell, who had done much towards promoting the reformation, was brought to an unhappy end in July, 1541. It is impossible to understand every thing relating to the reformation, without considering the characters of those men by whom such an important event was conducted.

The character of Thomas Cromwell, afterwards raised to the dignity of earl of Essex, has been differently reported; but we shall draw aside the veil of partiality, and represent him in his native colours. We shall strip history of her borrowed feathers, and point out what the man was, without considering what he should have been.

It is generally agreed on among our historians that this nobleman was the son of a blacksmith at Putney, in Surry. There may be some doubt of the truth of this, especially to those who live in the present age. It is well known that there must be learning as well as abilities to form the statesman; and here the question will be put: How could the son of a blacksmith acquire this learning? This objection will appear weak indeed, to those who consider the circumstances of the times.

The convents were numerous; and when the monks found a boy of a bright genius and inquisitive disposition, they instructed him in the logical jargon of the schools. In this manner undoubtedly it was, that Cromwell received his education: and while he was but very young, he went over to Antwerp, where he became a clerk in the English factory in that city.

As he had read some of the Latin poets, his mind was fired with an inclination to visit Rome: an opportunity occurred, and it seems that he went there along with an ambassador; for the person he went with as secretary had been sent by the magistrates with a

sum of money to the pope, to procure the renewal of some indulgences, and other privileges. Cromwell is said to have been of singular service in this embassy: he presented the pope, who was Julius II. with some fine dishes of English jelly, which was then unknown at Rome; and which so much delighted his holiness, that commanding him to teach his cooks the method of making this jelly, he readily granted Cromwell, and his friends, the pardons and indulgences they came to request.

Cromwell had, at this time, very little regard for religion, and in his more advanced years he used to confess this to his friend Cranmer. His life was busy and wild, and for some time he served in a military capacity under the duke of Bourbon, when that prince sacked the city of Rome. At Boulogne he assisted John Russel, afterwards earl of Bedford, in making his escape, when he had like to have been betrayed into the hands of the French.

It was about this time that his mind took a serious turn, in consequence of reading the writings of Erasmus; and it is a remarkable instance of his memory, that in his journey to Rome, he learned the whole of the New Testament by heart, which laid the foundation of that protestant and reforming spirit, whereby he so much distinguished himself afterwards.

On his return to England he went into the family of cardinal Wolsey; and as that prelate was then in the height of his grandeur, it must have happened in or about the year 1527. We only mention this circumstance that the reader may be informed, that there were no church registers at the time Cromwell was born.

Cromwell's fidelity recommended him to the high esteem of the cardinal, who made him his solicitor, and gave him the care of those buildings he was carrying on at Oxford and Ipswich.

In 1529 Wolsey was disgraced, and at that time Cromwell did every thing to serve his once generous master. He used every effort to procure his restoration; and when articles of high treason were sent down to the house of commons, of which Cromwell was then a member, he defended the cardinal with so much eloquence and understanding, that no treason could be laid to his charge. Thus he procured great reputation, and his integrity and abilities were equally commended.

Nothing can be imagined more affecting than the parting scene in Shakespeare's Henry VIII. between Wolsey and Cromwell. Wolsey's last speech deserves not to be passed over:

Cromwell, I did not think to shed a tear, In all my miseries; but thou hast forc'd me Out of thy honest truth to play the woman. Let's dry our eyes; and thus far hear me, Cromwell; And when I am forgotten, as I shall be, And sleep in dull cold marble, where no mention Of me must more be heard; say then I taught thee; Say, Wolsey, that once trod the ways of glory, And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour, Found thee a way, out of his wreck, to rise in: A sure and safe one, though thy master missed it; Mark but my fall, and that which ruin'd me: Cromwell, I charge thee fling away ambition; By that sin fell the angels; how can man then, The image of his Maker, hope to win by't? Love thyself last: cherish those hearts that hate thee! Corruption wins not more than honesty. Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace, To silence envious tongues: be just, and fear not; Let all the ends thou aim'st at, be thy country's good, Thy God's, and truth's: then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell, Thou fall'st a blessed martyr: serve the king. And pray thee lead me in; Here, take an inventory of all I have, To the last penny: 'tis the king's. My robe, And my integrity to heaven, is all I dare now call my own.—O Cromwell, Cromwell,

Had I but serv'd my God, with half the zeal I serv'd my king, he would not, in mine age, Have left me naked to mine enemies.

Soon after the cardinal's disgrace, Cromwell was taken into the king's service; and the first thing he did to oblige his sovereign, was to pave the way for the abolition of the papal supremacy. Cromwell told him that while the clergy took the oaths to the pope, they could not be loyal to him; and under such circumstances, he was no more than half a king.

The king was so well convinced of the truth of these assertions that he gave Cromwell his ring, and sent him to the convocation then sitting; where he proved to the bishops, that they were all guilty of a *præmunire*, that is, of swearing obedience to persons out of the realm. The bishops were self-condemned; and upon his producing the oath, they could not deny it, but were content to buy their release by a present to the king of one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds, which, in that age, was an amazing sum.

It is remarkable to think how fast honours flowed upon this man; every virtuous person was his friend, and he had no enemies but such as were abandoned.

In suppressing the monasteries, he acted as the king's vicar when he exposed to public view scenes of iniquity that will remain objects of detestation as long as history is read. It was not enough for the clergy first to seduce the nuns, and then to procure abortions, but unnatural crimes were committed; which must not be mentioned here.

[[]CHCoG: There are some details that Southwell has not included here that modern readers may not be aware of.

In addition to the moral abuses mentioned above, the Roman church was sucking the financial lifeblood out of Great Britain.

Not only did they charge exorbitantly for their indulgences, ceremonies, masses for those in purgatory, etc, etc, but they also imposed a death tax of ten percent of all of one's assets. An heir who refused to pay risked being declared a heretic, having ALL of his assets confiscated and being tortured and murdered. Thus by the time Henry VIII ascended the throne, they fully owned over a quarter of all the arable land, plus extensive property and had significant control over the rest. Papal laws also exempted them from paying any taxes, thus allowing them to live in luxury while the rest of the country was reduced to poverty. And this despite Jesus teaching that we are to pay taxes to the secular rulers (Mat 22:16 to 21). The 'amazing sum' gifted to the king via Cromwell was merely part of the taxes that they should have been paying to the crown. Though it is commonly claimed that Henry VIII only split from the papacy to procure his divorce, there is little doubt that these financial issues were more important, and the vicious reaction from the papacy (excommunicating the king and commanding all catholics to destroy him and his government by all and any means) showed their anger at their loss of wealth and fear that other regents would follow Henry's lead.

Southwell does not clearly state that Henry VIII declaring himself superior to the pope was not just in secular matters, but also religious, thereby severing Britain from the Roman church, taking all of their property and assets, instituting the Church of England in its place, and making himself the defacto pope of it. It is likely that the burgeoning reformation movement gave the king the courage to confront the papacy.]

The next thing undertaken by this great man was to have Bibles, with the creed, Lord's prayer, and ten commandments, in English, to be first used in all the parish churches in the kingdom. This was the death-blow to popery, whose foundation is laid on the ignorance and credulity of the people.

He likewise procured an order to have registers kept in every church, which is certainly of great service to the nation.

The king created him earl of Essex, a title from which he could receive no honour, though his own merits could grace it with lustre.

His gratitude to those who had done him any service in his youth was remarkable. He owed a poor woman, at Hounslow, forty shillings for board and lodging; and as soon as he got advanced to honours he settled a pension upon her. While he was at Florence, rambling about in an unsettled manner, a merchant, whose name was Frescobald, relieved his wants; and this man was some time after reduced to distress by losses at sea.

Having some debts owing him in England he came over, and to his great surprize found Cromwell advanced to be minister of state. Ignorance might have created prides and nourished insolence; but Cromwell's honours, like humility in the pious, sat gracefully upon him; he was not ashamed of what he had been, nor was he proud of his elevated rank. The merchant applied to him to assist him in recovering his debts, which he not only generously did, but rewarded him liberally for his former kindness. Shakespeare, in allusion to this circumstance, puts the following words into the mouth of Cromwell:

I am that Cromwell that you there relieved; Sixteen ducats you gave me to clothe me, Sixteen to bear my charges by the way, And sixteen more I had for my horse hire: There be those several sums justly returned; Yet it injustice were, that serving at my need, For to repay them without interest. Therefore receive of me these four several bags; In each of them there is four hundred marks; And bring to me the names of all your debtors, And if they will not see you paid, I will. But all these virtues could not screen him from powerful enemies; in the affair of Ann of Cleves, he was imposed on by a false painting; and the duke of Norfolk, his sworn enemy, represented him as guilty of a thousand crimes, of which he was innocent. No sooner was he arrested, than all his friends forsook him, except good archbishop Cranmer, who stood by him to the last, doing him all the good services he could, and interceding with the king for him.

His trial was hurried on, and his enemies were made his judges; Norfolk was at the time projecting the marriage between his niece Catharine Howard and the king, although he knew the young lady to be a common prostitute.

Under such circumstances, it could not be supposed that any favour would be shewn to Cromwell. On July 28, 1540, or 1541, (for the chronology differs) he was brought to a scaffold on Towerhill, where he was executed with some striking instances of cruelty. He made a short speech to the people, and then meekly resigned himself to the axe.

It is, we think, with great propriety, that this nobleman is ranked among the martyrs; for although the accusations preferred against him did not relate to any thing in religion, yet had it not been for his zeal to demolish popery, he might have to the last retained the king's favour. To this may be added that the papists plotted his destruction, for he did more towards promoting the reformation than any man in that age, except the good Dr. Cranmer.

It may be justly said of Cromwell, what a celebrated poet says of a no less celebrated one:

A mortal born, he met the general doom, But left, like Egypt's kings, a lasting tomb. While Cromwell enjoyed the royal favour, he exerted the utmost of his endeavours to screen the protestants from the malice of the papists, but his death opened a large field for clerical persecution. The clergy were now in the highest state of corruption, and some of the great lords, from motives of private interest, favoured their cause. The king was determined to extirpate from the nation all those who professed the doctrines of Luther, except in the case of supremacy; and thus both papists and protestants were led into an equal uncertainty. To acknowledge the papal supremacy was high treason; to restrain from the ceremonies was heresy. Light was gradually springing up, but still there was a sort of mist before the eyes of the people. Knowledge is of a beautiful nature, and in the best manner that can be imagined, it disperses itself from one part of the world to another.

Wherever real knowledge comes as a science worthy to be attended to, it dispels the mists of ignorance, and removes from the human mind the clouds that bewildered it. From all these considerations, we need not be much surprised at the events we are now going to relate. The causes have been already explained, so that we may go on with the narrative.

Soon after the execution of Cromwell, Dr. Cuthbert Barnes, Thomas Garnet, and William Jerome, were brought before the ecclesiastical court of the bishop of London, and accused of heresy. As the case of these men is rather singular, we shall take particular notice of each of them.

Dr. Barnes was a native of the South of England but had been some time at the university of Lorrain; after which, he lived at Cambridge, when he was made prior and master of the house of Augustine, at a time when learning was but little known in the university. Dr. Barnes had studied some time under Erasmus, so when he came to Cambridge, he invited the students to his chamber, where he frequently read to them the classick authors, so that in a short time his name began to flourish, as students came to it from all parts of the kingdom. He brought up a great number of reputable scholars, among whom was the famous Miles Coverdale.

Dr. Barnes, though of a peaceable disposition, thought it consistent with the nature of his duty, to enter into some disputations concerning religion, and these related chiefly to capital points, concerning the presence of acceptance with the Deity.

During the midst of these disputes, Dr. Barnes exerted himself with so much zeal in the senate house, that a serjeant of arms was sent from London to arrest him, and he was brought to the convent of the Austin Friars in London, where he was closely confined. From thence however he made his escape, and got over to Guernsey, but popish malice still pursuing him, he was there apprehended, and sent over to England.

In the account of this man, we have a striking instance of the ignorance of our historians in chronology, who tell us that Sir Thomas Moore, the chancellor, wanted to lay hold of him, but the king would not permit him. Now it is well known that Sir Thomas Moore had suffered death some years before this event took place; and this leads us to say something concerning the character of Sir Thomas Moore, who has been sanctified by the papists, and extolled by too many of the protestants.

Sir Thomas Moore was one of those men, who in the earliest times could acquire the knowledge of letters without being able to overcome vulgar prejudices. He loved learning, but he abhorred superstition. Acquainted with the literal meaning of the laws of his country, he was entirely unacquainted with their spirit and tendency; and as to the laws of nature and reason, he knew nothing of them. Tinctured with all those ideas which characterise weak minds, he was a stranger to real knowledge; endowed with such an education as the Charter-house could bestow, he became a slave to superstition. Elevated to dignity he forgot himself, and arrogance perpetrated his ruin. Ever fond of witticisms, he carried them to too high an extent, so as even to transgress the rules of modesty;

and although a lawyer of acknowledged reputation, he became a poor, mean, servile tool, first to his sovereign, and then to the court of Rome.

Instigated, stimulated, led on and conducted by these enthusiasms, where he had received his education, he could not divest himself of those principles which are easily acquired in youth, but not so easily shaken off in old age. He carried with him to the bench of the court of Chancery, a perfect knowledge of the laws, joined to a strong attachment to popery. As a writer, he seemed to have that sort of philosophy which will ever do honour to human nature, and which indeed is the right of every man; but in his conduct he was a most violent persecutor. Where religion was concerned, he was destitute of bowels of compassion: a heretic to him was a puny morsel for the flames, and the holy mother church was to triumph over the rights of private judgments.

We have said the more concerning the character of this great minister, because there is nothing more common than to hear him condemned as a sufferer by protestant writers: whereas the contrary is the case; he was a most cruel persecutor, and notwithstanding all the *Utopian* beauty of his philosophical writings, real protestants were at all times willing to give turns to the papists.

About the year 1526, Mr. Garnet, curate of Honey-lane, in London, went to Oxford, and dispersed there certain books in Latin, not agreeable to the Romish superstitions; together with Tindal's New Testament. But he had not been long there before he was searched for as an heretic, which induced him to leave Oxford on the morning before Shrove Tuesday; and he travelled towards the northern parts of Worcestershire, where he intended to hide himself for some time. But changing his mind, on the Friday following he returned to Oxford, and lay all night at a house where he was known. There he was apprehended in consequence of a search warrant, and kept prisoner in Lincoln college. From this confinement he made his escape, but was soon after apprehended, and brought again to his former state of confinement. For adhering to the doctrines of Wickliffe, he was declared an heretic, and was weak enough to recant; but this wounded his conscience so much, that he could not enjoy any peace of mind afterwards. During the space of fifteen years he travelled from place to place, and taught the doctrines of the gospel privately; till, at last coming to London, and finding that Dr. Barnes was in confinement, the heroic divine recanted his declaration; that he might have the honour to suffer with him.

Another person who suffered at this time was Jerome, who (as we may judge from circumstances) was a celebrated preacher in London. On the fourth Sunday in Lent he was ordered to preach at St. Paul's Cross, and having imbibed some of the sentiments of Wickliffe, he insisted on the vast difference there was between the slavery of the ceremonial law, and the freedom of the gospel dispensation. He insisted that we are not obliged to be obedient to princes, any farther than they act consistent with the laws of God.

As for this assertion, we freely declare that we do not know what is meant by it: certain it is, that in all civil matters people are obliged to be obedient to the powers in being; but religion is an affair of consequence, with which no prince has a right to interfere, unless those sentiments tend towards disturbing the peace of public society. Possibly this man meant so, for we are not to search into the secrets of the human heart. He taught further that good works which did not spring from faith in Christ Jesus, could never be the meritorious cause of our salvation; and yet he insisted that there could be no saving faith, unless it was made evident by good works.

These three persons having been brought before the bishop of London, Dr. Barnes was asked whether the saints prayed for us? To this he answered, that he would leave that to God; but (said he) I will pray for you. On the 3th of July 1541, these men were brought from the Tower to Smithfield, where they were all chained to one stake; and before the faggots were lighted, they spoke to the people in vindication of the doctrines they taught, and cautioned them against the errors of popery. Dr. Barnes in particular desired to speak with the sheriff; and when he came up to the stake, he told him he had three requests to make to the king:

- First, that he would bestow the abbey lands for the relief of the poor.
- Secondly, that he would order that marriage should be celebrated in a more decent manner than it had been formerly.

Thirdly, that prophane swearers should be punished; and Lastly, that he would set up the true religion.

One may naturally imagine that no regard would be paid to what was said by the dying martyr; but it was much to his honour that he unburthened his conscience, and with his dying breath put his sovereign in mind of his duty.

These three martyrs suffered death in Smithfield, with a constancy that nothing less than a firm faith in Christ Jesus could inspire; and they left this world for a better.

At this time the spirit of persecution was so severe that the prisons in London were filled with those whom, at that time, were considered as delinquents. They were not all protestants, for many of them were most violent papists. The day after Dr. Barnes and his companions suffered for the truth, three papists were hanged and quartered at Tyburn, for denying the king's supremacy. Protestants are taught by their divine master, and by all the principles of their holy religion, to look down with pity and compassion on all those who suffer for the profession of particular sentiments, although they may be deceived. These considerations should teach us, at all times, to treat with lenity the opinions of those men who happen to differ from us in sentiment.

The impression that education and example make upon young minds, the prejudices of ancient tradition, and above all, the want of having an opportunity of making a proper enquiry, all conspire together to rivet the chains of bigotry, to keep the mind in a continual state of darkness, by shutting out the light of knowledge, and for making human beings no more than puppets in the scale of the universe.

Towards the latter end of this year, 1541, John Porter, a young man, was, by bishop Bonner, cast into prison in Newgate, for no other crime than that of reading Tindal's New Testament, in St. Paul's church, London; yet the king had commanded it should be read; and Bonner himself, in the time of Cromwell, had ordered six copies to be set up in St. Paul's cathedral, for the people to read therefrom. This being a new thing, multitudes of people flocked to read that sacred book, of which they had often heard, but never seen in their native language.

This young man, therefore, had a chain put round his neck, and was fixed to a post several days, at the end of which he was found dead. Here was cruelty aggravated by an accumulation of crimes. The young man, even as the law then stood, was not guilty of any offence, the king having granted a licence to every person to read the Bible; but Bonner did not consult the king, and as for lord Cromwell—he was dead, and for a short time all hopes of a reformation forsook England.

One Thomas Sommers, an honest merchant, with three others, was thrown into prison for reading some of Luther's books; and they were condemned to carry these books to a fire in Cheapside; there they were to throw them into the flames; but Sommers threw his over, for which he was sent back to the Tower, where he was stoned to death.

Dreadful persecutions were at this time carried on at Lincoln, under Dr. Longland, the bishop of that diocese. At Buckingham, Thomas Bainard and James Moreton, the one for reading the Lord's Prayer in English, and the other for reading St. James's Epistles in English, were both condemned, and burned alive.

In this year five persons were executed for denying the king's supremacy; and such was the violent temper of the king, that he ordered the sentence to be executed literally; that is, they were to have their hearts torn out while they were alive. We mention these popish sufferers, to point out the barbarity of the times!

Antony Parsons, a priest, together with two others, were sent to Windsor, to be examined concerning heresy; and several articles were tendered to them to subscribe, which they refused. This was carried on by the bishop of Salisbury, who was the most violent persecutor of any in that age, except Bonner. When they were brought to the stake, Parsons asked for some drink, which being brought him, he drank to his fellow-sufferers, saying, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts to God; for after this sharp breakfast I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ, with our Lord and Redeemer." At these words Eastwood, one of the sufferers, lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, desiring the Lord above to receive his spirit. Parsons pulled the straw near to him, and then said to the spectators, "This is God's armour, and now I am a Christian soldier prepared for battle: I look for no mercy but through the merits of Christ: he is my only Saviour, in him do I trust for salvation;" and soon after the fires were lighted, which burned their bodies, but could not hurt their precious souls. Their constancy triumphed over cruelty, and their sufferings will be held in everlasting remembrance.

In 1546, one Saitees, a priest, was, by order of bishop Gardiner, hanged in Southwark without a council process; and all

that was alledged against him was that of reading Tindal's New Testament.

Much about the same time one Herry, a poor working man, was burned alive at Colchester, for his adherence to the truth.

This year one Kirby was burned in Ipswich, for the testimony of the truth, for denying the real presence in the sacrament. When this martyr was brought to the stake, he said to one Mr. Wingfield, who attended him, "Ah! Mr. Wingfield, be at my death, and you shall say, there standeth a christian sufferer in the fire."

In the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. one Hill was burned in Smithfield, with the Bible hanging about his neck; and he seems to have been the last person who suffered during this bloody reign. Henry died under all those agonising horrors of a wounded conscience, which are founded upon crimes, and heightened by a corruptness of guilt. He was a more miserable object on a death-bed than any of those martyrs who, during his reign, had suffered at the stake. Henry might have reigned in glory, and left behind him a high reputation; but he forgot the one, and mistook the other.

CHCoG: Southwell's pro-Church of England bias shows starkly here. He entirely omits mention of **Anne Askew**, who was arrested under the authority of Henry VIII's Church of England. She was an Anabaptist who was actively preaching reformation in London. Anabaptists, as noted earlier, are biblical Christians who reject the sacrament of the altar, infant baptism and violence of any sort. She was arrested three times, in March 1545, early 1546 and finally in May 1546. She was interrogated by Bonner and tortured on the rack by Chancellor Wriothesley and Sir Rich themselves, when their appointed torturer refused to continue. Her shoulders,

hips, knees and elbows were all dislocated, and she was no longer able to walk. She refused to recant her beliefs, nor would she implicate others who shared her beliefs.

She was condemned as an obstinate heretic, carried to the stake and burned at Smithfield on 16 July, 1546, along with John Lascelles, Nicolas Belenian and John Adams.

There is another martyr that Southwell omits next, who was Joan Bocher. She was another Anabaptist who had worked with Anne Askew, and was burned to death on May 2, 1550, during the reign of Edward VI. and at the instigation of Archbishop Cranmer, under the so-called reformed church. She had been involved in smuggling Tyndale New Testaments into England and distributing them. She was first imprisoned for more than a year, and then condemned for the 'heresy' of being an Anabaptist with similar beliefs to Menno Simon. It is hard to understand why Cranmer, and Edward VI, would imitate the papacy, and act with such anti-Christian malice against someone who clearly was trying to serve Christ according to what she believed the Bible taught.

John Foxe, who wrote *Acts and Monuments*, aka Book of Martyrs, tried to stop the martyring of Joan Bocher (Butcher), and included Askew, Lascelles and Bocher as Christian martyrs in his book.* Southwell is less honest.

Southwell also ignores the Prayer Book Rebellion in Cornwall and Devon in 1549, in which the Cornish demanded that they should be allowed to use a Cornish translation of Cranmer's *Book*

^{*} These English Anabaptists are included in *The Bloody Theatre, or Martyrs Mirror*, though Braght's details are somewhat different. He names Joan Bocher as John Buchner and Anne Askew as Anna Cantiana. He also states that Anne was martyred in 1550, though it was in 1546. The Bloody Theatre also preserves information on John Wycliffe and numerous other British martyrs.

of Common Prayer, so they could understand it. Cranmer and the Duke of Somerset answered their reasonable request with military force, resulting in the needless deaths of more than five thousand people.



BOOK XI.

Of the Persecutions in ENGLAND during the Reign of Queen MARY.

CHAP. I.

Of the First Year of her Reign.

IT is an observation, not only made by naturalists, but likewise found to be true by daily experience; that let the night be ever so fair, let the moon shine ever so bright, there is a darkness before the day breaks. It in some measure resembles a struggle between contending parties; darkness having for some time taken possession, light begins to assert his right, and shine with chearful smiles on the human race.

These observations may, in all respects, be applied to the period we are now going to treat of: a period dreadful in all its circumstances, and exhibiting scenes of horrid cruelty, which dishonours human nature. We have already seen what cruelties took place under Henry VIII. but these were only of a particular nature; whereas those in the reign of Mary were general, without regard to age, sex, rank, or character. And here it is necessary to consider the circumstances of the times.

The religious houses had been dissolved, and their lands given away to rapacious courtiers. The monks and nuns had been turned out to starve, which occasioned a great number of insurrections. The reign of the pious young king Edward VI. was short and full of confusion. Much however was done towards promoting the reformation; and probably it would have been compleated, had it not been for the intrigues of the duke of Northumberland; who from motives of ambition, in attempting to raise his son lord Dudley to the crown by marrying the lady Jane Gray, brought ruin upon himself and his family. It is in this circumstance that the fallacious part of the papists argument lies; and in consequence of their managing it with dexterity, they have made thousands of proselytes among the lower ranks of the people.

The argument they make use of is, "That all those who suffered death during the reign of queen Mary, had been adjudged guilty of high treason, in consequence of their having stood up in defence of lady Jane Gray's title to the crown."

To disprove this would be no difficult matter for a child who has read the history of England; but what will a lawyer say of it? From an attorney's clerk, up to the lord high chancellor, every one of them know that those who are tried on the statute of 25th Edward I. cap. 26. are to be hanged and quartered; but with what assurance can any one assert that ever a man in England was burned for high treason?

We shall admit the plea that some few suffered death in the ordinary way of process at common law for their adherence to lady Jane, but none of these were burned. Why, if they were traitors, would you take them before the bishops, who have no power to judge in criminal actions? Nay, allowing the bishops to have had power to judge, yet their own bloody statute did not give them power to condemn. Otherwise, why were they obliged to certify to the chancellor that the accused person was a heretic, before they could obtain a warrant for his execution?

The proceedings against these martyrs are still extant, and they were carried on directly according to the forms prescribed by their catholic statute.

We thought it the more necessary to premise these few things, that our readers may not be led away by popish insinuations; for if they will but consider what the processes prescribed by law for high treason are, they would be convinced that the popish assertion is false. There was not one of those who were burned in England

ever so much as accused of high treason, much less were they tried at common law.

As popery will not bear to be exposed to the light; so, in order to conceal its deformities, the papists have recourse to falsehoods. And this should teach every young person to consider history, in order to be able to comprehend the falsehoods advanced by Roman priests and their emissaries.

Having said thus much, by way of introduction, we shall go on with the narrative.

Edward VI. who had been some months in a decline, died at Greenwich, July 16, 1553, to the inexpressible grief of all those who wished for a reformation in the church. It may, perhaps be said of this pious prince, that he was too good to remain in a sinful world:

His maker kiss'd* his soul away, And laid his flesh to rest.

What amazing things might have been expected of a prince, who, to much more knowledge than was consistent with his age, joined all those amiable and pious qualities which adorn human characters, and make men ripe for heaven. The author has perused three letters in manuscript written by this young sovereign, which contain so much good sense, and breathe such a spirit of piety, as is seldom to be met with. That he had good men about him to give him advice is certain; but his taking that advice, as the wax does the impression of the seal, is a sure proof that he had a strong propensity to virtue, and may be properly said to have been sanctified from his mother's womb.

His death was concealed two days, but it could not be any longer, for most of the people knew that he was in a decline. He had expressed so strong a desire to see the protestant religion

^{*} The Jews have a tradition, that when Moses ascended Mount Pisgah, God appeared to him, kissed him, and drew his soul up to heaven.

firmly established, that on his death-bed he made a will in favour of lady Jane Gray, his second cousin, appointing her his successor.

It is well known that his father, Henry VIII. made a will of a similar nature, which, although contrary to the constitution, went down with the times. If the king of England had a right to make a will, and appoint a successor, then surely Edward was the most indisputable person. If Henry's divorce was legal, then Mary was born in a state which the canon law forbids, because it is considered as bordering upon incest; and if Henry's marriage with queen Catherine was legal, then the princess Elizabeth was born in a state of adultery. But no objection can be made to the legitimacy of Edward's birth; for when Henry married the lady Jane Seymour, he had no wife alive; so that, however unconstitutional, Edward was the only person proper to make a will for the disposal of the crown.

When the disputes occasioned by the divorce are well considered, then the most indisputable title lay between Mary queen of Scots, and granddaughter of the princess Elizabeth, first daughter of Henry VII. and lady Jane Gray, the grand-daughter of his youngest daughter Mary, first queen of France, and afterwards duchess of Suffolk.

Hence the succession was regular; but utility to support the protestant interest threw the balance in favour of Lady Jane, who had been educated a protestant; whereas the queen of Scots was a papist. No wonder then that Edward should make his will in the manner he did: but, alas! the party upon whom he conferred the honour did not desire it. A cottage would have been more agreeable to her than a palace; and a rural walk with a book in her hand, to all the gaudy trappings of regal dignity.

However, the ambition of her husband's father, the duke of Northumberland caused her to be proclaimed queen, and much against her own consent: she enjoyed the title about eight days. Her fate is so well known to every one who reads the history of England that we need not say much of it here. It is sufficient to observe that she was tried for high treason, and both she and her husband beheaded.

Mary succeeded to the throne, and laid the foundation of her government in blood. To a disagreeable person, and a weak mind, she joined all that bigotry, superstition, and cruelty, for which the family of Austria, from whence her mother was descended, has been held so long in abhorrence.

She seems to have inherited more of her mother's than of her father's qualities. Henry was fiery, rough, and ungovernable; but Catharine, with a severe and implacable rancour against protestants, assumed the character of a saint. It was the same with her daughter Mary, as appears from a letter in her own handwriting, now in the British Museum. In this letter, which is addressed to bishop Gardiner; she declares her fixed intention of burning every protestant; and there is an insinuation that as soon as circumstances would permit, she would restore back to the church the lands that had been taken from the convents. This was the strongest instance of her weakness that she could shew; for in the first place the convents had been all demolished, except a few of their churches; and the rents were in the hands of the first nobility, who, rather than part with them, would have overturned the government, both in church and state. But reason and bigotry can no more agree together than fire and water.

Mary was crowned at Westminster in the usual form; but dreadful were the consequences that followed. That narrowness of spirit which always distinguishes a weak mind from one that has been enlarged by education, pervaded all the actions of this princess. Unacquainted with the constitution of the country, and a slave to superstition, she thought to domineer over the rights of private judgment, and trample on the privileges of mankind.

The first exertion of her regal power was to wreak her vengeance upon all those who had supported the title of lady Jane

Gray. The first of these was the duke of Northumberland,* who was beheaded on Tower-hill, and who, in consequence of his crimes, arising from ambition, died unpitied: nay, he was even insulted on the scaffold by those who knew in what manner he had acted to the great duke of Somerset.

The other executions that followed were numerous indeed, but as they were all upon the statute of high treason, consequently they cannot, with any degree of propriety, be applied to protestants, or as the papists call them, heretics. The parliament was pliant enough to comply with all the queen's requests, and an act was passed to establish the popish religion. This was what the queen waited for, and power being now put into her hands, she was determined to exercise it in the most arbitrary manner.

She was destitute of human compassion, and without the least reluctance could domineer over the consciences of men. This leads us to the conclusion of this year; and we found it the more necessary to take notice of these things, that our readers may be convinced of the great difference there is between dying for religion and dying for high treason. It is history alone that can teach them such things, and it is reflection that can make history useful. We are apt to read without reflection, and study without consideration, but serious occurrences lead us to the next chapter.

^{*} This duke of Northumberland was not of the Percy family, which at that time was under a cloud; but he was the grandson of that Dudley, who was executed in the year 1509, for having acted inconsistent with common law.

CHAP. II.

Containing an Account of the Martyrs who Suffered in the Second Year of Queen Mary's Reign.

THE queen having satiated her malice upon those persons who had adhered to lady Jane Gray, she had next recourse to the fire, the faggots, and the stake.

Mr. John Rogers, the aged minister of St. Sepulchre's church, was the proto-martyr: he was the first sacrifice offered up in this reign to popery,* and led the way for those sufferers whose blood has been the foundation, honour, and glory of the church in England.

This Mr. Rogers had been some time chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp. There he became acquainted with Mr. Tindal, and assisted him in his translation of the New Testament. There were several other worthy protestants there at that time, most of whom had been driven out of England on account of the persecutions for the five articles in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Rogers, knowing that marriage was lawful, and even enjoined in scripture, entered into that state with a virtuous woman, and soon after set out for Saxony, in consequence of an invitation for that purpose.

When young king Edward ascended the throne of England Mr. Rogers returned to his native country, and was promoted by bishop Ridley to a prebendary of St. Paul's. He was also appointed reader

^{*} Those who adhered to lady Jane Gray, as well as that lady herself, were protestants; but they were tried on the statute of high treason, which we take notice of here, in order to refute the popish argument already mentioned. [CHCoG: However, the popes ignore this for themselves, and most of their British 'martyred saints' were executed for treason, not for their religious beliefs.]

of the divinity lecture in that cathedral, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's.

As the queen was returning from the Tower, where she had been attending Gardiner's councils, Mr. Rogers was preaching at St. Paul's Cross. He inveighed much against popery, expatiated on the many virtues of the late king Edward, and exhorted the people to abide in the protestant religion.

For this sermon he was summoned before the council; but he vindicated himself so well that he was dismissed. This lenity shewn by the council was rather displeasing to the queen; and Mr. Roger's zeal against popery being equal to his knowledge and integrity, he was considered as a person who would prevent the re-establishment of popery. For this reason it was, that he was summoned a second time before the council; and although there were many papists among them, yet such was the respect that most people had for Mr. Rogers that he was again dismissed, only that he was commanded not to go out of his own house. This order he complied with, although he might have made his escape if he would. He knew he could have had a living in Germany, and he had a wife and ten children: but all these things did not move him; he did not court death, but met him with fortitude when he came.

He remained in prison, as it were, in his own house several weeks, till Bonner, bishop of London procured an order to have him committed to Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers.

And here we cannot help making an observation which naturally occurs to us; in considering the nature of persecution, and the conduct of persecutors. A murderer, a thief, or indeed the most notorious criminal, in a civil point of view, will have some lenity shewn him; but when a priest apprehends a man for speaking against the source of those emoluments which supports him in idleness and grandeur, rancour takes place, and his imprisonment is made as miserable as possible.

If it be asked, where did the papists learn this diabolical, unfeeling cruelty? We answer, they learned it from the heathens, and the heathens were instructed in it by the grand adversary of mankind. "There is no grudge, (says the witty Mr. Sterne) like a religious one; and it may be justly observed, that those who have most of religion in their mouths, have least of all in their conduct, and none at all in their hearts." Why men should study to deceive their fellow-creatures, while common reason must teach them that they cannot deceive God, is strangely unaccountable. It gives us, however, a melancholy idea of what we are, in consequence of the effects of original sin. But to return to Mr. Rogers.

He was brought a third time before the council, where Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, presided. It was not with any view of shewing lenity to the prisoner; it was not with a view of convincing him of error, supposing him to be guilty of any; it was not to recall him to the Romish church: no, his destruction was designed, and he was singled out to be an example to all those who should refuse to comply with Romish idolatry.

The questions asked him were of a frivolous nature, but still they were such that answers to them served to criminate the man. It is a maxim in law, that no man is to be his own accuser; by which is meant that he is not to answer any questions which may bring the guilt home to him, unless he chuses to answer, leaving his enemies to prove the assertions.

On the other hand it is laid down as a maxim by divines, and certainly it is a good one, that no man should tell a falsehood. Christ said, *He that denies me before men, him will I also deny before my Father, who is in heaven.* We know the weakness of human nature, but we ought to be much upon our guard against speaking any thing that is false. This shews us to be cowards: let us, like Christ Jesus, witness a true confession; let us not shrink back at the thoughts of an hour's sufferings for the truth, as it is in Jesus; but let us remember that the pleasures of sin are momentary; as are the torments, but God's reward is eternal.

Such sentiments as these took place in the mind of Mr. Rogers, when he was brought before the chancellor and council. He did freely acknowledge he had been fully convinced, in his own mind, that the pope was Anti-Christ, and that the pope's religion was contrary to the gospel. He made a most elaborate defence, which, however, did not avail him in the minds of his persecutors. He shewed them that the statute upon which he was prosecuted had never legally passed, and even if it had, it was in all respects contrary to the word of God: for whatever emoluments might have been bestowed upon the clergy from time to time, they had no right to persecute those who differed from them in sentiment.

After he had been examined several times before the council, which was only a mere farce, he was turned over to Bonner, bishop of London, who caused him to go through a second mock examination; and at last declared him to be an obstinate heretic. A certificate of this was, in the ordinary course, sent into chancery; and a writ was issued for the burning of Mr. Rogers in Smithfield. This sentence did not in the least frighten our martyr, who, by faith in the blood of Christ, was ready to go through with his attachment to the truth, without paying any regard to the malice of his enemies.

On the 4th of February Mr. Rogers was taken out of Newgate, to be led to the place of execution, when the sheriff asked him if he would recant his opinions? To this he answered, "That what he had preached he would seal with his blood." "Then (said the sheriff) thou art an heretic." To which Mr. Rogers answered, "That will be known when we meet at the judgment-seat of Christ."

As they were taking him to Smithfield, his wife and children went to take their last farewell of a tender husband and an indulgent parent. The sheriffs, however, would not permit them to speak to him; so unfeeling is bigotry, so merciless is superstition! When he was chained to the stake he took notice that God would, in his own good time, vindicate the truth of what he had taught,

and appear in favour of the protestant religion. Fire was then set to the pile, and he was, in about two hours, consumed to ashes.

He was certainly a very pious and humane man, and his being singled out to lead the van of superstitious cruelty, can only entitle him to a higher crown of glory in heaven.

The Lord takes pleasure in the just, Whom sinners treat with scorn; The meek that lie dispers'd in dust, Salvation shall adorn. Saints should be joyful in their king, Ev'n on a dying bed; And like the souls in glory sing, For God shall raise the dead.

The resurrection of the just is the grand object we have in view, for that will put an end to all disputes we may happen to have in this world concerning controverted points. God is just, and he will be just to his creatures!

The next person who suffered in this reign was the reverend Mr. Laurence Saunders, of whom we have the following particulars: his father had a considerable estate somewhere in Oxfordshire, but dying young, he left a large family of children. This Laurence was sent to Eton college, as one of the king's scholars.

From Eton he was, according to the rules of the foundation, sent to King's College, in Cambridge, where he studied three years, and made great progress in the different sorts of learning then taught in the schools. At the end of the three years he left the university, and returning to his mother, prevailed upon her to article him to a merchant. The mother being a woman of prudence, thought it was better to let her son follow his own inclinations in the way of business, than to force him to take up with a trade or profession, for which he might have the strongest aversion.

Accordingly, he was articled to one Sir William Chester, a rich merchant in London, who was afterwards sheriff of that city. He had not been long in this employment, when he became sick, as it were, of a life of trade. He sunk into a deep melancholy, and afterwards went into a chamber, where no person saw him, to mourn for his imprudence, and to beg of God that he would, in some manner or other, deliver him from a life so disgustful.

His master, who was a worthy man, took notice of this, and asked Mr. Saunders his reasons for being in that desponding condition. The young gentleman prudently told him, upon which he immediately gave him up his indentures, and sent him home to his relations.

This the young gentleman considered this as an happy event, and that no time might be lost, he returned to his studies at Cambridge; and what was very uncommon in that age, he learned the Greek and Hebrew languages. After this he devoted himself wholly to the study of the sacred scriptures, in order to qualify himself for preaching the gospel.

In study he was diligent, and practical in holiness of life; in doing good few equalled him, and he seemed to have nothing in view but the happiness of immortal spirits. In the beginning of king Edward's reign, when the true religion began to be countenanced, he entered into orders, and began to preach with great success. His first appointment was at Sotheringham, where he read a divinity lecture; but that college having been dissolved, he was appointed a preacher in Litchfield. In that new station his conduct entitled him to great respect; for such was his sweetness of temper, his knowledge in his profession, his eloquent manner of addressing his hearers, the purity of his manners, and his affectionate addresses to the heart, that all conspired to make him an amiable object, and his ministry useful.

After being some months in Litchfield, he removed to the living of Church-Langton, in Leicestershire: there he resided with his people, and instructed many who before were ignorant of the true principles of the Christian religion. He was the same to men's bodies as to their souls. All that he received, besides the small pittance that supported his person, was given away to feed the hungry, and cloath the naked. Here was the Christian minister indeed! for no instructions will make a lasting impression on the mind while the example is contrary.

His next removal was to Allhallows, in Bread-street, London; and when he had taken possession of it, he went down to the country, to part, in an affectionate manner, with his friends. It was while he was in the country that the pious king Edward died, and Mary succeeding, published a proclamation commanding all her subjects to attend mass. Many pious ministers refused to obey the royal proclamation, and none more forward in doing so than Mr. Saunders. He continued to preach whenever he had an opportunity, and read the prayer-book, with the scriptures, to the people, till he was apprehended in the following manner:

Mr. Saunders was advised to leave the nation, as pious Dr. Jewel, and many others did; but he would not, declaring to his friends that he was willing to die for the name of the Lord Jesus. Accordingly he left his people in Leicestershire, and travelled towards London; on his arrival near which he was met by Sir John Mordant, a privy-counsellor to queen Mary, who asked him where he was going? Mr. Saunders said to his living in Bread-street, to instruct his people. Mordant desired him not to go, to which Mr. Saunders answered, How shall I then be accountable to God? If any be sick and die before consolation, then what a load of guilt will be upon my conscience, as an unfaithful shepherd and unjust steward!

Mordant asked him whether he did not frequently preach in Bread-street; and being answered in the affirmative, he endeavoured to dissuade him from doing so any more. Saunders, however, was resolute, and told him he would continue to preach as long as he lived, and invited the other to come and hear him the next day, adding that he would confirm him in the truth of those sentiments which he taught. Upon this they parted, and Mordant went and gave information to bishop Bonner, that Saunders would preach in his church the next Sunday.

In the mean time Saunders went to his lodgings, with a mind resolved to do his duty; when a person came to visit him, and took notice to him that he seemed to be in trouble, he said he was; adding, "I am, as it were, in prison, till I speak to my people." So earnest was his desire to discharge his duty, and so little did he regard the malice of his enemies!

The next Sunday he preached in his church; and made a most elaborate discourse against the errors of popery: He exhorted the people to remain stedfast in the truth; not to fear those who can only kill the body, but to fear him who can throw both body and soul into hell. He was attended by a great concourse of people, which gave much offence to the clergy, particularly to bishop Bonner.

No notice, however, was taken of him in the forenoon, but in the afternoon, when he intended to have preached again, Bonner sent an officer to apprehend him. Accordingly he went with the officer, and Sir John Mordant appeared to give evidence against him. This was certainly unbecoming the character of a gentleman of rank, thus to become a common informer; but it is a just observation, that no station in life, let it be ever so elevated, will exempt men from being guilty of mean actions. Perhaps this gentleman thought to ingratiate himself with the bishops, who had the sole direction of the queen's conscience, and by making his court in this manner, he might be advanced to honours. Honours acquired by perfidy and meanness sit very ungracefully upon those who recieve them. We could mention many instances of this sort in history, but they can have no room here.

Mr. Saunders was charged with treason and sedition for having disobeyed the queen's proclamation; but Bonner had other objects in view than that of bringing this man to a trial at common law. Heresy was the main point he had in view, and nothing else would go down. And here it is necessary to observe that the bishop was a fool, for the queen's proclamation could not be law, unless sanctified by an act of parliament, which it was not.

As Mr. Saunders was endued with a large share of fortitude, and as he seemed to despise death, or perhaps, in the opinion of some persons, to court it. We must here take notice of an observation made by some divines, which the deists have wrought up into an objection against christianity.

The divines have observed that the martyrs had good hearts but confused heads; and to this the deists have added that they were madmen. Supposing we should turn the argument against the deists, by begging the question, and asking them, whether Socrates, whom they so much glory in was a madman, for asserting that there was but one divine being? For this crime (if it was one) Socrates suffered death, by being condemned to drink the hemlock. Now let any man read the Phædon of Plato, and then let him answer whether Socrates did not die an enthusiast.

When his friend came to visit him the day before he suffered, and told him that the ship would return that day which would decide his fate, Socrates told him that the ship would not arrive that day, for he had had a dream, which informed him of the contrary. Was not this a real sign of weakness, or rather of superstition? Nay, did not Socrates with his last words desire that a cock should be offered up to Esculapius? Did ever a Christian martyr make such a speech, when all the horrors of death presented themselves to his view? The answer is obvious, there is not an instance of it upon record. Thus the deistical argument falls to the ground, but that used by the divines claims a higher attention. It is said they had good hearts, but their heads were not clear. Let us admit the assertion to be true, and let us consider the circumstances from which it took its rise. The whole truth will appear from a careful attention to the following things:

First, many of these men had, from motives of conscience, left that system of superstition in which they had been educated, and embraced the truth perhaps in a more robust manner than was consistent with that calmness of reflection which must, at all times, conduct those to the knowledge of the truth, who would willingly obey the gospel. Under such circumstances men's minds must have been much confused; they loved knowledge, perhaps, but it was not in their power to find out the road that led towards it.

Secondly, it may be observed, that however desireable it may be to have a head well informed, it is much better to have a good heart. A man may have much knowledge, and at the same time be destitute of piety. There have been many learned men who were strangers to religion; there have been sufferers for the truth, who knew but little of what is commonly called human knowledge. Men may speak of these things, at this distance of time, in what manner they please, but if they will look back to history, they will be enabled to form more just opinions.

Lastly, let them consider the circumstances of the times: light breaking out from darkness is apt to bewilder the rational faculties; and men are frequently led into extravagancies, without any intention to deceive. Indeed, the martyrs knew they had nothing to expect but sufferings, and therefore, they thought they might, with a becoming propriety, avow their sentiments. It was their duty to do so, and it will remain a monument of their everlasting honour, that they were sincere in all their declarations.

This may serve to shew that all the objections which, from time to time, have been brought against the martyrs are extremely insignificant, and not worthy of a serious answer. Let those who live in the present age emulate the conduct of these men, and let them never forget that however respectful knowledge may be, yet piety is much better. Those who really love God never make any display, in an ostentatious manner, of religion; but those who have no religion at heart, have generally a great deal of it in their mouths.

After much conversation on the different points in religion, the bishop desired him to write what his sentiments were concerning transubstantiation. To this request Mr. Saunders replied, "My lord, I know you want to ensnare me: you seek for my blood, and you shall have it. Perhaps the reflection of taking my life without cause may bring you to a sense of guilt, and make you a better man."

The next thing the bishop did, was to send Mr. Saunders, under the care of Sir John Mordant, to the house of the chancellor, who happened not to be at home; so that he was obliged to tarry for him four hours in the servants hall. During the whole of this space of time, Mr. Saunders did not so much as receive the least refreshment, but stood bareheaded, while Mordant kept walking backwards and forwards across the room.

At length Gardiner the chancellor arrived, and sending for Mr. Saunders into his chamber, asked him how he could be so bold as to disobey the queen's proclamation? Saunders acknowledged that he had preached contrary to the proclamation, and that he thought it his duty to do so, even although it should cost him his life. He added that what he did arose from the dictates of his heart, which commanded him to preach the gospel in season, and out of season: that he could not be accountable at the judgment seat of Christ if he neglected any part of his duty in teaching and comforting his people in their most holy faith, so as to meet them on the right hand of the judge.

The chancellor poured out much abuse on Mr. Saunders, telling him he was a hypocrite and a heretic, not withstanding all his pretensions to a tender conscience. He accused him farther, of having called the queen a bastard, or rather worse, namely, that she had been born in a state of incest. It is well known that Henry's first marriage with Catharine had been declared inconsistent with the canons of the church; and therefore, had Mr. Saunders called her by such names, he might, according to law, have sheltered himself under an act of parliament. But the truth is, Mr. Saunders never traduced the queen's character; but in speaking to Gardiner he made use of a most severe sarcasm, by telling him that there need not to be much dispute concerning this matter with his lordship, who had actually signed the declaration concerning the illegitimacy of Mary's birth. This was bringing the argument home to him; but the severity of the satire filled Gardiner with strong motives of revenge.

Saunders told the chancellor he had no objection against suffering for that God who had given him courage to declare his sentiments without fear, and would support him under all sorts of afflictions; and although he would never give intentional offence, yet he was not, by any means, to injure his conscience by giving up the truth as it was revealed in the word of God.

Gardiner, upon this, remanded Mr. Saunders to prison; but first told him he was out of his mind, and a disturbed madman, without the use of either sense or reason.

Gardiner was a doctor of the canon law, and knew that none of the canons admitted madmen to come under the denomination of heretics. A heretic is one of those men who wilfully, either through caprice or humour, oppose, or speak contrary to the religion established by law. Now, supposing Mr. Saunders had been a madman, how then could he be an heretic? Gardiner knew by the laws, both civil, canon, and common, "That the act of God shall injure no man."

There was another person lay in the same room with Saunders, who declared the more he was treated with cruelty and contempt, the more he appeared comforted; and felt that consolation in his mind which only can arise from a belief of the truth. It is certain the divine being will always give some comfort to tender consciences, but much more to those who have been singled out to seal the truth of their testimony with their blood. When a servant undertakes to lay down his life to save his master, honours are generally conferred upon him, and the love of fame supports him. This is natural, but the Christian's motives are of a more exalted nature!

He does not covet fame; on the contrary, when approbation is bestowed upon him, even for some meritorious actions, he shudders back at the thoughts of pride, and desires of his maker to be cloathed with humility.

Mr. Saunders continued in prison no less than one year and three months, during which time he wrote several letters to those great and worthy persons, who afterwards suffered for the truth.

As this pious minister saw no hopes of getting released from prison, he drew up a paper which he sent to the chancellor, containing sentiments to the following purport, namely, That he did not believe he had transgressed against the proclamation, for it did not command ministers to preach against the dictates of their consciences.

As for his religion, he said it was the same as that taught in the New Testament. He worshipped the God of his fathers after the manner they called heresy: that it was an easy matter to call people heretics, and to proceed against them by the assistance of the civil power; but the best way was to attempt, and if possible, to confute their notions by solid argument.

The next observations made use of by Mr. Saunders were of a striking nature indeed. He declared that no man could be a faithful servant of Christ who acknowledged the papal supremacy. He said it was the noblest of his glory; and this is no more than what has been certified by most of the martyrs who suffered under the papal power. He observed that papal traditions were not commanded by the word of God, nor did they make any part of religion.

We should have thought that such sentiments as these, especially where law itself was commenced, would have gone a considerably way to exculpate this man from all the horrid imputations that had been brought against him; but this availed nothing. Gardiner had been stung to the quick by the rebuff, or rather sarcasm made use of by Saunders, and in consequence thereof he meditated a severe revenge.

Indeed, the whole proceedings against these men were of a shocking nature, for some of their executions were determined on before they were so much as heard. When judgment goes before trial, the channel of justice becomes choaked up, and judgment is perverted. Men are made offenders for a word, traps are used to ensnare them, and this becomes the dishonour of nations.

In some other of his letters he speaks of his entire confidence in God, and in every one of them there is something or other inviting the faithful to abide by the truth.

Mr. Saunders was a married man, and in a letter to his wife, he declared his firm attachment to the truth of the gospel, according to the reformed religion, as it had been set forth in the reign of king Edward VI. The sentiments in this letter were truly evangelical, and such as would have done honour to one of the primitive martyrs. He told her there could be no confidence in the Divine Being where a fixed truth was not placed in the righteousness of a Redeemer. He added further that she must not consider him any longer as a husband for her in this world, but that he hoped to spend an eternity with her. He told her that if she should be molested for the truth, that it was her duty to examine her own mind, and attend to every thing that could lead her to happiness. That the blessings of the everlasting covenant could only be ensured to believers in consequence of the death of Christ, and that the firm persuasion of the resurrection of our Redeemer was the only means the infinite wisdom could contrive, in order to bring us to a state of happiness.

In one of his letters to Cranmer, who was then a prisoner as well as himself, he expresses a firm belief of the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the dead, according to the gospel dispensation. At the same time; he laments that darkness which

the corruption of human nature has thrown over our understandings: that as we see here but through a glass darkly, so our faith should encrease in strength, in consequence of a longing desire for immortality. He added a great deal concerning the vast importance of the ministerial office, and the necessity for ministers to keep themselves from giving offence, lest the gospel should be blamed.

In another letter to his wife, he said much concerning that long friendship and happiness which he had enjoyed with her. He expressed his earnest desire still to have enjoyed her company, had it been consistent with the will of God. But as he knew his death was resolved on, he begged she would pray that God would enable her to bear with such an event, and that he might likewise be enabled to go through with it as became a good soldier of Christ Jesus. He gave her the utmost encouragement to trust in the merits and mercies of Christ Jesus; to make him her only friend, and then he would never leave her nor forsake her. He said much concerning the strength he had in Christ Jesus, who had gone the road of suffering before him, and cautioned her much against denying the truth, whatever punishments the papists, and other enemies of Christ, might threaten her with.

In another letter to his wife, he says much concerning those consolations which God gives to such who suffer for his namesake. He takes notice that the whole of human life is one continual torment; and therefore, when we are just going to take possession of a glorious and eternal inheritance, we should not repine at going through a few hardships. And what are these hardships, when compared with the dreadful punishments which God will inflict on apostates hereafter!

He was confined in the Marshalsea prison, and strict orders were given to the keepers, not to suffer any person to converse with him. His poor wife, however, came to the prison with her young child in her arms, and the keeper had so much compassion that he took the child and carried it to its father. Mr. Saunders seeing the child, rejoiced greatly, saying it was a peculiar happiness for him to have such a boy. And to the standers by, who admired the beauty of the child, he said, what man, fearing God, would not lose his life, sooner than have it said that the mother of this child was an harlot.

He said these words in order to point out the woeful effects of popish celibacy; for the priests being denied the privilege of marriage, seduced the wives and daughters of many of the inhabitants, and filled the nation with bastards, who were left exposed to all sorts of hardships.

After all these afflictions and sufferings, Mr. Saunders was brought before the council, where the chancellor sat as president; and there he was asked a great number of questions concerning his opinions. These questions were proposed in so artful and ensnaring a manner, that the prisoner, by telling the truth, must criminate himself: and to have stood mute would have subjected him to the torture.

Under such circumstances God gave him fortitude to assert the truth, by declaring his abhorrence of all the doctrines of popery.

The examination being ended; the officers led him out of the place, and then waited till some other prisoners were examined. While Mr. Saunders was standing among the officers, seeing a great number of people assembled, as is common on such occasions, he exhorted them to beware of falling off from Christ to Anti-Christ, as many were then returning into popery, because they had not fortitude to suffer.

The chancellor ordered him to be excommunicated, and committed him to the Compter, which was then in his own parish of Bread-street. This was a great comfort to him, because he was visited by many of his people, whom he exhorted to constancy, and when they were denied admittance, he spoke to them through the grate.

On the 4th of February the sheriff of London delivered him to the bishop, who degraded him; and Mr. Saunders said, "Thank God! I am now out of your church." The day following he was given up to some of the queen's officers, who were appointed to convey him down to Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they lay at St. Alban's, where Mr. Saunders took an opportunity of rebuking a person who had ridiculed the christian faith. After they arrived at Coventry, a poor shoemaker who had formerly worked for Mr. Saunders, came to him, and said, "O, my good master, may God strengthen you!" "Good shoe-maker, (answered Mr. Saunders) I beg you will pray for me, for I am at present in a very weak condition; but I hope my gracious God, who has appointed me to it, will give me strength."

The same night he spent in the common prison, praying for and exhorting all those who went to hear him.

The next day, which was the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the Park without the gate of that city, going in an old gown and shirt, barefooted, and often fell flat on the ground and prayed. When he approached the place of execution, the under-sheriff told him he was an heretic, and that he had led the people away from the true religion; but yet if he would recant, the queen would pardon him.

To this Mr. Saunders answered "That he had not filled the realm with heresy, for he had taught the people the pure truths of the gospel; and in all his sermons, while he exhorted the people, firmly desired his hearers to be obedient to the queen." When brought to the stake he embraced it, and after being fastened to it, and the faggots lighted, he said, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life;" soon after which he resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

Well does the apostle say, that if we only in this life have hope, we are, of all men, the most miserable. And what will the reader think, when he is told that this martyr was of a timid disposition? And yet here we see with what constancy he died. This is a strong proof that there must be an almighty power, working through faith in the hearts of those who are punished for the truth. Mr. Saunders often told his friends that many would suffer if ever Mary ascended the throne. He knew the temper of that princess, and probably it was that which made him expect sufferings. It is for the benefit of succeeding ages that God gives strength to the heart of man to suffer. It is to promote many valuable purposes, by teaching us to set a proper value on the many national blessings we enjoy in the present age; and there is no way of making a better use of them, than to live in the practice of every virtuous and religious duty: to bless the Almighty for having delivered us from a worse than Egyptian darkness; for certainly popery, both in its spirit and tendency, can be called by no other name. We live in an age, when, perhaps, our own wickedness has so much displeased God that he has suffered the enemy to sow tares among us.

To what other cause can we ascribe the encrease of popery, which has not been confined to the capital, but has even extended to the remotest parts of the kingdom? In Scotland where about thirty years ago there was not, perhaps, two hundred papists, there are now as many thousands. We must impute much of this to our own remissness in our duty. The popish priests use all the means they can think of to seduce our people, and they even have recourse to bribes. They get money from their gentry, part of which they give away to the poor; and those who are, in a manner unprincipled in religion, will soon turn to any thing.

Another method used by them is to spread amongst the poor small treatises on religious subjects; and these are generally filled with such bewildering notions, that the uneducated are easily caught in the snare. Why should we not be as exact [or more so] in preserving our people from these wolves in sheep's clothing? Let us take an example from this pious martyr, whose life was a comment on his doctrine, and who lived as he preached. This will do more towards suppressing popery and deism than the best discourses that can be formed.

CHAP. III.

Account of the Sufferings of Bishop HOOPER.

THE farther we prosecute this work, the more we are led into admiration. Great, indeed, are those attachments which men have to their natural interests, and their employments in life; and when these are founded upon virtuous principles, their conduct must be laudable. But when they attempt to secure any emoluments to themselves in an illicit manner, at the expence of the natural rights of mankind, and of private judgment, they only serve to suppress that cause which they want to support. It is owing to this selfish meanness that all the persecutions we read of have taken place in the world.

We have seen, in our account of the pious Mr. Saunders, that a man by nature weak, and in his mind timorous at the thoughts of suffering, could bear, with an undaunted boldness, all those torments which were prepared for him by his enemies, and by the enemies of Christ Jesus. We have seen that gracious Being, for whose name-sake he suffered, supporting him under all his afflictions; and we have beheld him adding one more jewel to adorn his eternal kingdom.

We shall now bring forth another martyr to public view, whose name will ever be esteemed for his sincere attachment to the protestant religion, and for the little regard he paid to ceremonies, about which there has been much unnecessary, and indeed angry contention.

The person alluded to was Dr. John Hooper, a man of eminence in his profession. He was educated in Oxford, but in what college does not appear; probably it was in Queen's college, because he was a north countryman, that seminary of learning being appropriated for those of the northern counties. He made the most amazing progress in his studies, and was remarkable for his early piety. He studied the sacred scriptures with the most unremitted assiduity, and indeed was, for some time, an ornament to the university. His piety encreased with his knowledge, and even while there was a cloud of darkness, as it were, fixed on the minds of the people, Hooper was making such progress in scripture divinity, as led him to set a true value upon many things of no real importance.

His spirit was fervent, and he hated everything in religion that was not of an essential nature. When the six articles were published, Dr. Hooper did all he could to oppose them, as maintaining every thing in the popish system, except the pope's supremacy. He preached frequently against them, which created him many enemies in Oxford; but Henry VIII. had such an opinion of him that he would not suffer him to be molested. Soon after this he was obliged to leave the university, and assuming a lay character, became steward to Sir Thomas Arundel, who, at first, treated him with great kindness, till at last, having discovered his sentiments as to religion, he became his most implacable enemy.

Mr. Hooper having received intelligence that some mischief was intended against him, left the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and hired a horse from one whom he had, some time before, saved from the gallows, and rode off towards the seaside, intending to go to France, sending back the horse with a servant. He resided some time at Paris, in as private a manner as possible. Returning again to England he was informed against and obliged to leave his native country a second time.

He went over again to France, but not being safe there he travelled into High Germany; from thence he went to Basil, where he married a pious woman, and afterwards settled some time at Zurick, in Switzerland: there he applied so close to his studies that he made himself master of the Hebrew language.

At length, when the true religion was set up after the death of king Henry VIII. amongst other English exiles that returned was

Mr. Hooper. In the most grateful manner he returned thanks to all his friends abroad, who had shewn him so much compassion; particularly to the learned Bullinger, who was a great friend to all those who were persecuted for the gospel. When he took an affectionate leave of Bullinger, he told him that he would write to him as often as he could find opportunity, but added, probably I shall be burned to ashes, and then some friend will give you information.

Another circumstance should not be omitted in this place, and that is, that when he was appointed bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, the herald who emblazoned his arms put the figure of a lamb in a fiery bush, with the rays of glory descending from heaven on the lamb, which had such an effect on Dr. Hooper that he said he knew that he should die for the truth; and this consideration inspired him with courage. But to return to the narrative.

When Dr. Hooper arrived in London, he was so much filled with zeal to promote the gospel that he preached every day to crowded congregations. In his sermons he reproved sinners in general, but particularly directed his discourse against the erroneous vices of the times. The abuses he complained of were owing to a variety of causes: the great nobility had got the church lands, and the clergy were not only seditious in their conduct, but ignorant even to a proverb. This occasioned a general scene of immorality to flow among all ranks and degrees of people, which furnished such pious men as Dr. Hooper with sufficient matter for reproof.

In his doctrine, Hooper was clear, plain, eloquent, and persuasive, and so much followed by all ranks of people that the churches could not contain them. Altho' no man could be more indefatigable in labouring in the Lord's vineyard, yet Dr. Hooper had a most excellent constitution, which he supported by temperance, and was therefore enabled to do much good. In the whole of his conversation with those who waited on him in private, he spoke of the purity of the gospel, and of the great things of God, cautioning the people from returning again to popery if any change should take place. This was the more necessary, as the people in general were but ill grounded, though Cranmer, Ridley, and many other pious men were using every means in their power to make them acquainted with the principles of the christian religion. In this pious undertaking, none were more forward than Dr. Hooper, for at all times, in season, and out of season, he was ready to discharge his duty as a faithful minister of the gospel.

After he had preached some time, with great success in the city, he was sent for by king Edward VI. who appointed him one of his chaplains, and soon after made him bishop of Gloucester, by letters-patent under the great seal; having at the same time the care of the bishopric of Worcester committed to him.

As Dr. Hooper had been some time abroad, he contracted an aversion to the popish ceremonies, and before he went to his bishopric, he requested of the king that he might not be obliged to give countenance to them, which was complied with, though much against the inclinations of the other bishops. Dr. Hooper and his brethren had many disputes about the Romish tenets, which may serve to shew that there are some remains of corruption in the best of men. Some men seek honours with unwearied zeal, and seem to take more pleasure in titles, than in considering that an elevated rank only encreases the necessity of being more enlarged in duty.

Dr. Hooper differed from this set of men, for instead of seeking after any preferments, he would never have accepted of any had they not been offered him. Having the care of two dioceses, he held and guided them both together, as if they had been but one. His leisure time, which was but little, he spent in hearing causes, private prayer, and reading the scriptures. He likewise visited the schools and encouraged the youth in their learning. He had children of his own, whom he likewise instructed, and treated them with all the tenderness of an indulgent parent.

Fox tells us he kept great tables, with provisions for the poor, which was a very pious action in those times, because the people who had been driven out of the convents roved up and down the country starving. He relieved a certain number of these every day, and when they had done eating, he delivered a discourse to them on the principles of the christian religion. After this manner, bishop Hooper continued to discharge his duty as a faithful pastor, during the whole of king Edward's reign. But no sooner was the pious young king laid in the grave, and Mary proclaimed, than a serjeant at arms was sent to arrest bishop Hooper, in order to answer to two charges.

First, to answer to Dr. Heath, who had been deprived of the diocese of Gloucester for his adherence to popery, but was now restored by the queen. Secondly, to answer to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, who was restored by the queen, for having given evidence to king Edward against that persecuting prelate.

Bishop Hooper was desired, by some of his friends, to get away; but his answer was "I once fled for my life, but I am determined, through the strength and grace of God to witness the truth to the last,"

Being brought before the queen and council, Gardiner was sitting as president, who accused bishop Hooper of heresy, calling him by the most opprobrious names. This was in the month of September 1553, and he lay in prison, on a charge of being indebted to the queen in several sums of money. The 19th of March, 1554, when he was called again to appear before Gardiner, the chancellor, and several bishops, would not suffer him to plead his cause, but deprived him of his bishoprick.

Being asked whether he was a married man, he answered in the affirmative, and declared that he would not be unmarried, till death occasioned the separation; hence he looked upon the marriage of the clergy as necessary. The more they attempted to brow-beat him, the more resolute he became, and the more pertinent in his answers. He produced the decrees of the council of Nice, which first ascertained the canon of scripture, where it was ordered to be lawful, as well as expedient, for the clergy to marry. This was to very little purpose with men who had their instructions from the queen, and therefore the good bishop was committed to the Tower, but afterwards removed to the Fleet.

As the determination for burning him was not agreed on, he was only considered as a debtor to the queen, for the rents of his bishoprick, which was the reason of his being sent to the Fleet. This, however, was a most unjust charge; for the protestant religion had been established in the first year of the reign of her brother Edward, by act of parliament; so that Dr. Hooper's accepting of a bishoprick was in all respects legal and constitutional.

As a debtor, he was to have the rules of the Fleet, which the warden granted him for five pounds sterling; but went immediately and informed Gardiner, who, notwithstanding he had paid the money, ordered him to be close confined.

He was now in a very dreadful situation; and the warden, whose name was Babington, informed against him for not going to mass; upon which he was locked up in a small room, where he had nothing but straw to lie upon with a rotten covering, and such other things, till at last some pious people sent him a bed to lie on. During this time he was taken ill, and the doors being fast locked, he mourned and called for help; but the warden would neither give him any assistance, nor suffer the prisoners, who were willing to do so, telling them it would be well if he should die.

Notwithstanding all this cruelty, Dr. Hooper always paid the warden every fee that he demanded, besides an additional allowance for his board. His servant, who had been many years with him, came to see him, and the warden caused him to be stripped and searched for letters, but could find none, besides the names of a few of his friends who wished him well. The warden was so base as to carry the names of these persons to the chancellor, who ordered several of them to be taken into custody, and all Hooper's goods were seized.

After he had been eighteen months in prison, on the 22d of January, 1555, the warden of the Fleet was ordered to bring him before the chancellor Gardiner, who, with other bishops, were appointed to examine him a second time, at Gardiner's house in Southwark.

When brought before these merciless persecutors, the chancellor made a long speech to him, desiring him to forsake the opinions he had embraced, and return to the bosom of the church; adding, that as the pope was the head of the church, so it was breaking through her unity to separate from her. He promised to procure him the pope's absolution if he would recant his opinions; but this was nothing more or less than a farce; for Gardiner knew well that Hooper was too well grounded in his religious opinions to comply with any such request.

To this Dr. Hooper answered that as the pope's doctrine was contrary to the sacred scriptures; and as he could not be the head of the church, because there was no head of it but Christ, so he would live and die asserting the doctrines he had taught.

Gardiner replied, that the queen would never shew any mercy to the enemies of the pope; whereupon Babington, the warden, was commanded to take him back to the Fleet. It was likewise ordered that he should be shifted from his former chamber, which was done; and he was searched, to find, if possible, whether he had any books concealed about him, but none were found. On the 25th of January he was again brought before the chancellor to be examined, whether or not he would recant; but nothing could shake his constancy. And here we cannot help observing how true those words are in Daniel, when in a vision the angel told him, *That Anti-christ should wear out the saints of the most high*. A man of humanity, much less a Christian, would not torture the most insignificant animal to death; and when these persecutors had determined to put this pious bishop to death, why keep him so long in misery? why make him suffer death, as it were, every day, before he is brought to the last trial? We will venture to answer for this part of their conduct. The devil, who is a murderer from the beginning, instructed them; and for this reason, because he knew he could not punish the servants of God in the next world, he rejoices to have them tormented in this.

On Monday morning, February 4, the bishop went to the prison to degrade him, which was done in the usual form, by putting the different robes upon him worn by priests, and then taking them off. The reason why they did not put on him the bishop's robes were that they did not admit of the validity of his ordination. While they were taking these rags of the whore of Babylon from off him, he told them he was glad to part with them, because his mind had been always against them, and considered them as no better than heathenish relics. In fact they were, for the same robes were worn by the pagan priests before the time of the emperor Constantine the Great.*

A few hours after he was degraded, the keeper came to him, and told him he was to be sent down to Gloucester to suffer death. Upon this he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, praising God that he was to die among his own people, as it would be the means of confirming them in the truth of what he had taught them. He immediately sent to his servant for his boots and cloak, that he might be in readiness to attend them whenever they should come for him. About four in the morning he was taken out of prison by the sheriff, and conducted to the sign of the Angel, near St. Dunstan's church, Fleetstreet. There he was received by the queen's officers, who had the warrant for his execution; after which they permitted him to take some refreshment.

^{* [}CHCoG: Learn the details of this—and far more—in <u>*The Two</u> Babylons* by Alexander Hislop.]</u>

About break of day he mounted on horseback without help, having a hood on his head under his hat, that he should not be known; and thus equipped, with a serene and chearful countenance, proceeded on the road for Gloucester, attended by his keepers. The guards asked him what houses he was accustomed to use on the road; and when they were informed, in order to perplex him, they took him to others.

On the Thursday following they arrived at Cirencester, a town in his own diocese, and about eleven miles from Gloucester, which being about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, they dined at a woman's house who had always hated the protestants, and traduced bishop Hooper's character as much as possible. This woman, seeing his constancy, was so affected that she lamented his case with tears, and begged his pardon for the manner in which she had treated him.

Dinner being over, they proceeded to Gloucester, where they arrived about five in the afternoon. A great crowd of people were assembled about a mile without the town; so that one of the guard, fearing a rescue, rode up to the mayor's house, to demand aid and assistance. This being granted, the officers desired the people to disperse, with which they very readily complied.

Mr. Hooper was that night lodging in the house of one Ingram, where he ate his supper with a good appetite, and slept very quietly, as the guard declared, for they continued in the chamber with him all the night. In the morning he got up, and having prayed most fervently, was visited by Sir Anthony Kingston, who was one of the persons appointed to see him executed. When Sir Anthony came into the chamber he found him at his prayers, and waiting till he had done, asked if he did not know him? To this bishop Hooper answered that he did know him, and was glad to see him in good health. He added that he was come there to end his life, and blessed God that it was to be in the midst of his diocese. He said he loved life as well as it ought to be loved, but he was not to enjoy it at the expence of his future welfare. He was not to blaspheme his Saviour by denying his name, through which alone he looked for salvation; but trusted that he should be endued with fortitude sufficient to bear all the torments his enemies could inflict upon him.

Sir Anthony Kingston had profited much from the preaching of bishop Hooper, and taking his leave, told him, with tears, that he was extremely sorry to lose such a worthy person. Dr. Hooper answered that it was his duty to persevere in the truth, and not to be ashamed of the gospel, lest Christ should refuse to acknowledge him before his father in heaven.

The same day in the afternoon, a poor blind boy came to visit bishop Hooper, and falling on his knees before him; said, "Ah, my lord, I am blind in my eyes, but your pious instructions have removed a spiritual blindness from my heart. May God support you under all your sufferings, and bring you, even through flames, to heaven!" Several other persons visited bishop Hooper, amongst whom was a very wicked man, a bigoted papist, who had known him formerly. This man upbraided him with what the papists call heresy, but he bore all his insults with patience and meekness.

The time appointed for the execution of this pious bishop drawing nigh, he was delivered to the sheriffs of Gloucester, one of whose names was Bind, and the other Jenkins, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to bishop Hooper's lodgings, and at the first meeting, having saluted him, took him by the hand. The resigned martyr thanked the mayor, with the rest of the officers, for taking a condemned man by the hand and for all the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them, for he had been long acquainted with them.

He begged of the sheriffs that they would make the fire as violent as possible, that his pains might be of the shorter duration; adding, that he might have had his life if he chose it, but could not, consistent with that duty he owed to God, and his own conscience. He said he knew the bishop of Rome was Anti-Christ, and therefore he could not be obedient to him. He desired they would

not deny his request, but let him suffer as soon as possible, without exercising any circumstances of cruelty, which was unbecoming the dignity of men of honour, and particularly those who enjoyed such offices as they did.

A consultation was held by the sheriffs, whether or not they should lodge him, the preceding evening of his execution in the common gaol, over the north gate of the city; but the guards who had brought him from London interceded so earnestly in his favour, that he was permitted to remain in his former lodgings; and he spent the evening in prayer, together with as much of the night as he could spare from his ordinary rest. The believer who is to rest in Christ Jesus throughout the endless ages of eternity, may well enjoy an hour's sleep, even before the commencement of the most excruciating tortures.

When bishop Hooper arose in the morning, he desired that no person whatever should disturb him in his devotions, till the officers came to lead him out to execution. About eight o'clock, the lord Chandois, attended by several other noblemen and gentlemen, came to conduct him to the place of execution; and at nine Dr. Hooper was ready. Being brought down from his chamber, when he saw the guards, he told the sheriffs that he was no traitor, but one who was willing to die for the truth; and that if they would have permitted him, he would have willingly gone unguarded to the stake, without troubling any officers. Afterwards, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, who were above seven thousand in number, it being the market-day, he said, "Alas! Why are so many people assembled? I dare not speak to them as formerly."

He was led forward between the two sheriffs, as a lamb to the slaughter, having on a gown which the man of the house where he was confined had given him; and being much afflicted with an illness he had contracted in prison, he was obliged to walk with a stick in his hand. The sheriffs, having commanded him not to speak one word, he was not seen to open his mouth, but beholding

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the people, who mourned bitterly, he sometimes lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and looked chearfully upon such as he knew; and indeed, his countenance was more chearful than it had been for a long time before. When he was brought to the stake he embraced it, and looked at a place where he used formerly to preach. He then kneeled down to pray, and beckoned several times to one whom he knew well, to come near to hear him, that he might give an account of what he said after his death, as he was not permitted to speak aloud. When he had been some time at prayer, a pardon was brought, and laid down before him, on condition he would recant his opinions; but neither promises of pardon, nor threatnings of punishment, could have any effect on him; so immoveable was he in the faith, and so well established in the principles of the gospel. That religion which can support men under such torments, must be of God, and must be for his glory!

Prayers being ended, he prepared himself for the stake, by taking off his landlord's gown, which he delivered to the sheriffs, requesting them to see it restored to the owner. He then took off the rest of his cloaths, except his doublet and hose, in which he designed to be burned; but the sheriffs not permitting that, he patiently submitted. After this, a pound of gunpowder was placed between his legs, and the same quantity under each arm; three chains were then fixed round him, one to his neck, another to his middle; and a third to his legs; and with these he was fastened to the stake. This being done, fire was put to the faggots; but they being green, he suffered inexpressible torment. Soon after this, another load of dry faggots was brought, but still the wind blew away the flames; so that he begged for more, that he might be put out of his misery.

At length the fire took effect, and the martyr went triumphant into heaven, after such a fiery trial as almost exceeds any thing we meet with in the primitive ages. His last words were, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me; enable me to bear my sufferings for thy name's-sake, and respirit me."

Such was the end of the temporal life, and such was the passage into glory, of the pious John Hooper, some time bishop of Gloucester, and a most illustrious reformer!

Had he survived the bloody reign of queen Mary, he might have been of great service in setting the state of the church of England: that he did not was the will of Divine Providence. No doubt but God saw that his constancy in suffering would be of service to succeeding ages, and teach those who profess the name of Christ to love him in sincerity; to value the many privileges of the gospel; to avoid being offended at any thing in this world; and to prefer pure religion, which implies every duty, to all considerations whatever.

The triumph of the wicked is short, the memory of the just is eternal.

The late pious Mrs. Rowe has a fine thought on this subject, namely, "That the places in hell, appointed for the reception of persecutors, is more deep than any of the other apartments." That lady, undoubtedly, considered those monsters of cruelty and hypocrisy in their true colours, who would have people punished with the most excruciating torments, for what they would not believe.

What then shall we say of a Gardiner and a Bonner? Let us leave them to the righteous judgment of God, who will reward or punish every man according to his works.

CHAP. IV.

Account of the Sufferings and Martyrdom of Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR.

Dr. Rowland Taylor was born in the town of Hadley, which was one of the first places in England that received the gospel. Here it was that Dr. Taylor, who was in many respects a very learned man, preached constantly to the people during the reign of king Edward. Archbishop Cranmer, who was a good judge of merit, and loved to reward it in learned men, took him into his family, and presented him to this living. Here he behaved as a most excellent preacher and a faithful pastor. He made himself acquainted with every individual in his parish; he taught them like the apostles and primitive Christians, who went from house to house. The love of Christ wrought so strongly on his mind that every Sunday and holiday, he preached in the most fervent manner to his people.

His preaching was not all; his life was one continued comment on his doctrine: it was a life of holiness; he studied nothing so much as doing good; he was a stranger to pride; and it might be justly said of him that he was cloathed with humility. He was, in a particular manner, attentive to the concerns of the poor, and all that he could spare was given to them. While he rebuked sinners for their enormities, he was ready to relieve all their wants. This was a godlike disposition, and the mark of a true character of a real christian.

In the course of his ministerial labours he often met with opposition, and even with abuse; but he attended to the maxim laid down by the apostle, that he must go through evil, as well as through good report. He was a married man, but never sat down to dinner with his family without first inquiring whether the poor wanted any thing? To those who were distressed, he gave relief before he eat any thing himself. He familiarized himself with all ranks of men, in order that he might, at least, gain them to the knowledge and practice of the truth. To his wife he was an indulgent, tender, affectionate husband and he brought up his children in the fear of God, well knowing that the laying of a good foundation is the only way to have a beautiful superstructure.

In this heavenly manner, Dr. Taylor continued to discharge his duty at Hadley, so long as good king Edward lived; but no sooner was that pious monarch dead, than things took a different turn.

And here it is necessary to observe, that let a man be ever so pious: let him be ever so faithful in the discharge of his duty, yet he will find many enemies in this world: this was the case with Dr. Taylor. In his parish, notwithstanding all his endeavours to suppress popery, yet some papists remained; and it is well known that popery and the protestant religion can no more agree together, than light and darkness.

Two persons in his parish, one named Clarke, and the other Foster, hired a Romish priest to come to Hadley to say mass. For this purpose they ordered an altar to be built up with all convenient speed, and appointed that mass should be said on Palm Sunday. But the people met together in the evening, and beat the altar to pieces: however, it was built up again, and a watch was appointed, lest it should be demolished a second time.

The day following, Clarke and Foster came, bringing along with them their popish priest, who was to perform the service of the mass. The priest was dressed in all his robes for that purpose, and had a guard with him, lest he should be interrupted by the populace.

When Dr. Taylor heard the bells ring, he went into the church to know the reason, according to the duty of his station, but found the doors of the chancel barred against him. However, getting within the chancel, he saw the popish priest at the altar, attended by a great number of people, with their swords drawn. The doctor accused the priest of idolatry, but the priest retorted upon him, and called him traitor for disobeying the queen's proclamation. Dr. Taylor said he was no traitor, but a minister of the gospel, commanded to teach the people, and then ordered the popish priest to retire, as one who came in there to poison the flock of Christ with his most abominable doctrines. Foster, who had a large share in this business, called Dr. Taylor a traitor, and violently dragged him out of the church; while his wife, on her knees, begged that God would vindicate his innocence, and avenge the injuries he had so wrongfully received, which was what he had not deserved, because he had not done more than his duty.

The next thing done by Foster and Clarke was to exhibit a charge of heresy against Dr. Taylor, to Gardiner the chancellor. The chancellor sent a messenger, commanding Dr. Taylor to appear before him, in order to answer to the charge that had been exhibited.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were much grieved, and suspecting what was likely to happen, as law and justice were both trodden under foot, desired him to go abroad to save his life. But this he would by no means comply with; for he said that it was more honourable to suffer for the cause of God, than to flee from the wrath of wicked men. "God (said he) will either protect me from sufferings, or he will enable me to bear them." He added, "That he knew his dying for the truth would be of more service to Christ, than his flying away from the malice of his persecutors."

When his friends saw that nothing could prevail upon him, they took farewell of him with tears; after which he set out for London, accompanied by a servant named John Hull, who had been a considerable time in his family. This faithful servant advised him to make his escape, but all to no purpose; for he said, that the good shepherd would never leave his sheep, till he was torn from them by force. In the same heavenly manner he exhorted John to be constant in the profession of Christianity, and not return again to popery. He said that worldly wisdom was apt to take too deep a root in our hearts, and that it was, therefore, our duty to do all we could to triumph over the world, the flesh, and the devil; to be consistent in our attachment to the truth; to keep in view the great glories of eternity; to consider the vast difference betwixt temporal and spiritual things; to trample, as it were, on the earth, while we keep heaven in our eye; to fear God more than men; to prefer sufferings in this world to all temporary enjoyments: to believe that God will sweeten all our sufferings, by the influences of his holy spirit; to think nothing too hard to endure, so as we can but obtain a blessed immortality; and with a Christian courage, to trample on death, and triumph over the grave.

When Dr. Taylor was brought before the chancellor Gardiner, that prelate reviled him in the most shocking manner, calling him a traitor and an heretic; all which our pious martyr patiently submitted to. In the opinion of Gardiner he might have been an heretic, but, according to law, he could not have been a traitor; for the statute of high treason, and the statute of heresy enforced different punishments: for the one the offending party was to be hanged, and quartered; for the other he was to be burned alive. Had queen Mary proceeded against this man, and many others, on the statute of high treason, they must have been acquitted, as the trial would have been conducted according to the principles of common law. But this was what she had no intention to do; her design was to gratify the clergy, and have all those who opposed their sentiments, executed upon their infamous statute.

Dr. Taylor answered the chancellor's questions with a becoming firmness; he told him that he was the persecutor of God's people, and that he had adhered to our Saviour and his word: he put bishop Gardiner in mind of the oath he had taken in the beginning of king Edward's reign, to maintain the protestant religion, and oppose the papal supremacy; but Gardiner answered that the oath had been extorted, so that he was not obliged to abide by it.

It is certain that every oath extorted by the threatning of punishment, can have no force in a moral or a civil nature; and the

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man who has been weak enough to swear, may recede from the obligatory part as soon as he has an opportunity. But this was not the case with Gardiner; he might have abode by the oath, and then all the punishment inflicted upon him would have been the loss of his bishopric. The man who pays the least regard to an oath will not chuse to enjoy a temporal subsistence at the expence of a guilty conscience. Had this sentiment been attended to in those unhappy times, men would have sworn less and done more; but we are to take things just as they happen, without considering what they should be. Oaths, when frequently repeated, lose that force which they should have upon human minds: and tampering too much with the things that are of a sacred nature serves only to beget in us an aversion to religion; so that the word of God is despised, and his attributes, as it were, trampled on by poor sinful creatures! But to return to the subject.

Dr. Taylor explained to the bishop the nature of an oath, and told him that as he had not been forced to take one contrary to the dictates of conscience, so he was either prejudiced in what he did, or what was still worse, he trifled with a sacred obligation: that no man whatever could dispense with an oath, unless he knew it was his duty to do so, in consequence of its having been imposed on him by violence.

Gardiner, who was self-convicted, turned the subject to the disputed points concerning the real presence, and some other things in popery.

With respect to the real presence in the sacrament, Dr. Taylor told him that it had no foundation in scripture, but had been first taught about the tenth century. He quoted the book of Bertram, which was written about that time, wherein the real presence was denied, and transubstantiation considered as no better than a novel doctrine. He made it appear that Christ only commanded his followers to keep the feast of the eucharist in remembrance of his last supper with them. That as Christ broke bread and drank wine with his disciples in a friendly manner, before he was dragged to

prison, to judgment, and to execution, consequently his followers should observe it as a feast of unity to the end of the world.*

Such were the sentiments of this pious man, concerning a very disputed point. He was clear in his conceptions concerning the scripture account of the last supper, for all the primitive fathers have taught us to consider it in the same light. When Christ said, this is my body, he could only mean the atonement that was to be made for sin, and surely that could not be the bread he took in his hand. The body of Christ, joined to his human soul, and both united to the divine nature [spirit], are now in a state of glory in heaven; and how then can a priest turn a wafer, which has been purchased at the shop of a confectioner, into the body of our Divine Redeemer? The thought puts common sense to the blush. It is full of absurdity, and only fit for credulity to swallow, for the emoluments of those priests who domineer over the rights of mankind.

Dr. Taylor, after being interrogated by the chancellor for a considerable time, was at length committed to prison.

Bigotry knows no feeling; persecution knows no end. While he was in prison, he spent the greatest part of his time in prayer, in reading the sacred scriptures, and in exhorting the poor prisoners confined with him to a sense of their duty. This was the more necessary, as the people at that time were extremely ignorant; light indeed was beginning to break in upon them, but they knew not how to walk. The prison in which Dr. Taylor was confined was commonly called the King's Bench, and there he met with that holy and pious man, Mr. Bradford, whose affinity in religious sentiments contributed to mitigate his sufferings. If two virtuous or pious persons are of the same opinion, and under the same

^{* [}CHCoG: This was the **only** Feast added to the Biblical Christian calendar, which was in addition to the weekly seventh-day Sabbath and annual Holy Days of Leviticus 23, which were all kept by Jesus and his disciples, honour Jehovah God as Creator, outline His entire Plan of Salvation, and are ordained by Him to be observed forever.]

circumstances, they generally feel for each other. This was the case with Dr. Taylor and Mr. Bradford; for no sooner did they meet each other in prison, than they blessed God who had brought them together, to suffer for the truth of the gospel.

Whatever we degenerate creatures may think in the present age, certain it is that neither bolts, bars, nor dungeons, could damp the spirits of those martyrs. They rejoiced in having an opportunity of testifying that their love for their Redeemer was such as arose from a lively faith in his name. They were all resignation to the divine will; their confidence was in God, and they knew that their Saviour had gone before them in the road of suffering. An union of hearts in a good cause resembles the state of the blessed in heaven. Prisons make no difference with the righteous, because they know that this world is no better than a prison. They are chearful under their sufferings, and fully prepared to meet with all those excruciating tortures which malice can invent, or cruelty inflict.

Such was the case of Dr. Taylor, of whose second examination we now proceed to give some account.

After Dr. Taylor had laid a considerable time in prison, he was cited to appear at Bow church, in Cheapside, to answer to the dean of the arches why he had married a wife. To cite a prisoner to appear before a judge is only a piece of solemn mockery, and such as is practised by the Spanish inquisition. But the popish clergy seem to be wholly directed by hypocrisy.

When he was brought before the dean of the arches, he defended marriage in such a masterly manner that the dean would not venture to pronounce a divorce, but only deprived him of his benefice. He was then remanded to prison, and kept there above a year and a half; then he and several others were brought to be examined before the chancellor.

Gardiner asked him whether he adhered to the form of religion as established by king Edward VI? Whether he approved of the English book of common prayer? Whether he was married? and many other questions. To all these Dr. Taylor gave clear and satisfactory answers, justifying his conduct; but these were not sufficient, seeing his death was resolved on.

Concerning marriage, Dr. Taylor proved, not only from the sacred scriptures, but likewise from the primitive writers, that the clergy were not prohibited from it. As he was a learned civilian and canonist, he proved from the Justinian institutions, that all oaths of celibacy were then condemned, and that the priests were exhorted to marry. Nay, so strict was the emperor in this particular that if a man made over a legacy to his wife, on condition of her not marrying again, the will was to be void.

He added further that it was contained in the pandects, that if a man had a woman slave, and made her free on condition she should never marry, yet she might marry nor should her former master be permitted to reclaim her. It was the more necessary to quote the pandects, because they were written in the sixth century, and although many abuses had by then crept into the church, yet celibacy was not in the number.

The next time he was brought before the chancellor was in company with Mr. Saunders already mentioned, and Mr. Bradford, whom we shall take notice of afterwards. Dr. Taylor was charged with heresy by the chancellor and the other bishops who were present. He acknowledged that he abhorred all the popish doctrines of the church of Rome; that the pope was Anti-Christ; that to deny the clergy the privilege of marriage was the doctrine of devils. That there were but two sacraments in the New Testament; that the mass was idolatry, the body of Christ being in heaven; and last of all, that he would abide by these sentiments to the last, being convinced that they were consistent with the doctrines laid down by Christ and his apostles.

One may easily imagine what would be the consequences of such a free and open declaration. A papist could not bear to hear his favourite notions thus called in question, and even condemned as idolatry; especially as it was the queen's religion, and the chancellor was her favourite.

The chancellor then pronounced sentence on him, and he was taken to a prison in Southwark called the Clink, where he remained till night, and then was sent to the Compter in the Poultry. Here he remained seven days, when on the 4th of February, Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them the popish habits.*

In the execution of this ceremony, though of a very serious nature, Dr. Taylor turned one part of it to ridiculous contempt. The bishop commanded him to put on the vestments, but this he refused. Bonner then ordered his servants to force them on him; and when they had dressed him, he walked about the room, with his hands by his sides, saying, "Look at me, my lord, am not I like a very pretty fool?" And speaking to the other priests who were present, he said, "What say you my masters, supposing I was to walk into Cheapside with all this trumpery, would not the boys laugh at me?"

The last part of the ceremony of degradation is for the bishop to strike the person degraded on the breast; but Bonner's chaplain advised him not to strike Dr. Taylor, for he would surely strike again. "Yes, that I will, by St. Peter, (said the doctor) for the cause is Christ's, and I should not be a good soldier, if I did not fight my master's battles."

The bishop therefore contented himself with pronouncing a curse upon Dr. Taylor; to which the doctor answered, you may curse as long as you please, but I am confident God will support me: I have the witness of a good conscience, that I am standing in

^{*} Superstition had been brought to such an height in the reign of Henry I. that the clergy got themselves exempted from corporal punishments; but his grandson Henry II. in the constitutions of Clarendon, got it ordained that the clergy should suffer the same punishments as the laity; and therefore the clergy, that it might not be said that a priest suffered death, always degraded him before execution.

defence of the truth; whereas you dare not say that you are doing so; but I will pray for you."

When he was brought up to his chamber, he told Mr. Bradford that he had made the bishop of London afraid; "for (said he) his chaplain advised him not to strike me, lest I should strike him again, which I made him believe I would, although I never intended to do so."

To strike an enemy is strictly forbidden in the gospel; but had even Dr. Taylor been so unguarded as to strike the bishop, it could only have been imputed to the ignorance which at that time prevailed, even over the minds of pious men.

The night after he was degraded, his wife with his son Thomas came to see him; and such was the good nature of the keeper that he permitted them to go into his apartment to sup with him. Thus he found a great difference between the keeper of the bishop's prison and the keeper of the Compter. The bishop's keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannical, like their master; but the keepers of the king's prisons, for the most part, shewed as much favour as could be granted to those whom they had in custody. John Hull, the servant, came with the wife and son of Dr. Taylor; and at their first coming in they all kneeled down and prayed.

After supper the doctor walked two or three times across the room, blessing God that he had singled him out to bear witness to the truth, as it is in Jesus; that he had thought him worthy to suffer for his name-sake; and turning to his son he said, "My dear son, God Almighty bless you, and give you his holy spirit, to be a true servant of Christ; to hear his word, and constantly to stand by the truth all thy life long; and my son, see that thou fear God always; flee from all sin and wicked living; be virtuous; attend closely to your book, and pray to God sincerely. In all things that are lawful, see that thou be obedient to thy mother; love her and serve her; be ruled and directed by her now in thy youth, and follow her good council in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but indulge their vain appetites and lusts. Fly from whoredom, and abhor all filthy living; remembering that I, thy father, am to die in defence of holy marriage.

"Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is to be rich in alms; and when thy mother is far advanced in years, forsake her not, but provide for her according to thy abilities, and see that she want for nothing. And God will bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth, and prosperity, for which now, upon my knees, I pray through the merits of Jesus Christ."

Then turning to his wife, he said, "My dear wife, continue stedfast in the faith, fear, and love of God. Keep yourself undefiled from popish idolatries and superstition. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me; for which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, my dear, but God will reward you. Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock bond towards me: therefore I will give you my council that I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry; for, doubtless, you will not of yourself be able to support our dear children; nor be out of trouble till you are married. Therefore, as soon as Providence shall point out some pious, honest man, whom you think will support the poor children, be sure to marry him, and live in the fear of God; but by all means avoid idolatry and superstition."

Having said these words, he fell down and prayed for his family; and then he gave his wife an English prayer-book, as set forth by king Edward VI. and unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing a collection of sentiments from the writings of the primitive fathers, relating to the courage and constancy of the ancient martyrs.

The reader who will attend to the conduct of this dying martyr will find that there is something in true religion far superior to deception. In the primitive times it was common for the martyrs, previous to their sufferings, to converse with their friends, and also

to write epistles to the churches at a distance. Some of those epistles are still extant, and we know that they were frequently read in the churches afterwards: but no eloquence can exceed that of Dr. Taylor's, when he took leave of his wife and son. How sweetly do the expressions flow from the heart? What a manly dignity under sufferings? What resignation to the will of God? And what a firm trust in divine Providence? Here was grace triumphing over human nature, and the soul showing its native splendour, although confined within a mortal body.

The next morning, which was the fifth day of February, the sheriff of London, attended by his officers, came to the Compter, and took Dr. Taylor to the Woolpack, near Aldgate; and this was only two in the morning. His wife, having some suspicion that he was to be taken out that morning, waited all night in the church of St. Botolph, near Aldgate, having with her a poor orphan girl, whom the doctor had brought up, and one of her own children. When the sheriff and his company came opposite Botolph church, the orphan girl cried out, "O, my dear father! Mother, mother, here is my father led out." Then Mrs. Taylor cried out, "Rowland! Rowland! Where art thou!" for the morning was extremely dark. To this Dr. Taylor answered, "Here I am, but I am confined." The sheriff's officers wanted to hurry him away; but the sheriff, who had more humanity, ordered them to let him speak with his wife.

She then came to him, when taking his wife and daughter, with the orphan girl by the hands, he kneeled down, and prayed with them; which the sheriff, and the other people present then saw they shed tears. Prayers being over, he rose up, and taking his wife by the hand bid her have good comfort, for he had a clear conscience. God, said he, will provide a father for my children, but let them be stedfast in the faith. To which his wife answered, God be with you, my dear Rowland and I will, with his grace, meet you at Hadley.

He was then put into a chamber, with four of the yeomen of the guard, and the sheriffs officers. As soon as he entered the chamber he fell down, and gave himself wholly up to prayer. There the sheriff, seeing his wife, told her that she must not speak to her husband; but that she might go to his house, and he would provide for her, so as she should not want for any thing. To this she answered that she would rather go to her mother's house, and two officers were sent to conduct her thither. This part of the sheriff's conduct seems to have arisen from principles of humanity; for what man can see a wife and children weeping beside a father and husband condemned for a disputable offence, without shedding a tear of compassion?

Dr. Taylor remained at the Woolpack till eleven in the forenoon, when the sheriff of Essex came to receive him, and they prepared to set out on horseback. As they came out of the gate of the inn, John Hull, his old servant, whom we have mentioned before, was there waiting, having with him Dr. Taylor's son Thomas; John lifted up the boy that he might see his father, and then set him on the horse before him. Dr. Taylor taking off his hat, said, "Good people this is my own son, begotten in lawful wedlock, and I bless God for lawful matrimony." He then lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the boy's head, and blessed him. After this he delivered him to John Hull, whom he shook by the hand and said, "Thou hast been the faithfulest servant I ever had."

The procession then set out on the Essex road; but when they came near Brentwood, one Arthur Taisie, who had been formerly a servant with Dr. Taylor, not knowing he had been condemned, came up and shook hands with him, for he thought he had been at liberty. The sheriff told him that he was not, but that he was his prisoner.

When they arrived at Brentwood, they made a close hood for Dr. Taylor, having two holes for his eyes, and one for his mouth to breathe at. They did this, that no man should know him or speak to him; which practice they frequently used with others. The evidence of their own conscience convinced them that they were

leading innocent people to the slaughter. Guilt creates fear, and thus does Satan reward his vassals.

All the way Dr. Taylor was as joyful as if he had been going to take the possession of an estate; and indeed, how could it be otherwise? He knew he was suffering for the faith, and that the truth was able to support him. Perhaps this devout martyr had thoughts to the following import in his mind;

> When torments bear the spirit down, Or virtue lies distrest, Beneath some proud oppressor's frown, Thou grantest the mourners rest.

He knows the pains his servants feel, He hears his children cry; And their last wishes to fulfil, His grace is ever nigh.

At Chelmsford they were met by the sheriff of Suffolk, who was to take him into that county to be executed. While they were at supper, the sheriff of Essex laboured earnestly with him to return to the popish religion. He told him, "that as he was a man of universal learning, so his death would be great loss to the nation." The sheriff, whatever his own opinions were, said a great deal to Dr. Taylor, and falling before him on his knees, with the tears running down his cheeks, earnestly begged of him to recant his opinions, and be reconciled to the church, promising that he and all his friends would procure his pardon.

Dr. Taylor then took the cup in his hand, and looking forward to the company, particularly to the sheriff of Essex, said, "I heartily thank you for your good will: I have hearkened to your words, and minded well your councils: and to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many in Hadley of their expectations." At these words the whole company clapped their hands with joy: "God bless you (said the sheriff of Essex) keep to that, it is the most comfortable word we have heard from you. Why should you cast away yourself? Play a wise man's part, and then I am certain you will find favour." Upon this Dr. Taylor told him, "That there were a great number of worms in Hadley church-yard, who would have had the feasting, which no doubt they wished for many a day; but I know I am deceived, said he, and the worms are so too, for my body is to be burned to ashes, and they will lose their feast."

When the sheriff and his companions heard him say this, they were amazed at his constancy; for the nearer his sufferings approached, the more he was strengthened to endure them. Such, indeed, was the case with our Redeemer: when he viewed that enormous load of sin he was to make an atonement for; when he felt his father's wrath beginning to be inflicted upon him, he sweated, as it were, great drops of blood; but when led forth, and nailed to the cross, he looked round with complacency, and convinced the spectators that the glory of God had shone through human nature.

Just in the same manner has the case of the martyrs been in all ages and nations. Human nature might, at first, shudder, and shrink back at the thoughts of sufferings; but constancy encreased as the fiery trial drew near. The ways of God are not like those of men.

This was the case with Dr. Taylor. When he came within two miles of Hadley, he desired to alight from his horse to make water, which done, he leaped two or three times, as men do at country scenes of diversion. The sheriff being surprized, asked him what he meant by acting in that manner? His answer was, "Good Mr. Sheriff, I am almost at home." When he was arrived at Aldham Common, the place where he was to be burnt, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and thanked God that the last struggle was come, and he hoped he should be enabled to go through with it.

He tore the hood from his face, that he might be seen by the numerous spectators, many of whom had formerly been his parishioners. He then began to speak to the people who were praying for him; but the officers thrust sticks into his mouth, and threatened to cut his tongue out, unless he would promise to keep silence at the place of execution. When he had prayed he kissed the stake, and set himself into a barrel filled with pitch, which had been placed for that purpose. Fire being set to the pitch, Dr. Taylor continued praying in the most devout manner, till one of the officers, more humane than the rest, knocked out his brains with a halbert; which put an end to his misery.

We have here an instance of popish superstition, in some respects more violent than any we have yet taken notice of. Dr. Taylor was not only a pious man, but he had been, for his knowledge of the canon and civil laws, long esteemed as the glory of Cambridge. He had, from his distinguished abilities, confuted the chancellor in his arguments concerning the marriage of the clergy; and indeed, in all other respects he was so well acquainted with the ancient fathers that he was with great propriety called "The Walking Library."

But no mercy is to be shewn where religious rancour takes place. There is something in all such persecutions that shuts up the bowels of compassion, even towards the nearest relations. Civil persecutors may have some compassion, but those who persecute from erroneous notions of religion are generally strangers to every tender sensation.

CHAP. V.

Containing an Account of various Persons who Suffered Martyrdom for the Truth of the Gospel, in Different Parts of England, from the Persecution of Rowland Taylor, to that of Archbishop Cranmer.

THOMAS TOMKINS, the first person we have to mention on the bloody list contained in this chapter, was by trade a weaver, and lived, with great reputation, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch. Being accused of heresy, he was summoned before that merciless persecutor, bishop Bonner, who confined him, with many others, in his palace at Fulham.

During his imprisonment he was treated by the bishop in a manner not only unbecoming a prelate, but a man: he several times beat him with a distinguished cruelty, and tore the greatest part of his beard from his face, for no other reason but his not assenting to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Another instance of this cruel bishop's inhumanity to Mr. Tomkins was exhibited before several gentlemen who came to visit him. The bishop, finding him inflexible, took hold of him by the wrist, and held his hand over the flame of a wax candle, in order, if possible, to make him deviate from those uncorrupted truths of the gospel he had so strongly preserved. This punishment Mr. Tomkins submitted to with great fortitude, till the veins burst, and water issuing from the hand flew into the face of a bystander, who was so affected, that he requested the bishop to forbear, saying he had sufficiently punished the prisoner.

A few days after this Mr. Tomkins was brought before the bishop at his consistory court at St. Paul's, to whom he delivered the following articles of confession in writing, sealed up, and signed with his own hand: "I, Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed, and declared openly, heretofore to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief has been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not truly, and in very deed, in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven; and so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar.

And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the Catholic church, has allowed, and doth allow, the mass and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and godly thing; yet my belief has been for many years past and is at this present that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for the soul; and so I have called it many times, and take it at this present.

Having also confessed and declared to my said ordinary that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered; and also without such ceremonies as are generally used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed.

Finally, being many and oftentimes called before my said ordinary, and talking withal, touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by my said ordinary, and diverse other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counselled by them all to embrace the church, and to recant mine error, in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy, and manifest error; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises, and every

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part thereof; and in no wise recant, or go from any part of the same.

In witness whereof, I have subscribed and passed the writing, this 26th of September, 1554."

Bishop Bonner, and the rest of the tribunal, strongly pressed Mr. Tomkins to recant his errors, and return to the mother church; but he only answered, "I was born and brought up in ignorance till of late years, and now I know the truth, I will continue therein unto death."

Finding him inflexible, they declared him an heretic, and ordered the sheriff of London, who attended, to conduct him immediately to Newgate. Here he remained till the 16th of March, 1555, when he was conducted to Smithfield, and there burnt, triumphing in the midst of the flames, and adding to those martyrs who had preceded him through the path of the fiery trial to the realms of immortal glory.

WILLIAM HUNTER.

THIS pious young man was the son of poor, but honest and religious parents, who trained him up in the doctrines of the reformation, and when at a proper age put him apprentice to one Thomas Taylor, a silk-weaver, in Coleman-street, London.

On the accession of queen Mary, orders were issued to the priests of every parish to summon all their parishioners to receive the communion at mass the Easter following, when young Hunter, who was then only nineteen years of age, refusing to obey the summons, was threatened with being brought before the bishop to answer for his disobedience.

In consequence of this his master, fearful of incurring ecclesiastical censure, desired he would leave him, at least for a time; upon which he quitted his service, and went to his father at Brentwood, in Essex.

During his stay here he one day went into the chapel, and seeing the bible lay on the desk, he opened it, and began to read. Being observed by an officer of the bishop's court, he severely reprimanded him, and said, Why meddlest thou with the bible? Understandest thou what thou readest? Canst thou expound the scriptures? To which Hunter replied, "I do not presume to do it; but finding the bible here. I read it for my comfort and edification." The officer then informed a neighbouring priest of the liberty Hunter had taken in reading the bible, who immediately sent for him, and chastised him, saying, "Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read the bible, and expound it?" He answered as he had done to the officer; and on the priest's saying, it became him not to meddle with the scriptures, he frankly declared his resolution to read them as long as he lived. The priest upbraided him as an heretic; but he boldly denied the charge. Being asked his opinion concerning the corporal presence in the sacrament, he replied that he esteemed the bread and wine but as figures, and looked upon the sacrament as an institution in remembrance of the death and sufferings of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. On this the priest openly declared him an heretic, and threatened to complain of him to the bishop.

A neighbouring justice having heard that young Hunter maintained heretical principles, sent for his father to enquire the particulars. The old man told him that his son had left him, and that he knew not whither he was gone. The justice, not believing what he said, threatened to commit him to prison unless he would immediately cause his son to be apprehended, and brought before him. To this he replied, with tears in his eyes, "Would you have me seek out my son to be burned?"

The old man, however, was obliged to go (or at least pretend to do so) in quest of his son; then meeting him by accident, he asked his father if he was seeking for him; to whom the old man answered, with tears, he was, and that it was by order of the justice, who threatened to put him in prison. The son, to secure his father from any danger on his account, said he was ready to accompany him home, which he accordingly did.

The next day young Hunter was apprehended by the constable of the parish, who put him in the stocks for twenty-four hours, and then took him before the justice. On his arrival the justice called for a bible, turned to the sixth chapter of St. John, and desired him to give his opinion of the meaning of it, as it related to the sacrament of the altar.

Hunter gave the same explanation as he had done to the priest; and persisting in his denial of the corporal presence in the eucharist, the justice upbraided him with heresy, and wrote an account of his conduct to the bishop of London.

In consequence of this, young Hunter was summoned to appear at the consistory court held at St. Paul's. He accordingly attended at the time appointed, when he was severely reproved for having fallen from the Catholic faith, and exhorted to return to the same. To this he boldly answered that he had not fallen from the Catholic faith, but believed and confessed it with all his heart.

He was then desired by the bishop to recant what he had said concerning the sacrament of the altar; but he declared that by the help of God, he would still continue to persist in that faith he had hitherto maintained.

Being urged still farther, and promised that if he would recant he should go home unhurt, he said to the bishop, "My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my own conscience, I will return to my father, and dwell with him, or else with my master again, and will keep my opinion to myself."

The bishop answered, "I am content, so that thou wilt go to church, receive, and be confessed."

This Hunter peremptorily refused; upon which, after several farther efforts to bring him over, the bishop ordered him to be put in the stocks, where he continued two days and nights, having only a crust of brown bread, and a cup of water, given to him for refreshment.

At the expiration of the two days the bishop went to him, and finding the bread and water lay by him untouched, he ordered some of his servants to take him out of the stocks, and let him breakfast with them; but as he was deemed an heretic, they would not comply with the bishop's request.

After this he was repeatedly brought before the bishop, who, sometimes by soothing him, and sometimes by threats, endeavoured to bring him to a recantation; but all his efforts proved ineffectual. In consequence of this the persecuting prelate passed sentence on him, which was that he should be remanded to Newgate for a time, from whence he should be removed to Brentwood; "where (said the bishop) thou shalt be burned."

A few days after this the bishop sent for him again, and promised him preferment if he would recant: to which he replied, "My lord, I thank you for your great offer; but if you cannot enforce my recantation from scripture, I cannot, in my conscience, turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all things but dung and dross for the love of Christ."

He was then carried back to Newgate, and in a few days removed to Brentwood, where he was confined in an inn till the day of his execution. During this time he was visited by many of his neighbours and acquaintances, all of whom he exhorted to beware of popish superstition and idolatry.

On the morning of the 27th of March, 1555, the sheriff gave orders for the necessary preparations to be made for his execution. In the mean time the sheriff's son, who was his friend, visited him at the inn, and encouraged him not to fear the men who were making preparations for his death; to whom he said, that thank God, he was not in the least intimidated, for that he had cast up his account, and well knew the happy consequences that would attend his strict adherence to the cause of Christ.

A short time after this he was led from the inn to the stake, between one of the sheriff's officers and his brother Robert. In the way he was met by his father, who with tears flowing from his eyes, said to him, "God be with thee, son William." When he arrived at the place of execution, he kneeled on a faggot, and repeated the 51st Psalm, till he came to these words: *The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit, a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.* He was then interrupted by one of the officers, who told him the translation was wrong, the words being an humble spirit; but he said the translation was a contrite heart, on which he was told that the heretics translated books as they pleased.

The sheriff then produced him a letter from the queen, containing his pardon if he would recant; but he refused life on those terms, went up to the stake, and was chained to it, saying to the spectators, "Good people, pray for me, and make quick dispatch; pray for me while you see me alive, and I will pray for you."

He then took a faggot, and embraced it in his arms; and on a priest's offering him a book, said, "Away thou false prophet! Beware of him, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest ye be partakers of their plagues."

As soon as the fire was kindled, our martyr gave his prayerbook to his brother, who, to encourage him reminded him of the passion of his dear Redeemer, and bid him be of good cheer: to which he replied, "I fear neither torture nor death; Lord Jesus, receive my departing spirit!" The fire burning rapidly he was soon consumed, yielding up his life with patience and humility, to him who gave it, and in testimony of the truth of that God who cannot change, but whose word is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

On the same day that Hunter was executed, THOMAS HIGBED and THOMAS CAUSTON, two gentlemen of Essex, suffered the like fate; the former being burnt at Horndon on the Hill, and the latter at Rayleigh, both in that county.

WILLIAM PIGOT, STEPHEN KNIGHT, and JOHN LAWRENCE, the two former Laymen, and the latter a Priest.

THESE three pious Christians having been pointed out by the emissaries of Bonner and Gardiner, information was given to those savage prelates that they maintained religious opinions contrary to the doctrine and practice of the 'holy' mother-church. In consequence of this they were all three summoned to appear before bishop Bonner, at his consistory court in London, where they were severally questioned concerning their faith of the corporal presence in the sacrament.

Having respectively answered and subscribed that they were not substantially, but figuratively, the body and blood of Christ in that holy ordinance, they were severely reprimanded by the court, admonished to recant their heretical opinions, and for that time dismissed.

A few days after they were again examined concerning the same tenet, when they made the like declaration as before; in consequence of which the bishop addressed himself to the two laymen, and with an affected concern for their spiritual and temporal interests, warmly exhorted them to reject their heresies, and not expose themselves to death here, and damnation hereafter, by obstinately persisting in disobedience to the holy see; but these plain and honest Christians were too well grounded in the doctrines of Christ's pure gospel to be moved from their adherence to the true faith. They, therefore, told the bishop that they could not recant consistently with the dictates of their consciences, nor would they abjure the opinions to which they had subscribed.

After this bishop Bonner entered into argument with Lawrence, the priest, alone, and having demanded of what order he was, he answered that he was admitted to priest's orders eighteen years past, that he was some time a black friar, and that he was betrothed to a maid, whom he intended to marry.

The bishop then asked him his opinion of the corporal presence in the sacrament; to which he replied that it was an

institution of our blessed Lord, in commemoration of his death and sufferings; and that those were greatly deceived who believed that his body was verily present in the same, saying that he had long before ascended into heaven, and was placed at the right hand of the glorious majesty of the Father.

Mr. Lawrence was, for the present, dismissed; but a few days after he, with Pigot and Knight, was again summoned before the bishop, who, with his usual hypocrisy, exhorted them to recant, embrace the Roman catholic faith, and not be the wilful cause of their own destruction. But no arguments could induce them to recede in a single point; all of them declaring they would abide by their opinions, because they were founded on the word of God; whereas the other was merely of human invention.

From this frank declaration bishop Bonner proceeded to pass sentence on them as irreclaimable heretics; and then degraded Lawrence with the usual ceremonies. After which they were all three delivered to the sheriff, who conducted them to Newgate.

On the 28th of March, 1555, (the day appointed for the execution of Pigot and Knight) they were removed early in the morning to the respective places defined for their execution, the former at Braintree, and the latter at Malden, in Essex. When Knight arrived at the stake, he kneeled down, and with an audible voice, said the following prayer:

"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 when I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false god and honour thine enemy, I chuse 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 deer that is wounded desireth the foyl. Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou 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 thine element, which as to my fight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may at thy commandment (as an obedient servant) be sweet and pleasant; that through the strength of thy holy spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and this corruptible put on incorruption. Accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for thy dear Son's sake, my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering, with all my heart, and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God my 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."

Both these martyrs suffered with amazing fortitude and resignation, proving to the spectators that, as is the day of the sincere believer, so likewise will be his strength.

The next day, March 29, John Lawrence suffered at Colchester. He was carried to the place of execution in a chair,

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(being unable to walk from the pressure of the irons with which his legs were bound, and the weakness of his body from want of proper nourishment while in prison.) The chair was fastened to the stake, and he sat in it for some time, with great composure, praying to God to enable him to undergo the fiery trial; at length the faggots were lighted, and he triumphantly expired in the cause of his glorious master, in sure and certain hope of an eternal existence in heaven.

The Martyrdom of Dr. ROBERT FARRAR, Bishop of St. David's.

THE emissaries of the persecuting bishops had, for some time, fixed their eyes on this worthy and pious prelate, who, not only in the former reign, but also after the accession of Mary, had been particularly zealous in promoting the reformed doctrines, and exploding the errors of popish idolatry. Information of this being given to the bishop of Winchester, (who was then likewise lordchancellor). Dr. Farrar, with several others, was summoned to appear before him and the other commissioners, appointed for the abominable work of massacring protestants.

After some previous harangue, the bishop formally told him that the queen and parliament had restored religion to the state in which it was at the beginning of the reign of Henry VII., that he was in the queen's debt, but her majesty would cancel the same, and re-admit him to her favour, if he would return to the holy Catholic church.

Undismayed by this information, Dr. Farrar answered that with respect to the debt, he submitted it to the lord-treasurer; but his lordship might well remember that upon two former occasions he had solemnly sworn never to acknowledge the papal jurisdiction over the realm of England and therefore it was needless to rehearse what he had already so peremptorily declared.

After a long debate, Gardiner sternly demanded if he would recant, and acknowledge the papal supremacy: to which Farrar,

with a resolution becoming a true Christian and worthy bishop, expressed a degree of contempt, that his lordship should even think he would recede from an oath he had made to his maker: an oath he could not break, consistently with his duty to God, and his regard to the interest of the reformed religion in his native country.

The ambitious Gardiner was so highly incensed at this spirited behaviour in Dr. Farrar that, according to his inhuman custom, he treated him with scurrility, calling him a froward knave, and telling him that he should know his fate in a short time. To this Farrar coolly replied that he would ever readily obey his summons, but would never retract what he had solemnly sworn, at the instigation of him, or any other man whatever.

The examination being over Dr. Farrar was ordered to Newgate, where he was a short time confined, and then sent into Wales, there to receive his sentence of condemnation. On his arrival at Carmarthen he was delivered to the sheriff of the county, who took him before Henry Morgan, then bishop of St. David's, and Constantine, the public notary, by whom he was committed to the custody of the keeper of Carmarthen gaol.

A few days after his commitment to that prison, he was sent for by bishop Morgan, who exhorted him to recant, on condition of which he assured him of the queen's clemency, as well as preferment to an office of dignity in the church. But our martyr was inflexible: he would not listen to any proposals derogatory to the oath he had taken; upon which bishop Morgan asked him the two following questions:

- 1. Whether he believed the marriage of priests was allowed by the laws of the holy church?
- 2. Whether he believed that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine.

Dr. Farrar refused to answer to these questions unless the bishop produced a commission authorizing him to ask them; upon which he was remanded to prison.

At length, after various disputes with bishop Morgan, he appealed from him, as an incompetent judge, to cardinal Pole; notwithstanding which, sentence was pronounced against him as an heretic, and he was delivered over to the secular power, having been previously degraded by Morgan.

Thus, for his stedfast adherence to the uncorrupted doctrines of the reformation, and resolute denial of the papal jurisdiction in these realms, was Dr. Farrar condemned, degraded, delivered up to the secular power, and on the eve of Passion Sunday, in the bloody year 1555, executed in the Market-place of Carmarthen, amidst a numerous crowd of spectators.

The following circumstance is an evincing proof what constancy and resolution this good man possessed, and how determined he was to retain those religious principles to the last, which, during his life, he had so strongly adhered to. The son of a person of distinction, visiting him a few days before his execution, and lamenting the cruel fate that awaited him, the doctor told him that if he saw him once stir in the pains of burning, he might then give no credit to his doctrine, but look upon it as the effects of enthusiasm.

He resolutely fulfilled his promise, and greatly surprized his friend, who came to condole his fate: for he stood motionless in the midst of the flames, holding both his hands till they were burnt to the stumps, at which time one of the officers struck him on the head with a staff, and put a period to his life.

As Dr. Farrar gave many signal instances of his sincere and unshaken zeal for the honour of Christ and exaltation of his name during life, so, at his death, he suffered and expired with a degree of christian heroism at least equal to the most primitive martyrs. The Sufferings and Martyrdom of RAWLINS WHITE, a poor Fisherman of South-Wales.

TO such a height did the rage and malice of Popish persecutors arrive, during this reign, that they not only vented their fury on men of eminence and learning who espoused the protestant cause, but the poorest and most ignorant of the people who would not submit to the papal yoke were arraigned at their bloody tribunal, and put to death for no other cause but that of professing the truth expounded in the scriptures.

Rawlins White (the poor man whose sufferings we are going to relate) had been so attentive to the preaching of the gospel during the late reign, that he attained to a very competent knowledge of the holy scriptures, and became a zealous assertor of the protestant doctrines, having wholly renounced the superstition and idolatry of the popish religion, and conformed to the public worship of God, according to the English common prayer-book then set forth.

Being thus converted to the true faith of Christ, he took great pains to instruct his son in the same, causing him to read a portion of the holy scripture every night and morning, till he likewise became well grounded in the principles of true religion, as contained in the gospel. White was not only desirous of acquiring saving knowledge himself, but also of communicating it to others; insomuch that he took every opportunity of visiting his neighbours, and endeavouring to instruct those whom he found desirous of obtaining a knowledge of the truth.

He continued to practise those devout and holy exercises in a public manner, till the death of king Edward, when popery being restored and the pure religion discouraged and restrained, he used to meet privately with his friends, pray, and encourage them to hold fast to the truth. At length he was apprehended by one of the officers of the town on a suspicion of heresy, who taking him before the bishop of Landaff, he was, by that prelate, committed to prison. During his confinement, several of his friends sent him money privately; and he was visited by many, whom he instructed in the faith of Christ, and exhorted to beware of popish emissaries, as wolves in sheep's clothing.

After a long imprisonment the bishop of Landaff summoned White to appear before him, and endeavoured to bring him over to the popish idolatry and superstition; but all his exhortations proving ineffectual, he told him in anger that he must come to a resolution: either to recant his heretical opinions, or endure the rigour of the law against those who maintained tenets repugnant to the doctrines of the holy see.

On the day appointed for his examination, the bishop, in the presence of his chaplains and many of the neighbours, assembled in the chapel, declared that White was known not only to maintain heretical principles himself, but to inculcate the same amongst his acquaintances. Then addressing himself to White, he told him, that he had frequently, since his first warning, both there and in his house, been admonished to relinquish his heretical tenets, and yet had always turned a deaf ear to the most salutary advice. He added that out of clemency they had once more sent for him mildly, to endeavour to bring him to an humble sense of his errors, and assure him that, upon due penitence for the crimes he had committed, both against God and the law of his sovereign, they were disposed to shew him mercy: but that if in spite of the royal clemency and admonition of the reverend fathers, he obstinately persisted in his heresies, they were determined to execute on him the utmost severity of the law, as a most damnable heretic.

White, without the least sign of fear at the peremptory declaration of the bishop, told his lordship that he blessed God he was a Christian, and held no doctrines contrary to the divine mind and will as revealed in the scriptures of truth. If he did, he begged to be convinced of the same out of the divine word, to which he determined ever most implicitly to conform. After much more exhortation, the bishop assured him that if he would not recant, he must condemn him as an heretic. To which White replied that he might proceed as he thought proper, but that he could not condemn him as an heretic, as he did not maintain any opinion that was not supported by the word of God.

The bishop then desired the people present to join with him in prayer, that it would please God to turn White's heart, and bring him to an acknowledgement of the true religion. Our martyr applauding this behaviour of the bishop as becoming his profession, assuring him that if their request was agreeable to the divine will, God would, doubtless, hear and grant the same; and that while he was praying to his god, he (White) would pray to his God, who he knew would hear and perform his desire.

Accordingly they all went to private prayer, which being finished, the bishop asked him how he found himself disposed in his mind? He replied "The very same as before."

The bishop, incensed that no change could be wrought upon him, was ready to have read the sentence, but he was advised first to say mass, during which ceremony, White standing at the door of the choir, cried out to the populace, "Bear witness that I bow not to this idol." (meaning the host, which the priest held over his head.)

Mass being performed, he was again warmly admonished to recant, but all exhortation was ineffectual; the bishop, therefore, read the definitive sentence, after which he was carried to Cardiff, and imprisoned in a place called Cockmarel, a most filthy and loathsome dungeon, where he continued till the writ for his execution came from London.

Upon the day appointed for terminating his life, which was March 30, 1555, he was brought from prison, and in his way to the place appointed for the bloody scene, met his wife and children, wringing their hands, and most bitterly lamenting his approaching fate. This affecting sight drew tears from his eyes; but soon recollecting himself, and striking his breast with his hand he said, "Ah! Flesh, slayed thou me, wouldest thou fain prevail!" Well, do what thou canst, by God's grace thou shalt not get the victory."

As soon as he arrived at the stake, he fell on his knees and kissed the earth, saying, "Earth to earth, and dust to dust; thou art my mother, to thee I must return."

When he was fastened to the stake, and the straw reeds and wood were placed round him, a priest appointed for the purpose, stood up and harangued the spectators, who were exceeding numerous, it being market-day.

The priest, having finished his discourse, in which he inveighed against the opinion of the protestants concerning the sacrament of the altar, our martyr rebuked him, proved his doctrine to be false, and cited as his authority those words of our Lord, "Do this in remembrance of me."

The fire being kindled, he was soon surrounded by the flames, in the midst of which this good old man (for he was sixty years of age) held up his hands till the sinews shrunk, crying earnestly, "O Lord, receive my soul, O Lord, receive my spirit!" The flames were so vehement about his legs that they were almost consumed before the upper part of his body caught the fire; notwithstanding which he bore his sufferings with the greatest composure and resignation, chearfully resigning his soul into the hands of him who gave it, in sure and certain hopes of being hereafter rewarded with a crown of eternal life.

Persecution and Martyrdom of GEORGE MARSH, a Minister of the Gospel.

THIS eminent and pious divine was descended from poor, but honest and religious parents, who educated him from his earliest years in the principles of the reformed religion; so that when he arrived at manhood he was well versed in the doctrines of the pure gospel of Christ.*

^{* [}CHCoG: These protestants had rejected a number of the false teachings of the papacy, and many of them died refusing to resubmit to

At the first set off in life he followed the business of farming, and by his honest endeavours maintained his family with decency and reputation for some years: but on the decease of his wife, being disposed to study, he placed his children with his father, quitted his farm, and went to Cambridge, where he made such a progress in literature that he soon entered into holy orders.

He officiated as curate in several parishes in the county of Lancaster, kept a school at Dean, and was a zealous promoter of the true religion, as well as a vigorous opposer of the idolatries of the church of Rome during the reign of king Edward VI. But when popery raised its destructive head, he, among many others, became the object of its persecution, as one that propagated doctrines contrary to the 'infallible' church, and therefore liable to the severest censure and punishment.

Mr. Marsh, on hearing that search was made after him, absconded for some time, and in his retirement often deliberated with himself whether he should fly abroad to save his life, or surrender himself up, in order to ward off the mischief which threatened his mother and brother, who were supposed to have concealed him from the persons employed to search out heretics.

During this unsettled state of his mind, he consulted with his friends, and earnestly sought direction of God that he might be guided in the way which most conducted to his glory, and his own spiritual and eternal interest.

At length, thinking that flight would evince cowardice in the best of causes, he determined, by the grace of God, to abide by the consequence, and accordingly surrendered himself to the earl of Derby, at his seat at Latham in the county of Lancaster.

these lies, for which God will reward them. However, as noted in our Appendix, there are a number of other perversions of apostolic Christianity which they were unaware of, mostly brought in during the first few centuries after Christ's death, and which they continued to observe.]

When he was brought into the earl's presence, he was charged with propagating heresy, and sowing sedition amongst the people; but he denied the charge, and declared that he preached no other doctrine than what was contained in the word of God, and that he always enforced allegiance to his sovereign, according to the will of God.

Being asked to deliver a summary of his belief, he declared that he believed in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to the creeds of the apostles, the council of Nice, and the saints Athanasius, Austin, and Ambrose.

A Romish priest who was present then proceeded to enquire his opinion concerning the favourite tenet of the church of Rome, relating to the sacrament. Marsh answered in general, that he believed whosoever received the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, according to his own appointment, did eat and drink his body and blood, with all the benefits arising from the same, because our Lord was ever present at his own ordinances. This general reply not appearing satisfactory, they descended to particulars, and peremptorily demanded his opinion, whether or not the elements were changed into the very body and blood of Christ after consecration. Our martyr briefly observed that what he believed he had already declared, and desired them not to propose to him such hard and unprofitable questions in order to endanger his life, and as it were, to suck from him his very blood.

Incensed at this reply, the earl told him that instead of seeking his destruction, he meant to preserve his life in this world, and secure his happiness in that which is to come, by converting him from damnable errors and heresies, and bringing him over to the holy mother-church, out of which there was no salvation.

After many questions and exhortations, finding he still persevered in the faith which opposed that of the infallible church, the earl gave him pen and ink, and ordered him to write down his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar; and on his writing just what he had before delivered, he was commanded to be more particular, when he wrote only the following words: "Further I know not."

This resolute behaviour exposed him to the keenest resentment of his popish prosecutors, who committed him to prison, and suffered no one to come near him but the keeper, who brought him daily the scanty allowance of the place. Various attempts were made during his confinement, to bring him to a recantation; but as he still remained fixed and determined in his faith, they administered to him the four following articles, to which the earl declared if he would not subscribe, he should be sent to the county gaol, and proceeded against with the utmost severity.

- 1. Whether the mass now used in the church in England was according to Christ's institution, and with faith, reverence, and devotion, to be heard and seen?
- 2. Whether Almighty God, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine, after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?
- 3. Whether the lay-people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?
- 4. Whether confession to the priest now used in England was godly and necessary?"

Having retired for some time to consider of these articles, he returned, and delivered his opinion of them as follows: The first he absolutely denied. The second he answered in the very words he had before written. With respect to the third, he declared that laypeople, according to the institution of Christ, ought to receive under both kinds, and that, therefore, to receive under one kind only was not sufficient. To the last he observed that though auricular confession was a good means to instruct ignorant people, it was not necessary to salvation, because it was not commanded by God.

To these points he added that his faith in Christ, founded on the infallible word of the only living and true God, he never would deny at the instance of any living creature, or through fear of any punishment whatsoever; and moreover desired of the earl that his friends might be permitted to visit him during his confinement.

In a few days he was committed to Lancaster gaol, laid in irons, and arraigned at the bar with the common felons, where they endeavoured to extort from him information of several persons in that county whom they suspected of maintaining heretical opinions; but no means could prevail with him to utter a word that might endanger the lives or liberties of his faithful brethren in Christ.

He was severely reprimanded for reading aloud to the people (who flocked every morning and evening under the prison window) the litany and prayers of the reformed church, together with select passages of holy writ in the English tongue, which they termed preaching, and therefore, deemed criminal.

After remaining some weeks in confinement at Lancaster, he was removed to Chester, and placed in the bishop's liberty, where his lordship frequently conferred with him, and used his utmost endeavours to bring him to an acknowledgement of the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, confession, and in short, of all the tenets and practices of the church of Rome.

When the bishop found he would not assent to a single point, he remanded him back to prison; and in a few days summoned him before him in the cathedral church of Chester, where, in the presence of the mayor, chancellor, and principal inhabitants of that city, both laity and clergy, he caused him to take a solemn oath, to answer truly to such articles as might be alledged against him.

After he was sworn, the chancellor accused him of having preached and published most heretically, and blasphemously, within the parishes of Dean; Eccles, Berry, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, directly against the pope's authority, the Catholic church of Rome; the mass, and the sacrament of the altar; with many other articles. To all these charges Mr. Marsh answered in brief, that he had neither

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heretically nor blasphemously preached or published against any of the articles, but as occasion served; and as his conscience obliged him to maintain the truth as declared in God's word, and as all then present had acknowledged in the preceding reign. Being examined as to every particular article, he modestly answered, according to the doctrine publicly taught in the reign of king Edward VI.

After a confinement of three weeks longer in prison, Marsh was again brought into the cathedral, where the chancellor made a formal harangue on the bishop's care of his flock, in order to prevent infection from scabby sheep, and the like. When ended, the former articles were propounded to him; and to which he severally answered in the negative.

Being charged with having declared that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edward's time was the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true Catholic church; he acknowledged the declaration, and ratified it by a repetition.

Several persons present taking occasion to ask him, as he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England, whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, who were bishops of Rome, were not good men? He replied in the affirmative, but reminded them that they claimed no more authority in England than the archbishop of Canterbury doth in Rome.

As this observation highly reflected on the validity of the papal supremacy, the bishop was so incensed that he gave Marsh very abusive language, calling him a most damnable, irreclaimable, unpardonable heretic. In return for this, Mr. Marsh mildly expostulated with the bishop, telling him, if he could be persuaded, in his own conscience, that the articles proposed to him were founded on God's word, he would gladly yield in every point; declaring that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred every kind of heresy; and then called all present to bear witness that in the articles of religion he held no other opinion that what was by law established and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward the Sixth; and that, in such religion and doctrine, by the grace of God, he would stand, live, and die.

He was then, for the last time, asked whether he would stand to the same, being full of heresies, or forsake them, and return to the Catholic church; and on his heartily declaring he would continue stedfast and immoveable in the faith of God's word, nor ever return to any church that was not founded on scripture authority, the bishop began to read his sentence of condemnation, but was interrupted by the chancellor, in order to give him yet an opportunity of recanting.

He resolutely withstood the earnest entreaties of several people who desired him to accept of the proffered mercy; nor could even the repeated exhortations of the bishop and chancellor prevail with this eminent servant of Christ; to deny his Lord and master, and submit to the usurpation of cruel, tyrannical men.

All endeavours proving ineffectual, the bishop proceeded in passing sentence, which being ended, Marsh was delivered up to the sheriffs, who conveyed him to the Northgate prison, where he was confined in a dungeon till the day of his execution.

On the 4th of April, 1555, this firm believer was led to the place appointed for the bloody scene, amidst a crowd of lamenting spectators. It was near a village called Spittle-Boughton, at a small distance from Chester. As soon as he arrived at the place, the chamberlain of that city shewed him a box containing the queen's pardon, on condition that he would recant. Our martyr coolly answered that he would gladly accept the same, (for he loved the queen) but as it tended to pluck him from God, who was King of kings, and Lord of lords, he could not receive it on such terms.

Then turning to the spectators, he told them the cause of the cruel death which awaited him, and exhorted them to remain stedfast in the faith of Christ; which done, he kneeled on the ground, directed his prayer to God, for strength equal to the fiery trial, arose, and was chained to the stake, having a number of

faggots under him, and a cask full of pitch and tar hanging over his head.

As soon as he was chained to the stake, he again addressed himself earnestly in prayer to God; the substance of which may be thus expressed;

> Descend from heav'n, immortal dove, Stoop down, and take me on thy wings, And mount, and bear me far above The reach of all inferior things.

O for a swift, a pleasing sight! Of my Almighty Father's throne! There sits my Saviour, crown'd with light, Cloath'd in a body soon like my own.

Adoring saints around him stand, And thrones and pow'rs before him fall; The God shines gracious thro' the man, And sheds sweet glories on them all.

The fire being kindled, he suffered, for a considerable time, the most exquisite torture, his flesh being so broiled and puffed up that those who stood before him could not see the chain with which he was fastened. At length, with the utmost fortitude, he spread forth his arms, and said, with a voice to be universally heard by the spectators, "Father of heaven, have mercy upon me." Soon after which he yielded up his spirit into the hands of him who gave it.

Thus died, in confirmation of the gospel of Christ, a sincere believer, raising, by his patient resignation, the wonder and astonishment of all that saw him suffer, the greater part of whom cried out with ecstasy, "Of a truth God is with him."

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This pious Christian, during the course of his confinement, wrote the particulars of his respective examinations before his bloody persecutors; as also a great number of letters to different people, among which we shall copy the following:

A Letter from Mr. Marsh, to several of his Friends; immediately after the Close of his last Examination.

"HERE you have, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of Christian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, professed, and taught, and as vet do believe, profess, and teach; and am surely purposed, by God's grace, to continue in the same until the last day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out, at large, the probations, causes, parts, and effects of these articles; which whoso desireth to know, let them read over The Common Places of the pious learned men Philip Melancthon and Erasmus Sarcerius, whose judgment in these matters of religion I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord gives us understanding in all things, and delivers us from this evil world, according to his will and pleasure, and brings us again out of this hell of affliction, into which it has pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down: and delivers us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keeps us unto his everlasting and heavenly kingdom, Amen.

"Though Satan be suffered, as wheat, to sift us for a time, yet our faith faileth not through Christ's aid, but that we are, at all times, able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, and that with meekness and reverence having a good conscience; and whereas they

backbite us as evil-doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused our good conversation in Christ. I thought myself now, of late years, for the cares of this life well settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates. I do confess it; but the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me: whose death was a painful cross to my flesh.

"Also I thought myself now of late well placed under my most loving and most gentle Mr. Laurence Saunders, in the cure of Langhton. But the Lord, of his great mercy, would not suffer me long there to continue (although for the small time I was in his vinevard, I was not an idle workman.) But he has provided me, I perceive it, to taste of a far other cup: for by violence has he yet, once again, driven me out of that glorious Babylon, that I should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most dearly beloved disciples to have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his son Jesus Christ: the glory of whose church, I see it well, standeth not in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glittering of mitres and copes, neither in the shining of gilt images and lights (as the blind papists do judge it) but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his namesake

"God, at this present, here in England has his fan in his hand and after his great harvest, where into these years past he has sent his labourers, is now sifting the corn from the chaff, and purging his floor, and ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

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"Take heed and beware of the leaven of the scribes. and of the sadducees: I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, which, with their glosses, deprave the scriptures: for, as the apostle St. Peter doth teach us, 'There shall be false teachers amongst us, which privily shall bring in damnable sects and faith, that many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of and that, through covetousness, they shall, with feigned words, make merchandize of us;' and Christ earnestly warneth us to 'beware of false prophets, which come to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them.' The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are we Christians taught that we should try the preachers, and others, that come under a colour, to set forth true religion unto us; according to the saying of St. Paul, 'Try all things, and chuse that which is good.' Also the evangelist, St. John, saith; 'Believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits, whether they be of God or not; for many false prophets (said he) are gone out into the world.' Therefore, if thou wilt know the true prophets from the false, try their doctrine by the true touchstone, which is the word of God; and as the pious Bereans did, 'Search ye the scriptures, whether those things which be preached unto you, be even so or not' or else by the outward conversation of them, ye may easily be deceived "

A Letter from Mr. Marsh to a Friend unknown.

"GRACE be with you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jesus the Lord.

"After hearty commendations, and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving letters, full of consolation to me, as touching my person, to you unknown: these shall be to certify you, that I rejoice greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my sweet Saviour Christ doth stir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in time past, but also of sundry and diverse, heretofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and costly imprisonment, sending me things not only necessary for this present life, but also comfortable letters, encouraging and exhorting me to continue grounded and established in the faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, according to my small talent, I have been a minister; and daily I call and cry unto the Lord, in whom is all my trust. And without whom I can do nothing: that he, which has begun a work in me, would vouchsafe to go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ, being surely certified in my conscience of this, that he will do so, forasmuch as he has given me, that not only I should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. The Lord strengthen me with his holy spirit, that I may be one of the number of those blessed, which enduring to the end, shall be saved.

"And whereas you say, that my suffering of persecution with Christ is a thing to you most comfortable, I make answer that in all mine adversity and necessity, nothing on your behalf is greater consolation unto me, than to hear of the faith and love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the apostle reporteth by the Thessalonians, saying, 'Now are we alive, if ye stand stedfast in the Lord.' For my trust in the Lord is that

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this my business shall happen to the furtherance of the gospel, and that you will be not of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, whereof some being but way-side hearers, the devil cometh, and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved, (but let prayer be made without ceasing, by the congregation, unto God for them) and no doubt God will, to your consolation, gloriously deliver, by one means or other, his oppressed. Only tarry ye the Lord's leisure; be strong, let your heart be of good comfort, and wait ye still for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come; look for him, therefore, and faint not, and he will never fail you.

Yours,

GEORGE MARSH."

A Daily Prayer used by George Marsh.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, who art the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners, trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open into thee the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks, knots, and cores, all which thou knowest: for thou thoroughly perceivest, as well the inward lusts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as those gross outward sins, which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity. although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumcise our stoney hearts, and for these old hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new spirit, and water us, and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual water, whereby the inward venom, and noisom juice of the flesh, may be dried up, and the custom of the old man changed; and our heart, always bringing forth thorns and briars, to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits, in righteousness and holiness, unto life everlasting, Amen."

"Beloved among other exercises, I do daily, on my knees; use this confession of sins, willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge, unfeignedly, to God your unbelief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him. This shall ye do, if ye will diligently consider, and look at yourselves first in the pure glass of God's commandments, and there see your outward filthiness and uncleanness, and so learn to vanquish the same, that is to wit, fall in hearty displeasure against sin, and thereby be provoked to long after Christ, for we truly are sinners; but he is just, and the justifier of all them that believe on him.

"We are poor, but he is rich in mercy towards all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirst for righteousness, let us resort unto his table, for he is a most liberal feast-maker. He will set before us his own holy body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious blood, which was shed for us, and for many, for the remission of sins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for guests which hunger and thirst. Come (saith he) all ye that labour, and are laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest unto your souls."

Account of the Martyrdom of WILLIAM FLOWER, who, for striking a Priest, had his right hand cut off; and was afterwards burnt, for his stedfast Adherence to the Truth. WILLIAM FLOWER was born at a place called Snow-hill, in the county of Cambridge. He was educated in the Roman catholic persuasion; and being brought up to the church, when, at a proper age, he was admitted into orders, and became a professed monk in the abbey of Ely.

After residing some time in the monastery, he threw off the monkish habit, became a secular priest, returned to the place of his nativity, and officiated, for some years, in a clerical capacity.

In process of time, on a serious review of the sacred scriptures, and candid comparisons of them with the doctrines and practices of the Romish church, he began to doubt the authenticity of the latter; and on a farther inspection, finding them wholly repugnant to the word of God, and founded on the mere inventions of men, he abjured them, and earnestly embraced the doctrines of the reformation.

After having thus departed from the Romish church, he came to London, and took up his residence at Lambeth, where he married; and kept a school for his livelihood.

Going one day from Lambeth to Westminister, he went into St. Margaret's church at the time that mass was performing. As he refused to kneel at the elevation of the host, he was severely reprimanded by the priest; at which Flower was so irritated that he struck him on the head, the priest having, at the same time, in his hand a chalice containing some consecrated wafers. As his behaviour, on this occasion, proceeded rather from rash zeal than well-grounded knowledge, he submitted himself to the award of bishop Bonner, willing to endure, for his folly, whatever punishment he should think proper, to inflict.

The bishop would have mitigated his punishment for the crime he had committed on the priest, if he would have subscribed to the popish faith; but that he would not consent to on any terms whatever; in consequence of which he was committed a prisoner to the Gatehouse. After remaining some time in prison, he was brought before the bishop, who administered to him, on oath, several articles. But not answering satisfactorily to these, he was committed to the Fleet-prison, where he was brought before the warden, and found guilty of abusing a priest in the duty of his office, and also of maintaining damnable heresies.

He was again brought before the bishop, who used the most forcible arguments to induce him to recant; but these all proving ineffectual, he asked him, if he knew any matter, or cause, why sentence should not be pronounced against him as an heretic? To which he answered, "I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said unto you all that I had to say; and that I have said I will not go from; and therefore, do what you will."

The bishop then proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him as an heretic: after which he was degraded, and delivered over to the secular power.

The 24th of April was the day appointed for his execution, and the place St. Margaret's churchyard, Westminster. On the morning of the fatal day he was led to the stake, amidst a prodigious number of spectators. Immediately, on his arrival at the place, he knelt down, and prayed to God, acknowledging his faith, as follows: "O eternal God, most mighty and merciful father, who hast sent down thy son upon the earth, to save me, and all mankind; who ascended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, in whom I confess only to be all salvation and justification, and that there is no other means, nor way, nor holiness, in which, or by which, any man can be saved in this world. This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of."

He then repeated the Lord's prayer very deliberately, and with an audible voice; after which he arose, and prepared himself for undergoing his destined punishment. A Romish priest, who was present, desired him to recant his heresy, and thereby save his life: to whom he said. "Sir, I beseech you, for God's sake to be contented; for that I have said, I have said; and I trust to the living God, he will give me his holy spirit to continue to the end."

He then desired all the world to forgive him, whom he had offended, as he, from his heart, forgave all the world.

This done, he was chained to the stake, and his left hand fastened to his side. The other hand with which he had struck the priest was then held up, and cut off, the blood plentifully gushing from the wrist; which punishment he bore without the least apparent emotion. The faggots were then piled round him, and being immediately kindled, he cried out, with a loud voice, "O the Son of God, have mercy upon me; O the Son of God, receive my soul." These words he repeated three times, when the violence of the smoak took away his speech; but he still shewed the spectators that he was not yet deprived of life, by holding up the arm from whence the hand had been cut, with the other, as long as he was able. There not being a sufficiency of faggots, he underwent great torture, the lower parts being consumed a considerable time before the others were scarcely affected. At length, however, they finished his miseries, by striking him a violent blow on the head, which brought the upper part of him into the fire; and in this dreadful manner he yielded up his life.

The Sufferings and Martytdoms of JOHN CARDMAKER, Priest; and JOHN WARNE, Upholder.

JOHN CARDMAKER was educated in the Romish religion, and for some years was a friar of the order of St. Francis. After the dissolution of religious houses by Henry VIII. he attended with such diligence to the preaching and writings of pious and learned divines that he became a convert to the protestant faith, obtained a living in the reformed church, and was an eminent preacher of the gospel.

In the reign of Edward VI. he was appointed reader at St. Paul's, and prebendary of Wells, in which functions he continued indefatigable, till the accession of queen Mary, when he was apprehended, together with the bishop of Wells, and committed to the Fleet, though the laws of king Edward were then in full force.

When the papal supremacy and jurisdiction prevailed in England and bishops had authority, by virtue of the statute *ex officio*, to proceed against heretics, Cardmaker was removed from the Fleet to the Compter, where he contracted an acquaintance with Lawrence Saunders, (already mentioned) by whom he was animated and encouraged to continue stedfast to his faith and professon.

In process of time, he was summoned to appear before the arrogant and cruel Bonner, who alledged against him diverse charges, which, with Cardmaker's answers, were as follow:

1. That after his professing the Roman catholic religion, and entering into holy orders, he took a wife, and had by her a female child, thereby breaking his vow, and the order and ordinance of the church.

The first part of this charge he allowed, but denied his having broken any vow by this marriage; because he was allowed to marry both by the laws of the realm, and also by the laws of the church of England.

2. That he believed and taught, and did still believe that in the sacrament of the altar, under the visible signs, that is, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and natural body of our Saviour Christ.

He replied that he had believed and taught it as contained in this article, but he did not then so believe and teach.

3. That the belief of the Catholic church is that having the body and blood of Christ, really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to have, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, the body and blood of Christ there invisibly, but really present under the same sacrament, and to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ.

The whole of this he denied.

4. That it may stand well together, the faith of the Catholic church is that the body of Christ is visible and truly ascended into heaven; and there is, in the visible form of his humanity; and yet the same body, in substance, is invisibly, and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar.

All this he denied as absurd and unscriptural.

5. That Christ, at his last supper, taking bread into his hands, breaking, and giving it to his apostles, saying, "Take, eat, this is my body," did institute a sacrament there, willing that his body, really and only, should be contained in the said sacrament; no substance of bread and wine there remaining."

To the first part he assented, but denied the latter part; and to these his answers he subscribed his name.

For persisting in these answers he was condemned, and sent to Newgate, where he was visited by a messenger from the council, to know whether or not he would recant. He told the messenger that since God, of his mercy, had opened his eyes to see his eternal truth, he had called upon his name to give him his grace to understand his word, and was determined, by the aid of the same grace, to continue stedfast in the same.

After some debate concerning the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the messenger, finding Cardmaker inflexible in his opinion, departed, and acquainted the council with the result of his message.

JOHN WARNE (fellow-martyr with Cardmaker) was by trade an upholder, and lived in the parish of Walbrook, with great credit and reputation, being a very pious and conscientious man.

As all who professed the protestant faith, in these persecuting times were liable not only to molestation in the performance of

religious duties, but also to be arraigned at the bloody tribunal of the relentless Bonner. Warne, among the rest, was suspected of heresy, brought before the bishop, and had the following articles laid to his charge:

- 1. That he believed that in the sacrament, called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.
- 2. That he believed that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ, but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, and that the said bread is no ways altered and changed.
- 3. That he believed that if the Catholic church doth believe and teach, there is in the mass (now used in England and in other places of Christendom) a sacrifice, wherein there is a sacrament concerning the body and blood of Christ, really and truly, then that belief and faith of the church is nought, and against God's truth and the scripture.
- 4. That neither in Lent past, not any time since the queen's reign, he had been at church, nor heard mass, nor had been confessed, nor had received the sacrament of the altar; and said that he was not sorry for the same, because his conscience was not defiled, as it would otherwise have been.

Warne underwent several examinations, in the presence of different persons on these articles; at all of which he declared that he did believe and confess the same to be true. At length, the bishop of London having frequently warned him to abjure his heretical tenets, and return to obedience to the church of Rome, but all without effect, the definitive sentence was pronounced, when he was delivered up to the sheriffs, and sent to Newgate. While these two martyrs were in prison, some of the popish emissaries had spread a report that they intended to recant, which occasioned the following:

Letter from Mr. Cardmaker to his Friend.

"THE peace of God be with you. You shall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as some men do report of me, but as ready to give my life as any of my brethren that are gone before me, although by a policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth unto me, and shall shortly appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine assistance, as I doubt not but he will commend me to my friend, and tell him no less.

Thus the Lord strengthen you, me, and all his elect: my riches and poverty are as they were wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in poverty as well as riches, for that I account now to be very riches.

Thus fare ye well in Christ. Salute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with some of my adversaries, learned men, and I find that they be but sophists and shadows."

On the 30th of May, 1555, these two martyrs were conducted, under a strong guard, from Newgate to Smithfield, the place appointed for their execution.

As soon as they arrived at the stake, Warne began his prayer, which having finished, he prepared himself for the fiery trial. While Warne was at prayers, Cardmaker was discoursing with the sheriffs, insomuch that the friends of the reformation feared he would recant; but these apprehensions soon subsided, for after his conference with the sheriffs, and a short prayer, he courageously went to the stake, took his fellow sufferer by the hand, comforted him, and submitted to be bound.

When the people beheld this they were greatly rejoiced, as it totally removed their fearful apprehensions that they would recant; and they exclaimed, with the most distinguished satisfaction, "God be praised, the Lord strengthen ye, the Lord Jesus receive your spirits."

The executioner having set fire to the faggots, they burnt with great rapidity, and the two martyrs soon passed through the flames to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory, prepared for the true soldiers of Christ in his blessed kingdom.

On the same day these two martyrs suffered in Smithfield, JOHN ORDELEY and JOHN SIMPSON were burnt in Essex; the former at Rayleigh, and the latter at Rochford.

The Life and Martyrdom of THOMAS HAWKES.

THOMAS HAWKES was the son of reputable and pious parents, who gave him a good education, and brought him up in the reformed religion. He strictly adhered to his religious principles; so that finding the gospel, after the death of king Edward, began to decline, (especially among great families, in one of which he lived) he quitted his service, and returned home, where he hoped quietly to enjoy the worship of God, according to the dictates of his own conscience.

In these expectations, however, he soon found himself disappointed. As there was now popish emissaries in every corner, laying in wait to give information if any one was only suspected of favouring the doctrines of the reformation, Hawker was apprehended, and brought before the earl of Oxford, (in whose service he had formerly lived) for being unsound in religion, and contemning the sacraments of the church, in that he had kept a son unbaptized three weeks, because he would not suffer him to be baptized after the popish manner.

The earl referred him to bishop Bonner, to whom having written that he had refused to have his child baptized according to the order of the church now in use; he left him to his lordship's discretion.

When Hawkes was brought before the bishop, he was asked the cause of keeping the child unbaptized so long; to which he returned for answer that he was bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God. The bishop then urged that baptism being a sacrament contained in the word of God, and incumbent on every Christian, he was consequently criminal in denying, or not conforming to the same. To this he said, that he, by no means, denied God's institution, but men's invention therein; such as the use of oil, cream, spittle, salt, candle, &c.

After much debate on the subject, the bishop asked him if he would have his child baptized according to the service-book set out in the reign of Edward VI. To which he replied that it was the very thing he desired from his soul. This, however, was but mere equivocation to learn his sentiments, for it appeared in the sequel that Bonner's drift was to compel him to submit to the superstitions of the church of Rome, which, however, with all his artifice, he was not able to effect.

The bishop, with several others, held various conferences with Hawkes, concerning his belief of the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, the holy creed, holy water, and other ceremonies of the church of Rome: but these also he rejected, as he had done that of baptism, because they were contrary to the word of God, by which alone he was determined to be guided and directed in all matters of faith and religion; nay, he boldly told them all that he would not credit them in any thing but what they could prove from the holy scriptures.

At length Bonner, finding he could by no means prevail with him to recant his opinions and submit to the church of Rome, sent him prisoner to the Gate-house, in Westminster, commanding the

keeper to confine him closely, nor permit any person to converse with him.

During his confinement, various methods were used to bring him over to recant, such as conversation, reading to him, taking him to hear sermons, and the like; but all proved ineffectual; his constant answer to all who spoke to him on that subject being, "I am no changling."

Bonner, incensed at his stedfastness, told him, he should find him no changling neither, and immediately went out and wrote the following paper, "I, Thomas Hawkes, do here confess and declare, before my ordinary, Edmund bishop of London, that the mass is abominable, detestable and full of all superstition; and also concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, (commonly called the sacrament of the altar) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven. This I have believed and this I do believe."

Bonner ordered Hawkes to subscribe to this paper; but he refused to set his name to what he had not written himself; upon which the haughty prelate struck him on the breast, declaring at the same time, that he would severely chastise all such proud and disobedient knaves.

A few days after this the bishop summoned him, with several others, to appear publicly in the consistory court at St. Paul's, where the several articles alledged against him, together with the bill of confession, were read to him, to all which he firmly abided.

They then strongly exhorted him to recant, that they might not be obliged to pass the solemn sentence upon him. To which he replied that if he had an hundred bodies he would suffer them all to be torn to pieces, rather than abjure the faith of Christ's gospel.

On his thus stedfastly persevering in the faith which he professed, the bishop read the sentence of condemnation against him and five others; after which he was sent back to prison, where he remained till June following, when he was delivered into the hands of lord Rich, who caused him to be conveyed to Chelmsford, and from thence to Coxall, in Essex, where he was burned on the 10th of the same month.

Mr. Hawkes gave many pious exhortations, and godly admonitions, to his friends who came to visit him; and several of them requesting, if it was possible, that he would shew them some token by which might appear the possibility of burning without repining. He promised, by the help of God, to shew them that the most exquisite torments were to be endured in the glorious cause of Christ and his gospel, the comforts of which were able to lift the believing soul above all that men or devils could inflict.

Accordingly, it was agreed between them that if the rage of pain was tolerable, he should lift up his hands towards heaven before he gave up the ghost.

A short time after this agreement, he was led to the place of execution, where being fastened to the stake with a chain, he addressed the multitude, and especially lord Rich, reasoning with him on the iniquity and dreadful consequences of shedding the innocent blood of the saints.

Having fervently prayed to Almighty God, the flames were kindled around him, and he continued in them so long that his speech was taken away by their violence; his skin was contracted, and the spectators thought he was dead, when on a sudden, and contrary to all expectation, this eminent and zealous servant of God, mindful of the promise he had made to his friends, held his hands flaming over his head, and as if in an ecstasy of joy, clapped them thrice together.

The astonished multitude testified their approbation of his faith and patience, and his friends, to whom he made the promise, were exceedingly confirmed in the most holy faith, by being eyewitnesses to the power of divine strength, which is able to support the servants of God, under every trial that may befall them, for the sake of the truth, as it is in our Blessed Redeemer.

While Mr. Hawkes was in confinement, he wrote a great number of letters to different people, and among them, one to his

wife, which so strongly displays the tender husband and pious Christian, and we shall preserve a copy of it.

A Letter from Mr. Hawkes to his Wife.

GRACE be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins, to deliver us from this present evil world, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever; Amen.

My dear yoke fellow in the Lord, forasmuch as the Lord has not only called me to work in his vineyard, but has also fulfilled his good work in me, (I trust to his glory, and to the comfort of all those that look for his coming) I thought it my duty, dear yoke-fellow, to write unto you some lessons out of God's book, and if you will direct yourself hereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refuseth none that will come to him with their whole heart, will assist you with his holy spirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his honour and glory, who grant it for his mercy sake. Amen.

First, I exhort you to fear God, to serve and honour his holy name, to love him with all your heart, soul and mind, to believe faithfully all his promises, to lay sure hold upon them, that in all your troubles, whatsoever they are, you may run straight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you out of them, and keep you within his wings; then shall ye be sure that neither devil, flesh, nor hell, shall be able to hurt you.

But take heed; if you will not keep his holy precepts and laws, and to the uttermost of your power call for the help of God to walk in the same, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked world, and do as they do; then be sure to have your part with the wicked world, in the burning lake

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that never shall be quenched. Therefore beware of idolatry, which doth most of all, stink before the face of Almighty God, and was, by all good men, most detested from the beginning of the world. For which, what kingdoms, nations, and realms, God has punished with most terrible plagues, with fire, brimstone, hunger, sword, pestilence, &c. to the utter subversion of them; it is manifestly to be seen through the whole bible. Yea, his own peculiar people, whom he had done so much for, when they fell from him, and went and served other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly destroyed and rooted them out from off the earth: and as many as died in that damnable state, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them into the pit of hell.

Again, how he has preserved those that abhor superstition and idolatry, and that have only taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to serve him, to love him, and to fear him, &c. It is most manifestly to be seen, even from the beginning, out of what great dangers he has always delivered them: yea, when all hope of deliverance was past, as touching their expectation, even then, in the sight of all his enemies, would he work his godly will and purpose, to the utter amazing and destruction of all those that were his manifest enemies.

Further, I exhort you, in the bowels of Christ, that you will exercise and be stedfast in prayer; for prayer is the only means to pierce the heavens, to obtain at the hand of God whatsoever we desire, so that it be asked in faith. O what notable things do we read in the scriptures, that have been obtained through fervent prayer? We are commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and succour, in necessities and troubles; and he hath promised to help us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help, (for there is none found worthy to open the book, but only the lamb Christ, which was killed for our sins) I say, who that will refuse his help, must even, by the terrible judgments of God, come utterly to confusion; and it hath, and is daily manifest to be seen. And whatsoever you desire of God in your prayer, ask it for Jesus Christ's sake, for whom, and in whom, God has promised to give us all things necessary. And though that which we ask come not at the first and second calling, yet continue still knocking, and he will, at length, open his treasures of mercy, so that ye shall be sure to obtain; for he has so promised, if ye continue in faith, hoping surely in him. These former lessons, with all such instructions as I have told you by my mouth, I do wish that you would most earnestly learn; and then I doubt not, but God, who is the giver of all grace, will assist you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his kingdom, which is prepared through Christ.

Further, whereas it pleased God to send us children, my desire is that they may be brought up in the fear of God, and in his laws. And this is to certify you that you deliver, in any wise, my eldest son unto Mr. Throgmorton, who upon his good-will, has promised me to bring him up according to my desire; and I trust, as God has put into his heart. See, therefore, that ye deliver him, in any wise, without delay; and as for the other, if ye shall seem to be burthened with him, (which I think nature will not suffer) my desire is that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermost of your endeavour, with some honest man that has the fear of God before his eyes, and let us give thanks unto God, which has given them us, beseeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flock that shall stand on the right hand of the majesty of God, when he shall judge the world. Amen.

Yet once again, I warn you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I said before; then shall ye be sure that God, even of his own mercy, according as he has promised, will be an husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do; yea, he will cause all men that fear him to pity you, to help you, to succour you in all your necessities, so that if any do you wrong, he will be avenged on them. Moreover, I wish you to keep company with those of whom ye may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that such will be glad to receive you, if you shall profess, and go forward in his truth.

Finally and to make an end, I desire you that you take heed with whom ye couple yourself. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his laws, and will walk in the same to the uttermost of his power: such a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked person, nor given to filthiness, no worldling, no dicer nor carder. In fine, no filthy person, but chuse you such a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again, on your part, love him, serve him, obey him in all godliness, as long as God shall give you life in this world. Then shall ye both be sure to obtain that kingdom which God the Father has prepared, and Jesus Christ obtained for you, that never shall have an end, where I trust to abide your coming. Amen.

By your husband,

The New Book of Martyrs THOMAS FAWKES

The Sufferings and Martyrdom of Mr. THOMAS WATTS, a Linen-draper, of Billericay, in Essex.

MR. THOMAS WATTS was born of reputable and pious parents in the county of Essex. He was educated in the reformed religion, and during the reign of Edward VI. was a zealous professor of the protestant faith. On the accession of queen Mary to the throne, apprehending he should be troubled, if not persecuted, on account of his following a religion contrary to that which was then introduced, he relinquished his business, sold his goods, and disposed of his substance to his wife and children.

As he lived in the county of Essex, he came under the cognizance of Lord Rich, before whom he was brought, and by whom he was demanded the reason of his disobeying the queen's laws, absenting himself from church, neglecting the mass, and setting up unlawful conventicles, contrary to her majesty's command.

Mr. Watts replied, with composure, that if he had offended against the law, he was subject to the penalty of the law upon which a justice of the peace then present enquired of him, from whom he had imbibed his new-fangled religion? Watts upbraided the justice with hypocrisy, reminding him that in the days of the late king, no one inveighed more strenuously against the Romish doctrines than himself; pronouncing the mass to be abominable, earnestly exhorting none to believe therein, and that their belief should be only in Christ; nay, adding further, that whosoever should introduce any strange notion here, should be deemed a traitor, and punished as such.

The justice reviled Watts as an insolent, lying knave, and persuaded the sheriff not to pay any regard to what he had said.

Soon after this information was given to bishop Bonner that Thomas Watts maintained, inculcated, and encouraged heretical opinions. In consequence of this he was brought into the consistory court in London, and there examined, concerning the discourse he had with lord Rich, and other commissioners at Chelmsford, when he publicly related the truth; after which, the following articles were alledged against him, requiring, according to the custom of the court, a particular answer to each article:

1. It was alledged against him, that he did not believe in the sacraments of the holy Catholic church, as the Catholic church of Rome, and other churches, members of the same, have believed and taught, but despised the same.

To this he answered, that he believed in all the sacraments, according to Christ's institution, but not according to the church of the bishop of Rome: that he believed according to the preaching of several ministers of the gospel, who preached the word of God truly and sincerely.

2. That he believed, and taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine do remain in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.

To this he replied that he believed that Christ's body is now in heaven, and no where else; and that he never would believe that Christ's body was in the sacrament.

3. That he believed the mass to be abominable.

To this he frankly answered in the affirmative, declaring that he would never recant his opinion.

4. That he believed that confession to a priest was not necessary.

To this he said, he did not believe that the priest could absolve him of his sins; but allowed that it was good to ask spiritual advice of the priest. [CHCoG: Really?? So why is he now refusing to follow his priest's 'spiritual' advice?]

5. That in the open sessions, he confessed that he had refused to come to the church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament of the altar because, according to the service of the church, set out in the days of king Edward the Sixth, such duties were deemed abominable, heretical, and schismatical; that he declared that all

that was done in the church, upon the ascension of her majesty, was abominable, heretical, schismatical, and unscriptural; and also that he uttered before the commissioners, other erroneous and arrogant words, to the injury of his soul, and bad example of the people present.

To this he answered, without the least attempt to evade, that he declared his opinion, as in the article above mentioned, and begged of God that he might live and die in that faith. These, and other articles of less moment, were read to him, and his answers minuted down; after which the bishop used the most forcible arguments to bring him to a denial of (what he called) his errors, and to be obedient to the holy mother church.

Mr. Watts, however, remaining inflexible, and beseeching of God that he might be enabled to hold out to the end in the true faith of Christ, sentence of condemnation was pronounced against him, and he was delivered up to the sheriffs of London, who conducted him to Newgate.

On the 9th of June he was carried from Newgate to Chelmsford, his execution being appointed at that place on the 11th. On the same evening he was conveyed there, he was in company with Thomas Hawkes, and others, and they all joined together in the most fervent prayer.

The preceding day before his execution, he was visited by his wife and six children, whom he addressed in the following manner:

"My dear wife, my good children, the time of my departure is at hand. Therefore, henceforth I know you no more, but as the Lord has given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you to obey and fear: beware that ye turn not to this abominable popery, as a testimony against which, I shall shortly, by God's grace, shed my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to recant, but take occasion, thereby, more earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. My dear children, I trust God will be a merciful father unto you."

This affecting address struck such an impression on two of his children that they desired to be burned with him. So sympathetic a feeling, from such tender branches, for a time discomposed our martyr, the man giving way to the parent; but after having a little recovered himself, he embraced them with all the tenderness of a dying father, took his leave, and was led to the stake, where he quietly yielded up his spirit into the hands of him who gave it, saying, "Into thy hands, O God, I commend my spirit."

Such was the attachment of this stedfast believer to the cause of his dear Lord and master, that the most moving spectacle of his disconsolate wife, and six innocent babes, could not, in the least, stagger his resolution; but he persevered against all worldly considerations, being animated so to do by an assurance of an immortal crown of glory in his Redeemer's kingdom.

About the same time that Mr. Watts suffered, three others shared the same fate for their adherence to the truth of the gospel; namely, NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN, Weaver; THOMAS OSMOND, Fuller; and WILLIAM BAMFORD, Weaver. The first of these was burnt at Colchester on the 14th of June; the second suffered the next day at Maningtree; and the third the following day at Harwich.

The Sufferings and Deaths of JOHN BRADFORD, a Divine; and JOHN LEAFE, an Apprentice.

THE first of these martyrs was born at Manchester, where he received an education sufficiently liberal to qualify him for the more exalted offices of life, having attained to a considerable knowledge in classical and mathematical literature.

On his arrival at years of maturity, having some distinguished friends, by their interest he became secretary to Sir John Harrington, who was treasurer to Henry VIII.

After having been in this office for some time, being of a studious turn of mind, he quitted it, and went to Cambridge, where he made such great improvements that in the space of one year that university conferred on him the degree of master of Arts; soon after which he was admitted to a fellowship in Pembroke college.

At this time there was at Cambridge one Martin Bucer, a zealous advocate for the reformed religion. This person discovered a great regard for Mr. Bradford, and persuaded him to follow those studies which most conduced to qualify him for the work of the ministry.

Mr. Bradford having that diffidence of himself which is generally the attendant on real merit, excused himself from taking upon him that important office as not being sufficiently qualified. But Bucer, at length, brought him to consent to enter on the solemn work, and he was ordained a deacon by Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, who made him a prebendary of St. Paul's, where in rotation, he preached for three years the true gospel of Christ; namely, the doctrines of salvation by faith and repentance unto life, together with the necessity of a life of holiness, as the evidence of that faith, at the end of which the protestant cause suffered a violent shock in the death of the pious young king.

After the accession of queen Mary, Mr. Bradford continued his course of preaching, till he was obstructed by the following incident.

In the first year of the reign of that princess, Bonner, then bishop of London, ordered Mr. Bourn, a canon of St. Paul's, and afterwards bishop of Bath, to preach a sermon wherein he took occasion, from the gospel of the day, to justify Bonner, then restored to his bishopric, in preaching on the same text that very day four years, and enforcing doctrines, for which according to the terms of the preacher, he was thrown into the Marshalsea, and there kept prisoner during the time of king Edward VI.

These words occasioned great murmurings among the people, nay, so incensed were they, that one of them threw a dagger at the preacher, and threatened to drag him from the pulpit, insomuch that he was obliged to withdraw, and desired Mr. Bradford to advance, and endeavour to appease the people, who were so tumultuous that they could not be quelled, even from the authority of the lord-mayor.

As soon as Mr. Bradford ascended the pulpit, the people shouted, "God save thy life, Bradford;" and then quietly attended to his discourse, in which he reproved them for their disorderly behaviour, and exhorted them to peace and tranquillity; on which, after he had finished, they peaceably dispersed.

In the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Bradford preached at Bow-church, when he took occasion to rebuke the people for their tumultuous behaviour at St. Paul's in the morning.

Three days after this incident, he was summoned before the queen and her council, and there charged as the cause of the late riot about Bourn's preaching at St. Paul's, though he was the very person that preserved him from the outrage of the people, and appeased the tumult.

He was also accused for preaching to the people at Bow church, though he then warmly exhorted them to peace. But nothing that he could alledge, in vindication of his innocence, availed, for he was committed to the Tower on a charge of sedition, because they found he was a popular man, and greatly caressed by the people.

He was confined above a year and six months, till the popish religion was restored by act of parliament. He then took occasion to examine himself concerning his faith, because he could not speak against the doctrine of the church of Rome, without incurring much danger; whereas, while the laws of king Edward

were unrepealed, he might freely speak according to the dictates of his conscience, and the rules of God's most holy word.

The principal articles alledged against Mr. Bradford were his denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, or the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and asserting that wicked men did not partake of Christ's body in the said sacrament.

Several bishops, and other learned men, were appointed to confer with him, but their arguments had no weight, because they were not founded on scripture, but human tradition.

As Mr. Bradford would not admit of any tenets or practices, but what were contained in the revealed word of God, he was deemed an heretic, first excommunicated, then condemned, and committed to the custody of the sheriffs of London, by whom he was conducted, the night before his execution, to the prison of Newgate; and the following day brought to the stake with the martyr which succeeds in the order of this catalogue.

JOHN LEAFE was an apprentice to a tallow-chandler, and at the age of nineteen years, on an information laid against him of heresy, was committed to the Compter, by the alderman of the ward in which he lived.

After being some time confined in that prison; he was brought before bishop Bonner, and by him examined concerning his faith in the sacrament of the altar, and other points; to all which he answered in such a manner as gave little satisfaction to the tyrannical bishop.

A few days after this he underwent another examination; but his answers being the same as before, he was condemned, and delivered over to the secular power for not believing that the bread and wine in the sacrament, by the words of consecration, are changed into the very body and blood of Christ, really and substantially.

After his condemnation the bishop sent two bills to him, the one containing a recantation, and the other his confession. The

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messenger, after reading the former to him, (for he could neither read or write himself) asked if he would sign it; to which, without the least hesitation, he answered in the negative. He then read to him his confession, when he immediately took a pin, and pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the bill, desiring the messenger to shew the bishop that he had already signed it with his blood.

When these two martyrs were conducted to the place of execution, (which was Smithfield) Mr. Bradford fell prostrate on one side of the stake, and Leafe on the other. In this position they continued praying some minutes, till Mr. Bradford was desired by the sheriff to make an end, and arise, the multitude of people being very great. On this notice they both arose, and after Mr. Bradford had made a short harangue to the people, they were both fastened to the stake, and reeds and faggots placed round them. Being thus prepared, Mr. Bradford, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, exclaimed, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins; beware of Anti-Christ, beware of idolatry; take heed they do not deceive you." Then turning to young Leafe, who was to suffer with him, he said, "Be of good comfort, brother, the time of our deliverance is at hand." The young man said, "Lord Jesus receive our departing spirits."

The fire was then put to the faggots, and they both endured their sufferings with the utmost composure and resignation, reposing an unshaken confidence in that blessed Redeemer, who died to save mankind.

While Mr. Bradford was in prison, he employed his time in writing various comfortable treatises, addressed to the advocates of the reformation. He also wrote pious letters to the city of London, the university of Cambridge, and the towns of Lancashire and Cheshire, besides many others to his private friends and acquaintances. Among the latter we shall preserve the following:

A Letter from Mr. Bradford to certain pious Persons, encouraging them to prepare themselves to bear the Cross with Patience.

GRACIOUS God, and most merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, thy dearly beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and holy spirit, to counsel, comfort, and guide us in all our thoughts, words, and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace for ever. Amen.

In my last letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no less towards you, than I have now learned. But my dearly beloved, I have learned none other thing than what I before told you would come to pass, if ye cast not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your consciences, whether I speak truth herein, as well of my telling (though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me) as also of vour learning. Now God will try you, to make others learn by you, that which ye learned by others, and by them which have suffered this day ye might learn, (if already ye have not learned) that life and honour is not to be regarded more than God's commandment. They in no point, for all that ever their ghostly fathers could do, having Dr. Death to take their part, would consent, or seem to consent to the popish mass, and papistical god, otherwise than they had received in the days of our late king. And this their faith they have confessed with their deaths, to their great glory, and all our comforts if we follow them; but to our confusion if we start back from the same. Wherefore I beseech you to consider, as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them if God please.

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Consider not the things of this life, which is a very prison to all God's children; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to behold this ye must open the eyes of your mind, of faith, I should have said, as Moses did, who chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to possess the riches of Egypt, and the pleasures of Pharaoh's court. Your house, homes and goods, yea life, and all that ever ye have, God has given you as love tokens, to admonish you of his love, and to win your love to him again. He will try your love, whether ye set more by him than by his tokens. If ye, for the sake of his tokens, that is, your house; home, goods, yea life, will go with the world rather than lose them, then be assured your love as he cannot but espy it to be a strumpet's love, so will he cast it away with the world. Remember that he who will save his life shall lose it, if Christ be true; but he who adventureth, yea loseth his life for the gospel's sake, the same shall be sure to find it eternally. Do not ye know, that the way to salvation is not the broad way which many run in but the strait way, which now few walk in?

Before persecution came men might partly have stood in a doubt, by the outward state of the world with us, (although, by God's word, it was plain) which was the highway, (for there were as many that pretended the gospel as popery) but now the sun is risen, and the wind bloweth; so that the corn which has not taken fast root, neither can or will abide; and therefore, ye may easily see the strait way by the small number of passengers. Who will now adventure their goods and life for the sake of Christ, who gave his life for our sakes? We are now become Gergesites, that would rather lose Christ than our swine. A wife is proved faithful when she rejecteth and withstandeth other suitors. A faithful Christian is then found so to be, when his faith is assaulted.

If we are neither able nor willing to forsake this world for God's glory and gospel's sake, ere long shall we be obliged to leave it for nature's sake. Die ye must once, and leave all ye have, (God only knoweth how soon) whether ye will or not; and seeing you cannot avoid it, why will ye not voluntarily do it for God's sake?

If ye go to mass, and do as the most part doth, then may ve live quietly and at rest; but if ve refuse to go thither, then ye shall go to prison, lose your goods, leave your children comfortless, yea, lose your life also. But (my dearly beloved) open the eyes of your faith, and consider the shortness of this life, that it is even as a shadow and a smoak. Again, consider how intolerable the punishment of hell-fire is, and that of endless Last all, look on the joys incomprehensible, which God has prepared for all them, world without end, who lose either life, land or goods, for his name's-sake, and then remain thus. If we go to mass, the greatest enemy that Christ has, though for a little time we shall live in quiet, and leave to our children something to live upon hereafter, yet we shall displease God, fall into his hands, (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy into eternal misery, first of soul, and then of body, with the devil and all idolaters.

Again, we shall want peace of conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will visit our idolatry on them in this life? Yea, our house and goods, and even our lives, are in danger of being lost by many casualties; and when God is angry with us, he can, when he pleases, send one means or other, to take all from us for our sins, and to cast us into greater trouble, who will not come into some little for his sake.

On this sort reason with yourselves, and then doubtless God will work otherwise with you, and in vou, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourselves unable to abide persecution, be most assured, that if you earnestly purpose not to forsake God, that he will make you so able to bear his cross, that ye shall rejoice therein. God is faithful, (faith St. Paul) who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able; but will, with the temptation, also make a way how to escape, that ye may be able to bear it." Think how great a benefit it is, if God will make you worthy of this honour, to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. He might justly inflict most grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod, whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that ye may for ever reign with him. Suffer yourselves, therefore, now to be made like to Christ, for else ye shall be never made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that which ye have a long time stedfastly professed. O how would he triumph, if he could win his purpose? O how would the papists triumph against God's gospel in you? O how would you confirm them in their wicked popery? O how would the poor children of God be discomforted, if you should go to mass, and other idolatrous service, and do as the world doth?

Has God delivered you from labour to serve him so? Has God miraculously restored you to health, from your grievous agues, for such a purpose? Has God given you such blessings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now, of equity, will ye not receive at his hands, and for his sake, some evil? God forbid; I hope better of you. Use prayer, and cast your care upon God; commit your children into his hand; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he has given them, or rather lent them, to you. Say with Job, 'God has given, and God has taken away, his name be praised for ever.' Cast your care upon him, I say, for he is careful for you; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God, to suffer for his sake. I trust he has kept you hitherto to that end.

And I beseech thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, that thou wouldest be merciful unto us, comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us with thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confess thy gospel, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation.

Amen.

Pray for me, and I, by God's grace, will do the same for you.

JOHN BRADFORD."

A farewell Letter from Mr. Bradford to his Mother, a short time before he was burnt.

God's mercy and peace in Christ, be more and more perceived of us, Amen.

My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ I heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me unto God, who now taketh me unto himself: I die not as a criminal, but as a witness of Christ, the truth of whose gospel I have hitherto confessed. I thank God both by preaching and imprisonment, and now I am willing to confirm the same by fire. I acknowledge that God might justly have taken me hence for my sins,

(which are many, great and grievous: but the Lord, for his mercy in Christ, I hope hath pardoned them all) but now, dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confessor and witness that the religion taught by Christ Jesus, the prophets, and the apostles is God's truth. The prelates in me do persecute Christ, whom they hate, and his truth, which they will not abide because their works are evil. They do not care for the light, lest men thereby should discover their darkness. Therefore, my dear mother, give thanks to God for me, that he has made the fruit of your womb to be a witness of his glory, and attend to the truth, which I have truly taught out of the pulpit at Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God the Father, through Jesus Christ. Hearken to the scriptures, and serve God according to them, and not according to the custom: beware of the Romish religion in England; defile not yourself with it: carry the cross of Christ as he shall lay it upon your back; forgive them that kill me: pray for them, for they know not what they do: commit my cause to God our Father: be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as well as you can.

I send all my writings to you and my brother Roger, do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would, he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you or to leave behind me for you: only I pray God, my father, for Christ's sake, to bless you, and keep you from evil. May he make you patient and thankful, that he will take the fruit of your womb to witness his truth; wherein I confess to the whole world: I die, and depart this life, in hope of a much better, which I look for at the hands of God my father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ. Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the almighty and eternal Father by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise, for ever and ever.

Amen. Your son, in the Lord, June 24, 1555. JOHN BRADFORD

Account of the Persecutions and Sufferings of MARGARET POLLEY, Widow, the first Female Martyr in England.*

SUCH was the fury of bigoted zeal during these persecuting times that even the more tender sex did not escape the resentment of the Romish persecutors. These monsters, in human form, embraced every opportunity of exercising their cruelty, tyranny, and usurpation: nor could youth, age, or sex impress on their minds the least feelings of humanity.

Information being given against Margaret Polley, to Maurice, bishop of Rochester, her ordinary and diocesan, she was brought before him, when his lordship, according to the pontifical solemnity of the church of Rome, rose from his chair, and in solemn parade, harangued her, as follows:

We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our meer office in a cause of heresy; against thee Margaret Polley, of the parish of Popingberry, in our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee, all and singular, the ensuing articles. To these, all and singular, we require

^{* [}CHCoG: It is total nonsense to claim she was the first female martyr in England. We have previously shown that Anne Askew and Joan Bocher were martyred prior to this. In addition, many of the 80 Waldenses that were starved to death in 1156, mentioned by Southwell himself, were also women. To state that this was the first woman to be martyred by Queen Mary would be accurate.]

of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given.

The oath being administered by the official, the bishop looked stedfastly at the woman, and demanded of her a peremptory answer to each of the following articles:

1. Are nor those heretics, who maintain, and hold other opinions than our holy mother and Catholic church doth?

Ans. They are, indeed, heretics and grossly deceived, who hold and maintain doctrines contrary to the will of God, contained in the holy scriptures, which I sincerely believe were written by holy men, immediately taught and instructed by the Holy Ghost.

2. Do you hold and maintain that in the sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of Christ, and that the said body is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament?

Ans. What I have learned from the holy scriptures, those living oracles of God, I do and will stedfastly maintain, viz. that the very body which was crucified for the very sins of all true believers, ascended into heaven, is there placed at the right hand of the majesty on high; that such body has ever since remained there, and therefore cannot, according to my belief, be in the sacrament of the altar. I believe that the bread and wine in the sacrament are to be received as symbols and representatives of the body and blood of Christ, but not as such really and substantially.

I think, in my weak judgment, that it is not in the power of any man, by pronouncing words over the elements of bread and wine, to transubstantiate them into the real body and blood of Christ.

In short, it is my belief, that the eucharist is only a commemoration of the death of our Saviour, who said; "As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me."

These pertinent and frank replies greatly provoked the haughty prelate who exclaimed against the woman as an obstinate heretic, and after much scurrilous language, told her the was a silly

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woman, knew not what she said, and that it was the duty of every Christian to believe as the mother church hath and does teach.

The bishop then asked her the following question: "Will you, Margaret Polley, recant the error which you maintain, be reconciled to the holy church, and receive the remission of sins?" To which she replied; "I cannot believe otherwise than I have spoken, because the practice of the church of Rome is contrary not only to reason and my senses, but also to the word of God."

Immediately on this reply, the bishop pronounced sentence of condemnation against her; after which she was carried back to prison, where she remained, daily celebrating the praises of God for upwards of a month.

She was a woman in the prime of life, pious, charitable, humane; learned in the scriptures, and beloved by all with whom she was acquainted.

During her imprisonment she was repeatedly exhorted to recant; but she refused all offers of life on such terms, choosing glory, honour, and immortality hereafter, rather than a few days here in this vale of tears, and those purchased at the expence of truth and conscience.

When the day appointed for her execution arrived, she was conducted from the bishop's prison at Rochester to Tunbridge, where she was burned, sealing the truth of what she had testified with her blood, and shewing that the God of all grace; out of the weakest vessel, can give strength, and cause the meanest instruments to magnify the glories of his redeeming love.

On the same day that Margaret Polley suffered, one CHRISTOPHER WADE, a weaver of Dartford, in Kent, who had likewise been condemned by bishop Maurice, shared the same fate, and at the same place; but they were executed separately, he first submitting to the dreadful sentence. About the same time JOHN BLAND, JOHN FRANKESH, NICHOLAS SHETTERDEN, and HUMPHREY MIDDLETON were all burnt together at Canterbury. The two first were ministers and preachers of the gospel, the one being rector of Adesham, and the other vicar of Rolvindon; in Kent. They all resigned themselves to their fate with Christian fortitude, fervently praying to God to receive them into his heavenly kingdom.

The Persecutions and Martyrdoms of JOHN LAUNDER and DIRICK CARVER.

JOHN LAUNDER, of Godstone, in the county of Surry, husbandman; and Dirick Carver, of Brighthelmstone, in the county of Suffex, brewer, were apprehended in the dwelling house of the latter, as they were at prayers, and sent up to the queen's council at London, where being examined, and not giving satisfactory answers to the questions proposed, they were committed prisoners to Newgate, to wait the leisure and abide the determination of the cruel and arrogant bishop Bonner.

Launder, on his examination, confessed that the occasion of his being at Brighthelmstone, was to transact some business for his father, and that hearing Mr. Carver was a great promoter of the doctrines of the reformation, he went to his house in order to join in prayer to God with the pious Christians which resorted thither, on which he was apprehended by Mr. Gage, the officer appointed for that purpose.

He also confessed that there is here on earth one whole and universal Catholic church, the members of which are dispersed throughout the world; that he believed the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, which are Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or any other ceremonies, he doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart.

He further said and believed that all the service, sacrifices, and ceremonies now used in this realm of England, and in other parts

of the world where they are used after the same manner, are erroneous, contrary to Christ's instruction, and the determination of Christ's Catholic church, whereof he believed himself to be a member.

He also confessed and believed that in the sacrament called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance; but that when he did receive the material bread, he received the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and not otherwise.

Moreover he confessed, said, and believed that the mass used in the realm of England or elsewhere, in Christendom, is abominable, and directly against God's word, and his Catholic church, and that there is nothing said or used in it, good or profitable; for though the *Gloria in excelsis*, the creed and *paternoster*, and other parts of the mass, are good in themselves, yet being used amongst other things that are superstitious, they become corrupt. Lastly, he confessed and believed that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to confess his sins to God alone, because no person has any authority to absolve any man from his sins.

Having openly acknowledged and maintained these opinions in the bishop's consistory court, and refusing to recant, he was condemned, and delivered over to the secular power.

DIRICK CARVER, being examined by bishop Bonner concerning his faith in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, auricular confession, and the religion then taught and set forth in the church in England, delivering the following as his inevitable tenets, because [they are] founded on the infallible word of the only living and true God.

To the first point he declared that he had, and did believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar; and that there is no other substance remaining in that sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, but the substance of bread and wine.

As to the mass, he, believed there was no sacrifice in it, nor any salvation for a Christian, except it was said in the mothertongue, that he might understand it.

With respect to auricular confession, he believed that it was necessary to apply to a priest for spiritual counsel;* but that the absolution of the priest by the imposition of hands, was not profitable to salvation, acknowledging, at the same time, that he had not been confessed, nor received the sacrament since the coronation of the queen.

Concerning the last point, he declared it as his opinion and belief that the faith and religion then taught and set forth was not agreeable to God's word, and that bishop Hooper, Mr. Cardmaker, Rogers, and other pious men, who were lately burned, were sound divines, and preached the true doctrine of Christ.

Being farther examined, he confessed that since the queen's coronation he had the bible and psalter read in English diverse times at his house in Brighthelmstone; and that about twelve months then passed, he had the English litany said in his house, with other prayers, in English.

After these examinations he was strongly persuaded to recant, but this he peremptorily refused; on which sentence of condemnation was passed on him at the same time as on Launder, and the time of his execution was fixed for the 22d of July, at Lewes, in Sussex.

On his arrival lat the stake he kneeled down and prayed and when he had finished his prayers, he arose and addressed the spectators as follows:

^{* [}CHCoG: Given his unwillingness to believe many of the tenets of Romanism, it is hard to understand how he could view the counsel of one of their priests as valid, let alone necessary.]

"DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS, "Bear witness that I am come to seal with my blood the gospel of Christ, because I know that it is true. Many of you know, that the gospel has been truly preached to you here in Lewes, and now it is not so preached; and because I will not here deny God's gospel, I am condemned to die."

On this the sheriff said, "If thou dost not believe in the pope, thou art damned, body and soul." But our martyr pitied his blindness, and begged of God to forgive his errors.

Being then fastened to the stake, and the fire kindled round him, he patiently submitted to his fate, and expired, calling our, "O Lord, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

His fellow-martyr, John Launder, was burnt the following day at Steyning; where he chearfully gave up his life to that God from whose hands he had received it.

The Sufferings and Deaths of JOHN DENLEY, Gent. JOHN NEWMAN, Pewterer; and PATRICK PACKINGHAM.

SO perpetually were the popish emissaries looking out for their prey in all parts of the kingdom, that it was morally impossible long to escape them; so that as well those who were cautious as otherwise, fell into their hands, and became victims to their relentless fury.

As Mr. Denley and Mr. Newman were travelling together into Essex, on a visit to some friends, they were accidentally met by Mr. Tyrrel, justice of the peace for the said county, who, suspecting them of heresy, caused them to be apprehended and searched; and at the same time took from Mr. Denley a confession of his faith in writing, concerning the sacrament of the altar, together with certain notes collected from the holy scriptures.

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The justice immediately sent them to London, and with them a letter to be presented to the queen's council, together with the papers he found on the former.

On their being brought before the council, they were admonished, and desired to yield obedience to the queen's laws; but this advice proving ineffectual, their examinations were referred to Bonner; bishop of London.

On the 28th of June, 1555, Denley and Newman, together with Patrick Packingham, (who had been apprehended two days before) were brought before Bonner, at his palace in London.

The bishop having examined the two former upon their confessions, and finding them inflexibly to adhere to the same, he used his customary exhortation; on which Denley said, "God save me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind I am in, for that which you count to be heresy; I take to be the truth."

Bonner then ordered them to appear in the bishop's consistory court, where the following articles were jointly and severally exhibited against them:

1. That they were now in the diocese of London, and under the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

These they acknowledged to be true.

2. That they had not, nor did believe that there is a Catholic church of Christ here on earth.

This they severally denied; for that they did believe the holy Catholic church, which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head; and that when two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, they are members of the said holy Catholic church, which is dispersed throughout the world; which church doth preach God's word truly, and doth also minister the two sacraments, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, according to his blessed word.

3. That each of them had not, nor did believe, that this church in England is any part or member of the said Catholic church.

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They severally answered, that they did believe that this church of England, using the faith and practice that is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid holy Catholic church, but is the church of Anti-Christ, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof.

4. That they had believed, and did believe, that the mass now used in the church of England was abominable, and blasphemy against God's word.

They answered in the affirmative; for Christ in his holy supper, instituted the sacrament of bread and wine, to be eaten together, in remembrance of his death, till he came, and not to have them worshipped and idolized. It also appeareth, by his commandment, that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine, because it is plain idolatry; for the commandment saith, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them, meaning plainly any created thing; besides, it is plain from many passages in scripture, that the body of Christ is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine, and therefore, that it is idolatry to worship them.

5. That they had believed, and did believe, that auricular confession, now used in the realm of England was not profitable, but contrary to God's word.

To this they all answered in the affirmative.

6. That they had believed, and did believe, that absolution given by the priest, and hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same.

To this they answered that remission of sins is only to be obtained from God, through the blood of Jesus Christ.

7. That they had believed, and did believe, that Christening of children, as it is now used in the church of England is not good nor allowable by God's word. Likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying mattins and vespers, anointing or oiling of sick persons, making holy bread and holy water, with other rites of the church.

To this they replied that christening of children, or the sacrament of baptism, is altered and changed, for John the Baptist

used nothing but preaching of the word and water, as appears from Christ's desiring to be baptized by him; for we do not read that he asked for any cream, or oil, or spittle, or wax, or salt, but used merely water, nor was this water consecrated.

8. That they had believed, and did believe, that there are but two sacraments in Christ's Catholic church, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.

To this they briefly replied that they believed in no more, except they would make the rainbow a sacrament, for there is no sacrament but has a promise annexed to it.

The bishop then stated one article to Packingham alone, which was, that he, Patrick Packingham, being of the age of twenty-one years at least, did irreverently stand in the great chapel, having his cap on his head during the time of mass, on the 23d of June; that he refused holy bread, and holy water at the priest's hands, thereby contemning and despising both the mass, holy water, and holy bread.

This article he acknowledged to be true.

On the 5th of July the bishop proceeded, in the usual form, against these three persons, in his consistory court at St. Paul's. After various articles and answers were publicly read, they were exhorted to recant, and both promises and threats were used by Bonner, in order to prevail with them; but on their remaining stedfast in their faith and profession, they were all condemned as heretics, and delivered into the custody of the sheriffs of London, who conducted them to Newgate, where they were kept till writs were issued for their respective executions.

Denley was ordered to be executed at Uxbridge, where, being conveyed on the day appointed, he was chained to the stake, and when the flames began to be powerful, he expired in the midst of them, singing a psalm to the praise of his Redeemer.

A Popish priest who was present at his execution, was so incensed at his singing that he ordered one of the attendants to throw a faggot at him, which was accordingly done, and he

received a violent fracture in his skull, which, with the fire, soon deprived him both of speech and life.

A few days after Packingham suffered at the same place; but Newman was executed at Saffron-Walden, in Essex. They both died with great fortitude and resignation, resigning their souls into the hands of him who gave them, in full expectation of receiving crowns of glory in the heavenly mansions.

The Martyrdoms of WILLIAM COKER, WILLIAM HOOPER, HENRY LAWRENCE, RICHARD COLLIER, RICHARD WRIGHT, and WILLIAM STEER, all Inhabitants of the County of Kent, who were burnt together at Canterbury, on the 31st of August, 1555.

INFORMATION having been given, at the same time, against these six persons, they were all brought before Dr. Richard Thornton, suffragan of Canterbury, and bishop of Dover; Dr. Horpsfield, archdeacon; Richard Fawcet, and Robert Collins, of the spiritual court of Canterbury; where diverse articles were respectively exhibited against them; to all of which they answered as men determined to adhere to the truth of that gospel they had professed.

Being again brought before the above persons, they were farther examined, and the substance of their respective answers was as follow:

WILLIAM COKER, declared he would not answer otherwise than as he had done before. Being offered six days respite to consider of it, he refused to accept their indulgence; in consequence of which he immediately received sentence of death.

WILLIAM HOOPER, at first, seemed to assent to the faith and determination of the Roman catholic church; but, on serious reflection, he retracted and firmly professed his faith in the pure gospel of Christ, as well as renounced the errors of popery. He was, therefore, immediately sentenced to be burned.

HENRY LAWRENCE, who was next examined, denied auricular confession, and refused to receive the sacrament of the altar, because the order of the holy scripture was changed in the order of the said sacrament. Being charged with not taking off his cap when the suffragan mentioned the sacrament, and did not reverence the same, he said there was no need for him so to do.

Being likewise asked concerning the verity of the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, so likewise Christ himself said he was a door, &c, adding, moreover, that as he said before, so he still said, that the sacrament of the mass was an idol, and no resemblance of Christ's passion.

Being required to subscribe to these articles, he wrote under the bill of examination as follows:

Ye are all of Anti-Christ, and him ye follow.' He was then prevented from speaking farther, and sentence of condemnation was pronounced on him in the usual form.

RICHARD COLLIER, being examined with respect to the sacrament of the altar, answered he did not believe there was the real and substantial body and blood of Christ, but only bread and wine; and that it was most abominable, detestable, and wicked to believe otherwise. In consequence of which he also received sentence of death.

RICHARD WRIGHT being asked by the judge what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament, and answered that touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it; nor would he, therefore, by any means allow it. In consequence of which he likewise received sentence of condemnation.

WILLIAM STEER, the last examined, was required by the judge to answer the articles laid before him. But he denied the judge's authority, for which he was deemed guilty of denying the authority of the queen. He also observed that Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, then in prison, was his diocesan; and therefore required Dr. Thornton to shew his authority from the archbishop, or otherwise he would deem it invalid.

With respect to the sacrament of the mass, he said, as he found not the popish belief contained in the scriptures, he entirely disbelieved it; in consequence of which he received the same sentence with his fellow prisoners.

These six men being thus condemned for professing the truth of Christ's gospel, were immediately delivered over to the secular power. They continued in prison, consoling each other daily in prayer, till, the 31st of August, the day appointed for their execution, when they were conveyed to Canterbury, and there led to the stakes, of which there were three, two of them chained to each. They all joyfully yielded up their lives as sacrifices to God, in testimony of their regard to the word of truth, which abideth to all eternity.

The Persecution and Martyrdom of GEORGE TANKERFIELD, *a Cook, and Citizen of London*.

GEORGE TANKERFIELD was brought up by his parents in the popish religion, to which he zealously adhered till the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, when the horrid cruelties exercised on those who dissented from that church so strongly impressed his mind that be began to detest the principles of that religion he had hitherto professed.

In consequence of this he applied himself, with great diligence, to obtain a knowledge of the scriptures, sought the directions of unerring wisdom, and the teaching of that spirit, which alone can lead unto all truth, and by the grace of God, soon attained to a very competent knowledge of the doctrines of the reformed church, as well as detected the errors, superstition, and idolatry of the popish faith.

Being thus grounded in the great truths of the gospel, he communicated his sentiments to his most intimate friends, whom he exhorted to search the sacred records, nor be blindly led by such as imposed their creeds, which, on examination, he found contrary to the divine mind and will, as contained in the sacred word.

This deviation from the principles he had before so warmly professed, and zealously maintained, excited the astonishment of his acquaintances, and raised the resentment of the popish faction, especially those who were more immediately concerned in its restoration; insomuch that Sir Roger Cholmondeley, and Dr. Martin, two of the queen's commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, dispatched a yeoman to Tankerfield's house, in order to apprehend and bring him before them.

Mr. Tankerfield being absent when the yeoman came in quest of him, it was pretended that he was wanted to serve up a dinner at the house of lord Paget. When he came home his wife told him that he was required to attend at a banquet; to which he replied, "A banquet, woman; but such a banquet as will not be pleasant to the flesh."

The next day he was seized by a constable, and committed to Newgate; and after being confined there some time, was brought before, and repeatedly examined by, bishop Bonner and others, concerning diverse articles and tenets of religion. He was chiefly required to give his opinion concerning auricular confession, the popish sacrament of the mass, and other ceremonies.

In answer to the first of these he said he had not confessed to any priest for several months, and that he would not be confessed by any priest hereafter, because he found no such duty commanded in the word of God, which he now took as his only guide in all matters of religion. With respect to the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, he declared he did not believe that in the said sacrament there was the real body and blood of Christ,

because the body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and there sat at the right hand of God the Father.

To the last point he answered that the mass then used in the church of England was full of idolatry, abomination, and wholly inconsistent with the word of God; adding that there were but two sacraments in Christ's church, namely, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

The bishop, after this confession, in his usual manner, exhorted him to recant his opinions, declaring them to be damnable heresies; but Tankerfield assured his lordship that he would persist in his belief till it should be proved erroneous from scripture authority, being regardless of the tenets of the greatest prelate upon earth, if not founded on the word of eternal truth, declaring, at the same time, that the arbitrary commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs condemned persons without proving any thing against them.

Bonner, with an affected concern for his interest, temporal and eternal, used many enticing words to bring him to the motherchurch; but our martyr boldly told him, without the least reserve, that the church of which the pope is supreme is no part of Christ's Catholic church; and pointing to the bishop, he said, "Good people, beware of him, and such as he is, for these be they that deceive you."

The bishop was so enraged at this resolute behaviour, that he proceeded to read the sentence of condemnation, immediately after which Mr. Tankerfield was delivered over to the secular power.

The place allotted for his execution was St. Alban's in Hertfordshire, whither being conveyed on the day appointed, he, with patience and constancy, resigned his life into the hands of that God who gave it, as a truth of the testimony of his holy word, which had been able to make him wise unto salvation, and was the happy means of transporting him from this life to realms of endless bliss and never ceasing joy, where the weary are at rest for evermore.

The Martyrdom of ELIZABETH WARNE, Widow.

THIS pious woman, and stedfast believer in the pure gospel of Christ, (according to the dying request of her husband who, some time ago, had sealed the truth with his blood) persisted in worshipping God according to the dictates of her own conscience, and the form she conceived was contained in the divine command.

Information being given against her, she was apprehended in a house in Bow church-yard, in company with several others, who were assembled for prayer and other spiritual exercises, and with them sent to the Compter, from whence she was committed to Newgate.

She had been but a few days confined before she was sent for by the queen's commissioners, who, after some examination gave her up to the bishop of London.

The chief article alledged against her by Bonner was her not believing the real presence in the sacrament of the altar: she was also accused of absenting herself from church, speaking against the mass, despising the ceremonies of the holy mother-church, &c.

To these accusations she gave such answers as highly offended the bishop, who warmly exhorted her to recant her erroneous and heretical opinions. She replied, "Do with me what you will, for if Christ was in an error, then I am in an error."

On this peremptory declaration she was condemned as an heretic, delivered to the sheriff of London, and conducted to Newgate.

When the day appointed for her execution arrived, she was carried from Newgate to Stratford-le-Bow, where she suffered martyrdom for the cause of Christ and his gospel, following her husband through the path of a fiery trial, to the haven of rest that awaits all the disciples of our blessed and glorious Redeemer.

Account of the Persecution and Martyrdom of Mr. ROBERT SMITH.

THIS martyr was originally educated in the Roman catholic religion; but having for some time enjoyed a place under the provost of Eton college, he was converted to the true faith by the preaching of several reformed ministers in that learned seminary.

By continually searching into the scriptures, he soon became well acquainted with the doctrines of the gospel. He was also very exemplary in his life and conversation, attracting the veneration and esteem of all those with whom he was acquainted.

As he was known to profess the protestant religion, he was, on the ascension of queen Mary, deprived of his post in the college, and soon after sent up prisoner to the bishop of London, by whom he was committed to Newgate, after having been examined by him diverse times, at his palace. And in other places.

Being questioned by the bishop concerning auricular confession, he declared he had never been confessed since he arrived at years of discretion, because he never thought it needful, nor commanded, of God to confess his faults to any of that sinful number called priests.

The bishop then enquired how long it was since he had received the sacrament of the mass, and what was his opinion concerning the same.

To this he replied, that he had never received the same, since he arrived at years of discretion, nor, by the grace of God, ever would, neither did he esteem it any point necessary, because it was not God's ordinance, but rather set up in mockery of God, and to deprive him of the honour which is his due.

Being questioned concerning his belief in the corporeal presence in the sacrament after the words of consecration pronounced by the priest, he replied, "I have once told you that it was not God's ordinance, much less can it be God, or any part of his substance, but only meer bread and wine, and to be received in a figurative sense alone; adding further that if he could prove from scripture, that it was the very body, he would believe it, but till

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then he should esteem it a detestable idol, not God, but contrary to God and truth."

This answer so irritated the haughty prelate that he greatly reviled Mr. Smith; but his passion abating, he afterwards examined him in milder terms, and coolly enquired his opinion concerning the Catholic church.

Mr. Smith replied, "I believe there is one Catholic church, or congregation of the faithful, which (as the apostle saith) is built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the chief corner stone. I also believe that this church, in all words and works, maintaineth the word of God, and bringeth the same for her authority; of this church I am assured that by grace I am made a member."

He was then examined concerning holy bread, holy water, and other ceremonies of the church, but these points he denied as unscriptural, and persisting in his opinions, notwithstanding the repeated admonitions of the bishop, he was summoned to appear at the consistory court, where having made the same confession as before, sentence of condemnation was passed upon him, and he was delivered over to the secular power. After the cruel sentence was passed, Mr. Smith remonstrated with the lord-mayor, sheriffs, and others who were present on the occasion, on the iniquity of their procedures, which were contrary to all laws, human and divine; but the general cry was, "Away with the heretic, away with the heretic." He then addressed himself to the spectators in the following manner:

"Ye have seen and heard, my friends, the great injury I have this day received, and ye are all witnesses that we have referred the equity of our cause to the book of God, which appeal not being admitted, we are condemned unheard."

Turning to the mayor, he said, "Though, my lord, you have here exercised your authority unjustly, and will not attend to the cry of the poor, I commit my cause to that God who judgeth aright, and will render unto every man according to his deeds; that God, at

whose awful bar both you and I must stand, without respect or authority, and where sentence will be passed without partiality, bigotry, or caprice, and according to the eternal laws of infallible truth."

After this Mr. Smith was carried back to Newgate, where he was closely confined till the 8th of August, which was appointed for his execution. On the morning of that day he was conducted under a proper guard to Uxbridge, and there led to the stake. He bore his punishment with the most amazing fortitude, in full hopes that he was giving up a temporary existence for one that would be immortal.

Mr. Smith had received a very liberal education, and during the time of his imprisonment; he wrote a great number of treatises, letters, &c. He had a good turn for poetry, in which several of his compositions were formed. Among the number of his writings we shall preserve the following:

A Sententious Letter, written by Robert Smith to Anne his Wife.

"SEEK first to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easy to love your neighbour.

Be friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul.

Be always an enemy to the devil and the world, but especially to your own flesh.

In hearing of good things, join the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietness with all men, but especially with your conscience; for he will not easily be entreated.

Love all people, but especially your enemies.

Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the child of God.

Defile not that which Christ has cleansed, lest his blood be laid to your charge.

Remember that God has hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction.

Be ready at all times to look to your brother's eye, but especially in your own eye: for he that warneth others of what he himself is guilty, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs to himself.

Beware of riches and worldly honour; for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a snare, and also poverty, all which are like to consuming fire, of which, if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him; for it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not be burnt.

Shew mercy to the saints for Christ's sake, and Christ shall reward you for the saints sake.

Among all other prisoners visit your own soul; for it is enclosed in a perilous prison.

If you will love God, hate evil, and ye shall obtain the reward of well doing.

Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children, and your's, in the fear of God, and then shall I not fail, but receive you together in the everlasting kingdom of God, into which I hope to go.

Your husband, ROBERT SMITH

The New Book of Martyrs

If ye will meet with me again, Forsake not Christ for any pain.

The Exhortation of Robert Smith to his Children, written a short Time before his Death,

GIVE ear, my children, to my words, Whom God has 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, Even 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 thee 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 he is dead and gone.

Who, for the hope of heav'nly 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 with 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 true his commandments.

Abhor that errant 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 recompence 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 giv'n 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 be 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 Unto 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 can eat.

That when your members lacketh meat, And clothing to your back, Ye may the better think on them, That now do live and lack.

Ask counsel also of 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 you 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, that when 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, Where ye must yet remain; the lord of hosts be your defence, Till we do meet again.

Farewell, my love, and loving wife, 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 short Address from Robert Smith to all the faithful Servants of Christ, exhorting them to be strong under Persecution. CONTENT thyself with patience, With Christ to bear the cross of pain, Which can, and will, thee recompense, A thousand fold, with joys again. Let nothing cause thy heart to quail,

Launch out thy boat, hale up thy sail, Put from the shore: And be thou sure thou shalt attain, Unto the port that shalt remain, For evermore.

About the same time Mr. Smith was burnt, three others who had been condemned by bishop Bonner shared the same fate; namely, STEPHEN HARWOOD, THOMAS FUST, and WILLIAM HALE. The first of these suffered at Stratford, near Bow; the second at Ware, and the third at Barnet.

The Persecution and Martyrdom of ROBERT SAMUEL, a Minister of Barford, in Suffolk.

MR. ROBERT SAMUEL was a very pious man, and an eminent preacher of the gospel, according to the principles of the reformation, during the reign of Edward VI. He attended his charge with indefatigable industry, and by his preaching and living, recommended and enforced the truth of the gospel.

Soon after the accession of queen Mary he was turned out of his living, and retired to Ipswich; but he could not withstand using his utmost efforts to propagate the reformed religion, and therefore, what he was denied doing in public, he did in private. He assembled those who had been accustomed to hear him in a room belonging to his house, and there daily taught them such precepts as might lead them to salvation.

While he was spending his time in this Christian manner, the queen commanded the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs to publish an order that all priests who had been married in the days of king Edward, should put away their wives, and be compelled again to chastity, (as their hypocritical term expressed it) and a single life.

This order Mr. Samuel could by no means obey, because he knew it to be abominable, contrary to the law of Christ, and every

tie, social and humane. Therefore, determining with himself that God's laws were not to be violated for the traditions of men, he still kept his wife at Ipswich, and omitted no opportunity of instructing his Christian friends in the neighbourhood.

At length, his conduct reaching the ears of Foster, a justice of peace in those parts, every artifice was used by that popish bigot to apprehend Mr. Samuel, who was taken into custody by some of his myrmidons, when on a visit to his wife at Ipswich. Many efforts had been made without success, but at length, information having been given of the precise time when he was to visit his wife, they deferred the surprize till night, (fearing the resentment of the people, if they should attempt to apprehend him by day) when great numbers beset him, and he, without the least resistance, quietly resigned himself into their hands.

Being taken before Foster, he was committed to Ipswich gaol, where he conversed and prayed with many of his fellow-sufferers during his confinement in that place.

In a short time he was removed from Ipswich to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton, the persecuting bishop of that diocese, and Dunning the chancellor, exercised on him the most intolerable cruelties.

Among all the inhuman wretches with which the nation abounded at that time, none could be compared for cruelty with these two tyrants; for while the rage of others was glutted with imprisonment and death, these were notorious for new invented tortures, by which some were brought to recant, and others were driven into horrors of the most bewildered madness.

In order to bring Mr. Samuel to recant, they confined him in a close prison, where he was chained to a post in such a manner that standing only on tiptoe, he was, in that position, forced to sustain the whole weight of his body.

To aggravate this torment, they kept him in a starving condition twelve days; allowing him no more than two bits of bread, and three spoonfuls of water each day; which was done in order to protract his misery, till they could invent new torments to overcome his patience and resolution.

These inhuman proceedings brought him to so shocking a state, that, ready to perish with thirst, he would often gladly have drank his own water; but his body was so parched, that he emitted not a single drop of urine.

At length, when all the tortures that these savages could invent proved ineffectual, and nothing could induce our martyr to deny his great Lord and Master, he was condemned to be burned, an act less cruel than what he had already suffered.

On the 31st of August, 1555, he was led to the stake, where he declared to the people around him what cruelties he had suffered during the time of his imprisonment, but that he had been enabled to sustain them all by the consolations of the divine Spirit, with which he had been daily visited. As this eminent martyr was leading to execution, a young woman who had belonged to his congregation, and received the benefit of his spiritual discourses, came up to him, and as the last token of respect, cordially embraced him. This being observed by some of the blood-thirsty papists, diligent enquiry was made for her the next day, in order to bring her to the stake, but she happily eluded their search, and escaped their cruel intentions.

Before Mr. Samuel was chained to the stake, he exhorted the spectators to avoid idolatry and hold fast to the truth of the gospel; after which he knelt down, and with an audible voice, said the following prayer:

"O Lord my God and Saviour, who art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature, and work of thy hands: Lord God look upon me, and thy other people, who, at this time, are oppressed by the worldly-minded for thy laws sake. Yea, Lord, thy law itself is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it; and for that cause do I, and many of thy creatures, refuse

the glory, praise, and conveniencies of this life, and do chuse to suffer adversity, and to be banished, yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope-sake that is laid up in store. For, Lord, thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might, by their permission, enjoy these advantages that others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends, all which I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I should serve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy laws, behold I give unto thee my whole spirit, soul, and body; and lo; leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them, for the hopesake of eternal life purchased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whensoever the world and the devil shall persecute the same.

O Father, I do not presume to come unto thee, trusting in mine own righteousness, no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For which excellent gift of salvation, I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is my sacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our bodies, mortified and obedient, unto thy will: and now, Lord, whatsoever rebellion has been, or is found in my members against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping, which, I beseech thee, accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice: let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace, and solace: and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled

and consumed by the fire. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen."

When he had finished his prayer, he arose, and being fastened to the stake, the faggots were placed round him, and immediately lighted. He bore his sufferings with a courage and resolution truly Christian, chearfully resigning this life of care and trouble in exchange for another, where death shall be swallowed up in victory, where tears shall be wiped away from all eyes, and an eternity employed in singing the praises of that grace, which has brought the redeemed of the Lord from much tribulation, and advanced them to mansions at the right hand of God, where are pleasures for evermore.

As Mr. Samuel was a faithful pastor over his flock during his life, so he was resolved they should not forget him after his death, as appears by the following composition, which he wrote during his confinement:

A Letter of Exhortation from Mr. Robert Samuel to some of the Congregation over whom he presided.

"A man knoweth not his time, but as a fish is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the snare; so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near, Ezek. vii. Better it were to die, (as the preacher saith) than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun.

Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord; they have provoked the holy One of Israel to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean over-past? Yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing, and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and carnal appetite, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured.

We might now worthily, dear Christians, lament and bewail our heavy estate, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance; yes, I say we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job, curse these, our turbulent, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that God has reserved a remnant in all ages, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world exercised with diverse afflictions and troubles, cast and dashed against all perils and dangers, as the very dross and outcasts of the earth, and ve will in no wife halt between God and Baal. Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the devil: he will have all, or lose all; he will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind; but he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirits, which are his, as St. Paul saith, I Cor. vi. For he has made all, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter saith. With his own immaculate body has he clean discharged your bodies from sin, death, and hell, and with his most precious blood, paid your ransom and full price, once for all, and for ever.

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are ye, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus, your gentle Saviour, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with false delusions, utterly to destroy you, both souls and bodies? Think you to be more sure than under your

captain Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be more quiet in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Esteem you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God and all his heavenly treasures? O palpable darkness, horrible madness, and wilful blindness, without comparison, too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our consciences well knoweth. O miserable souls, which would, for foolish pleasures, lose the royal kingdom, and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he has prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world! The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth, and the devil, who is their god, and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us, which be of Christ, seek and enquire for heavenly things, which, by God's promise and mercy in Christ, shall be peculiar unto us. Let carnal people pass for things that be pleasant for the body, and do appertain to this transitory life: Yet shall they once (as the kingly prophet saith) run about the city of God, to and fro, howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect; but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

Let us therefore press for those things that do pertain to the spirit, and are celestial. We must be here (St. Paul saith) not as inhabiters and home-dwellers, but as strangers; not as strangers only, but after the mind of Paul, as painful soldiers appointed by our governor, to fight against the governor of darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things. The time is come; we must do it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. Began they not

first with the green and sappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches?' Jeremy speaking in the person of God, saith, 'In the city wherein my name is invocated, will I begin to punish:' but as for you (meaning the wicked) shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? Nay, the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end; but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather be of good comfort; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take up his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts; our wretched flesh and blood unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation, 2 Cor. v. (St. Paul meaning the body) be destroyed! We know assuredly we have a building not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Obtained they may be by Christ, esteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in heaven. But worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves, by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions, and dire change of realms and countries; and after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual misery. For they had rather, with Nabal, and his temporal pleasures, descend to the

devil, than with Christ, and his bodily troubles, ascend into the kingdom of God his father.

But an unwise man (saith the psalmist) comprehendeth them not, neither doth the foolish understand them; that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But onto this end do they so flourish, that they may be cut down, and cast into the fire for ever. For, as Job saith, 'Their joy lasteth but the twinkling of an eye,' and death shall lie gnawing upon them as doth the flock upon the pasture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance (as St. Mark saith) shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience.

Let us therefore (good Christians) be constant in obeying God rather then men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's truth; yet they cannot do it but by God's will, to his praise and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. These are the days of vengeance, saith Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled. Now therefore saith God by the mouth of his prophet, 'I will come unto thee, and will send my wrath upon thee.' Upon thee, I say, O England and punish thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abomination! Thou hast kindled the fire of God's wrath; and hast stirred up the coals. For thou wast once enlightened, and hadst tasted of the heavenly gift, and was become partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hadst tasted of the good word of God: yea, it is yet in thy mouth, saith the prophet. Alas; O England, thou kneweft thy Lord and master's will, but didst not do it! thou must, therefore, says he, suffer many stripes, and many sharp strokes.

Let the enemies of Christ, and all unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed; without hope of God's mercy, who know not God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their own salvation, and alone Saviour, nor believe in him.

But we are the children of saints, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them who change not their faith, and shrink not from him. Rejoice, therefore, ve Christian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which are kept as in the bosom of our most loving father, and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away, surely we shall live for ever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, 'my sheep hear my voice, I know them, they hearken unto me, and to no strangers, and I give them everlasting life: for they shall not be lost, and no man shall pluck them out of my hands.' No, nor yet this flattering world, with all its vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his threats, can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation or comfort, can we have more pleasant and effectual than this? God is on our side, and fighteth for us. As the world can do nothing against his might, neither in taking away, or diminishing from his glory, nor putting him from his celestial throne; so neither can it hurt any one of his children without his goodwill: for we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye. Let us, therefore, with earnest faith, lay fast hold on the promises in the gospel, and let us not be separated from the same by temptation, tribulation, or persecution.

Let us consider the truth of God to be invincible and immutable, promising and giving us, his faithful soldiers, life eternal. It is he only that has reserved it for us: it is his benefit only, and of only his mere mercy, and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not, therefore, the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gaudy toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness that is laid up in store for us against the last day. O that happy and joyful day. I mean to the faithful, when Christ, by his covenant, shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit with him, as he ascended and sitteth on the throne with his father! The same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted shall then with Christ be glorified: now in cruel hands as sheep appointed to die; then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children; where we shall have heavenly riches for earthly poverty; fullness of the presence of the glory of God, for hunger and thirst; celestial joys in the company of angels for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons; and life eternal for bodily death.

O happy souls! O precious death, and 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 Redeemer shall return, and come again into Sion, praising the Lord, and eternal mercies shall be over their heads; they shall obtain mirth and comfort. sorrow and woe shall be utterly vanquished. Yes, I am he, saith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation. To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be glory and praise for ever,

Amen. ROBERT SAMUEL." About the same time that Mr. Samuel suffered, several others shared the same fate, for adhering to the principles of the reformed religion.

WILLIAM ALLEN, a labouring man, was burnt at Walsingham, in Norfolk.

THOMAS COB, a butcher, suffered at Thetford, in the same county.

ROGER COO, an ancient man of independence, was burnt at Yexford, in Suffolk.

Four others also suffered about the same time at Canterbury, viz. GEORGE COTMER, ROBERT STREATER, ANTHONY BURWARD, and GEORGE BRODRIDGE; all of whom bore their punishment with Christian fortitude, glorifying God in the midst of the flames.

The Sufferings and Martyrdoms of Mr. ROBERT GLOVER, Gent. and CORNELIUS BONGEY, a Cap-Maker, both of the City of Coventry.

AT the time Mr. Glover was apprehended he lay sick at the house of his brother. John Glover, who had secreted himself, on account of a warrant being issued to bring him before his ordinary, on a suspicion of heresy.

Though Mr. Robert Glover was in great danger from the indisposition of his health, yet such was the brutality of the popish emissaries that they took him out of his bed and carried him to Coventry gaol, where he continued ten days, though no misdemeanor was alledged against him.

When the ten days were expired, in which he suffered great affliction from his illness, he was brought before his ordinary, the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, who told him that he must submit to ecclesiastical authority; and stand reproved for not coming to church. Mr. Glover assured his lordship, that he neither had, nor would, come to church, so long as the mass was used there, to save five hundred lives, challenging him to produce one proof from scripture to justify that idolatrous practice.

After a long altercation with the bishop, in which Mr. Glover, both learnedly and judiciously defended the doctrines of the reformation against the errors and idolatries of popery, and evinced that he was able to give a reason for the faith he professed, he was remanded back to Coventry gaol, where he was kept close prisoner, without a bed, though much indisposed; but nevertheless, the divine comforts enabled him to sustain such cruel treatment without repining, till, at length, he was permitted to provide himself with that necessary convenience.

From Coventry he was removed to Litchfield, where he was visited by the chancellor and prebendaries, who exhorted him to recant his errors and be dutiful to the holy mother-church; but he refused to conform to that, or any other church whose doctrines and practices were not founded on scripture authority, which he determined to make the sole rule of his religious conduct.

After this visit, he remained alone eight days, during which time he gave himself up to constant prayer and meditation on the exceeding precious promises of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to all true believers, daily amending in bodily health, and increasing in the true faith of the gospel. At the expiration of the eight days he was again brought before the bishop, who enquired how his imprisonment agreed with him, and warmly entreated him to become a member of the mother-church, which had continued many years; whereas the church of which he had professed himself a member, was not known but in the time of Edward VI.

With respect to the enquiry, our martyr was silent, treating it with that contempt which such mean behaviour in a prelate deserved, but told his lordship, that he professed himself a member of that church which is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; and then quoted that well-known passage in the epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians. This church, added he, has been from the beginning, though it bore no pompous shew before the world, being, for the most part, under crosses and afflictions, despised, rejected, and persecuted.

After much debate, in which Mr. Glover cited scripture for whatever he advanced, to the confusion and indignation of the haughty prelate, he was commanded, on his obedience, to hold his peace, as a proud and arrogant heretic.

Mr. Glover then, with a spirit becoming a man and a christian, told the bishop he was not to be convinced by insolent and imperious behaviour, but sound reasoning, founded on scripture; desiring, at the same time, that he would propound to him some articles; but the bishop chose to decline that method of proceeding, till he should be summoned to the consistory court, dismissing him with an assurance that he should be kept in prison, and there have neither meat or drink, till he recanted his heresies.

Our martyr heard the cruel words with patience and resignation, lifting up his heart to God, that he might be enabled to stand stedfast in the faith of the glorious gospel.

When he was brought into the consistory court, the bishop demanded of him how many sacraments Christ had instituted to be used in his church? He replied, two: baptism, and the Lord's Supper, and no more.

Being asked if he allowed confession, he answered in the negative.

With respect to the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, he declared that the mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, because they had taken away the true institution; and when they should restore it, he would give his judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.

After several other examinations, public and private, he was condemned as an heretic, and delivered over to the secular power.

CORNELIUS BONGEY, (who was apprehended much about the same time as Mr. Glover, and suffered with him) was examined by Randolph, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and the following allegations alledged against him:

- 1. That he did hold, maintain, and teach in the city of Coventry, that the priest hath no power to absolve a sinner from his sins.
- 2. That he asserted there were in the church of Christ but two sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.
- 3. That in the sacrament of the popish altar, there was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine even after consecration.
- 4. That for the space of several years, he did hold and defend that the pope is not the head of the visible church on earth.

Mr. Bongey acknowledged the justness of these allegations, and protested that he would hold fast to them so long as he lived; in consequence of which he also was delivered over to the secular power.

On the 20th of September, 1555, these two martyrs were led to the stake at Coventry, where they both yielded up their spirits to that God who gave them, hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious resurrection to life immortal.

JOHN and WILLIAM GLOVER, brothers to Robert, were sought after by the popish emissaries, in order to be brought to the stake, but they eluded their searches, and happily escaped. However, the resentment of the popish persecutors did not cease here, for after their deaths, the bones of one were taken up and dispersed in the highway; and the remains of the other were deposited in a common field.

The Martyrdoms of WILLIAM WOLSEY, Gent. and ROBERT PIGOT, Painter, both of the Isle of Ely, in the County of Cambridge.

Information being laid against these two persons by the popish emissaries, they were sought after, and soon apprehended. William Wolsey was first taken, and being brought before a neighbouring justice, was bound over to appear at the ensuing sessions, to be holden for the Isle of Ely. But a few days after he was taken into custody, and committed to Wisbeach gaol, there to remain till the next assizes for the county.

During his confinement here he was visited by the chancellor of Ely, who told him that he was out of the pale of the Catholic church, and desired that he would not meddle any more with the scriptures than became a layman.

After a short pause, Mr. Wolsey addressed the chancellor as follows: "Good doctor, what did our Saviour mean when he said in Matt. xxiii [v.13]: "Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in."

ROBERT PIGOT was apprehended, and brought before Sir Clement Hyam, judge, who reproved him severely for absenting himself from church. The reason he assigned for his absence was that he deemed the church a congregation of believers assembled together for the worship of God, according to the manner laid down in His most holy word; and not a church of human invention, founded on the whimsical fancy of fallible men.

In consequence of this answer he was, with Wolsey, committed to prison, where they both remained till the day appointed for their execution. During their confinement, several of the neighbours came to visit them, among whom was Peter Valerices, a Frenchman, chaplain to the bishop of Ely, who thus addressed them: "My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and more, wherefore, my brethren, I desire you to take it in good part. I desire not to force you from your faith, but I require and desire you in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of his gospel and his word; and I beseech Almighty God, for his son's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end, for I know not brethren, how soon I may be in the same case with you."

This address, being so different from what was expected, drew tears from all who were present, and greatly comforted our martyrs.

On the 9th of October, Pigot and Wolsey were brought before Dr. Fuller, the chancellor and other commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, who laid several articles to their charge, but particularly that of the sacrament of the altar.

When that article was proposed, they jointly declared the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the real body and blood of Christ was not present in the said sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stand, though at the peril of their lives, being founded on the authority of God's word, which enjoined the worship of the supreme God alone.

After this declaration, they were exhorted by Dr. Shaxton, one of the commissioners, to consider the danger of continuing in that belief, and recant the same, lest they should die here, and perish hereafter; adding that he had believed as they did, but was now become a new man in point of faith.

This not having any effect, Dr. Fuller upbraided Wolsey with obstinacy and fool-hardiness; but endeavoured to sooth Pigot into compliance, desiring one of the attendants to write to the following purport:

"I Robert Pigot do believe that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ, substantially the selfsame that was born of the Virgin Mary."

It was then read to Pigot; and his answer being required, he briefly said, "Sir, this is your faith, but never shall be mine, till you can prove it from scripture."

These two martyrs thus persevering in the faith of the pure gospel, sentence of death was passed, and they were both ordered to be burned as heretics.

On the 16th of October, 1555, the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted to the stake, amidst the lamentations of great numbers of spectators. Several English translations of the New Testament being ordered to be burned with them, they took each one of them in their hands, lamenting on the one hand the destroying of so valuable a repository of sacred truth, and glorying, on the other, that they were deemed worthy of sealing the same with their blood.

They both died in the triumph of faith, magnifying the power of divine grace, which enables the servants of God to glory in tribulation; and counts all things but dung and dross, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ their Redeemer.

The Lives, Sufferings and Martyrdoms of HUGH LATIMER, bishop of Worcester; and NICHOLAS RIDLEY, bishop of London.

HUGH LATIMER was born of mean parents at Thirkeston, in Leicestershire, about the year 1475, who gave him a good education, and sent him to Cambridge, where he shewed himself a zealous papist, and inveighed much against the reformers, who, at that time, began to make some figure in England. But conversing frequently with Thomas Bilney, the most considerable person at Cambridge of all those who favoured the reformation, he saw the errors of popery, and became a zealous protestant [CHCoG: in the early 1520's.]

Latimer being thus converted, laboured, both publicly and privately, to promote the reformed opinions, and pressed the necessity of a holy life in opposition to those outward performances which were then thought the essentials of religion. This rendered him obnoxious at Cambridge, then the seat of

ignorance, bigotry, and superstition. However, the unaffected piety of Mr. Bilney, and the chearful and natural eloquence of honest Latimer, wrought greatly upon the junior students, and increased the credit of the protestants so much that the papist clergy were greatly alarmed, and according to their usual practice, called aloud for the secular arm.

Under this arm Bilney suffered at Norwich: but his sufferings, far from shaking the reformation at Cambridge, inspired the leaders of it with new courage. Latimer began to exert himself more than he had yet done; and succeeded to that credit with his party, which Bilney had so long supported. Among other instances of his zeal and resolution in this cause, he gave one which was very remarkable: he had the courage to write to the king (Henry VIII.) against a proclamation, then just published, forbidding the use of the bible in English, and other books on religious subjects.

He had preached before his majesty once or twice at Windsor; and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his sovereign's favour might have raised in him, he chose to put all to the hazard, rather than omit what he thought his duty. His letter is the picture of an honest and sincere heart. He concludes in these terms:

"Accept, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written; I thought it my duty to mention these things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel. Indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your majesty may see through all the designs of evil men, and be in all things equal to the high office with which you are intrusted. Wherefore, gracious

king, remember yourself; have pity upon your own soul, and think that the day is at hand when you shall give account of your office, and the blood which has been shed by your sword: in the which day, that your grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which alone serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him, who suffered death for our sins. The Spirit of God preserve you."

Lord Cromwell was now grown up into power, and being a favourer of the reformation, he obtained a benefice in Wiltshire for Latimer, who immediately went thither and resided, discharging his duty in a very conscientious manner, though persecuted much at the same time by the Romish clergy; who, at length, carried their malice to far as to obtain an archiepiscopal citation for his appearance in London. His friends would have had him fly: but their persuasions were in vain. He set out for London in the depth of winter; and under a severe fit of the stone and cholic; but he was most distressed at the thoughts of leaving his parish exposed to the popish clergy.

On his arrival at London, he found a court of bishops and canonists ready to receive him; where instead of being examined, as he expected, about his sermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to subscribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of masses for the souls in purgatory, of prayers to the dead saints, of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and reliques, the pope's power to forgive sins, the doctrine of merit, the seven sacraments, and the worship of images; which, when he refused to sign, the archbishop, with a frown, begged he would consider what he did. "We intend not, (said he) Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you for the present; take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully, and God grant that at our next meeting we may find each other in better temper."

The next, and several succeeding meetings, the same scene was acted over again. He continued inflexible, and they continued to distress him. Three times every week they regularly sent for him, with a view either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to teaze him at length into compliance. Tired out with this usage, after he was summoned at last, instead of going he sent a letter to the archbishop, in which, with great freedom, he told him,

That the treatment he had lately met with had fretted him into such a disorder as rendered him unfit to attend that day; that in the mean time he could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate with his grace for detaining him so long from his duty; that it seemed to him most unaccountable that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others; that as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress; that if his sermons were what gave offence, which he persuaded himself were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them; that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people; and that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man; that if some abuses in religion did prevail, as was then commonly supposed, he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them; that he wished all pastors might be obliged to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to those who were willing; that as to the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused subscribing to them; while he lived, he never would abet superstition; and that, lastly, he hoped the archbishop would excuse what he had written: he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it; but in that case, he thought a stronger obligation laid upon him.

The bishops, however, continued their persecutions, but their schemes were frustrated in an unexpected manner. Latimer being raised to the see of Worcester in the year 1533, by the favour of Anne Boleyn, then the favourite wife of Henry, to whom, most probably, he was recommended by lord, Cromwell, he had now a more extensive field to promote the principles of the reformation, in which he laboured with the utmost pains and assiduity. All the historians of those times mention him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new office; and tell us that in overlooking the clergy of his diocese, he was uncommonly active, warm, and resolute, and presided in his ecclesiastical court with the same spirit. In visiting, he was frequent and observant; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; and in reproving and exhorting, severe and persuasive.

In 1536 he received a summons to attend the parliament and convocation, which gave him a further opportunity of promoting the work of reformation, whereon his heart was so much set. Many alterations were made in religious matters, and a few months after the bible was translated into English, and recommended to a general perusal, in October, 1537.

Latimer, highly satisfied with the prospect of the times, now repaired to his diocese, having made a longer stay in London than was absolutely necessary. He had no talents, and he pretended to have none, for state affairs. His whole ambition was to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, neither aiming to display the abilities of a statesman, nor those of a courtier. How very unqualified he was to support the latter of these characters, the following story will prove: it was the custom in those days for the bishops to make presents to the king on New-year's day, and many of them would present very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectancies. Among the rest, the bishop of Worcester, being then in town, waited upon the king with his offering; but instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down in a very conspicuous manner, to this passage; "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge."

In 1539 he was summoned again to attend the parliament; the bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, was his great enemy; who, upon a particular occasion, when the bishops were with the king, kneeled down and solemnly accused bishop Latimer of a seditious sermon preached at court. Being called upon by the king, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, Latimer was so far from denying and palliating what he had said that he boldly justified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern which a good conscience inspires, "I never thought myself worthy, said he, nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike it, to give place to my betters: for I grant there may be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I can be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed to have preached so at the borders of your realm as I preach before your grace." The greatness if his answer baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious smile, and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never used but to those he esteemed.

However, as the bishop could not give his vote for the act of the six papistical articles, drawn up by the duke of Norfolk. He thought it wrong to hold any office in a church where such terms of communion were required, and therefore he resigned his bishopric, and retired into the country, where he purposed to live a sequestered life. But in the midst of his security, an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempestuous weather which was abroad: he received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek out for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful

surgeons of those parts. With this view he repaired to London, where he had the misfortune to see the fall of his patron, the lord Cromwell: a loss which he was soon made sensible of; for Gardiner's emissaries quickly found him out in his concealment, and something which somebody had somewhere heard him say against the six articles, being alledged against him, he was sent to the Tower; where, without any judicial examination, he suffered, through one pretence or another, cruel imprisonment for the remaining six years of king Henry's reign.

On the death of Henry, the protestant interest revived under his son Edward; and Latimer, immediately upon the change of the government, was set at liberty. An address was made by the protector, to restore him to his bishopric: the protector was very willing to gratify the parliament, and proposed the resumption of his bishopric to Mr. Latimer; who now thinking himself unequal to the weight of it, refused to resume it, choosing rather to accept an invitation from his friend archbishop Cranmer, and to take up his residence with him at Lambeth; where his chief employment was to hear the complaints and redress the grievances of the poor people; and his character for services of this kind, was so universally known that strangers from every part of England would resort to him.

In these employments he spent more than two years, during which time he assisted the archbishop in composing the homilies, which were set forth by authority, in the first year of king Edward. He was also appointed to preach the Lent sermons before his majesty, which office he also performed during the three first years of his reign.

Upon the revolution which happened at court after the death of the duke of Somerset, he retired into the country, and made use of the king's licence as a general preacher in those parts, where he thought his labours might be most serviceable.

He was thus employed during the remainder of that reign, and continued the same course, for a short time, in the beginning of the

next; but as soon as the re-introduction of popery was resolved on, the first step towards it was the prohibition of all preaching, and licensing only such as were known to be popishly inclined. The bishop of Winchester, who was now prime-minister, having proscribed Mr. Latimer from the first, sent a message to cite him before the council. He had notice of this design some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence. The messenger found him equipped for his journey, at which, expressing his surprize, Mr. Latimer told him that he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that God, who had enabled him to stand before two princes, would enable him to stand before a third.

The messenger then acquainting him that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter, and departed. However, opening the letter, and finding it a citation from the council, he resolved to obey it, and set out immediately. As he passed through Smithfield, he said, chearfully, "This place of burning has long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who having loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the Tower, from whence, after sometime, he was removed to Oxford.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, bishop of London, received the earliest part of his education at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, from whence he was removed to the university of Cambridge, where his great learning and distinguished abilities so recommended him, that he was made master of Pembroke-hall, in that university.

After being some years in this office he left Cambridge, and travelled into various parts of Europe for the advancement of knowledge. On his return to England he was made chaplain to king Henry VIII. and bishop of Rochester, from which he was translated to the see of London by king Edward VI.

In private life he was pious, humane, and affable; in public he was learned, sound, and eloquent; diligent in his duty and very popular as a preacher.

He had been educated in the Roman catholic religion, but was brought over to that of the reformed by means of reading Bertram's book on the Sacrament; and he was confirmed in the same by frequent conferences with Cranmer and Peter Martyr, so that he became a zealous promoter of the reformed doctrines and discipline during the reign of king Edward.

On the accession of queen Mary he shared the same fate with many others who professed the truth of the gospel. Being accused of heresy, he was first removed from his bishopric, then sent prisoner to the Tower of London, and afterwards to Bocardo prison, in Oxford; from whence he was committed to the custody of Mr. Irish, mayor of that city, in whose house he remained till the day of his execution.

On the 30th of September, 1555, these two eminent prelates were cited to appear before the divinity-school at Oxford.

Agreeable to this citation, they both appeared on the day appointed. Dr. Ridley was first examined, and severely reprimanded by the bishop of Lincoln, because, when he heard the cardinal's grace, and the pope's holiness mentioned in the commission, he kept on his cap. The words of the bishop were to this effect: "Mr. Ridley, if you will not be uncovered in respect to the pope, and the cardinal his legate, by whose authority we sit in commission, your cap shall be taken off."

The bishop of Lincoln then made a formal harangue, in which he entreated Ridley to return to the holy mother-church, insisted on the antiquity and authority of the see of Rome, and of the pope as the immediate successor of St. Peter.

Dr. Ridley, in return, strenuously opposed the arguments of the bishop, and boldly vindicated the doctrines of the reformation.

After much debate, the five following articles were proposed to him, and his immediate and explicit answers required.

- 1. That he had frequently affirmed, and openly maintained and defended, that the true natural body of Christ, after consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.
- 2. That he had often publicly affirmed, and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.
- 3. That he had often openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.
- 4. That the aforesaid assertions have been solemnly condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical, and contrary to the Catholic faith, by the prolocutor of the convocation-house, and sundry learned men of both universities.
- 5. That all and singular the premises are true, and notoriously known, by all near at hand and in distant places.

To the first of these articles Mr. Ridley replied that he believed Christ's body to be in the sacrament, really by grace and spirit effectually, but not so as to include a lively and moveable body under the forms of bread and wine.

To the second he answered in the affirmative.

Part of the fourth he acknowledged, and part he denied.

To the fifth he answered that the premises were so far true, as his replies had set forth. Whether all men spake evil of them he knew not, because he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

He was then ordered to appear the following day in St. Mary's church, in Oxford, to give his final answer; after which he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

When Latimer was brought into court, the bishop of Lincoln warmly exhorted him to return to the unity of the church from

which he had revolted. The same articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley were read to Mr. Latimer, and he was required to give a full and satisfactory answer to each of them. His replies not being satisfactory to the court, he was dismissed; but ordered to appear in St. Mary's church, at the same time with Dr. Ridley.

On the day appointed the commissioners met, when Dr. Ridley being first brought before them, the bishop of Lincoln stood up, and began to repeat the proceedings of the former meeting, assuring him that he had full liberty to make what alterations he pleased in his answers to the articles proposed to him, and to deliver the same to the court in writing.

After some debate, Dr. Ridley took out a paper, and began to read; but the bishop interrupted him, and ordered the beadle to take the writing from him. The doctor desired permission to read on, declaring the contents were only his answers to the articles proposed; but the bishop and others, having privately reviewed it, would not permit it to be read in open court.

When the articles were again administered, he referred the notary to his writing, who set them down according to the same. The bishop of Gloucester affecting much concern for Dr. Ridley, persuaded him not to indulge an obstinate temper, but recant his erroneous opinions, and return to the unity of the holy Catholic church.

Mr. Ridley coolly replied he was not vain of his own understanding, but was fully persuaded that the religion he professed was founded on God's most holy and infallible word, and therefore he could not abandon or deny the same, consistent with his regard for the honour of God, and the salvation of his immortal soul. He desired to declare his reasons, wherefore he could not, with a safe conscience, admit of the popish supremacy, but his request was denied.

The bishop finding him inflexible in the faith, according to the doctrine of the reformation, thus addressed him: "Dr. Ridley, it is with the utmost concern that I observe your stubbornness and

obstinacy, in persisting in damnable errors and heresies; but unless you recant, I must proceed to the other part of my commission, though very much against my will and desire."

Mr. Ridley not making any reply, sentence of condemnation was read; after which he was carried back to confinement.

When Mr. Latimer was brought before the court, the bishop of Lincoln informed him that though they had already taken his answers to certain articles alledged against him, yet they had given him time to consider on the same, and would permit him to make what alterations he should deem fit, hoping by that means to reclaim him from his errors, and bring him over to the faith of the holy Catholic church.

The articles were again read to him, but he deviated not, in a single point, from the answers he had already given.

Being again warned to recant and revoke his errors, he refused, declaring that he never would deny God's truth, which he was ready to seal with his blood. Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against him, and he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

A few days after this they were both solemnly degraded by the bishop of Gloucester and the vice-chancellor of Oxford; after which they were delivered over to the secular power.

The 16th of October, 1555, was the day appointed for their execution, and the place Townditch, behind Baliol college.

Mr. Latimer went to the stake in an humble, plain lay-dress, and Dr. Ridley in his ecclesiastical habit, which he wore when a bishop. They embraced each other on the melancholy occasion; and Dr. Ridley encouraged his fellow-labourer, and fellowsufferer, in the cause of Christ, to be of good cheer, assuring him that God would either assuage the fury of the flames, or enable them to endure them.

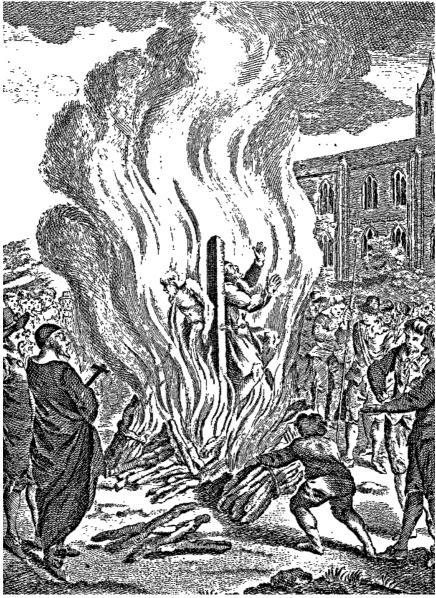
Our martyrs then kneeled down, and with great earnestness, prayed to Almighty God to enable them to sustain the fiery trial that awaited them. When they arose from prayer, one of the

popish priests, in an occasional sermon, upbraided them with heresy and departure from the church of Christ. Dr. Ridley was desirous of vindicating himself from the aspersion of the priest, but was denied that liberty, and commanded to prepare immediately for the fire, unless he would recant and abjure his heretical opinions. Without hesitation, therefore, he took off his cloaths, distributed them among the populace, and together with Latimer, was chained to the stake.

Latimer soon expired, crying, "O father of heaven receive my soul." But Ridley, by reason of the fire burning low, and not flaming about his body, endured the most exquisite torture, leaping in the fire, and begging, for Christ's sake, that the flames might surround him; till, at length, some of the spectators having taken off part of the faggots, the fire had vent, and the bag of gunpowder that was fastened to his neck exploded, after which he was not seen to move, but fell down at the feet of his fellow-sufferer.

Thus did these two pious divines and stedfast believers, testify with their blood, the truth of the everlasting gospel, upon which depends all the sinner's hopes of salvation; to suffer for which was the joy, the glory of many eminent Christians, who, having followed their dear Lord and Master through much tribulation in this vale of tears, will be glorified for ever with him, in the kingdom of his father and our father, of his God and our God.

Mr. Latimer, at the time of his death, was in the eightieth year of his age, and preserved the principles he had professed with the most distinguished magnanimity. He had naturally a happy temper, formed on the principles of true christianity. Such was his chearfulness that none of the accidents of life could discompose him: such was his fortitude that not even the severest trials could unman him; he had a collected spirit, and on no occasion wanted a resource; he could retire within himself, and hold the world at defiance.



MARTYRDOMS of the Bishops RIDLEY and LATIMER, Who were Burnt together in one Fire at Oxford.

And as danger could not daunt, so neither could ambition allure him: though conversant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preserved, to the last, (a rare instance of moderation!) his primeval plainness: in his profession he was indefatigable; and that he might bestow as much time as possible on the active part of it, he allowed himself only those hours for his private studies when the busy world is at rest, constantly rising, at all seasons of the year, by two in the morning. How conscientious he was in the discharge of the public parts of his office, we have many examples. No man could persuade more forcibly; no man could exert, on proper occasions, a more commanding severity. The wicked, in whatever station, he rebuked with centorian dignity, and awed vice more than the penal laws.

He was not esteemed a very learned man, for he cultivated only useful learning, and that he thought lay in a very narrow compass. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himself only in his profession. Thus he lived, rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not those commanding talents which give superiority in business; but for purity and sincerity of heart, for true simplicity of manners, for apostolic zeal in the cause of religion, and for every virtue, both of a public and private kind, which should adorn the life of a Christian, he was eminent beyond most men of his own, or any other time.

As to his sermons, which are still extant, and of which an edition was published upwards of twenty years since, they are, indeed, far enough from being exact pieces of composition; yet his simplicity and low familiarity, his humour and drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceeding popular. His action, and manner of preaching too, were very affecting; and no wonder; "for he spoke immediately from his heart." His abilities, however, as an orator made only an inferior part of his character as a preacher. What particularly recommends him is that noble and apostolic zeal which he continually exerted in the cause of truth.

Mr. Ridley was no less indefatigable in promoting the reformed religion, than his fellow-sufferer Mr. Latimer. He was naturally of a very easy temper, and distinguished for his great piety and humanity to the distressed. He persevered, to the last, in that faith he had professed, and resigned up his life in defence of the truth of the gospel.

Both these worthy prelates, during their confinement, employed their time in writing various pieces, to propagate that gospel to which they had strictly adhered. They also wrote great numbers of letters to their respective friends and particular acquaintances.

Among the pieces written by Dr. Ridley, was a farewel address to the university of Cambridge, and particularly to the members of Pembroke-hall, of which he had been master. He also wrote addresses of the same nature, to the cities of Rochester, (the see of which he had some time held) Westminster, and London. But as all these are too tedious to be here inserted, we shall only preserve the following extract from the latter:

O London, London, to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewel? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's word, and were the true setters forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some confined in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death, for Christ's gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully, the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I

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am) deposed and expulsed by judgment, as unjust usurper of that room? O judgment! judgment! Can this be just judgment, to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever suffer him to have any place, or time, to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed, either of God or man? Well, as for the cause, or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods, which thou possessest yet, I refer it onto God, who is a just judge; and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day; this only I can pray for.

O thou now wicked and bloody see, why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which, by the word of God, were justly taken away? Why dost thou daily delude thy people, masking in thy masses instead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common, as well (saith Chrysostom, yea the Lord himself) to the people as to the priest?

How darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the Common-Prayer in a strange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth, in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified?

Nay, hearken thou whorish bawd of Babylon, thou wicked limb of Anti-Christ, thou bloody wolf, why slayest thou down, and makest havock of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou, so cruelly, Christ's poor silly sheep, which will not hear thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and will follow none other but their own pastor Christ, his voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make; that thy deaf and dumb god, I say, will not, indeed, nor can, (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy maker) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord, or Saviour and Redeemer, who sitteth on the right hand of his father in glory, he seeth all thy wicked ways, and cruelty, done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones, and his hands (O thou whorish drab) shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewel to thee, now I say, fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab, and all thy false prophets.

Yet thou, (O London) I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus has now both handled me and the saints of God; yet I do not doubt, but in that great city there may be many pious mourners, who do daily mourn for that mischief, who never did, nor shall, consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewel with their fellows hereafter, when place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and especially which were in office of mayoralty, yea, and in other cities also, (whom now to name is not necessary) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hill's year, unto Sir George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as me thought: but (to say the truth,) that I do esteem, above all other, for true Christian kindness, which is shewed in God's cause, and done for his sake.

Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight, thou, in thy year, didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee, were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor silly members to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine; thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren, the aldermen of the city, before whom thou breakedst the matter for the poor; thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council-chamber of the city, before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an advocate, by office and duty. in the poor men's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the commoncouncil, and so to the whole body of the city; by whom, with an uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens, and politic; endued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chose in all the whole city; and they, like true and faithful ministers, both to their city and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of silly poor

members of Christ, which else, for extreme hunger and misery, should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the commoncouncil, and the whole body of the city; but especially thee, O Dobs, and those chosen men by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that so long, throughout all ages, as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end. Amen.

And thou, O Sir George Barnes, the truth is to be confessed to God's glory; and to the good example of others, thou wast, in thy year, not only a furtherer and continuer of that, which, before thee, by thy predecessor, was well begun, but also didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing, and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up an house of occupations, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city, and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those, which, in the hospitals aforesaid, had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour, both of thee and of thy brethren, and of that godly king Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely palace of Bridewell, and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition is not unknown. That this thine endeavour has not had like success, the

fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord, of his infinite mercy, vouchsafed to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

Farewel now all ye citizens that be of God, of what state and condition soever ye be. Undoubtedly, in London, you have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire, and daily prayer, shall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable; that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto Anti-Christ: whereupon must needs follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls, into perpetual damnation for evermore.

Thus fare ye all well. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth.

Amen."

A few days after Latimer and Ridley suffered, three others shared the like fate for professing the truth of the gospel. Their names were:

JOHN WEBB, Gent.

GEORGE ROPER; and

GREGORY PARKE.

They were all burnt in one fire at Canterbury, most patiently, enduring their torments, and accounting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for the gospel of their Redeemer.

The bloody transactions of the year 1555, were terminated in the death of Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, who, after a long confinement, during which he underwent various examinations, was, at length, brought to the stake in Smithfield, on the 18th of December, where

he patiently resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it. He was it very learned man, and pious Christian; and during his confinement wrote a great number of letters to his friends and others; as also a variety of treatises on that religion in defence of which he gave up his existence in this mortal world. Among his various writings was the following:

A Prayer to be said at the Stake, by all those whom God shall account worthy to suffer for his Sake.

"MERCIFUL God and Father, to whom our Saviour Christ approached in his fear and need, by reason of death, and found comfort; gracious God, and most bounteous Christ, on whom Stephen called in his extreme need; and received strength: most benign holy Spirit, which, in the midst of all crosses of death, didst comfort the apostle St. Paul with more consolations in Christ, than he felt sorrows and terrors, have mercy upon me, a miserable, vile, and wretched sinner, who now draws near the gates of death, deserved both in soul and body eternally, by reason of manifold, horrible, old and new transgressions, which in thine eves, O Lord, are open and known: O be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-shedding of thine own only Son Jesus Christ, and though thy justice doth require (in respect of my sins) that now thou shouldest not hear me, measuring me in the same measure I have measured thy majesty, contemning thy daily calls: yet let thy mercy; which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled; let thy mercy, I say, prevail towards me, through, and for the mediation of Christ our Saviour. And for whose sake, in that it hath pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of his witnesses, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth

taught by him, to give my life therefore (to which dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any so unworthy and to unmeet, no not the thief that hanged with him on the cross): I most humbly, therefore, pray thee, that thou wouldest accordingly aid, help, and assist me with thy strength and heavenly grace; that, with Christ thy Son, I may find comfort, with Stephen I may see thy presence and gracious power, with Paul, and all others, who, for thy name's sake, have suffered afflictions and death, I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may, by my death, glorify thy holy name, propagate and ratify thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy church in thy truth, convert some that are to be converted, and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do daily heap sin upon sin, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy; whereof now give, and increase in me a lively trust, sense, and feeling where, through the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of sin, the darts of Satan, and the horrors of hell, may never depress me, but may be driven away through the working of that most gracious Spirit; which now plenteously endue me withal, that through the same Spirit I may offer (as I now desire to do in Christ by him) myself wholly, soul and body, to be a lively sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy sight. Dear father; whose I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb, yea even before the world was made, to whom I commend myself, soul and body, family and friends, country, and all the whole church, yea even my very enemies, according to thy good pleasure; beseeching thee entirely to give, once more, to this realm of England the blessing of thy word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and

setting forth of the same. O dear Father, now give me grace to come unto thee. Purge, and so purify me by this fire, in Christ's death and passion, through thy Spirit, that I may be a burnt-offering of a sweet smell in thy sight, who livest and reignest with the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore, world without end. Amen.

The persecutions and Sufferings of THOMAS WHITTELL, Priest; BARTLET GREEN, Gent. JOHN TUDSON, JOHN WENT, THOMAS BROWN, ISABEL FOSTER, and JOAN LASHFORD; all of whom were burnt together in Smithfield, for professing the truth of the Gospel.

THE popish emissaries having laid informations against these seven persons, they were all apprehended, and being brought together before bishop Bonner, at his consistory court in St. Paul's church, the following articles were exhibited against them, after the usual introductory parade, the substance of which is thus expressed:

"These articles, and every part and parcel of them, we Edmund Bonner, by the permission of God, bishop of London; do object and minister unto thee Thomas Whittell, &c. of our meer office, for thy soul's health, and reformation of thine offences and misdemeanors, admonishing thee; in virtue of obedience, and under the pains both of the censures of the church, and the laws of the realm, to answer fully, plainly, and truly to the same."

1. Whether you, and each of you, do believe there is a Catholic church?

To this they replied in the affirmative; but Tudson and Brown added further, that the church |of England as it was at present used, was not part of the true Catholic church.

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The Pious and Learned Mr. JOHN PHILPOT praying at the place of his MARTYRDOM in Smithfield.

2. That there are in the church seven sacraments.

To this they answered in the negative, declaring they acknowledged only two sacraments in Christ's Catholic church, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Went and Tudson affirmed that the sacrament of the altars then used was an idol, and consequently no sacrament.

3. That they were first baptized in the faith of the Cathelic church, professing, by their godfathers, their faith in the same.

They all confessed they were baptized in the faith of Christ, and of the church then used; but that afterwards, during the reign of king Edward VI. hearing the gospel preached, and the great truths of the same opened and explained, they followed the forms and doctrines then used and set forth.

4. That they, for the space of certain years, did ratify and allow, and not depart from any part of the profession of the same church, in which they were baptized.

To this article they all assented; but John Went added, moreover, that about seven years past, being then twenty years old, he began to dislike certain ceremonies used in the church of England and did at present dislike the same, though his godfather and godmother promised for him to the contrary.

Tudson also declared that nine years ago, being then about eighteen years old, he disapproved the doctrines and ceremonies then taught and set forth in the church of England excepting in the time of king Edward, when the gospel was truly preached; but that the religion set forth in the present reign was not agreeable to God's word, nor the true Catholic church, instituted by Christ and his apostles.

Isabel Foster declared, in answer to this fourth article, that she continued in the same faith and religion in which she was baptized, after she came to years of discretion, till the reign of king Edward VI. at which time, hearing the gospel fully and faithfully preached, she received and embraced the doctrines then taught and set forth.

5. That they, of late years, have swerved, and gone away and spoken against the profession of the same church of England at least some part thereof, especially the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the church of Rome.

This they all acknowledged, but Whittell added to the general confession that he had swerved not in the whole, but in part, not from the whole Catholic church, but from the church of Rome, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice thereof, and the supremacy of the pope.

Joan Lashford also declared that she never heretofore swerved, or did swerve from any part of Christ's Catholic faith and religion; but that from the time she was eleven years of age, she disliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the papal see, as well as the doctrines and practices of the same, because they were contrary to God's holy word, and the religion contained in the gospel.

6. That they refused to be reconciled to the unity of the church of Rome.

This they all acknowledged, because that church, and its doctrines and practices, were contrary to the unity of Christ's word, and the true Catholic faith.

Bartlet Green added that he was contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's Catholic church, but not to the church of Rome.

7. That they refused to come to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, calling it an idol.

This also they confessed to be true, assigning as a reason, that the mass, with the sacrament thereof, as then used and set forth in the church of England was dissonant and disagreeable to the word and preaching of the gospel.

Went farther observed, that the mass, which he called the Lord's Supper, as then used in the realm of England was full of idolatry and against God's word; and that he much repented his

having been present at the same, through fear of persecution, since the queen's coronation.

Isabel Foster confessed she had not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but refused coming into the place where it was administered, because she knew there was no such sacrament founded on the word of God.

Being asked her belief concerning the same, she declared there was only material bread and material wine, and not the real substance of the body and blood of Christ in the same sacrament, as she had been taught to believe by the ministers of the gospel in the time of king Edward VI. when she believed the word of God was preached in its purity.

8. That they were sent by the commissioners to the bishop to be examined and imprisoned.

Generally granted.

9. That all and singular the premises have been, and are true and manifest, and that they are of the diocese and jurisdiction of London.

Generally granted.

Such was the general examination of these persons in the consistory-court of the bishop of London. We shall now proceed to a more minute and circumstantial relation of the particulars of each, individually considered.

THOMAS WHITTELL was a married priest, and an eminent and laborious minister of the gospel in the county of Essex during the reign of Edward VI. but on the accession of queen Mary, with other faithful labourers in the vineyard of Christ, was deprived of his living, and wandered from place to place, preaching in private as often as opportunity afforded.

In process of time he was apprehended by one of the popish emissaries, who, amongst many others, made a trade of informing against heretics, (as they were then called) and brought before the bishop of Winchester, who being at that time indisposed, he was

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referred to the bishop of London. When he appeared before his lordship, he asked him, if he would have come to mass that morning if he had been sent for?

Whittell replied he would have obeyed the summons of his lordship, though he had no veneration for the mass.

Bonner was so incensed at this reply, that striking him with his fist on his face, he said, "Villain, thou shalt be fed with bread and water."

The bishop afterwards employed a neighbouring priest to tamper with Whittell, promising him considerable preferment in the church if he would recant his erroneous opinions, and acknowledge the papal supremacy; but Mr. Whittell assured the priest that he thought he held nothing but the truth, and therefore he could not so slightly abjure the same.

A paper to the following purport was then read to him, in order for his subscribing the same: "I Thomas Whittell, priest of the diocese of London, acknowledge and confess with my mouth, agreeing with my heart, before you, reverend Father in God, Edmund, by the grace of God, bishop of London, my ordinary, that I do detest and abhor all manner of heresies and errors against the sacrament of the altar, or any of the sacraments of the church: which heresies and errors have heretofore been condemned in anywise, by the Catholic church: and I do protest and declare, by these presents, that I do both no hold, observe, and keep in all points, the Catholic faith, and belief of Christ's church, according as this church of England, being a member of the said Catholic church, doth now profess and keep, and in no wise to swerve or decline from the said faith during my natural life, submitting myself wholly and fully to you, reverend father, my said ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times; in witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name."

To this bill, Whittell, at the instigation of the popish emissary, and through fear of punishment, subscribed his name; and the

priest left him for that night, with a promise of his liberty in the morning.

But when our martyr came to reflect seriously on his conduct in abjuring the truth of God's most holy word, and denying his great Lord and Master Jesus Christ, the sole head of the church militant and triumphant, he suffered inconceivable horrors of conscience, insomuch that, bereft of sleep, he threw himself on the ground, and during the whole night, deplored his backsliding and treachery to a merciful Saviour and Redeemer; nor could he eat, or enjoy any comfort of life, till he sent for the priest, told him the horrors that had wrung his soul, and torn his name from the paper he had subscribed.

His troubled mind was now at rest, and though he had no prospect before him but flames and certain death, he triumphed in what he had done, determining to live and die in the faith of Christ, nor retract the same on the severest penalty; and he was enabled, by the grace of God, to abide by the resolution, for he was soon after brought into the bishop's court, and again examined, when holding fast to the truth of the gospel, he received sentence of death.

BARTLET GREEN was descended from a good family, and educated at the university of Oxford, where, by reading the divinity lectures of Peter Martyr, he obtained a sound knowledge of the Christian faith, and became a zealous professor of the pure gospel of Christ.

After leaving the university, he became a member of the Temple society, and applied himself to the study of the common law, though he neglected not the scriptures, in which, for some time, he much delighted. But as evil communication generally corrupts good manners, Mr. Green, by contracting an intimacy with several of his fellow-students, was tainted with their vices and follies, and began to wax lukewarm in his profession; though it pleased Almighty God, by the power of divine grace, and the

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illuminations of his Spirit, in a little time, to convince him of the error of his ways, give him that repentance which was necessary for his salvation, and enable him to be close with Christ for ever and ever, as he signified to a friend a little time before he suffered for the glorious cause.

The first cause of suspicion that Mr. Green deviated from the church of Rome arose from a letter he wrote to one of his fellow-students at Oxford who had fled beyond sea, on account of his religion. This letter was an answer to one he had received from his friend, in which he was desired to inform him concerning the truth of a report which had been propagated, that the queen was dead.

The letter being intercepted, was much aggravated by the queen's council, as having a treasonable meaning; on which Mr. Green was taxed with having been the author of some printed questions that were lately dispersed in the city, and on that suspicion committed to the Fleet.

Although on examination, no part of the charge could be proved, they still detained him, in order to propose some questions relative to religion, and thereby inveigle him into confessions that might afford them an opportunity of persecuting him as an enemy to the principles of the Romish persuasion.

This artful procedure had the desired effect, for though they could not prosecute him on the charge alledged, they inferred from the very correspondence that he maintained opinions contrary to the holy mother-church, and committed him, on meer presumption, to the Tower.

After they had confined him some time, they sent him to the bishop of London, and a letter with him, acquainting his lordship that he was erroneous in his religious principles, and desiring that he might be treated accordingly.

The bishop, in the presence of several other prelates, the archdeacon and dean, treated Mr. Green with much respect, and enquired the cause of his imprisonment. Our martyr informed his lordship that he was confined on account of a letter he had wrote to

an intimate friend, whose name was Gorden, though he had made proper submission.

Though Bonner at first treated him with affected tokens of respect, yet he appeared desirous of adding him to the number butchered by the bigoted sons of the Roman church; for when he had vindicated himself from the charge brought against him, he asked him, if since he was a prisoner he had not spoken, or written, against the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar? Mr. Green desired his lordship not to put new questions to him, as he was cleared of the old; upon which a lawyer present assured him that though he was cleared of treason, yet, if during his confinement he had maintained heretical opinions, his ordinary had a right to proceed against him on that account.

One Chadrey, a priest, being sent for, asserted that in the presence of the lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. Green had spoken against the real pretence and the sacrifice of the mass, and averred that the church of Rome was the church of Anti-Christ.

Being asked by the bishop if the charge was true, and if he would defend the same by scholastic reasoning, he replied that he had not presumption enough to make such an attempt before so learned a body; but that he was satisfied in his own mind concerning those points, which were sufficient for his salvation.

The lawyer then took Mr. Green aside, and desired him not to oppose the judgment of so many learned men, and indeed the whole church; but to conform to the doctrines and ceremonies of the same, as of undoubted authority, and indisputable validity. This effort, however, not proving effectual, the bishop used the most soothing means to gain Mr. Green over to the popish cause. He invited him to sup at his own table, lodge in his palace, and accept of other distinguished tokens of respect. From hence the artful prelate took occasion to ask him why he departed from the literal sense of the words in the sacrament, where Christ says, "This is my body?"

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Mr. Green endeavoured to evade the answer, but being pressed by the bishop, replied, he was inclined to reject the literal sense from the manner of speaking, from the circumstance itself, and by comparing it with other passages of scripture, allowing that Christ took bread, and affirmed it to be his body, though he could not understand the affirmation as literal, but as figurative, in the same manner as when Christ is called a door, a vine, a way, &c.

Our martyr was for the present dismissed, but afterwards sent for and examined by the bishop and several others; when he continued stedfast in his faith, notwithstanding the strongest persuasions, and most delusive arguments were used to make him recant.

All endeavours thus failing, he was summoned to appear at the consistory court, where he underwent an examination concerning the articles already mentioned. The following are the particular answers he gave to the articles proposed to him, as drawn up by the bishop's register, at the command of his lordship.

"I Bartlet Green, born in the city of London, in the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw, of the diocese of London, aged twenty-five years, being examined in the bishop's palace there the 27th of November, 1555, upon certain articles, answered as followeth, viz.

That neither in the time of king Edward the Sixth, after the mass by him was put down, nor in the time of queen Mary, when the mass was restored again, he has heard any mass at all; but he saith, in the reign of the said queen's majesty, he, the said Bartlet, at two several times, on two Easter-days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in king Edward's time, in the parish of St. Michael's Cornhill, in the diocese of London, did receive the communion with the said Pulline, and Christopher Goodman, some time reader of the divinity-lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the sea; and the second time with the said Pulline, and one Runneger, master of arts, of Magdalen college, in Oxford.

And this examinant also saith, that at both the said communions, he, and the others before named, did take and receive bread and wine; which bread and wine, he saith, were used there by the said Pulline, only reading the words of the institution expressed in the book of communion. In which receiving and using, this examinant saith that he and others aforesaid, did receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and that they received material bread and material wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real presence of the body and blood of Christ being there, but only grace added thereto.

And this examinant saith, that he has heretofore, during the reign of the queen's majesty aforesaid, refused, and so doth now refuse to come and hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, as they are now used and ministered in the church of England because he saith that concerning the mass, he cannot be persuaded in his conscience, that the sacrifice pretended to be in the same is agreeable to God's word, or maintainable by the same, or that without deadly offence, he can worship the body and blood of Christ, which is pretended to be there.

And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, this examinant saith that he heretofore, during the said reign, had refused, and now doth refuse, to receive the same, as it is now used in the church of England because it is not usual; according to the institution of Christ, both in a strange tongue, and also not ministered in both kinds; and besides that, contrary to

God's word, it is taught that the thing there ministered is to be adored as the real and true body of Christ.

And furthermore this examinant saith that during the said reign he has not confessed to the priest, nor received the absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by God's word to make articular confession.

BARTLET GREEN.

Many lucrative offers were made him during his confinement, if he would conform to the church of Rome; but he rejected them all with a Christian disdain, fully resolved not to commit an act, on any terms, so repugnant to the dictates of his conscience.

While he was in Newgate he conducted himself in a manner perfectly consistent with the cause he professed, giving friendly advice to the most abandoned of the malefactors, relieving such prisoners as were in circumstances of distress, and procuring the release of some whom he considered objects of pity and compassion.

As he lived, so he died, becoming a follower of Christ, resigning himself up to the cruelty of his tormentors; and patiently submitting to his lot of trial here, in order to appear hereafter as gold ten times purified in the fire, and made meet to partake of the inheritance of the saints in light.

THOMAS BROWNE resided in the parish of St. Bride's Fleetstreet, and at the instigation of the constable of the parish was brought before the bishop of London, for absenting himself from church. After his first examination he was dismissed, but in a few days received a summons to attend the bishop at his palace at Fulham. Here he underwent another examination by his lordship, and others, concerning his faith; when he gave answers to all their questions in a manner that was consistent with the principles of a strenuous advocate for the truth of the gospel. On the close of this second examination he was again dismissed for the present; but required by the bishop to attend mass the next day at the palace. Instead of obeying this order, he retired to an adjacent field, where he kneeled down, and prayed in private. Information of this being given to the bishop, he was highly incensed, as he imputed our martyr's conduct to an impious contempt of the mass.

Being brought before the bishop a third time, his lordship told him he had taken much pains to reclaim him, and yet he had reported that he sucked his blood. To this our martyr replied that he was, indeed, a blood-sucker; but if he could prove him guilty of heresy from scriptures he would conform to the church of Rome. That he condemned him because he would not confess and believe the bread in the sacrament of the altar (as he called it) to be the body of Christ, therefore he shed his blood, and not only his but that of many of the queen's loyal subjects, for which he must answer at a more just and impartial tribunal than that of his bloody consistory.

After this reply he was condemned, delivered over to the secular power; and committed to Newgate.

JOHN TUDSON was brought before the cruel and arbitrary Bonner, to be proceeded against according to ecclesiastical law for not conforming to the holy mother-church.

The bishop, after repeated examinations; publicly condemned him in the consistory court of London, for adhering to doctrines he had been taught by the preachers in the time of king Edward the Sixth.

He persisted stedfastly in his faith, and courageously suffered in the cause of the gospel.

JOHN WENT and ISABEL FOSTER underwent the same trial, and were condemned to suffer the same fate.

JOAN LASHFORD had attended her father-in-law John Warne, and her own mother Elizabeth Warne, when they were confined under condemnation for heresy, for which, as we have already observed, they were both burned. This giving suspicion that she was one of the obnoxious persons, in those days called heretics, she was brought before bishop Bonner, and by him examined and condemned.

On the 27th of January, 1556, these seven believers in, and faithful servants of, Christ, were conducted from Newgate to Smithfield, there to endure the last torments that could be inflicted on them by their cruel persecutors. They all went with great chearfulness, singing hymns to the praise of their Redeemer, both in the way to and at the place of execution. Bartlet Green, in particular, frequently repeated the following lines:

O Christ, my God, sure hope of health, Besides thee have I none: The truth I love, and falsehood hate, Be thee my guide alone.

They were chained to three different stakes, but consumed together in one fire, freely yielding up their lives in testimony of the truth, and sealing with their blood, the doctrines of that gospel they had so zealously supported.

Two of these worthy martyrs, namely, Thomas Whittle and Bartlet Green, wrote a great number of letters to their friends and acquaintances during their confinement; among which, as mementos, we shall preserve one of each.

Bartlet Green had been educated at the university, and afterwards studied the law in the Temple, where he gave a loose to the follies and vanities of the young men of that age. In the course of some time he was sensibly convicted of the impropriety of his conduct, and heartily bewailed that he had not sooner amended. This appears evident from the following epistle, which he wrote a

short time before his death, and left in a book belonging to Mr. Bartram Colthrop, one of his most intimate acquaintances:

Two things have very much troubled me whilst 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 vain-glory is so subtle an adversary, that almost it woundeth deadly, ere ever a man can perceive himself to be smitten, therefore we ought, so much the rather; by continual prayer, to 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 the more apt to serve God, and perform our duties towards our neighbours, then stealeth it 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. And remember what Solomon saith, 'A patient man is better than a strong warrior; and he that conquereth his own stomach, is better than he that conquereth towns and cities'

BARTLET GREEN.

Agreement of minds, joining in unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and stedfast amity. Farewel, (my Bartram) and remember me, that we may be like to meet together hereafter. Farewel. At, Newgate, January 20, 1556.

Set sober love against hasty wrath.

BARTLET GREEN.

A Letter from Mr. Thomas Whittle to Messrs; Filles and Cuthbert, two of his Particular Friends; written a short Time before his Death.

MY dear and well-beloved brethren in Christ, Mr. Filles and Cuthbert, I wish you all welfare of soul and body. Welfare to the soul is repentance of sin, faithful affiance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body in the health of the same, with all necessary things for this life. The soul of man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, lest immortality to joy should turn to immortality of sorrow. As for the body, be it never so well kept, and much made of, yet shortly, by nature; will it perish and decay: but those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true faith, feeling the motion of God's holy Spirit, as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and stirring them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice, and embrace virtue, will not only do these things, but also, if need require, will gladly take up their cross, and follow their captain, their king and their Saviour Jesus Christ, (as his poor afflicted church of England now doth) against that false and Anti-Christian doctrine and religion now used, and especially that blasphemous mass, wherein Christ's Supper, and holy ordinance, is altogether perverted and abused, contrary to his institution, and to Paul's proceedings: so that that which they have in their mass is neither sacrament of Christ, nor yet a sacrifice for sin, as the priests falsely pretend. It is a sacrament that is, as St. Augustine saith, 'A visible sign of invisible grace' when it is administered to the communicants according to

Christ's example, and as it was, of late years, in this realm. And as for sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sin: 'For Christ, with one sacrifice, has perfected for ever those that are sanctified.'

Beware of false religion, and men's vain traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear, according to the doctrine of his gospel; whereto cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked men ye are hated and accursed. Rather drink of the cup of Christ with his church, than of the cup of that rosecoloured whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations. Rather strive ye to go to heaven by the path which is strait to flesh and blood, with the little flock, than to go in the wide way, following the enticements of the world and the flesh, which leadeth to damnation.

Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, saith St. Peter, so arm ye yourselves with the same mind: for Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example to follow his footsteps. Blessed are they that suffer for his sake, great is their reward in heaven. He that overcometh (saith St. John, Rev. ii. 3.) shall eat of the tree of life; he shall have a crown of life, and not be hurt of the second death: he shall be cloathed with white array, and not be put out of the book of life; yea, I will confess his name, saith Christ, before my Father, and before his angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and sit with me on my seat. And thus I bid you farewel, mine own brethren, and dear fellows in Christ; whose grace and peace be always with you. Amen.

This world I do forsake To Christ I me take;

And for his gospel's sake, Patiently death I take.

My body to the dust, Now to return it must; My soul, I know full well, With my God it shall dwell. THOMAS WHITTLE.

Four days after the before-mentioned seven martyrs suffered in Smithfield, five others were burnt at Canterbury. Their names were:

JOHN LOMAS, ANNE ALBRIGHT, JOAN COTMER, AGNES SNOTH, and JOAN SOLE.

These five stedfast servants of God, and willing followers of Christ, were bound together at two stakes, rejoicing in the flames, and chanting hallelujahs to God and the Lamb, who had given them the victory over all their enemies, and a good hope, through grace, that when this earthly tabernacle was dissolved, they should have a house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens.

CHAP. VI.

Account of the Life, Sufferings, and Martyrdom of THOMAS CRANMER, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury.

THIS eminent prelate was born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, on the 2d of July, 1489. His family was ancient, and came in with William the Conqueror. He was early deprived of his father Thomas Cranmer, Esq; and after no extraordinary education, was sent by his mother to Cambridge, at the age of fourteen, according to the custom of those times.

Having compleated his studies at the university, he took the usual degrees, and was so well beloved that he was chosen fellow of Jesus college; soon after which he became celebrated for his great learning and abilities.

In 1521 he married, by which he forfeited the fellowship of Jesus college; but his wife dying in child-bed within the year, he was re-elected. This favour he most gratefully acknowledged, and chose to decline an offer of a much more valuable fellowship in cardinal Wolsey's new seminary at Oxford, rather than relinquish friends who had treated him with the most distinguished respect.

In 1523 he commenced doctor of divinity; and being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen divinity-lecturer in his own college, and appointed by the university, one of the examiners in that science. In this office he principally inculcated the study of the holy scriptures, then greatly neglected, as being indispensably necessary for the professors of that divine knowledge.

The plague happening to break out at Cambridge, Mr. Cranmer with some of his pupils, removed to Waltham-abbey, where, falling into company with Gardiner and Fox, one the secretary, the other almoner of king Henry VIII. that monarch's intended divorce of Catherine his queen, the common subject of discourse in those days, came upon the carpet: when Cranmer advising an application to our own, and to the foreign universities, for their opinion in the case, and giving these gentlemen much satisfaction, they introduced him to the king, who was so pleased with him, that he ordered him to write his thoughts on the subject, made him his chaplain, and admitted him into that favour and esteem which he never afterwards forfeited.

In 1530 he was sent by the king, with a solemn embassy, to dispute on the subject of the divorce at Paris, Rome, and other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book, which he had written in defence of the divorce, to the pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation: but after various promises and appointments none appeared to oppose him; while in private conferences he forced them to confess that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope constituted him penitentiary general of England and dismissed him. In Germany he gave full satisfaction to many learned men who were before of a contrary persuasion: and prevailed on the famous Osander (whose niece he married while there) to declare the king's marriage unlawful.

During the time he was abroad, the great archbishop Warham died. Henry, convinced of Cranmer's merit, determined that he should succeed him; and commanded him to return for that purpose. He suspected the cause, and delayed, as he was desirous, by all means, to decline this high station; for he had a true and primitive sense of the office. But a spirit so different from that of the churchmen of his times stimulated the king's resolution; and the more reluctance Cranmer shewed, the greater resolution Henry exerted. He was consecrated on March 30, 1533, to the office; and though he received the usual bulls from the pope, he protested at his consecration, against the oath of allegiance, &c. to him. For he had conversed freely with the reformed in Germany, had read Luther's books, and was zealously attached to the glorious cause of reformation.

The first service he did for the king, in his archiepiscopal character, was pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from queen Catherine: and the next in joining his hands with Anne Boleyn, the consequence of which marriage was the birth of the glorious Elizabeth, to whom he stood godfather.

As the queen was greatly interested in the reformation, the friends to that good work began to conceive high hopes; and indeed, it went on with desirable success. But the fickle disposition of the king, and the fatal end of unhappy Anne, for a while, alarmed their fears: though, by God's providence, without any ill effects. The pope's supremacy was universally exploded; monasteries, &c. destroyed, upon the fullest detection of the most abominable vices and inordinances. That valuable book of the erudition of a Christian man was set forth by our great archbishop, with public authority: and the sacred scriptures, at length, to the infinite joy of Cranmer, and the worthy lord Cromwell, his constant friend and associate, were not only translated, but introduced into every parish.

The translation was received with inexpressible joy: every one that was able purchased it, and the poor flocked greedily to hear it read: some persons in years learned to read on purpose, that they might peruse it: and even little children crowded with eagerness to hear it! We cannot help reflecting, on this occasion, how much we are bound to prize this sacred treasure, which we enjoy so perfectly: and how much to contend against every attempt of those enemies and that church, which would deprive us of it, and again reduce us to legends and schoolmen, to ignorance and idolatry.

Cranmer, that he might proceed with true judgment, made a collection of opinions from the works of the ancient fathers and later doctors; of which bishop Burnet saw two volumes in folio; and it appears, by a letter of lord Burleigh's, that there were then six volumes of Cranmer's collections in his hands. A work of incredible labour, but vast utility.

A short time after this, he gave a shining proof of his sincere and disinterested constancy, by his noble opposition to what are commonly called king Henry's six bloody articles.* However, he weathered the storm; and published, with an incomparable preface written by himself, the larger bible, six of which even Bonner, then newly consecrated bishop of London, caused to be fixed, for the perusal of the people, in his cathedral of St. Paul's.

The enemies of the reformation, however, were restless; and Henry, alas! was no protestant in his heart. Cromwell fell a sacrifice to them; and they aimed every possible shaft at Cranmer. Gardiner in particular was indefatigable: he caused him to be accused in parliament, and several lords of the privy council moved the king to commit the archbishop to the Tower. The king perceived their malice; and one evening, on pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth side. The archbishop, being informed of it, came down to pay his respects, and was ordered, by the king to come into the barge and sit close by him. Henry made him acquainted with the accusations of heresy, faction, &c. which were laid against him; and spoke of his opposition to the six articles. The archbishop modestly replied that he could not but acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion with respect to them; but was not conscious of having offended against them. The king then putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him, If his bed-chamber could stand the test of these articles? The archbishop confessed that he was married in Germany, before his promotion; but assured the king that on passing that act, he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His majesty was so charmed with his openness and

^{*} By these none were allowed to speak against transubstantiation on pain of being burned as heretics, and forfeiting their goods and chattels as in a case of treason. It was also thereby made felony and forfeiture of lands and goods to defend the communion in both kinds, or marriage of the clergy, or of those who had vowed celibacy: or to speak against private masses and auricular confession.

integrity, that he discovered the whole plot that was laid against him: and gave him a ring of great value to produce upon any future emergency.

A few days after this, Cranmer's enemies summoned him to appear before the council. He accordingly attended, when they suffered him to wait in the lobby amongst the footmen, treated him on his admission with haughty contempt, and would have sent him to the Tower. But he produced the ring; and gained his enemies a severe reprimand from Henry, and himself the highest degree of security and favour.

On this occasion he shewed that lenity and mildness for which he was always so much distinguished: he never persecuted any of his enemies, but on the contrary, freely forgave even the inveterate Gardiner, on his writing a supplicatory letter to him for that purpose. The same lenity he shewed towards Dr. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barber, who though entertained in his family, and entrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours, had ungratefully conspired with Gardiner to take away his life.

When Cranmer first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study, and telling them that he had been basely and falsely accused by some, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him how he should behave himself towards them? They, not suspecting themselves to be concerned in the question, replied, that such vile, abandoned villains, ought to be prosecuted with the greatest rigour; nay, deserved to die without mercy. At this the archbishop, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried out, "'Merciful God! whom may a man trust?" And then taking out of his bosom the letters by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them if they knew those papers? When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion; and falling down upon their knees, humbly sued forgiveness. The archbishop told them that he

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forgave them, and would pray for them; but that they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future.

As we are upon the subject of the archbishop's readiness to forgive and forget injuries, it may not be improper here to relate a pleasant instance of it, which happened some time before the above circumstances.

The archbishop's first wife, whom he married at Cambridge, was kinswoman to the hostess at the Dolphin-inn, and boarded there; and he often resorting thither on that account, the popish party had raised a story that he was ostler to that inn, and never had the benefit of a learned education. This idle story a Yorkshire priest had, with great confidence, asserted in an alehouse which he used to frequent; railing at the archbishop, and saving that he had no more learning than a goose. Some people of the parish informed lord Cromwell of this, and the priest was committed to the Fleet prison. When he had been there nine or ten weeks: he seet a relation of his to the archbishop to beg his pardon, and to sue for a discharge. The archbishop instantly sent for him, and after a gentle reproof, asked the priest, whether he knew him? to which he answering, No, the archbishop expostulated with him, why he should then make so free with his character? The priest excused himself, by saying he was disguised with liqueur; but Cranmer told him this was a double fault! He then said to the priest, if he was inclined to try what a scholar he was, he should have liberty to oppose him in whatever science he pleased. The priest humbly asked his pardon, and confessed himself to be very ignorant. and to understand nothing but his mother-tongue.

No doubt then, (said Cranmer) you are well very well versed the English bible, and can answer any questions out of that: pray tell me, who was David's father? The priest stood still for some time to consider; but, at last, told the archbishop he could not recollect his name. "Tell me then, (says Cranmer) who was Solomon's father?" The poor priest replied that he had no skill in genealogies and could not tell. The archbishop then advising him

to frequent ale-houses less, and his study more, and admonishing him not to accuse others for want of learning till he was master of some himself, discharged him out of custody, and sent him home to his cure.

These may serve as instances of Cranmer's clement temper. Indeed, he was much blamed by many for his too great lenity; which it was thought, encouraged the popish faction to make fresh attempts against him: but he was happy in giving a shining example of that great Christian virtue which he diligently taught.

The king, who was a good discerner of men, remarking the implacable hatred of Cranmer's enemies towards him, changed his coat of arms from three cranes to three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood: and told his grace, "that these birds should signify to him, that he ought to be ready, like the pelican, to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ; for, said the king, you are like to be tried, if you will stand to your tackling at length." The event proved the king to be no bad prophet.

In 1546, king Henry experienced the impartiality of death; and left his crown to his only son Edward, who was godson to Cranmer; and had imbibed all the spirit of a reformer. This excellent young prince, influenced no less by his own inclinations than by the advice of Cranmer, and the other friends of reformation, was diligent, in every endeavour, to promote it. Homilies were composed by the archbishop, and a catechism. Erasmus's notes on the New Testament translated, and fixed in churches; the sacrament administered in both kinds; and the liturgy used in the vulgar tongue. Ridley, the archbishop's great friend, and one of the brightest lights of the English reformation, was equally zealous in the good cause: and with him the archbishop drew up the forty-two articles of religion, which were revised by other bishops and divines; as, through him, he had perfectly conquered all his scruples, respecting the doctrine of the corporeal presence, and published a much esteemed treatise, intitled, "A

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Defence of the True and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ."

But this happy scene of prosperity was not to continue. God was pleased to deprive the nation of king Edward in 1553, designing, in his wise providence, to perfect the new-born church of his son Jesus Christ in England by the blood of martyrs, as at the beginning he perfected the church in general.

Anxious for the success of the reformation, and wrought upon by the artifices of the duke of Northumberland, Edward had been persuaded to exclude his sisters, and to bequeath the crown to that duke's amiable and every way deserving daughter, the lady Jane Gray. The archbishop did his utmost to oppose this alteration in the succession; but was over-ruled by the king. The will was made, and subscribed by the council and the judges. The archbishop was sent for last of all, and required to subscribe; but he answered that he could not do it without perjury, having sworn to the entail of the crown on the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth. To this the king replied, "that the judges, who being best skilled in the constitution, ought to be regarded in this point, had assured him, that notwithstanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to lady Jane." The archbishop desired to discourse with them about it himself; and they all agreeing, that he might lawfully subscribe the king's will, he was at last prevailed with to resign his own private scruples to their authority, and set his hand to it. Having done this, he thought himself obliged in conscience to join the lady Jane, but her shortlived power soon expired. Then Mary and persecution mounted the throne, and Cranmer could expect nothing less than what ensued; attainder, imprisonment, deprivation, and death.

He was condemned for treason, and pardoned; but to gratify Gardiner's malice, and her own implacable resentment against him for her mother's divorce, Mary gave orders to proceed against him for heresy. His friends, who foresaw the storm, had advised him to consult his safety by retiring beyond sea; but he chose rather to continue steady to the cause which he had so nobly supported hitherto; and preferred the probability of sealing his testimony with his blood, to an ignominious and dishonourable flight.

The Tower was crowded with prisoners, insomuch that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all put into one chamber; which they were so far from thinking an inconvenience, that, on the contrary, they blessed God for the opportunity of conversing together; reading and comparing the scriptures, confirming themselves in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to constancy in professing it, and patience in suffering for it. Happy society! blessed martyrs! rather to be envied, than the purpled tyrant, with the sword deep-drenched in blood, though incircled with all the pomp and pageantry of power!

In April 1554, the archbishop, with bishop Ridley and Latimer, was removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities! But, alas! What farces are disputations, where the fate of men is fixed, and every word is misconstrued! And such was the case here: for on April the 20th, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's, before the queen's commissioners, and refusing to subscribe to the popish articles, he was pronounced an heretic, and sentence of condemnation was passed upon him. Upon which he told them that he appealed from their unjust sentence to that of the Almighty; and that he trusted to be received into his presence in heaven for maintaining the truth, as set forth in his most holy gospel.

After this his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in Bocardo, the prison of the city of Oxford. But this sentence being void in law, as the pope's authority was wanting, a new commission was sent from Rome in 1555; and in St. Mary's church, at the high altar, the court sat, and tried the already condemned Cranmer. He was here well nigh too strong for his judges; and if reason and truth could have prevailed, there would have been no doubt who should have been acquitted, and who condemned.

The February following, a new commission was given to bishop Bonner and bishop Thirlby, for the degradation of the archbishop. When they came down to Oxford he was brought before them; and after they had read their commission from the pope, (for not appearing before whom in person, as they had cited him, he was declared contumacious, though they themselves had kept him a close prisoner) Bonner, in a scurrilous oration, insulted over him in the most unchristian manner, for which he was often rebuked by bishop Thirlby, who wept and declared it the most sorrowful scene he had ever beheld in his whole life. In the commission it was declared that the cause had been impartially heard at Rome; the witnesses on both sides examined, and the archbishop's counsel allowed to make the best defence for him they could. At the reading of this, the archbishop could not help crying out, "Good God! what lies are these; that I, being continually in prison, and not suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witnesses, and appoint my counsel at Rome! God must needs punish this shameless and open lying!"

When Bonner had finished his invective, they proceeded to degrade him; and that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the episcopal habit which they put on him was made of canvas and old rags. Bonner in the mean time, by way of triumph and mockery, calling him Mr. Canterbury, and the like.

He bore all this treatment with his wonted fortitude and patience; told them, "the degradation gave him no concern, for he had long despised those ornaments." but when they came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, and delivered his appeal to Thirlby, saying, "I appeal to the next general council."

When they had stripped him of all his habits, they put on him a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, thread-bare and ill-shaped, and a townsman's cap; and in this manner delivered him to the secular power to be carried back to prison, where he was kept entirely destitute of money, and totally secluded from his friends. Nay, such was the iniquity of the times, that a gentleman was taken into custody by Bonner, and barely escaped a trial, for giving the poor archbishop money to buy him a dinner.

Cranmer had now been imprisoned almost three years, and death should have soon followed his sentence and degradation: but his cruel enemies reserved him for greater misery and insult. Every engine that could be thought of was employed to shake his constancy; but he held fast to the profession of his faith. Nay, even when he saw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions Ridley and Latimer, he was so far from shrinking that he not only prayed to God to strengthen them, but also, by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the same fiery trial.

[We wish we could make it appear in this place, what we inserted in a note towards the beginning of the persecutions in England during the reign of queen Mary, namely, that archbishop Cranmer **never** signed any articles of recantation. The record alluded to in that note, we have since carefully perused, and find that the person in whose possession it is, (and on whose word we depended) at that time imposed on our credulity. The substance of it is quite contrary to what he asserted, and perfectly consistent with the following remaining particulars of this persecuted prelate.]

The papists, after trying various severe ways to bring Cranmer over without effect, at length determined to try what gentle methods would do. They accordingly removed him from prison to the lodgings of the dean of Christ-church, where they urged every persuasive and affecting argument to make him deviate from his faith; and indeed, too much melted his gentle nature, by the false sunshine of pretended civility and respect.

The unfortunate prelate, however, withstood every temptation, at which his enemies were so irritated that they removed him from

the dean's lodgings to the most loathsome part of the prison in which he had been confined, and then treated him with unparalleled severity. This was more than the infirmities of so old a man could support: the frailty of human nature prevailed; and he was induced to sign six different recantations, drawn from him by the malice and artifices of his enemies.

This, however, did not satisfy them: they were determined not to spare his life. Nothing less than his death could satiate the gloomy queen, who said, that as he had been the promoter of heresy, which had corrupted the whole nation, the abjuration, which was sufficient in other cases, should not serve his turn; for she was resolved he should be burned. Accordingly, she sent orders to Dr. Cole to prepare a sermon on the occasion of his death, which was fixed to be on the 21st of March.

The archbishop had no suspicion that such would be his fate, after what he had done; but he soon found his mistake.

The papists, determined to carry their resentment to the most extravagant length, thought to inflict a farther punishment on him, by obliging him to read his recantation publicly in St. Mary's church; and on this they proposed to triumph in his death: but their base intentions were happily frustrated.

On the morning of the day appointed for his execution, he was conducted between two friars to St. Mary's church. As soon as he entered, Dr. Cole mounted the pulpit, and the archbishop was placed opposite to it on a low scaffold, a spectacle of contempt and scorn to the people.

Cole magnified his conversion as the immediate work of God's inspiration; exhorted him to bear up with resolution against the terrors of death; and by the example of the thief on the cross, encouraged him not to despair, since he was returned, though late, into the bosom of the church. He also assured him that dirges and masses should be said for his soul in all the churches of Oxford.

As soon as the archbishop perceived, from Cole's sermon, what was the bloody decree, struck with horror at the base

inhumanity of such proceedings, he gave, by all his gestures, a full proof of the deep anguish of his soul.

At length being called upon by Cole to declare his faith and reconciliation with the Catholic church, he rose with all possible dignity; and while the audience was wrapped in the most profound expectation, he kneeled down, and repeated the following prayer; "O Father of heaven! O Son of God, Redeemer of the world! O Holy Ghost! proceeding from them both; three persons, and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched and miserable sinner! I, who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than any tongue can express, whither then may I go, or where shall I fly for succour? To heaven. I may be ashamed to lift up mine eves, and in earth I find no refuge: what shall I then do? Shall I despair? God forbid! O good God thou art merciful! and refusest none who come to thee for succour: to thee therefore do I run: to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me, for thy great mercy! O God, the son, thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for few or small offences! nor didst thou not give thy son unto death, O God the father, for our little and small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world: so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart, as I do here at this present; wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord! whose property is always to have mercy: for although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater! I crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits, but for thy name's-sake, that it may be glorified thereby, and for thy dear son, Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, Our Father, &c."

He then rose up, exhorted the people to a contempt of this world, to obedience to their sovereign, and to mutual love and charity. He told them, that being now on the brink of eternity, he would declare unto them his faith, without reserve or dissimulation; he then repeated the apostle's creed, and professed his belief thereof, and of all things contained in the Old and New Testament.

By speaking thus in general terms, the attention of the audience was kept up; but amazement continued that attention, when they heard him, instead of reading his recantation, declare his great and unfeigned repentance for having been induced to subscribe the popish errors: he lamented with many tears his grievous fall, and declared that the hand which had so offended, should be burnt before the rest of his body.

He then renounced the pope in most express terms, and professed his belief concerning the eucharist to be the same with what he had asserted in his book against Gardiner.

This was a great disappointment to the papists: they made loud clamours, and charged him with hypocrisy and falsehood: to which he meekly replied, "that he was a plain man, and never had acted the hypocrite, but when he was seduced by them to a recantation."

He would have gone on further, but Cole cried, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

Upon this the monks and friars rudely pulled him from the scaffold, and hurried him away to the stake, (where Ridley and Latimer had before been offered up) which was at the north side of the city, in the ditch opposite Baliol college.

But if his enemies were disappointed by his behaviour in the church, they were doubly so by that at the stake. He approached it with a chearful countenance; prayed and undressed himself; his shirt was made long down to his feet, which were bare, as was his head, where a hair could not be seen. His beard was so long and thick that it covered his face with wonderful gravity; and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of friends and enemies.

The friars tormented him with their admonitions; while Cranmer gave his hand to several old men who stood by, bidding them farewel. When he was chained to the stake, and the fire kindled, he seemed superior to all sensation but of piety. He stretched out the offending hand to the flame, which was seen burning for some time before the fire came to any other part of his body; nor did he draw it back, but once to wipe his face, till it was entirely consumed; saying often, "this unworthy hand, this hand has offended;" and raising up his eyes to heaven, he expired with the dying prayer of St. Stephen in his mouth, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit!"

He burned, to all appearance, without pain or motion; and seemed to repel the torture by mere strength of mind, showing a repentance and a fortitude which ought to cancel all reproach of timidity in his life.

Thus died archbishop Cranmer, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his primacy; leaving an only son, of his own name, behind him.

He was a man, naturally of a mild and gentle temper; not soon provoked, and yet so easy to forgive, that it became a kind of proverb concerning him, "Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live."

His candour and sincerity, meekness and humility, were admired by all who conversed with him: but the queen could not forgive his zeal for the reformation, nor his divorce of her mother, and therefore, she brought him to the stake; which has justly numbered him amongst the noblest martyrs who suffered for the truth of the gospel.

He may truly be ranked with the greatest primitive bishops, and the fathers of the very first class, who were men as well as himself; and therefore, if in a scrutiny of theirs or of his character, some infirmities and imperfections may appear, we may learn to make a wise and moral improvement by them. His learning was great, and his endeavour to encourage it greater. To him, under God, we are indebted for the great blessing we enjoy of reformation, of which he was the pillar and the ornament; and while we repeat the liturgy, and hear the bible in our

congregations, so long shall we venerate the name of archbishop Cranmer.*

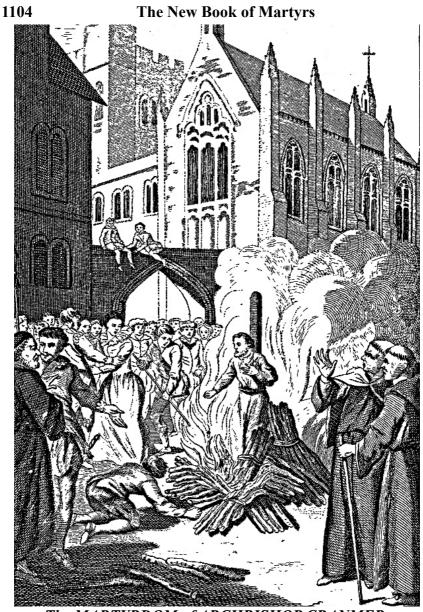
Cranmer's labours were well seconded by Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, who were his fellow-martyrs in the cause of reformation: but the characters of this illustrious quadriumvirate differed one from the other. Cranmer was most respected, Latimer was most followed, Ridley best esteemed, and Hooper most beloved. The art and address of Cranmer proved a happy balance to the zeal of Latimer; while the relaxed notions of Hooper were tempered by the virtue and wisdom of Ridley.

Mr. Cranmer, during his imprisonment, wrote a great number of letters to different persons whom he knew to be professors of Christ's gospel. Among these we shall preserve the following:

A Letter from Archbishop Cranmer to Mrs. Wilkinson, exhorting her to fly in the Time of Persecution.

THE true comforter in all distress is only God, through his son Jesus Christ; and whosoever has him, has company enough, if he were in a wilderness all alone; and he that has twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none.

^{* [}CHCoG: Cranmer was a moderate Reformer, and largely responsible for the Book of Common Prayer, which, although much better than the doctrines of Henry VIII, was still a tragic compromise between Roman Catholic traditions, regal supremacy and pure Biblical Scripturalism. A great opportunity to base Christianity in England on Scripture Alone was thus lost.]



The MARTYRDOM of ARCHBISHOP CRANMER, who was Burnt near Baliol College, Oxford, in the Reign of Queen Mary.

Wherefore, I beseech you, seek your dwelling there, where you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's religion?

If you be loth to depart from your kindred and friends, remember that Christ called them his mother, sisters, and brothers, that do his father's will. Where we find, therefore, God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither friend nor kindred.

If you be loth to depart for the slander of God's word, remember that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the Scribes and Pharisees; and commanded his apostles, that if they were pursued in one place they should fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas? And what wisdom and policy he used, from time to time, to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other apostles, albeit, when it came to such a point that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of God's true religion, then they shewed themselves, that they flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do more good; and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves to death, which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ; then they shewed how little they passed of death; how much they feared God more than men; how much they loved and preferred the

eternal life to come, above this short and miserable life.

Wherefore I exhort you, as well by Christ's commandment, as by the example of him and his apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of your's and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no slandering of the truth, but preserving of yourself to God, and the truth, and to the society, and comfort of Christ's little flock. And that you will do, do it with speed, lest, by your own folly, you fall into the persecutor's hands. And the Lord send his holy spirit to lead and guide you wheresoever you go, and all that be godly will say, Amen.

The Christian lady to whom this letter was sent, and who most sincerely lamented the loss of so valuable a friend after his death, wrote the following lines:

On the Death of Archbishop Cranmer.

Unhappy's he who offends his God, howe'er His outward blessings to the world appear; But he who serves him's happy, tho' forlorn, Tho' doom'd to death and universal scorn. This, Cranmer, was thy fate, unhappy made, By the too flatt'ring love of life betray'd; But to that trifle, when you death preferr'd, Eternal happiness was your reward.

CHAP. VII.

Account of the Persecutions and Martyrdoms of various Persons of both Sexes, who suffered in England for professing the Truth of the Gospel; from the Death of Archbishop Cranmer, to the end of Queen Mary's Reign.

IT would have been happy could we have closed the melancholy tale of persecution with the martyr whose life and sufferings were the subject of the last chapter. But the force of bigotry, in the reign of the unrelenting Mary, only terminated with her life. The destruction of those who could not think as she did, was her greatest enjoyment. Her persecuting emissaries were ever seeking whom they could devour; and the following list can only add farther execration to the memory of so infatuated a princess, under whose auspices their conduct was directed.

The Martyrdoms of AGNES POTTEN, and JOAN TRUNCHFIELD; who were burnt together at Ipswich in Suffolk.

THESE two advocates and sufferers for the pure gospel of Christ, lived in the town of Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk. Being both apprehended on an information of heresy, they were brought before the bishop of Norwich; who examined them concerning their religion in general, and their faith in the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar in particular.

With respect to the latter article, they both delivered it as their opinion that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there was represented the memorial only of Christ's death and passion, saying, that according to the scriptures, he was ascended up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore his body could not be really and substantially in the sacrament. A few days after this they were again examined by the bishop, when both of them still continuing stedfast in the profession of their faith, sentence were pronounced against them as heretics, and they were delivered over to the secular power.

On the day appointed for their execution, which was in the month of March, 1556, they were both led to the stake, and burnt in the town of Ipswich. Their constancy was admired by the multitude who saw them suffer; for as they undressed, and prepared themselves for the fire, they earnestly exhorted the people to believe only in the unerring word of the only living and true God, and not regard the devices and inventions of men. They both openly declared that they despised the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome, and most patiently submitted to the acute torments of devouring flames, calling upon the God of their salvation, and triumphing in being deemed worthy to suffer for the glorious cause of Jesus Christ, their lord and master.

The Persecution and Martyrdom of RICHARD SPURG, THOMAS SPURG, JOHN CAVILL, and GEORGE AMBROSE, *Laymen; and* ROBERT DRAKE and WILLIAM TIMS, *Ministers*.

THESE six pious christians resided in the county of Essex, and diocese of London. Being accused of heresy, they were all apprehended, and sent by the lord Rich, and other commissioners, at different times, to bishop Gardiner, lord chancellor of England; who, after a short examination, sent the four first to the Marshalsea prison in the Borough, and the two last to the King's-Bench, where they continued during the space of a whole year, till the death of bishop Gardiner.

When Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, succeeded to the chancellorship, four of these persecuted brethren, namely, Richard and Thomas Spurg, John Cavill and George Ambrose, weary of their tedious confinement, presented a petition to the lord chancellor, subscribing their names, and requesting his interest for

their enlargement. A short time after the delivery of this petition, Sir Richard Read, one of the officers of the court of Chancery, was sent by the chancellor to the Marshalsea to examine them.

RICHARD SPURG, the first who passed examination, being asked the cause of his imprisonment, replied that he, with several others, being complained of by the minister of Bocking for not coming to their parish church, to the lord Rich, was thereupon sent up to London by his lordship, to be examined by the late chancellor.

He acknowledged that he had not been at church since the English service was changed into Latin (except on Christmas day was twelve-month) because he disliked the same, and the mass also as not agreeable to God's holy word.

He then desired that he might be no farther examined concerning this matter, until it pleased the present chancellor to enquire his faith concerning the same, which he was ready to deliver.

THOMAS SPURG, on his examination, answered to the same effect with the other, confessing that he absented himself from church because the word of God was not then truly taught, nor the sacraments of Christ duly administered, as prescribed by the same word. Being farther examined touching his faith in the sacrament of the altar; he said that if he stood accused in that particular, he would answer as God had given him knowledge, which he should do at another opportunity.

JOHN CAVILL likewise agreed in the chief particulars with his brethren; but farther said, the cause of his absenting himself from church was that the minister there had advanced two doctrines contrary to each other; for, first in a sermon he delivered when the queen came to the crown, he exhorted the people to believe the gospel, declaring it to be the truth, and that if they

believed it not, they would be damned; and that, secondly, in a future discourse, he declared that the New Testament was false in forty places, which contrariety gave him much disgust, and was, among other things, the cause of his absenting himself from church.

GEORGE AMBROSE answered to the same effect, adding moreover, that after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, intituled, *De Verâ Obedientiâ*, with bishop Bonner's preface thereunto annexed, both inveighing against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he esteemed their principles more lightly than he had done before.

ROBERT DRAKE was minister of Thundersly, in Essex, to which living he had been presented by the lord Rich in the reign of Edward VI. when he was ordained priest by Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, according to the reformed English service for ordination.

On the accession of queen Mary to the throne of England he was sent for by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who demanded of him whether he would conform, like a good subject, to the laws of the realm then in force? He answered that he would abide by those laws that were agreeable to the law of God; upon which he was immediately committed to prison.

WILLIAM TIMS was a deacon and curate of Hockley, in Essex, in the reign of Edward VI. but being deprived of his living soon after the death of that monarch, he absconded, and privately preached in a neighbouring wood, whither many of his flock attended to hear the word of God.

In consequence of these proceedings he was apprehended by one of the constables, and sent up to the bishop of London, by whom he was referred to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lordchancellor, who committed him to the King's Bench prison. A short time after his confinement, he (with the others before mentioned) was ordered to appear before the bishop of London, who questioned them in the usual manner, concerning their faith in the sacrament of the altar.

Mr. Tims answered that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar, really and corporeally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest; and that he had been a long time of that opinion, ever since it had pleased God, of his infinite mercy, to call him to the true knowledge of the gospel of his grace.

On the 28th of March, 1556, these six persons were all brought into the consistory court, in St. Paul's church, before the bishop of London, in order to be examined for the last time; who assured them that if they did not submit to the church of Rome, they should be condemned for heresy.

The bishop began his examination with Tims, whom he called the ringleader of the others. He told him that he had taught them heresies, confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and endeavoured as far as in him lay, to render them as abominable as himself; with many other accusations equally false and opprobrious.

He was then asked by the bishop what he had to say in his own vindication, in order to prevent him from proceeding against him as his ordinary. To which he replied as follows:

"My lord, I am astonished that you should begin your charge with a falsehood; you aver that I am the ringleader of the company now brought before you, and have taught them principles contrary to the Romish church since we have been in confinement; but the injustice of this declaration will soon appear if you will enquire of these my brethren, whether, when at liberty, and out of prison, they dissented not from Popish principles as much as they do at present; such enquiry I presume, will render it evident that they learned not their religion in prison.

"For my own part, I declare I never knew them till such time as I became their fellow prisoner; how then could I be their ringleader and teacher? With respect to the charge alledged against me, a charge which you endeavour to aggravate to the highest degree, whatever opinion you maintain concerning me, I am well assured I hold no other religion than what Christ preached, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught, and for which you have cruelly caused them to be burnt, and now seek to treat us with the like inhuman severity. I acknowledge you to be my ordinary."

The bishop finding it necessary to come to a point with him, demanded if he would submit himself to the holy mother-church, promising that if he did, he should be kindly received; and threatening, at the same time, that if he did not, judgment should be pronounced against him as an heretic.

In answer to this, Tims told his lordship he was well persuaded that he was within the pale of the Catholic church, whatever he might think, and reminded him that he had most solemnly abjured that very church to which he since professed such strenuous allegiance; and that contrary to his oath, he again admitted in this realm, the authority of the pope, and was, therefore, perjured and forsworn in the highest degree. He also recalled to his memory, that he had spoken with great force and perspicuity against the usurped power of the pope, though he afterwards sentenced persons to be burnt, because they would not acknowledge the pope to be the supreme head of the church.

To this Bonner sternly demanded, what he had written against the church of Rome.

Mr. Tims pertinently answered, "My lord the late bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned treatise, intituled, *De verâ Obedientiâ*, which contains many solid arguments against the papal supremacy: to this book you wrote a preface, strongly inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and usurpation, and shewing that his power was ill-founded, and contrary both to the will of God, and the real interest of mankind.

The bishop, struck with the poignancy of this reproof, evasively told him that the bishop of Winchester wrote a book against the supremacy of the pope's holiness, and he wrote a preface to the same book, tending to the same purpose: but that the cause of the same arose not from their disregard to his holiness, but because it was then deemed treason by the laws of the realm to maintain the pope's authority in England. He also observed that at such time it was dangerous to profess to favour the church of Rome and therefore fear compelled them to comply with the prevailing opinions of the times: for if any person had conscientiously acknowledged the pope's authority in those days, he would have been put to death: but that since the queen's happy accession to the throne, they might boldly speak the dictates of their consciences; and farther reminded him that as my lord of Winchester was not ashamed to recant his errors at St. Paul's cross, and that he himself had done the same, every inferior clergyman should follow the example of their superiors.

Mr. Tims still persisting in the vindication of his own conduct, and reprehension of that of the bishop, again replied, "My lord, that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope may be well proved from scripture to be true; that which you now do is contrary to the word of God, as I can sufficiently prove."

Bonner, after much farther conversation, proceeded to form of law, causing his articles, with the respective answers to each, to be publicly read in court.

Mr. Tims acknowledged only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; commended the bishop of Winchester's book *De*

verâ Obedientiâ, and the bishop of London's preface to the same. He declared that the mass was blasphemy of Christ's passion and death, that Christ is not corporeally but spiritually present in the sacrament, and that as they used it, it was an abominable idol.

Bonner exhorted him to revoke his errors and heresies, conform to the church of Rome, and not abide so strenuously by the literal sense of the scripture, but use the interpretation of the fathers.

Our martyr frankly declared he would not conform thereunto, notwithstanding the execrations denounced against him by the church of Rome, and demanded of the bishop what he had to support the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, but the bare letter of scripture? On the bishop's replying the authority of the holy Catholic church, Tims informed him that he had the popish church for which he was perjured and forsworn, declaring that the see of Rome was the see of Antichrist, and therefore he would never consent to yield obedience to the same.

The bishop, finding Mr. Tims so inflexible in his adherence to the faith, he professed that every attempt to draw him from it was vain and fruitless, read his definitive sentence, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

Bonner then used the same measures with Drake as he had done with Tims; but Drake frankly declared that he denied the church of Rome, with all the works thereof, even as he denied the devil, and all his works.

The bishop, perceiving all his exhortations fruitless, pronounced sentence of condemnation, and he was immediately delivered into the custody of the sheriffs.

After this, Thomas and Richard Spurg, George Ambrose, and John Cavill, were severally asked if they would forsake their heresies, and return to the catholic church. They all refused consenting to the church of Rome; but said they were willing to adhere to the true catholic church, and continue in the same.

Bonner then read their several definitive sentences, after which he committed them to the custody of the sheriffs of London, by whom they were conducted to Newgate.

On the 14th of April, 1556, the day appointed for their execution, they were all led to Smithfield, where they were chained to the same stake, and burnt in one fire, patiently submitting themselves to the flames, and resigning their souls into the hands of that glorious Redeemer, for whose sake they delivered their bodies to be burned.

Mr. Tims, during his imprisonment, wrote a great number of letters and epistles to his friends and brethren in the cause of Christ; among which we shall preserve the following:

A Letter from Mr. William Tims to his Friends in Hockley.

"THE grace of God the Father, through the merits of his dear son Jesus, our Lord and only Saviour, with the continual aid of his holy and mighty spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlasting comfort, be with you, my dear brethren, both now and evermore, Amen.

"My dearly beloved, I beseech God to reward the great goodness that you have shewed unto me seven fold into your bosoms; and as you have always had a most godly love unto his word, even so I beseech him to give you grace to love your own souls, and then, I trust, you will flee from all those things that should displease our good and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the company of those that would have you to worship god, any otherwise than is contained in his holy word. And beware of those masters of idolatry, that is, these papistical priests. My dear brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I have said unto you, and also written, which I am now ready to seal with my blood.

"I praise God that ever I lived to see the day, and blessed be my good and merciful God that ever he gave me a body to glorify his name. And dear hearts, I do now write unto you for none other cause, but to put you in remembrance that I have not forgotten you, to the end that I would not have you forget me, but, to remember well what I have simply, by word of mouth, and writing taught you. Which, although it were most simply done, yet truly, as your own conscience beareth me record; and therefore, in any case take good heed that you do not that thing which your own conscience doth condemn. Therefore, come out of Sodom, and go to heavenward with the servants and martyrs of God, lest you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is coming upon this wicked nation, from which the Lord God defend you, and send us a joyful meeting in the kingdom of heaven: unto which God bring you all, Amen

Thus now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongst you, which thing is uncertain unto me as yet,

By me,

Your poor and most unworthy brother in Christ. Newgate, April 12, W. TIMS."

The Examinations and Martyrdoms of JOAN BEACH, Widow, of Tunbridge; and JOHN HARPOLE, of the City of Rochester.

Information being laid against these two persons for heresy, they were apprehended, and by the magistrates of the respective places where they lived, committed to prison. After being some time in confinement, they were separately examined before Maurice, bishop of Rochester, their diocesan. JOAN BEACH was first taken before the bishop for examination, when the following articles were exhibited against her:

1. That living in the parish of Tunbridge she belonged to the diocese of Rochester.

This she granted.

2. That all people who preach, teach, believe, or say otherwise, or contrary to their mother, the holy Catholic church, are excommunicated persons and heretics.

This she acknowledged to be true, but added withal that nevertheless, she believed not the holy Catholic church to be her mother, but believed only the father of heaven to be her father.

3. That she had affirmed, and did affirm, maintain and believe, contrary to the said mother church of Christ, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ in substance, but only a token and memorial thereof, and that the very body and blood of Christ is in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

4. That Christ being in heaven, could not be in the sacrament.

To this she answered that she had, and did verily believe, hold and affirm, in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there was not the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the faithful receiver, and that his body and substance is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

5. That she had been, and then was, among the parishioners of Tunbridge, noted and strongly suspected of being a sacramentary and an heretic.

To this she answered that she did not know how she had been, or was reputed amongst the parishioners of Tunbridge, nor was their opinion of any avail to her immortal state.

The bishop finding her inflexible in the faith she professed, strongly urged her to preserve her life by renouncing her errors;

which she peremptorily refuting, he pronounced sentence on her, and she was delivered over to the secular power.

JOHN HARPOLE, being next examined before the same bishop, articles of a similar nature were exhibited against him as his fellow-sufferer, Joan Beach.

His answers to all of them were much to the same import with hers, upon which the bishop pronounced sentence of death on him in the usual form.

These two faithful followers of Christ were burnt together in one fire, in the city of Rochester, about the latter end of April, 1556. They embraced each other at the stake, and chearfully resigned their souls into the hands of their Redeemer; after repeatedly singing hallelujahs to the praise and glory of his name.

The Persecution and Sufferings of CHRISTOPHER LISTER, JOHN MACE, JOHN SPENCER, SIMON JOYN, RICHARD NICHOLS, and JOHN HAMMOND; who were all burnt together at Colchester in Essex, for professing the Truth of the Gospel.

THESE six persons being all apprehended on a charge of heresy, were brought before bishop Bonner at his palace at Fulham; where articles were exhibited against them of the same nature, and in the usual form, as those against others on the like occasion.

- 1. To the first article, namely, that there was one Holy Catholic church on earth, in which the religion and faith of Christ is truly professed, they all consented and agreed; but John Spencer added that the church of Rome was no part of Christ's Catholic church.
- 2. To the second, concerning the seven sacraments, they answered that in the true Catholic church of Christ, there are but two sacraments; Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

- 3. To the third, they unanimously agreed and confessed that they were baptized in the faith and belief of the Catholic church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had promised and professed for them, as contained in the article administered.
- 4. To the fourth article, concerning their continuance in that faith and profession into which they were baptized, they agreed that they did so continue. Nichols observed that he had more plainly learned the truth of his profession by the doctrine set forth in the days of king Edward the sixth, that there upon he had built his faith, and would continue in the same by the grace of God to his life's end.
- 5. Concerning swerving from the Catholic faith, they declared that they had not swerved, nor departed in the least from the faith of Christ. They unanimously confessed that they had disapproved of and spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, affirming that they would not come to hear, nor be partakers thereof; that they had believed and then did believe, that they were set forth and used contrary to God's word and glory. They granted also that they had spoken against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, who was an oppressor of the holy church of Christ, and ought not to have any power in England.
- 6. Concerning their reconciliation to the unity of the church, they said that they never refused, nor did then refuse to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's Catholic church; but declared they had, and then did, and would for ever hereafter, refuse to come to the church of Rome, or to acknowledge the authority of the papal see; but did utterly abhor the same for rejecting the book of God, the bible, and setting up the mass, with other ridiculous and anti-Christian ceremonies.
- 7. That disapproving the mass and sacrament of the altar they had refused to come to the parish church, &c. This they all granted, and Simon Joyn added moreover, that the cause

wherefore he refused to be partaker of their trumpery, was because the commandments of God were there broken, and Christ's ordinances changed, and the bishop of Rome's ordinances put up in their stead. Christopher Lister affirmed that in the sacrament of the altar, there is the substance of bread and wine, as well after the words of consecration as before; and that there is not in the same the very body and blood of Christ, really, substantially, and spiritually, by faith in the faithful receiver, and that the mass is not a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, but meer idolatry and abomination.

They then said that they were sent to Colchester prison by the queen's commissioners, because they would not come to their parish churches; that what was contained in the premises was true; and that they belonged to the diocese of London.

On the close of this examination the bishop dismissed them, but ordered them to attend again in the afternoon. This order they obeyed, when the articles and answers of the first examination were read to them; and they resolutely persisted in the profession they had made.

After various endeavours to bring them to recant, without the least effect, sentence of death was pronounced against them, and they were all delivered over to the secular power.

The writ for their execution being made out, they were removed to Colchester, where, on the 28th of April, 1556, they were fastened to two stakes, and burnt in one fire. They all met their fate, giving glory to God in the midst of the flames, and encouraging others, for the truth of the gospel, to follow their example.

The Martyrdoms of HUGH LAVEROCK, *an old decrepit Man;* and JOHN APPRICE, *a blind Man.*

THE former of these martyrs was by trade a painter, and lived in the parish of Barking in Essex. At the time of his apprehension he was in the 68th year of his age, and very helpless from the natural infirmities of life. Being however accused of heresy by some of the popish emissaries in his neighbourhood, he, with his fellow-sufferer, was taken before Bonner to be examined with respect to their faith.

The bishop laid before them the same articles as mentioned in the former lives; and they returned answers much to the same effect with other advocates for the truth of the gospel.

On the 9th of May, 1556, they were both brought into the consistory court at St. Paul's, where their articles and answers were publicly read: after which the bishop endeavoured to persuade them to recant their opinions concerning the sacrament of the altar.

Hugh Laverock declared that by the grace of God he would stand to the profession he had already made, for he could not find the least authority in the word of God for approving the doctrine of the corporeal presence in the sacrament.

The bishop then addressed himself to John Apprice, and demanded what he had to say in his defence? The honest blind man answered the haughty prelate that the doctrine he set forth and taught was so conformable to the world that it could not be agreeable to the scripture of God; and that he was no member of the Catholic church of Christ, seeing he made laws to kill men, and made the queen his executioner.

The first examination being over, they were for the present dismissed, but ordered to appear the next day at the bishop's palace at Fulham. Being accordingly conducted there, the bishop, after some discourse with them, and finding them stedfast in their faith, pronounced the definitive sentence; when being delivered over to the secular power, they were committed to Newgate.

On the 15th of May, they were conveyed to Stratford-le-Bow, the place appointed for their execution. As soon as they arrived at

the stake, Laverock threw away his crutch, and thus addressed his fellow-sufferer:

"John Apprice, be of good comfort, brother, for my lord of London is our good physician: he will cure us both shortly, thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness."

After this they both knelt down and prayed with great fervency, that God would enable them to pass, with Christian resolution, through the fiery trial, the substance of which may be thus expressed:

> Now pain and anguish seize me, Lord, All my support is from thy word; My soul dissolves for heaviness, Uphold me with thy strength'ning grace.

The proud have fram'd their scoffs and lies, They've watched my feet with envious eyes, And tempt my soul to snares and sin; Yet thy commands I ne'er decline.

They hate me, Lord, without a cause, They hate to see me love thy laws; But I will trust and fear thy name, While they shall live and die in shame.

These two stedfast believers in Christ were both chained to one stake. They endured their sufferings with great fortitude, and yielded up their lives in testimony of the truth of their blessed Redeemer.

The Sufferings and Martyrdoms of CATHARINE HUT, JOAN HORNES, and ELIZABETH THACKVILLE.

THESE three pious women being apprehended on suspicion of heresy, were carried before Sir John Mordaunt and Edmund Tyrell, Esqrs. justices of the peace for the county of Essex, who sent them prisoners to the bishop of London, for not conforming to the order of the church, and not believing the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar. Being brought before the bishop, he exhibited to them the articles usual on the occasion; to which they answered as follows:

To the first, concerning their belief that there was a Catholic church of Christ upon earth, they all assented.

To the second, relating to the seven sacraments, they said they did not understand properly what they were.

To the third, concerning their Baptism, they replied, they believed they were baptised, but knew not what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them.

To the fourth, about their continuance in the same faith into which they were baptised, until they arrived at the age of fourteen years, or the age of discretion, without disapproving the same; they granted it to be true.

To this article Catherine Hut observed that at that time she did not understand what she possessed.

Joan Hornes added that in the days of king Edward VI. she learned the faith that was then set forth, and still continued in the same; and would, with God's assistance, continue so the remainder of her life.

To the fifth article, concerning the mass and the sacrament of the altar, they said they could discern no excellence in the mass, nor could they believe but that Christ's natural body was in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar.

Concerning the see of Rome, they acknowledged no supremacy in the same, nor would they adhere to it.

To the sixth article of their reconciliation to the church of Rome, they refused to be reconciled to the same.

To the seventh, of their disapproving the service of the church, and not frequenting their parish church, they acknowledged it to be true.

Catherine Hut alledged, as the cause of her absenting herself from church, that she neither approved the service in Latin, the mass, matins, or evensong; nor were the sacraments used and administered according to God's word. She declared moreover, that mass was an idol, neither was the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as they compelled persons to believe.

To the eighth article they declared that they were all sent up to the bishop of London, by Sir John Mordaunt and Edmund Tyrell, Esqrs. justices of the peace for the county of Essex, because they could not believe the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and for absenting themselves from their parish church.

To the ninth article, that they were of the diocese of London, they all assented, except Catherine Hut, who said she was of the parish of Bocking, in Essex, which is of the peculiar jurisdiction of Canterbury, and not under that of the diocese of London.

On the 13th of April they were again brought before the bishop, and the respective articles, with their answers, publicly read in court in order to be their final judgment.

CATHERINE HUT, being first examined, was required to declare her opinion of the sacrament of the altar, and to return to the Catholic faith. To this she replied that the sacrament, as enforced by the papists, was not truly God, but a dumb god, made with men's hands; upon which she received sentence of death.

JOAN HORNES was next examined, and being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself, said, If you can make your god to shed blood, or shew any sign of a true, living body, then will I believe you; but it is bread as to the substance, and that which you call heresy is the manner in which I trust to serve my God to the end of my life.

Concerning the bishop and see of Rome, I detest them as abominations, and desire ever to be delivered from the same.

In consequence of these answers, sentence of condemnation was immediately pronounced on her.

ELIZABETH THACKVILLE continuing stedfast in her former confessions, and refusing to recant, shared the same fate with the other two; when they were all delivered over to the secular power, and committed to Newgate.

On the 16th of May, the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted to Smithfield, where, being all fastened to one stake, and the faggots lighted, their bodies were soon consumed, after they had recommended their spirits into the hands of that God, for the truth of whose word they joyfully suffered death, in hopes of obtaining life everlasting.

On the same day these three were executed in Smithfield, two others suffered at Gloucester, namely,

THOMAS DROWRY, a blind boy; and

THOMAS CROKER, a bricklayer.

They both submitted to their fate with great fortitude and resignation, chearfully yielding up their souls to him who gave them.

Account of the Examinations and Sufferings of THOMAS SPICER, JOHN DENNY, and EDMUND POOLE, all of the County of Suffolk.

THESE three persons were apprehended by the justices of the county in which they lived, and committed to prison for not attending mass at their parish church.

After being some time in confinement, they were brought before the chancellor of Norwich, and the register, who sat at the town of Beccles, to examine them with respect to their faith. The articles alledged against them were as follow:

- 1. That they believed not the pope of Rome to be supreme head immediately under Christ, of the universal Catholic church.
- 2. That they believed not holy bread and holy water, ashes, palms, and other like ceremonies used in the church, to be good and laudable for stirring up the people to devotion.
- 3. That they believed not after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, the very natural body of Christ, and no other substance of bread and wine, to be in the sacrament of the altar.
- 4. That they believed it to be idolatry to worship Christ in the sacrament of the altar.
- 5. That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's passion.
- 6. That they would not follow the cross in procession, nor be confessed to a priest.

They all acknowledged the accuracy of those articles, in consequence of which they were condemned by the chancellor, who first endeavoured to reclaim them from their opinions, and bring them over to the church of Rome; but all his admonitions and exhortations proving ineffectual, he pronounced sentence on them, and they were immediately delivered into the hands of the high sheriff for the county of Suffolk.

On the 21st of May, 1556, these three pious Christians were led to the stake in the town of Beccles, amidst a great number of lamenting spectators. As soon as they arrived at the place of execution they devoutly prayed, and repeated the articles of their faith. When they came to that article concerning the holy Catholic church, Sir John Sillard, the high sheriff, thus addressed them: "That is well said, Sirs; I am glad to hear you say you believe the

Catholic church; this is the best expression I ever heard from you yet."

To this Poole answered that though they believed in the Catholic church, yet they believed not in their popish church, which is no part of Christ's Catholic church, and therefore, no part of their belief.

When they arose from prayer they went joyfully to the stake, and being chained to it, and the faggots lighted, they praised God with such chearfulness in the midst of the flames, as astonished the numerous spectators.

Soon after they were fastened to the stake, several bigoted papists called to the executioner to throw faggots at them, in order to stop their mouths, but our martyrs, disregarding their malice, boldly confessed the truth with their latest breath, dying, as they had lived, in certain hopes of a resurrection to life eternal.

The Martyrdoms of THOMAS HARLAND, JOHN OSWALD, THOMAS ABINGTON, and THOMAS READ, who were all burnt together at Lewes, in Sussex.

THE popish emissaries having laid informations against these four persons, they were all apprehended on suspicion of heresy, and immediately sent to London, to be examined by Bonner, bishop of that diocese, relative to their faith.

THOMAS HARLAND being first examined, the bishop objected to his conduct in not attending his parish church: to which he answered, that since the mass was restored; he never chose to hear the same, because it was in Latin, which he did not understand and therefore, could not reap any benefit thereby.

JOHN OSWALD refused to answer any objection, till his accusers were brought face to face before him; nevertheless, he

declared that he was not to be awed into any concessions by the fear of fire and faggot; but as the faithful ministers of the gospel of Christ during the reign of king Edward VI. had suffered and gone before him, he was ready to suffer and follow after them, and would count it his glory and honour so to do.

The other two, ABINGTON and READ, said they abjured all popish superstitions and errors, and that they would ever hold fast to the faith as it was in the pure gospel of Christ.

The bishop, finding them all resolute, and that they were determined to adhere to their religious opinions, after endeavouring to prevail on them to recant, passed sentence of condemnation on them, and they were immediately delivered over to the secular power.

After a long confinement in the King's-Bench prison, they were all sent down to Lewes, in Sussex, where, on the 6th of June, 1556, they were burned together in one fire, praising God for enabling them to withstand the malice of their enemies, and to bear, with fortitude, the punishment allotted them for professing the truth of his most holy word.

On the 20th of the same month, two others suffered at the same place, namely,

THOMAS WOOD, Minister; and THOMAS MILLS.

They both died with Christian fortitude, rejoicing and praising God that he had numbered them among those who freely gave up their miserable existence here for the truth of the gospel, in hopes of obtaining an everlasting inheritance in the heavenly mansions.

The Sufferings and Martyrdoms of Henry Wye, Lyon Couch, William Holywell, Henry Adlinton, Ralph Jackson, John Routh, Laurence Pern, Edmund Hurst, John Derifall, Elizabeth Peper, Thomas Bowyer, George Searls, and Agnes George, who were all burnt together at Stratford-le-Bow, near London.

THESE thirteen persons were apprehended in the different places where they lived, the greater part of them being inhabitants of the county of Essex; and were sent, at various times, up to London, to be examined by bishop Bonner concerning their religious principles.

On the 9th of June they were all brought together before Dr. Darbyshire, the bishop's chancellor, who, in form of law, administered to them the following articles:

1. That there is on earth a Catholic church, wherein the religion of Christ is truly professed.

To this they all answered in the affirmative; but added that they believed the true faith of Christ was wherever the word of God was truly preached.

2. That there were seven sacraments.

They all answered in the negative; some affirmed that in the church of Christ there were only two sacraments, viz. Baptism and the Lord's Supper; others desired to believe as the scriptures taught them; and others refused to reply, not properly understanding these points.

3. That they were baptized in the faith of the Catholic church, professing, by their godfathers, &c, the religion of Christ, and to renounce the devil and all his works, &c.

To this they all assented without exception.

4. That when they came to years of discretion, they did not depart from the said profession and faith, and did not disprove any part thereof for several years.

The greater part of them answered in the affirmative. One of the women added that in the days of king Edward VI. she departed from her old faith and religion, and embraced the gospel Of Christ, as it was then taught and set forth.

5. That of late they had swerved from their former Catholic faith, and had spoken against the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and authority of the papal see.

This, upon the whole, they confessed to be true. One of them said the mass was of such a nature that he could not, in his own conscience, believe it to be authorized from God. Another observed, that for nine or ten years past he could not approve the mass nor the sacrament of the altar, because they could not be proved from the scripture of truth; declaring, at the same time, that at the age of fourteen he had taken an oath against the authority of the papal see, and would, by the grace of God, firmly abide by the same.

6. That they refused to be reconciled to the unity of the church, or to confess the lawfulness of the papal see.

To this article they all, except two, answered in the affirmative. Those who refused said they did not understand the import of the same. The two women added, they refused to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then used in the realm of England, though they never refused to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the Catholic church of Christ.

7 That disproving the service of the church they refused to come to their parish churches, denied the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament, called the mass an abomination, &c.

This was answered in general in the affirmative; but one denied that he called the mass an abomination or an idol: another, though he granted the article, confessed his infirmity, that he went to his parish church, and received it before he was put into prison.

8. This article related to their being brought before the commissioners, and by them sent to the bishop of London; to which they answered in the following order:

Henry Wye said that he was brought before several justices of peace in Essex, concerning one Highted, his late master, and thereupon committed to Colchester castle, and from thence sent to London to the bishop of London, for farther examination.

William Hollywell made the like confession, excepting the circumstance of Highted. John Derifall said he was called before the lord Rich and Mr. Mildmay, of Chelmsford, and by them sent to the bishop of London, to be farther examined.

Thomas Bowyer said he was brought before one Mr. Wiseman, of Falstead, and by him sent to Colchester castle, and from thence to the bishop of London, to be farther examined.

Lyon Couch said that he was three times brought before the king and queen's commissioners, and by them sent to the bishop of London.

Henry Adlinton said that coming to Newgate to speak with one Gratwick, prisoner there for the testimony of Jesus Christ; he was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him sent to the bishop of London.

Agnes George said that she was committed to prison in Colchester by Mr. Maynard, an alderman of the town, for refusing to go to church, and by him sent to the bishop of London.

Elizabeth Peper said that she was apprehended by two constables and an alderman, for refusing to come to church, and by them sent to the bishop of London to be farther examined.

9. That they believed the premises to be true, as confessed above, and that they were of the diocese of London.

This was generally agreed to. Elizabeth Peper added that she was of the town of Colchester; and Agnes George said she was of the parish of Barefold.

These thirteen persons being thus examined by the bishop of London's chancellor, in open court, persisting in their answers, and refusing to recant or be reconciled to the church of Rome, had sentence of condemnation pronounced against them; and being delivered over to the secular power, were all sent to Newgate.

Three others were also condemned to die at the same time; but before the day appointed for their execution, a reprieve was sent them by cardinal Poole.

On the Sunday following the condemnation of these pious christians, Dr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, told the audience, in his sermon, that they held as many tenets as there were faces among the whole; which being represented to them, they drew up the following confession of their faith, to which they respectively subscribed their names:

- 1. There are but two sacraments in Christ's church, that is, the sacrament of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ his church; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel remission of sins.
- 2. We believe there is a visible church, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy sacraments truly administered, visible to the world, although it be not credited, and by the death of saints is confirmed, as it was in the time of Elias the prophet, as well as now.
- 3. The see of Rome is the see of Anti-Christ, the congregation of the wicked, &c, whereof the pope is head under the devil.
- 4. The mass is not only a profanation of the Lord's Supper, but also a blasphemous idol.
- 5. God is neither spiritually nor corporeally in the sacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.
- For these, the articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all with one voice assenting and consenting thereunto, and in no point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our former articles.

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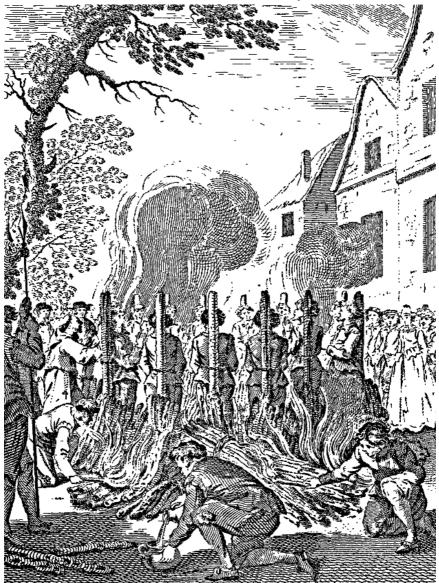
Early in the morning of the 28th of June, 1556, being the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted from Newgate to Stratford-le-Bow, the place allotted for them to confirm that faith they had professed, and to which they had so strenuously adhered.

On their arrival at the destined place, the sheriff made use of a stratagem to bring them over to the Romish faith. He divided them into two companies, and placed them in separate apartments. This done, he visited one company, and told them the other had recanted, by which their lives would be saved; and exhorted them to follow their example, and not cast themselves away by their own meer obstinacy.

But this scheme failed in its effect; for they told the sheriff that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ crucified.

The sheriff, finding his project fail with the first party to whom he applied, had recourse to the same means with the others, admonishing them to recant like wise men, and not be guilty of destroying themselves by their own bigotry and prejudice. But they answered to the same effect as their brethren had done before, assuring the sheriff that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ and his infallible word.

They were then brought from their different apartments, and led together to the place of execution, where they embraced each other, and after praying in the most fervent manner, prepared themselves for their fate. These thirteen stedfast believers in Christ were chained to different stakes, but all burnt together in one fire, shewing such love to each other, and firm faith in their Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, that the concourse of spectators, assembled on the occasion, were astonished at the undaunted behaviour of so many poor innocents thus patiently enduring the acutest torments, rather than comply with the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome.



THIRTEEN PROTESTANT MARTYRS consisting of eleven Men & two Women Burnt together in one Fire, at Stratford in Essex.

The Sufferings and Martyrdoms of ROBERT BERNARD, ADAM FOSTER, and ROBERT LAWSON, who were burned at St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk.

THE first of these martyrs was a poor labourer, and lived in the parish of Fransden, in the county of Suffolk. Being apprehended by the constable of the parish for not going to church, he was brought before Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich, who enquired of him whether he had been with a priest at Easter to confess, or whether he had received the sacrament of the altar.

To these questions Bernard frankly replied, "No, I have not been with the priest, nor confessed myself unto him; but I have confessed my sins unto Almighty God, and I trust he has forgiven me. Wherefore I need not go to the priest for such matters, as he cannot forgive his own sins.

The bishop, after using various arguments to go to confession without effect, pronounced him an heretic; on which Bernard said, "My lord, it grieveth me not one whit to be called an heretic by you, for so your forefathers called the prophets and apostles of Christ long before this time."

Incensed at this abrupt reply, the bishop arose, and bid Bernard follow him. He then went to the sacrament of the altar, to which he kneeled and prayed, and severely reproved Bernard for not doing the same; but our martyr told him he knew no authority for such behaviour in the word of God.

The bishop then addressing him, pointed to the pix over the altar, in which the wafer or host is kept, and said, "Why, lewd fellow, whom seest thou yonder?" "Nobody, my lord," replied Bernard. "Seest not thou thy maker, varlet?" demanded the prelate. "My maker?" returned the countryman; "No, I see nothing but a few clouts hanging together in a heap."

This answer so irritated the bishop that he commanded the gaoler to take him away and lay irons enough on him, declaring

that he would reduce him to subjection before he had done with him.

The next day he was again brought before the bishop, who asked him if he retained the same opinions as he professed yesterday. To which Bernard replied, "Yes, my lord, I remember myself well, for I am the same man to-day that I was yesterday, and hope I shall remain stedfast to the end of my life in the principles I have professed."

One of his lordships attendants, being desirous of examining Bernard himself, advised the bishop to prevent giving himself any farther trouble by committing his examination to him. Having obtained permission so to do, he took Bernard to an inn, where several popish emissaries were assembled. They first used many fair words and alluring promises, to persuade him to abjure what they called his heretical opinions. This, however, not taking effect, they threatened him with whipping, the stocks, and burning; but all to no purpose.

He told them, "Friends, I am not better than my master Christ, and the prophets, whom your forefathers served after this sort; and I, for his sake, am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God should so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same, according to his promise, and that of all his ministers."

After this declaration they took him back to the bishop, who, according to the usual form of proceeding in the court, condemned him as an heretic; and he was delivered over to the secular power.

ADAM FOSTER lived in the parish of Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk. He was apprehended in his own house by two constables, at the command of a neighbouring justice, for absenting himself from mass, and not receiving the sacrament at Easter.

Being taken before the bishop of Norwich, who examined him concerning his religious principles, and finding him stedfast in his faith, according to the doctrines set forth in the days of king

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Edward VI. he condemned him as an heretic, and he was delivered to the secular power, to be proceeded against according to law.

ROBERT LAWSON, by trade a linen-draper, was apprehended on the same account as the two former; and being brought before Sir John Tyrrel, he committed him to the prison of Eye, in Suffolk. After laying there a short time, he was conducted to the bishop of Norwich for examination, when, holding fast to the principles he had professed, and withstanding every effort made use of by the bishop to bring him to recant, he was deemed an heretic, received sentence of death, and was delivered into the hands of the sheriff, in order for execution.

On the 30th of June, 1556, these three soldiers of Christ were conducted to St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, where, being all fastened to one stake, they made a most triumphant exit, and died in full assurance of happiness hereafter, giving glory to that God who had enabled them to undergo their sufferings for his name's sake.

About the same time these three suffered, there was one JOHN FORTUNE, a blacksmith of the parish of Hendlesham, in Suffolk, who was several times examined by the bishop of Norwich, and others, about the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and other points of the Romish religion, which he refuted by texts quoted from scripture. His sentence of condemnation is recorded in the bishop's register; but whether it was ever carried into execution we are not informed.

The Persecutions and Sufferings of JULIUS PALMER, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; JOHN GWIN, and THOMAS ASKINE, who Suffered Martyrdom at Newbury, in Berkshire, for professing the Truth of the Gospel. JULIUS PALMER was the son of a reputable merchant, and born in the city of Coventry, in the county of Warwick. He received his first education at the free-school of that place; after which he was sent to Oxford, where, in process of time, he obtained a fellowship in Magdalen college, in that university.

As he was brought up a zealous papist, he refused to conform to the service of the church, as practised in the time of king Edward VI. for which he was expelled from the college, and for some time kept a school in the city of Oxford.

On the accession of queen Mary, the visitors went to Magdalen college, to displace such as refused to be of the popish religion. Mr. Palmer availed himself of this opportunity, and by close application himself, joined to the interest of his friends, was reinstated in his fellowship.

During the time of his expulsion from the college, he used frequently to converse with some of his acquaintance who were protestants; and being by them advised to study the scriptures, he began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of several Romish doctrines, and would often ask questions on that subject.

His sincere attachment to the principles he professed, (though opposite in their nature at different periods) was the cause of his expulsion in the days of king Edward VI. and his troubles in the reign of queen Mary; for had he been a dissembler, he might have retained his fellowship under the reign of the former, and escaped death under that of the latter.

When the persecution raged in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, he enquired, very particularly, into the cause of persons being apprehended, the nature of the articles upon which they were condemned, the manner of their treatment, and their behaviour at the time of their suffering. Nay, so desirous was he of knowing this, that he sent over one of his pupils from Oxford to Gloucester, to see the whole form of bishop Hooper's execution; and bring him a minute account of the bloody transaction.

Before he had imbibed well-grounded notions of the gospel of Christ, and the pure uncorrupted worship of God, he was inclined to think that very few would undergo the fiery trial for the sake of their profession; but when experience proved to him the cruelties which the papists inflicted, and the protestants endured; when he had been present at the examination of bishop Ridley and Latimer, and had seen them burnt at Oxford, as well as been an eye-witness to their faith, patience, and fortitude, these scenes converted him absolutely from popery; and on his return from the execution, he was heard to utter these expressions amongst his friends, "O raging cruelty! O barbarous tyranny!"

From that very day he applied himself most assiduously to learn the truth of God's word; and to that end, borrowed Peter Martyr's *Commentary on the Corinthians*, and read many other well-written treatises on religion, till, at length, he became as zealous an assertor of the protestant cause, as he before had been an obstinate opposer of it.

He now began to form excuses and pretences for absenting himself from mass, and other popish services and ceremonies; but finding that his absence on these occasions, incurred the suspicions of many, and disapprobation of the president of the college, to avoid expulsion, which might be attended with danger, and to preserve his conscience inviolate, he resigned his fellowship.

On his leaving the college, his friends procured him the place of teacher to the grammar-school at Reading, in Berkshire, where he was received by those who loved the gospel of Christ, both on account of his eminent learning, and his zealous adherence to the truth.

In process of time, some hypocritical professors of the reformed religion insinuated themselves into his confidence, with a design to learn his religious principles. Their disingenuous stratagem succeeded to their wishes: for as he was a man of an open, unreserved temper, he freely declared his sentiments, which those snakes reported to his enemies, who thereupon caused his

library to be searched for heretical books, and finding some of his writings, both in Latin and English, that inveighed against popish cruelty, they threatened to lay this discovery before the queen's commissioners, unless he would quietly resign his school to a friend of theirs, and depart.

Mr. Palmer, fearful of death, complied with their unjust proposal, and departed from Reading, leaving behind him all his goods, with a quarter's salary that was due to him.

Being thus destitute of a livelihood, he went to Evesham, in Worchestershire, where his mother lived, in order to obtain from her a legacy which his father had bequeathed him four years before.

As soon as he saw his mother, he implored her blessing on his bended knees; but she having been informed, by his brother, of the cause of his resignation, and the business of his visit, hastily exclaimed, "Thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine, whithersoever thou goest."

Julius, at first, stood amazed at so unexpected and heavy a curse from his own mother; but after he had recollected himself a little, he said; "O mother, your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he has already blessed me."

His bigoted mother said, "Thou wentest from God's blessing when thou wast banished for an heretic from thy fellowship at Oxford, and for the like knavery hast thou been expelled from Reading too."

"Alas! mother," returned Julius, "my case has been misrepresented to you, for I was not expelled from the college at Oxford, but freely I resigned my fellowship there. Heretic I am none, for I oppose not the true doctrine of Christ, but defend it to my utmost power."

His mother then vehemently declared that he believed not as his father and forefathers had done, but according to the new doctrine taught and set forth in the days of king Edward VI. which is damnable heresy.

In answer to this he confessed, he believed the doctrine that was publicly set forth in the reign of king Edward VI. He also affirmed it to be truth, and that, instead of being new, it was as old as Christ and his apostles.

The mother, incensed at this frank declaration of his principles, ordered him to depart the house, nor ever more esteem her as his mother, informing him, at the same time, that he had no property there, either in money or goods, as his father bequeathed nothing to heretics.

Our martyr, as became a true follower of the blessed Jesus, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but committed his cause to him who judgeth righteously. On leaving his bigoted mother, he thus addressed her: "Mother, you have cursed me, I beseech God to bless you, and prosper your undertakings as long as you live."

This pathetic address, attended with flowing tears, in some degree moved her compassion; and on his leaving the room she threw a piece of gold after him, saying, "Keep that to make thee a true man."

Mr. Palmer, being thus repulsed by his mother, on whom he relied as his only friend, as well as disregarded by his brother, was destitute of all help, and knew not what steps to take in order to obtain subsistence. At length, he thought of returning privately to Magdalen college, depending on the confidence of a few friends he had in that house. He accordingly went thither, and through the interest of Mr. Allen Cope, a fellow of the same, he obtained a recommendation to a school in Gloucestershire.

He had not proceeded far on his journey to that place before he altered his resolution, and determined to go privately to Reading, to try if he could obtain his salary that was due, and at the same time dispose of the goods he had left there.

No sooner had he arrived at Reading, than his old enemies got knowledge of it, and consulted in what manner they should proceed against him. In a short time it was concluded amongst them that one Mr. Hampton, who had formerly professed himself a protestant, (but was, in reality a time-server) should visit him under colour of friendship, to learn the cause of his return. Hampton traitorously went, when Palmer, with his usual sincerity and openness of soul, disclosed his whole design, which the other immediately related to the confederates, who caused him to be apprehended that very night, by the officers appointed for the purpose, requiring him, in the queen's name, quietly to surrender himself.

Mr. Palmer was then carried to prison, where he remained ten days in the custody of an unmerciful keeper; at the expiration of which time he was brought before the mayor of Reading, and charged with the following crimes:

- 1. That he said the queen's sword was not put into her hand to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true servants of God.
- 2. That her sword was too blunt towards the papists, but too sharp towards the true Christians.
- 3. That certain servants of Sir Francis Knowles, and others, resorting to his lectures, fell out among them and had almost committed murder; therefore he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawful assemblies.
- 4. That his landlady had written a letter to him, which they had intercepted, wherein she requested him to return to Reading, and sent her commendations by the token, that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they inferred that she had conspired with him against her husband.
- 5. That they once found him alone with his said landlady, by the fire-side, the door being shut, thereby suspecting him of incontinency with her.

Three men, who were suborned for the purpose by one of the confederates, swore these things against him before the mayor,

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who thereupon sent him to the cage, to be an open spectacle of contempt to the people.

The same villain also spread a report that he was thus punished for the most enormous crimes and misdemeanours, which had been fully proved against him.

After he had been thus unjustly exposed to public shame, the mayor sent for him to answer for himself, concerning what was laid to his charge. He fully overthrew all the evidence, by proving the letter said to have been written to him by his landlady, to be of their own forging; and in the most incontestable manner acquitted himself of all the other crimes laid to his charge. The mayor was confounded to think he should have given such credit to his persecutors; and though he did not chuse to discharge him immediately, yet he thought of doing it as soon as a convenient opportunity should offer.

While Mr. Palmer was in prison, he was visited by one John Galant, a true professor of the gospel, who said to him, "O Palmer; thou hast deceived many men's expectations, for we hear that you suffer not for righteousness sake, but for thy own demerits."

Palmer replied, "O brother Galant, these be the old practices of that fanatical brood: but be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself and detected their falsehood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith."

When his enemies found they had miscarried in their plot against him, they determined to accuse him of heresy. This was accordingly done, in consequence of which he was taken before the mayor, and Mr. Bird, the bishop of Salisbury's official, in order to give an account of his faith, and to answer to such information as might be laid against him.

In the course of his examination they gathered from him sufficient grounds to proceed against him. Articles were accordingly drawn up, and sent to Dr. Jeffrey at Newbery, who was to hold his visitation there on the Thursday following. The next day Palmer was conducted to Newbery; together with one Thomas Askine, who had been for some time imprisoned on account of his religion. Immediately on their arrival they were committed to the Blind-house prison, where they found one John Gwin, who was confined there for no other reason but professing the truth of the gospel.

On Tuesday, July 10, 1556, a place being prepared in the parish church of Newbery to hold the consistory court, Dr. Jeffrey, representative of the bishop of Sarum, Sir Richard Abridge, and John Winchom, Esq; and the minister of Inglefield, repaired thither, as commissioners appointed for the purpose.

After the prisoners were produced, the commission read, and other things passed according to the usual form, Dr. Jeffrey, in the presence of several hundred spectators, called to Palmer, and asked if he was the writer of a two-penny pamphlet that had been lately published?

Having some altercation about this affair, in which Palmer anrwered in his own behalf with great force and propriety, the doctor rising from his seat, said to him, "Mr. Palmer, we have received certain writings and articles against you from the right worshipful mayor of Reading, and other justices, whereby we understand that being brought before them, you were convicted of certain heresies.

- 1. That you deny the supremacy of the pope's holiness.
- 2. That you affirm there are but two sacraments.
- 3. You say that the priest sheweth up an idol at mass, and therefore you went to no mass since your first coming to Reading.
- 4. You hold there is no purgatory.
- 5. You are charged with sowing sedition, and seeking to divide the unity of the queen's subjects.

Several books and pamphlets were then produced, and Palmer being asked if he was the author of them, replied in the affirmative, declaring at the same time, that they contained nothing but what was founded on the word of God.

Jeffrey then reviled him, declaring that such opinions were dictated by no good spirit, and that he was very wicked in slandering the dead, and railing at a Catholic and learned man living.

Mr. Palmer replied, if it be a slander he slandered himself, for I do but report his own writings, and expose absurdities therein contained; and I esteem it not railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiphas, being dead.

The doctor, incensed at this reply, assured him that he would take such measures as should compel him to recant his damnable errors and heresies; but Palmer told him that although of himself he could do nothing, yet if he, and all his enemies, both bodily and ghostly, should exert their efforts, they would not be able to effect what they desired, neither could they prevail against the mighty powers of divine grace, by which he understood the truth, and was determined to speak it boldly.

After much farther discourse, the minister of Inglefield pointed to the pix over the altar, saying to Palmer, "What seest thou there?" To which he replied, "A canopy of silk embroidered with gold."

"But what is within?" demanded the priest; "A piece of bread in a cloth," replied our martyr.

The priest then upbraided him as a vile heretic, and asked him if he did not believe that those who receive the holy sacrament of the altar do truly eat Christ's natural body.

He answered, "If the sacrament of the Lord's Supper be administered as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do, indeed, spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ's body and blood."

On being asked, if he meant with the holy mother-church, really, carnally, and substantially? He declared, he "could not believe so absurd and monstrous a doctrine."

After this the court was adjourned, one of the justices took Palmer aside, and in the presence of several persons exhorted him to revoke his opinions, and thereby preserve his life; promising him, at the same time, if he would conform to the church, to take him into his family as his chaplain, and give him a handsome salary, or if he chose not to resume the clerical function, to procure him an advantageous farm.

Mr. Palmer heartily thanked him for his kind offer, but assured him that he had already renounced his living in two places for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and was ready to yield up his life in defence of the same, if God, in his providence, should think fit to call him to it.

When the justice found he could by no means bring him to a recantation, he said, "Well, Palmer, I perceive that one of us two must be damned, for we are of two faiths, and there is but one faith that leads to life and salvation."

Palmer observed, on the occasion, that it was possible they might both be saved, for that as it had pleased a merciful God to call him at the third hour of the day, that is in the prime of life, at the age of twenty-four years, so he trusted that in his infinite goodness he would graciously call him at the eleventh hour of his old age, and give him an eternal inheritance among the saints in light. After much conversation had passed, and many efforts were tried in vain, Palmer was remanded back to prison; but the other men, John Gwin and Thomas Askine, were brought into the consistory court, received their definitive sentence, and were delivered over to the secular power, to be burned as heretics.

Though the particular examinations and answers of these two martyrs are not recorded, there is no doubt but they were of the same faith, and equally stedfast in it, as their fellow-sufferer Palmer; but they were very illiterate, from whence it is supposed their examination was short, they not having a capability of making any defence. The next morning the commissioners required Julius Palmer to subscribe to certain articles which they had gathered from his answers, (with the addition of those odious epithets and terms: horrid, heretical, damnable, and execrable doctrines) which, when he had read, he refused to subscribe, affirming that the doctrine which he held and professed, was not such, but agreeable to and founded on the word of God.

Jeffrey being now greatly incensed, Palmer consented to subscribe, provided they would strike out those odious epithets; upon which they gave him a pen and bid him do as he pleased. When he made such alterations as he thought proper, he then subscribed.

Having thus set his hand to the articles which they had drawn up, they asked him if he would recant; but he peremptorily refusing, they pronounced sentence against him, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

While he was in prison he gave great comfort to his two fellow-sufferers, and strongly exhorted them to hold fast to the faith they had professed. On the morning of their execution, about an hour before they were led to the stake, he addressed them in words to the following effect:

"Brethren, be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not; remember the words of our Saviour Christ, who saith, 'Happy are ye when men shall revile and persecute you for my sake: rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to hurt the soul; God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able to bear.' We shall end our lives in the fire, but exchange them for a better life: yea, for coals we shall receive pearls: for God's spirit certifieth our spirit; that he has prepared for us blissful mansions in heaven for his sake, who suffered for us.

These words not only strengthened and confirmed the resolution of his two weak brethren, but drew tears from many of the multitude.

When they were brought by the high-sheriff and constables of the town to the sand-pits, (the place appointed for their execution) they fell on the ground, and Palmer, with an audible voice, repeated the 31st psalm; but the other two made their prayers secretly to Jehovah, the Almighty God.

When Palmer arose from prayer, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him to recant, and save his soul. Our martyr exclaimed, "Away, away, and tempt me no longer! Away, I say from me, all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord has heard the voice of my tears."

When they were chained to the stake, Palmer thus addressed the spectators; "Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end, and for Christ's sake beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you."

As he spoke this, one of the attendants threw a faggot at him, which striking him on the face, caused the blood to guish from three several places; but this cruel behaviour escaped not the notice or resentment of the sheriffs, who not only upbraided his cruelty, but manfully retaliated the injury on the man, who had thus insulted suffering innocence.

When the fire was kindled, and began to reach their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and chearfully, as though they felt not much pain, said, "Lord Jesu, strengthen us! Lord Jesu assist us! Lord Jesu, receive our souls!" and thus they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and sometimes beating upon their breasts, and calling on the name of Jesus, till they ended their mortal lives, and exchanged a scene of exquisite pain for an everlasting habitation in the heavenly mansions:

Where, on a high majestic throne, The Almighty Father reigns, And sheds his glorious goodness down On all the blissful plains.

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Bright, like a sun, the Saviour sits, And spreads eternal noon; No ev'nings there, nor gloomy nights, To want the feeble moon.

Amidst those ever-shining skies, Behold the sacred dove; While banish'd sin and sorrow flies, From all the realms of love.

The glorious tenants of the place Stand bending round the throne; And saints and seraphs sing and praise The holy infinite One.

But, O what beams of heav'nly grace Transplant them all the while! Ten thousand smiles from Jesu's face, And love in ev'ry smile!

About the same time the above three persons suffered at Newbery, three women were burnt in the island of Guernsey, whose names were,

CATHERINE CAWCHES, the mother. GUILLEMINE GILBERT, and PEROTINE MASSEY, her daughters.

Their execution, and that of Perotine's new-born infant, was attended with distinguished marks of cruelty, and a detailed account is given in Book XIV, Chap. I.

In the same month that these suffered, two men and a woman were burnt at Greenstead, in Suffex, and one man in the town of Leicester. The names of the three former were,

THOMAS DUNGATE, JOHN FOREMAN, and MARY TREE. And that of the latter, THOMAS MOOR.

They all bore their sufferings with great fortitude, and resigned their souls into the hands of that God who gave them, as a testimony of their faith in the truth of his most holy gospel.

The Examination, Condemnation, and Martyrdom of JOAN WASTE; a poor blind Woman, who was burnt in the Town of Derby.

THIS poor woman, during the time of king Edward VI. used to frequent the church to hear divine service in the vulgar tongue, together with homilies and sermons, by which means she became confirmed and established in the principles of the reformed religion.

Having purchased a New Testament in English, she applied to an old man, whom she paid for reading such passages as she directed him; by which means she became so well versed in the holy scriptures, that she could repeat entire chapters by heart, and by citing proper texts of scripture, would reprove the errors in religion, as well as the vicious customs and practices that prevailed in those days.

Thus did this pious woman encrease in the knowledge of God's word, leading a life of exemplary godliness, without molestation, or any kind of interruption, during the reign of good king Edward.

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But on his demise, and the introduction of popery, with the accession of queen Mary, because she continued stedfast in the profession of that faith she had embraced from the knowledge of the divine word, and refused to communicate with those who maintained contrary doctrines, she was brought before Dr. Ralph Bayn, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and Dr. Draycott, the chancellor, as one suspected of heresies, and by them committed to Derby prison.

She was diverse times privately examined by Peter Finch, the bishop's official; and afterwards brought to public examination before the bishop, his chancellor, and several more of the queen's commissioners; when the following articles were alledged against her:

- 1. That she held the sacrament of the altar to be only a memorial, or representation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine; and that it ought not to be reserved from time to time, but immediately received.
- 2. That she held that in the receiving the sacrament of the altar she did not receive the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross for the redemption of mankind.
- 3. That she held that Christ, at his last supper, did not only bless the bread which he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself; and that, by virtue of the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine was not converted, nor turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.
- 4. That she granted she was of the parish of Allhallows, in Derby, and that all and singular the premises were true.

To these respective articles she answered that she believed just as much as the holy scriptures taught her, and according to what she had heard preached by many pious and learned men; some of whom suffered imprisonment, and others death, for the same doctrine. Among others, she mentioned Dr. Taylor, and asked if they would follow his example in testimony of their doctrine? Which, unless they were willing to do, she desired, for God's sake, they would not trouble her (being a poor, blind, and illiterate woman) declaring, at the same time, she was ready to yield up her life in defence of that faith she had publicly professed.

The bishop, and his chancellor, urged many arguments in proof of the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, demanding why Christ was not as able to make the bread his body, as to turn water into wine, to raise Lazarus from the dead, and the like, threatening her, at the same time, with imprisonment, torments, and death.

The poor woman, terrified at these threatenings; told the bishop, if he would, before that company, take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe, concerning the sacrament was true, and that he would, at the awful tribunal of God, answer for her therein, (as Dr. Taylor, in several sermons, had offered) she would then further answer them.

The bishop, declaring that he would, the chancellor said to him, "My lord, you know not what you do, you may in no case answer for an heretic."

The bishop, struck by this interposition of the chancellor, demanded of the woman, whether she would recant or not, and told her she should answer for herself.

This honest christian finding, at length, they designed but to prevaricate, told his lordship that if he refused to take upon himself to answer for the truth of what they required her to believe, she would answer no farther, but desired them to do their pleasure.

In consequence of this, sentence of death was pronounced against her, and she was delivered to the sheriff, who immediately conducted her to the prison at Derby.

On the first of August, 1556, the day appointed for her execution, she was led to the stake. Immediately on her arrival at the fatal spot, she knelt down, and in the most fervent manner,

repeated several prayers she had been accustomed to use, and desired the spectators to pray also for her departing soul. Having finished her prayers she arose, and was fastened to the stake; when the faggots being lighted, she called on the Lord to have mercy on her, and continued so to do till the flames deprived her both of speech and life. And thus did this poor woman quit this mortal stage, to obtain a life of immortality, the sure and certain reward of all those who suffer for the sake of the true gospel of their blessed Redeemer.

On the 8th of September, one EDWARD SHARP was burnt at Bristol; and on the 25th of the same month, a young man, by trade a carpenter, suffered at the same place.

The day preceding the last martyrdom, JOHN HART, a shoemaker and THOMAS RAVENDALE, a currier, were burnt at Mayfield, in Sussex.

On the 27th of the same month, one JOHN HORN, and a woman, suffered at Wotton-Underedge, in Gloucestershire.

All these martyrs submitted to their fate with the most Christian fortitude, giving glory to God for having numbered them among the followers and advocates of his most holy gospel.

The last we find recorded, who suffered for the truth of the gospel in the bloody year 1556, were five persons, (confined, with many others, in Canterbury castle) who were cruelly starved to death. Their names were as follow:

WILLIAM FOSTER, condemned. ALICE POTKINS, condemned. JOHN ARCHER, condemned. JOHN CLARK, not condemned. DUNSTAN CHITTENDEN, not condemned.

The cruel usage these unhappy persons suffered from their unfeeling persecutors is displayed in a letter written by one of them, and thrown out of the window of the prison; of which the following is an exact copy:

BE it known unto all men that shall read, or hear read, these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury, for God's truth, are kept, and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or else, if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us: insomuch, that there are four of us prisoners there for God's truth famished already;* and thus it is his mind to famish us all: and we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us; and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners, in other prisons, for the like cause to be also famished: notwithstanding, we write not these our letters, to that intent we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus' sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all

^{* [}CHCoG: Unlike modern usage, famished then meant literally starved to death.]

men may know of what church they are, and who is their father.—Out of the castle of Canterbury."

Among the others confined with these five were ten men, who having been examined by Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, were sentenced to be burnt. They had been confined a considerable time, but their sentence was, at length, put into execution; and they were the first who opened the bloody transactions of the year 1557. Their names were as follow:

STEPHEN KEMP, of Norgate,
WLLLIAM WATERER, of Beddingden.
W. PROWTING, of Thornham.
W. LOWICK, of Cranbroke.
THOMAS HUDSON, of Salenge.
WILLIAM HAY, of Hithe.
THOMAS STEPHENS, of Beddingden.
JOHN PHILPOT, of Tenterden.
NICHOLAS FINAL, of Tenterden.
MATTHEW BRADBRIDGE, of Tenterden.

The six first were burnt at Canterbury on the 15th of January, 1557.

Stephens and Philpot suffered the next day at Wye.

And Final and Bradbridge the day after, at Ashford. They all bore their sufferings with Christian fortitude, happily rejoicing that their troubles were drawing to an end, and that they should leave this world, to be transplanted to that where the weary are at rest.

Notwithstanding the number of sacrifices that had been made in various parts of the kingdom, since the accession of queen Mary, in order to indulge the bigotry of that infatuated princess,

yet they were far from being at an end. Naturally disposed to tyranny, and encouraged in her blood-thirsty principles by that monster in human form, Bonner, bishop of London; she determined to compel all her subjects who differed from herself in religious sentiments, either to submit to her maxims, or fall victims to her unsatiated revenge.

To facilitate this horrid intention, in the beginning of February, 1557, she issued the following proclamation, which was, in a great measure, promoted by bishop Bonner, whose diabolical soul, in conjunction with hers, thirsted after the blood of those who thought not as they did.

A bloody commission, issued by King Philip and queen Mary, to persecute the poor Members of Christ.

"PHILIP and MARY, by the grace of God, king and queen of England &c. To the right reverend father in God, our right, trusty, and well-beloved counsellor Thomas, bishop of Ely, and to our right, trusty, and well-beloved William Windsore, knight. lord Windsore, Edward North, knight, lord North; and to our trusty and well-beloved counsellor J. Bourn, knight, one of our chief secretaries, J. Mordaunt, knight, Francis Englefield, knight, master of our wards and liveries, Edward Walgrave, knight, master of our great wardrobe, Nicholas Hare, knight, master of the rolls, Thomas Pope, knight, Roger Cholmley, knight, Richard Rede, knight, Rowland Hill, knight, William Raftal, serjeant at law, Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Paul's, William Roper, and Ralph Cholmley, esquires, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting.

"Forasmuch as diverse, devilish, and slanderous persons have not only invented, bruted, and set forth

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diverse false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown diverse heresies, and heretical opinions, and set forth diverse seditious books within this our realm of England meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects, with diverse other outrageous misdemeanors, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people: we, minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like enormities. and misbehaviours offences. from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorised, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses, and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical seditious books, concealments, contempts, and conspiracies, and all false rumours, tales, seditious and slanderous words or savings, raised, published, bruted, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our realm of England or elsewhere, in any place, or places, beyond the seas, and of the bringers in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any such letter, books, or rumour, and tale; and of all and every their coadjutors, councellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you, and three of you, full power and authority, by virtue

hereof, to search out, and take into your hands and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wheresoever they, or any of them, shall be found, as well in printers houses and shops as elsewhere, willing you, and every of you, to search for the same in all places, according to your discretions.

"And also to enquire, hear, and determine, all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, and negligences committed in the church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm; and also for and concerning the taking away, or withholding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to every of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

"And also to enquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service; and all such as refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church, or other hallowed places, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be committed, within this our said realm.

"Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is that when, and as often as any person, or persons, hereafter being called or convened before you, do obstinately persist, or stand in any manner of heresy, or heretical opinion, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the same person, or persons, so standing, or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

"And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority, to enquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barretours, quarrellers, and suspected persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass.

"And further, to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages, in the diocese of the same, being within this realm, giving you, and every of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary; and upon enquiry, and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise; and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient

"Further willing and commanding you, and every three of you, in case you shall find any person, or persons, obstinate or disobedient, either in their

appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things, touching the premises, or any part thereof, to commit the same person, or persons, so offending, to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, he be discharged or delivered, &c."

Account of twenty-two Persons, viz. fourteen Men, and eight Women, who were all apprehended at Colchester, for professing the Truth of the Gospel, and brought together from thence to London, to be examined by Bishop Bonner.

THE bloody proclamation before mentioned, which was issued on the 8th of February, 1557, gave the new inquisition an opportunity of extending their horrid ravages; so that persecution universally prevailed, and most of the gaols in the kingdom were crowded with prisoners.

The rage of persecution was particularly prevalent in and about the town of Colchester, insomuch that twenty-three persons were apprehended together, of which number only one escaped; the others being sent up to London, in order to abide by the award of a most bloody tribunal. They consisted of fourteen men and eight women, who were fastened together, with a chain placed between them, each holding the same in their hand and being at the same time tied separately with a cord round the arm. On their entrance into the city they were pinioned, and in that manner conducted to Newgate.

Before we proceed to relate farther particulars relative to these innocent and persecuted people, it may not be improper, in order to give the reader a just idea of that detested persuasion which can justify such horrid cruelty and injustice to lay before our readers a

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transcript of the popish commissary's letter to bishop Bonner on this occasion. It was as follows:

The Commissionary's Letter to Bonner, Bishop of London.

AFTER my duty done in receiving and accomplishing your honourable and most loving letters, dated August 7, be it known unto your lordship, that on the 28th of August, the lord of Oxenford, lord Darcy, H. Tyrel, A. Brown, W. Bendelows, E. Tyrel, R. Weston, R. Appleton, published their commission to seize the lands, tenements, and goods of the fugitives, so that the owners should have neither use nor advantage thereof, but by inventory remain in safe keeping, until the cause were determined.

And also there was likewise proclaimed the queen's warrant, for the restitution of the church goods within Colchester, and the hundreds there about, to the use of God's service. And then were called the parishes particularly, and the heretics partly committed to my examination. And that diverse persons should certify me of the ornaments of their churches, betwixt this and the justices next appearance, which shall be on Michaelmas next. And the parishes, which had presented at two several times, to have all ornaments, with other things, in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time. And those names blotted in the indenture, were indicted for treason, fugitive, or disobedients, and were put forth by Mr. Brown's commandment. And before the sealing, my lord Darcy said unto me apart, and Mr. Bendelows, that I should have sufficient time to send unto your lordship; yea, if need were, the heretics to remain in

durance till I had an answer from you, yea, till the lord legates graces commissioners come into the country.

And Mr. Brown came unto my lord Darcy's house and parlour, belonging unto Mr. Barnaby, before my said lord, and all the justices, and laid his hand on my shoulder, with a smiling countenance, and desired me to make his hearty commendations to your good lordship, and asked me if I would: and I said, yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I should not have been charged with so sudden carriage.

But after dinner, the justices counselled with the bailiffs, and with the gaolers, and then after took me unto them, and made collation of the indentures, and sealed them; and then Mr. Brown commanded me this afternoon, being the 30th of August, to go and receive my prisoners by and by. And then I said, it is an unreasonable commandment, for that I have attended on you here these three days, and this Sunday early I have sent home my men. Wherefore, I desire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know, whether it will please my lord, my master, to send his commissioners hither, or that I shall make carriage of them unto his lordship. Then Mr. Brown said we are certified that the council have written to your master to make speed, and to rid these prisoners out of hand: therefore go receive your prisoners in haste. I answered, Sir, I shall receive them within these ten days. Then Mr. Brown said, the limitation lieth in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence.

"I replied, Sir, ye have indicted and delivered me by this indenture, whose faith or opinions I knew not, trusting that ye will grant me a time to examine them; lest I should punish the Catholics. Well, said Mr. Brown, for that cause ye shall have time betwixt this and Wednesday. And I say unto you, Mr. bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your hands on Wednesday, set open your door, and let them go.

Then I said, my lord, and masters all, I promise to discharge the town and country of these heretics within these ten days. The lord Darcy answered, Commissary, we do and must all agree in one. Wherefore do ye receive them on or before Wednesday.

To which I replied, my lord, the last I carried, I was going betwixt the castle, and St. Catherine chapel two hours and a half, and in great press and danger: wherefore this may be to desire your lordship, to give in commandment unto Mr. Sayer, my bailiff here present, to aid me through his liberties, not only with men and weapons, but that the town-clerk may be ready there with his book to write the names of the most busy persons, and this upon three hours warning; all which both my lord and Mr. Brown commanded.

31st of August, William Goodwin of The Muchbirch, husbandman, this bringer, and Thomas Alsey of Copford; your lordship's apparator of your consistory in Colchester, covenanted with me, that they should hire two other men at the least; whereof one should be a bow-man, to come to me the next day about two of the clock in the afternoon, so that I might recite this bargain before Mr. Archdeacon; and pay the money, that is, forty-six shillings and eight pence. Wherefore they should then go forth with me unto Colchester, and on Wednesday before three of the clock in the morning, receive there at my hand within the castle and mote-hall; fourteen men, and eight women, bound with cords and fetters, and drive, carry, or lead, and feed with meat and drink, as heretics ought

to be found continually, unto such time that the said Goodwin and Alley shall cause the said two and twenty persons to be delivered unto my lord of London's officers, and within the safe keeping of my said lord, and then to bring unto me again the said fetters, with a perfect token of or from my said lord, and then this covenant is void, or else, &c.

Mr. Bendelows said unto me in my lord of Oxenford's chamber at the King's-head, after I had said mass before the lords, that on the morrow after Holy-Rood day, when we shall meet at Chelmsford for the division of these lands, I think Mr. archdeacon, you, and Mr. Smith, shall be fain to ride with certain of the jury to those portions and manors in your part of Essex, and in like case divide yourselves, to tread and view the ground with the quest, or else I think they will not labour the matter, and so do you say unto Mr. archdeacon.

Alice the wife of William Walley of Colchester, has submitted herself, abjured her erroneous opinions, asked absolution, promised to do her solemn penance in her parish church at St. Peter's on Sunday next; and to continue a catholic and a faithful woman, as long as God shall send her life. And for these covenants her husband standeth bound in five pounds. Which Alice is one of the nine women of this your indenture, and she is big with child. Wherefore she remaineth at home, and this done in the presence of the bailiffs, aldermen, and town-clerk. And because Mr. Brown was certified there was no curate at Lexdon, he enquired who was the former? the answer was made, Sir Francis Jobson. Who is the parson? they of the quest-men answered, Sir Roger Ghostlow. When was he with you? Not these fourteen years. How is your

cure served? Now and then. Who is the patron? My lord of Arundel. And within short time after, Sir Francis Jobson came with great courtesy unto my lord Darcy's place. And of all gentlemen about us, I saw no more come in.

Sir Robert Smith, priest, sometime canon of Bridlington, now canon of Appledoore in the wild of Kent, came to Colchester the 28th day of August, with his wife big with child, of late divorced, taken on suspicion, examined by the lords, and Mr. Brown told me that they have received letters from the detachment of certain persons, especially of one priest, whose name is Pullen, (but his right name is Smith) doubting this priest to be the said Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confess the same.

Wherefore he lieth still in prison, but surely this is not Pullen. If it please your lordship to have in remembrance, that the householder might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own seat in the church in time of divine service, it would profit much.

And also there be yet standing hospitals, and others of like foundation about Colchester, which I have not known to appear at any visitation, as masters and lazars of St. Mary Magdalene in Colchester, the proctor of St. Catherine's chapel in Colchester, the hospital or breadhouse of the foundation of the lord H. Harney in Laremarny, the hospital and beadman of Little Horsley.

Thus presuming on your lordship's goodness, I am more than bold to trouble you with this worldly business, beseeching Almighty God to send your honourable lordship a condign reward. From Eastthrop this present thirtieth day of August.

WE found a letter concerning the marriage of priests in the hands of the aforesaid Sir Robert Smith. Also I desired Mr. Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawful writings and books; who asked me if I had proclaimed the proclamation? I said yea. Then he said openly upon the bench that they should be proclaimed once every quarter. And then take the constables and officers, and they alone take and punish the offenders accordingly.

By your poor Beadman, JOHN KINGSTON, Priest.

An Indenture made between the Lords and Justices within Specified, and Bonner's Commissary, concerning the Delivery of the Prisoners before mentioned.

THIS indenture made the nineteenth of August, in the third and fourth years of the reign of our sovereign lord and lady Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, Spain, France, both Cicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland; defenders of the faith, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundy, Millain and Brabant, counties of Hafburgh, Flanders and Tirol, between the right honourable lord John de Vere, earl of Oxford, lord high chamberlain of England, Thomas lord Darcy of Chich, Henry Tirel, knight, Anthony Brown the king and queen's serjeant at law, William Bendelows, serjeant at law, Edmond Tirel, Richard Weston, Roger Appleton, esquires, justices of oyer and terminer, and of the peace within the said county of Essex, to be kept of the one party; and John Kingston,

clerk, bachelor at law, commissary to the bishop of London, of the other party, witnesseth, that R. Colman of Walton, in the county of Essex, labourer-Joan Winseley, of Horseley, Magna, in the said county, spinster-Stephen Glover, of Rayley, in the county aforesaid, glover-Richard Clerke, of Much-Holland in the said county, mariner-William Maunt, of Much-Bentley, in the said county, husbandman-Thomas Winseley, of Much-Horseley, in the said county, sawyer-Margaret Field of Ramsey, in the said county, spinster-Alice Munt, of Much-Bentley, in the said county, spinster-Agnes Whitlock, of Dover-court, in the said county, spinster-Rose Allin, of the same county, spinster-Richard Bongoer, of Colchester, in the said county, currier-Richard Atkin, of Halstead, in the said county, weaver-Robert Barcock, of Wiston, in the county of Suffolk, carpenter-Richard George, of Westbarhoult, in the county of Essex, labourer-Richard Jolly, of Colchester, in the said county, mariner—Thomas Feerfanne of the same town and county, mercer-Robert Debnam, late of Debnam, in the said county, weaver-Cisely Warren, of Cockfail, in the said county, spinster-Christian Pepper, widow, of the same town and county-Allin Sampson, spinster and Alice the wife of William Wallis, of Colchester-William Bongeor, of Colchester, in the said county, glazier: being indicted of heresy, are delivered to the said John Kingston, clerk, ordinary to the bishop of London, according to the statute in that case provided.

In witness whereof to the one part of this indenture remaining with the said earl, lord, and other the justices, the said ordinary has set to his hand and seal; and to the other part remaining with the said ordinary, the said earl, lord, and other the justices, have set to

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their several hands and seals, the day and year above-written

OXENFORD, THOMAS DARCY, HENRY TYREL, ANTHONY BROWN, WILLIAM PENDELOWS, EDMOND TYREL, RICHARD WESTON, ROGER APPLETON.

The twenty-two prisoners, before mentioned, sent from Colchester to London, were, at length, brought before bishop Bonner, who examined them separately with respect to their faith; but he did not chuse to proceed against them, till he had sent the following letter to cardinal Pole:

A Letter from bishop Bonner to Cardinal Pole.

MAY it please your grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to understand that going to London upon Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. German's matter only, and such other common matter as are accustomed, enough to weary a right strong body, I had the day following, to comfort my stomach withal, letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following, I should have sent thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commissioners; and indeed so I had, and compelled to bear their charges, as I did of the others, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these heretics, notwithstanding they had honest Catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and in all the way from Colchester to Stradford Bow, did go

quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stradford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as they pleased themselves, for they began to have their guard, which generally encreased till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged, Friday night.

And albeit I took order, that the said heretics should be with me early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come, and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with a thousand persons. Which thing I took very strange, and spake to Sir John Gresham, then being with me, to tell the mayor and the sheriffs that this thing was not well suffered in the city.

These naughty heretics, all the way they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort from the promiscuous multitude; and being entered into my house, and tasked withal, they shewed themselves desperate, and very obstinate; yet I used all the honest means I could, both of myself and others, to have won them, causing diverse learned men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have them all hither to Fulham, and here to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving, by my last doing, that your grace was offended, I thought it my duty, before I any farther proceeded herein, to advertise first your grace hereof, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus, most humbly, I take my leave of your good grace, beseeching Almighty God always to preserve the same. At Fulham, anno 1557.

Your grace's most bounden

Beadsman, and servant, EDMUND BONNER.

From the contents of this letter, we evidently see the persecuting spirit of the blood-thirsty Bonner, who was manifestly desirous of glutting himself with the massacre of those innocent persons.

Cardinal Pole, though a papist, was a man of moderation and humanity, as appears, not only by his endeavour to mitigate the fury of Bonner, but also by several of his letters directed to archbishop Cranmer, as well as many complaints alledged against him to the pope, for his lenity towards the heretics.

Nay, so incensed was 'his holiness' at his proceedings, that he ordered him up to Rome, and would have proceeded against him most rigorously, had not queen Mary interposed in his behalf, and warded off the danger that threatened him.

It was shrewdly suspected that the cardinal, a short time before his coming from Rome to England began to favour the opinion and doctrine of Luther.

But to return to the immediate account of our martyrs, who would certainly have all suffered, had it not been for the interposition of cardinal Pole.

It would exceed the limits of our work, and be tedious to the reader, were we minutely to relate the articles that were respectively administered to each, and their several answers to the same. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to that of the Lord's Supper, on which they were principally examined.

General confession of these Persons concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

WHEREAS Christ, at his last Supper, took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, *Take, eat, This is my body*. And likewise took the cup and thanked, &c. We do understand it to be a figurative speech, as the common manner of his language was in parables, and dark sentences, that they which were carnally-minded should see with their eyes, and not understand; signifying this, that as he did break the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, so we, through his body, in that it was broken and offered upon the cross for us, are all partakers thereof; and his blood cleanseth us from our sins, and has pacified God's wrath towards us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is in the true light.

And that he said further, *Do this in remembrance of me:* it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ; and he commanded it for this cause, that the followers of Christ should come together to shew his death, and to thank him for his benefits, and magnify his holy name; and so to break bread and drink the wine, in remembrance that Christ had given his body, and shed his blood for us.

Thus you may well perceive though Christ called the bread his body, and wine his blood, yet it followeth not, that the substance of his body should be in the bread and wine, as diverse places in scripture are spoken by the apostles in like phrase of speech, as in John xv. *I am the true vine*. Also in John x. *I am the door*. And as it is written in the ninth chapter to the Hebrews, and in Exodus xxiv. how Moses took the blood of calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, *This is the blood of the covenant or testament*. And also in the fifth chapter of Ezekiel, how the Lord said unto him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, *This is Jerusalem*, &c. Thus we see how the scriptures speak in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us to say, that the bodily presence of Christ is in the bread, which is a blasphemous understanding of the word, and contrary to the holy scriptures.

Also, we see that great idolatry is sprung out of the misunderstanding of the words of Christ, *This is my body*, and yet daily springeth to the great dishonour of God; so that men worship a piece of bread for God; yea, and hold that to be their maker.

After this confession of their faith and doctrine was written and exhibited, they also drew up a letter in form of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commissioners, requiring that justice and judgment, after the rule of God's word, might be administered unto them. The copy of this letter is as follows:

A Supplication of the Prisoners to the Judges.

TO the right honourable audience, before whom our writings and the confession of our faith shall come; we poor prisoners being fast in bonds upon the trial of our faith, which we offer to be tried by the scriptures, pray most heartily, that forasmuch as God has given you power and strength over us as concerning our bodies, under whom we submit ourselves as obedient subjects in all things, yet being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true judgment, keep the laws of righteousness, govern the people, and defend the cause of the poor and helpless.

God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, give you the wisdom and understanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moses, with diverse other most virtuous rulers, by whose wisdom and godly understanding, the people were justly ruled and governed in fear of God; all wickedness was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all godliness and virtue did flourish and spring. O God, which art the most high, the creator and maker of all things, and of all men, both great and small, and carest for all alike, who dost try all mens works and imaginations, before whose judgment-seat shall come both high and low, rich and poor; we most humbly beseech thee to put into our rulers hearts the pure love and fear of thy name, that even as they themselves would be judged, and as they shall make answer before thee, so they may hear our causes, judge with mercy and read over these our requests and confessions of our faith; with deliberation and a godly judgment.

And if any thing here seemeth to you to be erroneous or disagreeing with the scripture, if it shall please your lordships to hear us patiently, which do offer ourselves to be tried by the scriptures, thereby to make answer: and in so doing, we poor subjects being in much captivity and bondage, are bound to pray for your noble estate and long preservation.

Notwithstanding the request of these men was so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet the bishop and the other judges would have passed sentence on them, had it not been for cardinal Pole and some others, who thought the putting to death so many together would produce a cabal among the people. It was therefore decreed that they should make submission, or confession; such as they would themselves and be discharged. This they readily agreed to and their submission was made in the following form: The Submission or Confession of the aforesaid Prisoners.

BECAUSE our Saviour at his last supper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said, *Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me*. Therefore according to the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, we do believe in the sacrament to be spiritually Christ's body. And likewise he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, *This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many.*

Therefore likewise we do believe that it is spiritually the blood of Christ, according as his church doth administer the same. Unto which Catholic church of Christ we do in like as in all other matters submit ourselves, promising therein to live as it becometh good christian men, and here in this realm to behave ourselves as becometh faithful subjects unto our most gracious king and queen, and to all other superiors both spiritual and temporal, according to our bounded duties.

The whole twenty-two persons brought from Colchester respectively subscribed their names to this submission; as did also six others who had been apprehended in London and were brought with them for their examination. The names of the whole were as follow:

John Atkyn, Alin Sympaon, Richard George, Thomas Firefanne, William Munt, Richard Joly, Richard Gratwicke, Thomas Winsley, Richard Rothe, Richard Clarke, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merse, William Bongeor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hyde, Elyn Euring, Christian Pepper, Margaret Field, Alice Munt, Joan Winsley, Cicely Warren, Rose Alin, Ann Whitlocke, George Barker, John Saxby, Thomas Locker, Alice Locker.

In consequence of this submission, they were all immediately set at liberty; though several of them were afterwards apprehended and put to death. One of the women, namely, Margaret Hyde, escaped their resentment but a short time, being one in the list we have next to mention, who suffered for the truth of the gospel.

Account of the Sufferings and Martyrdoms of THOMAS LOSEBY, HENRY RAMSEY, THOMAS THYRTELL, MARGARET HYDE, and AGNES STANLEY, who were all burnt together in Smithfield, on the 12th of April, 1557.

THE popish emissaries having laid information against these five persons, they were all apprehended, and being examined by several justices of the county of Essex, in which they resided, were by them sent up to the bishop of London, for examination. On their arrival the bishop referred them to the chancellor, who, after propounding to them the articles usual on the occasion, in the diocese of London, committed them all to Newgate.

After being imprisoned about three months by order of the chancellor, they were summoned to appear before the bishop himself, when the following singular articles were exhibited against them:

1. That they thought, believed, and declared, within some part of the city and diocese of London, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service here observed and kept, as it is in the realm of England, was not a true and laudable faith, religion, and service, especially concerning the mass and the seven sacraments, nor were they agreeable to God's word; and that they could not, without grudging and scruple, receive and use it, nor conform themselves unto it, as other subjects of this realm customarily have done.

- 2. They had thought, &c. that the English service, set forth in the time of king Edward the Sixth, in this realm of England, was good, godly, and Catholic in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm, to be received, used, and practised, and none other.
- 3. They had thought, &c. that they were not bound to their parish church, and there to be present at mattins, mass, even-song, and other divine service.
- 4. They had thought, &c. that they were not bound to come to procession to the church, upon times appointed, and to go in the same with others of the parish singing or saying the accustomed prayers used in the church, nor to bear a taper, or candle, on Candlemas-day, nor take ashes on Ash-Wednesday, nor bear palms on Palm-Sunday, nor to creep to the cross upon days accustomed, nor to receive holy water and holy bread, or to accept or allow the ceremonies and usages of the church, after the manner in which they were then used in this realm.
- 5. That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound, at any time, to confess their sins to any priest, and to receive absolution at his hands as God's minister, nor to receive, at any time, the blessed sacrament of the altar, especially as it is used in the church of England.
- 6. That they had thought, &c. that in matters of religion and faith, they were bound to follow and believe their own conscience only, and not credit the determination and common order of the Catholic church, and see of Rome, nor any member thereof.
- 7. That they had thought, &c. that the fashion and manner of christening infants is not agreeable to God's word, and that none can be effectually baptised, and therefore saved, except

they are arrived to years of discretion to believe themselves, and willingly accept, or refuse, baptism at his pleasure.

- 8. That they had thought, &c. that prayers to saints, or prayers for the dead, were not available, nor allowable, by God's word, and that souls departed this life do immediately go to heaven or hell, or else do sleep till the day of doom: so that there is no place of purgation at all.
- 9. That they had thought, &c. that all those, who in the time of king Henry VIII. or in the time of queen Mary, the present sovereign of England, had been burned as heretics, were no heretics, but faithful, sincere Christians; especially Barns, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Cranmer, Ridley, &c. and that they did allow and approve all their opinions, and disapproved their condemnations and burnings.
- 10. That they had thought, &c. that fasting and prayers used in the church of England, and the appointing a day for fasting and abstaining from flesh upon fasting days, especially in the time of Lent, is not laudable nor allowable, by God's word, and that men ought to have liberty, at all times, to eat all kind of meats.
- 11. That they had thought, &c. that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and to revere, keep, and honour it, is idolatry and superstition, as was also the mass and elevation of the sacrament.
- 12. That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound to be convened before an ecclesiastical judge, concerning matters of faith, nor to make answer at all, especially upon oath on a book.

The first, second, third, fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth, they granted in general, excepting that they denied the souls departed to sleep till the day of judgment, as mentioned in the eighth article. With respect to the sixth article charged to them, they thought themselves bound to believe the true Catholic church, so far as it instructed them according to God's holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the superstitious church of Rome.

Concerning the eighth and twelfth articles, they denied that they ever maintained any such absurd opinions, but granted that man of himself, without the aid and assistance of God's spirit, had no power to do any thing acceptable in the sight of God.

To the tenth article they answered that true fasting and prayer used according to God's word was allowable, and approved in his sight; and that by the same word, every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thanksgiving to God for the same.

Having given these answers, they were dismissed, and conveyed to their respective places of confinement, where they remained till they were again brought before the bishop, who made no other enquiry, than whether they would abjure their heretical opinions; and on their refusal again dismissed them.

At length, they were brought into the public consistory court at St. Paul's, and severally demanded what they had to alledge, why sentence of condemnation should not be pronounced against them.

Thomas Loseby being first questioned, thus replied, "God give me grace to withstand you, your sentence, and your law, which devours the flock of Christ, for I perceive death is my certain portion, unless I will consent to believe in that accursed idol: the mass."

Thomas Thirtell being next examined, said, "My lord, if you make me an heretic, you make Christ and the twelve apostles all heretics, for I hold one and the same faith with them, and I will abide in that faith, being assured that it will obtain for me everlasting life."

Henry Ramsay being required to recant, answered, "My lord, would you have me abjure the truth, and for fear of death here, forfeit eternal felicity hereafter?"

Margaret Hyde being questioned, replied, "My lord, you have no cause to pronounce sentence against me, for I am in the true faith, nor will ever forsake it; and I wish I was more confirmed in it than I am."

Agnes Stanley, the last examined, said, "My lord, I would suffer every hair of my head to be burned, before I would renounce the faith of Christ, and his holy gospel."

The court now broke up, but was convened again in the afternoon, when the prisoners appeared, and were again severally examined.

Thomas Loseby being first called upon, his articles and answers were read; after which many attempts were made to bring him to a recantation, but he persisted in his faith, declaring that he hoped he had the spirit of God, which had led him into all truth. His sentence of condemnation was therefore pronounced, and he was delivered into the custody of the sheriff, in order for execution.

Various arguments were used by the bishop to bring over Margaret Hyde; but she declared she would not depart from what she had said upon any penalty whatever; and added that she would gladly hear his lordship instruct her from some part of God's word, and not talk to her concerning holy bread and holy water, which was no part of God's word. The bishop, finding her resolute, pronounced sentence on her, and she was delivered over to the secular power.

Agnes Stanley was also admonished to return to the communion of the holy mother-church, but she continued stedfast in her faith, declaring that she was no heretic, and that those who were burned, as the papists said, for heresy, were true martyrs in the sight of God. In consequence of this she likewise received sentence of death, and was committed to the care of the sheriff.

Thomas Thyrtell being asked what he had to alledge, answered, "My lord, I will not hold with those idolatrous opinions you would inculcate; for I say the mass is idolatry, and I will abide by the faith of Christ as long as I live." He was then proceeded against in the same manner as the former.

Henry Ramsay, who was last called, being asked whether he would stand by his answers as the rest had done, or recant and become a new member of the church, replied, "I will never abjure my religion, in which I will live, and in which I will die."

Their examination being closed, and sentence of death passed on them all, they were immediately conducted to Newgate, where they continued till the 12th of April, 1557.

On the morning of that day they were conducted to Smithfield, the place appointed for their execution, where, being fastened to two stakes, they were burnt in one fire, praising God as long as they had the power of speech, and chearfully giving up their lives in testimony of the truth of the gospel.

The Examination and Persecution of STEPHEN GRATWICK, who, with two others, namely, WILLIAM MORANT, and JOHN KING, suffered Martyrdom in St. George's Fields, in the County of Surry.

STEPHEN GRATWICK being informed against by some of the popish emissaries, on a suspicion of heresy, was apprehended, and being carried before a justice of peace, was committed to the Marshalsea prison, where he continued for a considerable time.

At length he was brought before Dr. White; bishop of Winchester, in St. George's church, Southwark, in order to answer such questions as he should state, relative to his religious opinions.

The bishop first asked him if he would revoke the heresies which he had maintained and defended within his diocese; when Mr. Gratwick answering in the negative, he administered the usual articles, desiring him to give an ample answer to each. These articles being read, Mr. Gratwick replied, "My lord, these articles are of your making and not of mine, nor have I had any time to

examine them, therefore I desire the liberty of lawful appeal to mine ordinary, having no concern with you."

During his examination, the bishop of Rochester and archdeacon of Canterbury arrived, when, on a consultation about the present case, it was agreed to introduce a person to represent the ordinary, which being done, Gratwick desired leave to depart, but the counterfeit ordinary insisted on his being detained; that he was justly summoned before those lords, and him, on trial of his faith; and that if he confessed the truth, he should be quietly dismissed, and allowed full liberty.

Gratwick told him that he would turn his own argument upon him, for Christ came before the high-priest, scribes, and pharisees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himself; yet both he and his truth were condemned, and had no avail with them; the apostles likewise, and all the martyrs that died since Christ, did the same.

The bishop of Winchester then asked his opinion concerning the sacrament of the altar; to which he replied, "My lord, I do verily believe, and in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, truly administered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth mystically, by faith, the body and blood of Christ."

The bishop of Rochester observed that this definition was a meer evasion of the principal points, for that he separated the sacrament of the altar from the Supper of the Lord, intimating thereby that the former was not the true sacrament; and also condemned their method of administering it in one kind, as well as hindered the unworthy receiver to eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, which, if duly weighed, were points of the highest importance, though he had craftily evaded them.

Having entered into closer examination concerning this matter, the counterfeit ordinary ordered the articles to be read again, and Gratwick refusing to make any reply, was threatened with sentence

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of excommunication; on which he thus addressed himself to his examiners:

"Since you thirst for my blood, before you are glutted with the same, permit me a word in my own cause. On Sunday, my lord of Winchester, I was before you, who took occasion to preach from these words of St. James: *If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain.* From these words, my lord, by wrested inferences, you slander us poor prisoners, upbraiding us with the title of Arians, Herodians, Sacramentaries, and Pelagians. When we stood up to speak in vindication of ourselves, you threatened to cut out our tongues, and caused us to be dragged out of the church by violence; nevertheless, I will abide by the truth to the end of my life."

The incensed prelate, after various endeavours, by threats and promises, to bring him to a recantation without any effect, pronounced sentence of condemnation upon him, and he was delivered over to the sheriff, who immediately conducted him to the Marshalsea prison. Here he remained till the latter end of May, 1557, when he was brought to the stake in St. George's Fields, and resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

WILLIAM MORANT and JOHN KING, suffered with him; but we have no account on record relative to their examinations.

The Martyrdoms of ALICE BENDON, JOHN FISHCOCK, NICHOLAS WHITE, NICHOLAS PARDUE, BARBARA FINALL, MARY BRADBREGE, and AMOS WILSON, who were all burnt together in the City of Canterbury.

ALICE BENDON was the wife of Edward Bendon, of the parish of Stablehurst, in the county of Kent. Being brought before a magistrate on an information of heresy, she was asked why she

absented herself from church? To which she replied, because there was much idolatry practiced there against the honour and glory of God.

In consequence of this answer she was committed to Canterbury castle; but her husband making interest for her enlargement, she was ordered to appear before the bishop of Dover, who asked her if, on condition she was released, she would go to church? To this she gave no satisfactory answer, notwithstanding which the bishop gave her liberty.

On her arrival at home, her husband admonished her for her conduct, and advised her to go to church with him; but this she absolutely refused; on which she was again apprehended, and taken before Sir John Gifford, who committed her to her former place of confinement.

In consequence of this, her husband made a second application for her discharge to the bishop of Dover; but in this he failed, the bishop telling him she was a most obstinate, irreclaimable heretic, and therefore he could not release her.

Her husband then informed his lordship that if he could keep her brother, Roger Hall, from her, she would conform to the mother-church; whereupon she was removed to another prison, and charge given that if her brother came to visit her he should be apprehended.

She continued some time in this place without her brother's knowledge, though he sought diligently to find her, at the hazard of his life. In process of time, he accidentally found her out, by hearing her voice as he passed by the prison window, when she was repeating a psalm, and bemoaning herself; but fearing to go to her in a public manner, he found a method of conveying to her some money and sustenance, by means of a long stick, which reached to the window of the prison.

In this prison she continued nine weeks, without seeing any one but her keeper, lying in her cloaths upon straw, and having but three farthings a day, in bread, allowed for her subsistence, with no other liquor to drink but water. This hard usage brought upon her a complication of disorders, insomuch that she could not walk without the greatest pain.

After being some time confined in this loathsome prison, the bishop summoned her before him, and asked her if she would go to church, promising her great favours if she would be reformed, and return to the holy mother-church.

To this she answered, "I am verily persuaded, by the great severity which you have used towards me, that ye are not of God, neither can your doings be godly; and I see that you seek my utter destruction." She then shewed them how miserable and lame she was, by lying so long on the cold ground in that filthy prison, where she was deprived of the necessaries of life.

After this the bishop caused her to be removed from thence to the prison at the west-gate in Canterbury, where she had better usage, and continued till the latter end of April following, when she and the rest of the prisoners, being brought before the commissioners, were severally examined; and on persisting in those principles which their prosecutors deemed heresy, they received sentence of excommunication, were delivered to the sheriffs, and sent back to prison.

Here they continued till the 19th of June, when they were all seven brought to the place of execution.

Alice Bendon behaved remarkable courageous on this melancholy occasion, setting an example to her fellow-martyrs, who kneeled down, joined together in prayer, and behaved with such zeal and affection, as excited the esteem of their very enemies.

Having finished their devotions and mutual salutations, they were chained to several stakes, and being encompassed with the flames, they quietly yielded up their souls to the Lord, in hopes of a joyful resurrection to life eternal.

Account of the Martyrdom of RICHARD WOODMAN, MARGERY MORIS, GEORGE STEPHENS, JAMES MORRIS, WILLIAM MAYNARD, DENNIS BONGESS, ALEXANDER HOFMAN, ANN ASHDON, THOMASIN WOOD, and MARY GROVES, Who were all burnt together at Lewes, in the County of Suffex.

THOUGH these ten persons all suffered together, yet we do not find any other particulars relative to either, except Richard Woodman, who was a considerable merchant in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex; and whose troubles arose from the following incident:

There was one Fairbank, who, for some time, had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he often persuaded the people not to credit any doctrine but that which he preached, and which was then taught and set forth in the days of king Edward the sixth; but in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary Fairbank deserted his reformed principles, and favoured the Romish tenets; upon which Woodman upbraided him with inconstancy and cowardice, and reminded him how differently he then preached from what he had formerly done.

In consequence of this open and frank behaviour he was apprehended, and being brought before several of the justices of peace for the county of Sussex, was committed to the King's-Bench prison, where he remained a considerable time.

At length Mr. Woodman, and four other prisoners, were brought together to be examined by Bonner, bishop of London, who, after asking them some questions, desired they would be honest men, and profess themselves members of the true Catholic church, which was built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head of the same. To this they all said that they were members of the true church, and determined, by Gods' grace, to continue in the same: upon which they were all discharged. Mr. Woodman had not long returned home, before a report was spread that he had conformed to the church of Rome: but he vindicated himself from that aspersion in several companies; in consequence of which complaint was made to Sir John Gage, who issued warrants for apprehending him.

As he was one day employed in his ordinary occupation, three men came to him from the queen's chamberlain, arrested him in her majesty's name, and told him he must go with them before their lord. The surprize of the action put him into great consternation, and he desired to go home, in order to put on a dress suitable to appear in before his superiors.

On his way homeward he reflected on the unreasonableness of his fears, as they could lay no evil to his charge; and if they killed him for well-doing, he might think himself happy. These reflections afforded him courage and comfort: he found that his fear arose from the frailty of human nature, his attachment to his worldly possessions, and his love to his wife and children.

But when, on the most serious consideration, he determined, by the grace of God, to die for the sake of Christ and his gospel, he regarded nothing in this world, resolving to give up every thing in defence of the truth of the gospel; when he came to his house, he demanded of the men that arrested him to shew their warrant, that he might know the cause whereof he was apprehended, and be better prepared to answer for himself when he should come before their master.

The men not having any warrant, were startled at his demand and Woodman severely reprimanded them for offering to take him without. "I heard (says he) there were several warrants out against me, but they were called in as soon as I had satisfied the commissioners by letter, that I was not guilty of the things laid to my charge: therefore set your hearts at rest, for I will not go with you without a warrant, unless you force me, which do at your peril." On their leaving his house, he called them back, and told them, if they would produce a warrant he would go with them freely. One of them said he would fetch one that was left at his house; but while he was gone Woodman escaped, and absented himself from home three days, during which they searched his house several times, but could not find him.

Mr. Woodman, finding his enemies thus resolute on his destruction, prepared himself a convenient cottage in a wood, near his house, where he had pen and ink, a bible, and such necessaries as he had occasion for, daily brought him. His absence soon produced a report that he had left the kingdom, in consequence of which his enemies ceased to search for him, and he embraced this opportunity of visiting his friends and brethren; after which he went over to Flanders, but not approving of so remote a situation from his family, he soon returned to England.

When it was known that he was come home; the priest that was curate of the parish, and other popish emissaries, procured warrants to apprehend him. They often searched his house for that purpose, but could not find him, for he had artfully contrived a secret place which they could not discover. At length, through the treachery of his father and one of his brothers, (whom he had told of his hiding-place, and having a great part of his substance, both land and money, in their hands) his house was beset in the night, which as soon as he discovered, he ran out bare-foot, but unhappily treading upon some stones, he fell down, and being seized, was sent prisoner to London.

On the 14th of April, 1557, he was brought before Dr. Christopherson, bishop-elect of Chichester, who told him he was sorry to see him on the present occasion, as he heard that he was a man greatly esteemed in the country where he lived, for his probity and charity; and at the same time advised him seriously to consider his present situation, nor think himself wiser than all the realm, assuring him that he meant to do him much service.

Mr. Woodman replied that so far from esteeming himself wiser than all the realm, he was disposed to learn of every man that could teach him the truth; and that, with respect to the general esteem in which he was held by his neighbours, he had ever endeavoured to maintain a conscience void of offence, "As for my wife and children, (said he) they are all in God's hand, and I have them all as though I had them not, according to the words of St. Paul; but had I ten thousand pounds in gold, I would forego it all, rather than displease my God."

When the bishop informed him that the sheriff applied to him out of respect to his character, he replied that he thought proper to appeal to his ordinary; "for (said he) they seek most unrighteously to shed my blood, and have said many unjust things to my charge. If you can prove, from the word of God, that any of my religious principles are false, I am willing to renounce the same, and stand here desirous of being reformed."

After this, several divines conversed with him on the sacrament of the altar, purgatory, and other Popish topics; when Woodman confuted his opponents with great energy and propriety; asserting, and proving from scripture, that there were but two sacraments ordained by Christ, and observed by him, and his immediate disciples and apostles.

Being required by the bishop of Chichester, to relate a plain and full account of his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar, he made this explicit confession: "I do believe, that if I came to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, truly ministered, believing that Christ was born for me, and that he died on the cross for me, and that I shall be saved from my sins by his blood, and receive the sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe that I do receive the whole Christ, mystically, by faith."

A few days after this, Woodman was privately examined by lord Mountague's chaplain, who made use of many arguments to bring him over to the Romish faith; but all his efforts were

ineffectual. Woodman would not yield to any thing that was not founded on the authority of sacred writ.

After some time our martyr was again brought before the bishop of Winchester, in St. George's church, Southwark, where several gentlemen and clergy were present, and examined concerning the cause of his imprisonment; to which he replied, it was for speaking to the curate of his parish in the pulpit, and not for heresy.

Being asked what he had to alledge in vindication of himself from that charge, he cited the following words of the statute:

"Whoso doth interrupt any preacher, or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all such shall suffer three months imprisonment for so doing; and furthermore, be brought to the quarter sessions, and being sorry for the same, shall be released, upon his good behaviour, for one whole year."

He then observed that he had not so offended against the statute, for the person to whom he spoke was not lawfully authorized, as he had not put away his wife, and consequently, according to the law then in force, he had no right to preach.

On the 15th of June, Mr. Woodman was again brought before the bishop of Winchester, in St. Saviour's church, Southwark, in the presence of the archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdall, and several other dignitaries. The bishop of Winchester producing some writings, asked if they were his, to which he replied in the affirmative; but refused to answer to the articles he might exhibit against him, because he was not of his diocese, though he was then in it, consequently he had nothing to do with him, who was not his ordinary.

After some dispute, the bishop peremptorily asked him if he would become an honest man and conform to the holy motherchurch? To which Mr. Woodman replied that no person could, with justice, object to his character; and that he was surprized he should charge him with heresy, as my lord of London had

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discharged him of all matters that were said against him on that head.

The bishop then observed that when he was released, perhaps those things were not laid to his charge; and that, therefore they were now objected to him, because he was suspected of being an heretic.

Mr. Woodman at length consented to answer to the several articles exhibited against them, which having done, he distinctly rehearsed the articles of his belief in the following form:

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour, very God, and Man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the comforter of all God's chosen people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true Catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto."

Being farther asked concerning his belief in the sacrament of the altar, he told them he would answer no farther questions, because he perceived they sought to shed his blood.

As the bishop of Chichester was not yet consecrated, he would not undertake, judicially, to examine Woodman, and therefore submitted the whole to the bishop of Winchester, who, after many other questions, and farther arguments to bring him over to recant, at length pronounced sentence of condemnation against him, and he was accordingly delivered over to the secular power.

About a fortnight after this, Mr. Woodman was conveyed to Lewes, in Sussex, together with his fellow-martyrs, concerning whose examinations (as we have already observed) there is not any thing recorded, except that they were all condemned for heresy a few days after their apprehension.

On the 22d of July, 1557, these ten stedfast believers in Christ were led to the place of execution; and being chained to several stakes, were all consumed in one fire. They died with becoming fortitude and resignation, committing their departing spirits into the hands of that Redeemer who was to be their final judge, and

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who, they had reason to hope, would usher them into the realms of bliss, with "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

The Martyrdom of JOHN HULLIER, minister, who was burnt at Cambridge.

JOHN HULLIER was descended of reputable parents, who, after giving him a liberal education at a private school, sent him to Eaton college, from whence, according to the rules of that foundation, he was elected to King's college, Cambridge.

After he had been at college about three years, he was admitted to a fellowship, and obtained a curacy at Babram, a village about three miles from Cambridge. He had not been long here before he went to Lynn, where he had several debates with the papists, who reporting his principles to Dr. Thurlby, bishop of the diocese, he sent for him, and after a short examination relative to his faith, committed him to the castle of Cambridge.

A short time after this he was cited to appear at St. Mary's church, before several doctors both of law and divinity, by whom he was reprimanded for opposing the doctrines of the church of Rome, and maintaining and defending those set forth in the days of king Edward VI.

His examination being finished, he was required to recant his erroneous opinions; which peremptorily refusing, he was degraded, condemned, and delivered over to the secular power, who immediately divested him of all his books, papers, and writings.

On the day appointed for his execution, he was conducted to the stake without the town, at a place called Jesus Green, near Jesus college, where, having made the necessary preparations on the melancholy occasion, he desired the spectators to pray for him, and to bear witness that he died in the faith of Christ, sealing the same with his blood. He likewise assured them that he died in a good cause, for the testimony of the truth, and that there was no other rock, but Jesus Christ, to build upon nor any hope of salvation, but through his death and sufferings.

One of the proctors of the university, and some of the fellows of Trinity college, were offended at his address to the people, and reproved the mayor for giving him liberty to speak. To this our martyr made no reply; when being chained to the stake, he earnestly called upon God for his grace and support, to enable him to undergo the fiery trial.

As soon as the faggots were lighted, a number of books were thrown into the midst of them, and among the rest a communion book, which our martyr catching, joyfully read in it till the flames and smoak prevented him from seeing. He then prayed with a loud voice, holding the book as long as he was able, and praising God for sending it to him as a comforter in his last moments.

After the spectators thought he had been dead, he suddenly uttered, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit," and then quietly expired.

His death was greatly lamented by many of the spectators, who prayed for him, and expressed their grief by floods of tears, he having been a man of eminent piety, and the most exemplary virtue.

The Martyrdoms of SIMON MILLER, *and* ELIZABETH COOPER, *who were burnt together in the City of Norwich.*

SIMON MILLER was an eminent merchant in the town of Lynn-Regis. He was a godly man, zealous for the truth of the gospel, and averse to the popish religion.

Having occasion to go to Norwich on business, while there he enquired of some people coming out of church from the popish service, where he might go and receive the communion, which being reported to chancellor Dunning, he ordered him to appear

asked him several questions, to which answering agreeable to the dictates of his conscience, he was committed prisoner to the bishop's palace.

After being some time in confinement, he obtained permission to go home, in order to settle his worldly concerns. On his return he was again examined by the chancellor, who required him to recant his opinions, and return to the holy mother church; but Mr. Miller remaining inflexible in his faith and profession, he was condemned as an heretic, and delivered over to the secular power.

ELIZABETH COOPER (his fellow-martyr) was the wife of a tradesman in Norwich. She had formerly been prevailed on to recant the protestant, and embrace the Romish religion: but being troubled in her conscience for so doing, she went one day to St. Andrew's church, where, in the presence of a numerous audience, she stood up and publicly revoked her recantation. For this she was immediately apprehended, and committed to prison. The next day she was brought before the bishop, when persisting in her faith, he condemned her as a relapsed person, and delivered her to the sheriff for execution.

On the 30th of July, 1557, they were both led to the stake in a hollow without the city, near Bishops-gate. As soon as the faggots were lighted, Elizabeth Cooper expressed some fear; but being encouraged by the advice and example of her fellow-martyr, she remained fixed, and they both chearfully resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them.

The Sufferings and Martyrdoms of WILLIAM BONGEOR, ELIZABETH FOLK, THOMAS BENHOTE, WILLIAM MUNT, WILLIAM PURCHASE, JOHN JOHNSON, AGNES SILVERSIDE, ALICE MUNT, HELLEN EWRING, and

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ROSE ALLEN, Who were all burnt on the same day, at Colchester, in Essex.

ON the 7th of March, 1557, about two o'clock in the morning, Edmund Tyrrell, (who was a descendant of that family who murdered king Edward V. in the Tower of London) assisted by the bailiff of the hundred, two constables, and a great number of other attendants, went to the house of William Munt, farmer, at Much-Bentley, in Essex; and after alarming the family, told Mr. Munt that he and his wife must both go with him to Colchester castle. This sudden surprize greatly affected Mrs. Munt, who, after she had a little recovered herself, desired of Tyrrel that her daughter might be permitted to fetch her something to drink before she went with him. This being granted, Tyrrel took the opportunity of advising the daughter, as she passed by him, to give her father and mother better counsel, and admonish them to behave more like good christians, and members of the catholic church.

The daughter replied they had the holy ghost for their instructor, and therefore needed no other. This answer greatly irritated Tyrrel, who, after using many harsh words, assured her he was now convinced of the absolute necessity of calling such heretics to immediate account.

Tyrrel, from the most abusive language, proceeded to the most cruel behaviour; and in order to try if she could bear burning, took the girl by the wrist, and held the lighted candle under her hand burning it across the back till the sinews cracked, frequently exclaiming, during the barbarous operation, *Why, thou whore, will thou not cry?* This she endured with the utmost patience, telling the villain, if he thought proper, he might then begin at her feet and proceed to the head, and for that he that prompted him to the work would one day pay him his wages.

Tyrrel then seized William Munt, Alice his wife, and Rose Allen, their daughter, and immediately conducted them to Colchester castle, together with John Johnson, whom they took in their way, in consequence of an information that had been laid against him for heresy.

They also the same morning apprehended the six others who suffered with them, namely, William Bongeor, Thomas Benhote, William Purchase, Agnes Silverside, Hellen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folk; but not chusing to place those with the rest, they sent them as prisoners to Mote-hill.

After they had been confined a few days, they were all brought together before several justices of the peace, priests and officers, (amongst whom were Kingston the commissary, and Boswell the bishop of London's secretary) with many others, in order to be examined relative to their faith.

The first person called on was William Bongeor, who being examined concerning his faith in the sacrament, replied that what they termed the sacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and remaineth bread, and was not in the least holier for the consecration. This he affirmed, and at the same time protested against all the popish doctrines in general; upon which he immediately received sentence of condemnation.

Thomas Benhote also denied the sacrament of the altar, and abjured the errors of the Romish church.

William Purchase declared that when he received the sacrament of the altar, he received bread in an holy use, and both bread and wine as such, but in remembrance of Christ's death and passion.

Agnes Silverside said she approved not of the popish consecration, nor any of the pageant absurdities and superstitions of the church of Rome, which was the church of anti-christ.

Hellen Ewring also renounced all the doctrines and practices set forth by the church of Rome.

Elizabeth Folk being asked whether she believed the presence of Christ's body to be in the sacrament of the altar, really and substantially, replied she believed it was a substantial and a real lie. The commissioners being incensed at so abrupt a reply, asked her, whether, after consecration, there remained not the body of Christ in the sacrament? She answered that before consecration, and after, it was bread, and that what man blessed without God's word, was accursed and deemed abominable by that word.

They then examined her relative to her confession to a priest, of going to church; to hear mass, of the authority of the bishop of Rome, &c. Unto all which she answered that she would neither use nor frequent any of them, by the grace of God, but did utterly detest them from her very heart and soul.

In consequence of this, sentence of condemnation was passed on her; immediately after which she kneeled down, lifted her eyes and hands to heaven, and in an audible voice praised God that she was deemed worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ, praying, at the same time, for her persecutors.

William Munt being asked his opinion concerning the sacrament of the altar, said it was a most abominable idol, and that if he should observe any part of the popish superstition, he should displease God, and bring a curse upon himself; and therefore, for fear of the divine vengeance, he would not bow down to an idol.

John Johnson answered to the same effect with Munt; but added that in receiving the sacrament according to Christ's institution, he received the body of Christ spiritually.

Alice, the wife of William Munt, renounced all Popish error and superstition, and continued stedfast in the profession of the true faith of Jesus Christ.

Rose Allen, who was last called, being examined concerning auricular confession, hearing mass, and the seven sacraments, answered that they were an abomination in the eyes of the Lord, and that she would therefore for ever reject them. She likewise told them that she was no member of their church, for they were the members of anti-christ, and would have the reward of antichrist if they repented not.

In consequence of this, sentence was then read against her, and she and the rest were all delivered over to the secular power.

They continued under confinement with much joy and comfort, frequently reading the word of God, and exercising themselves in fervent prayer, impatiently waiting their happy dissolution.

Bishop Gardiner having an account transmitted to him of the condemnation of these ten innocent persons, for the alledged crime of heresy, sent down a warrant for their being burned, and fixed the time on the 2d of August.

As the prisoners were confined in different places, it was resolved by the officer that part of them should be executed in the former, and the rest in the latter part of that day. Accordingly William Bongeor, William Purchase, Thomas Benhote, Agnes Silverside, Hellen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folk, were brought early in the morning to the place appointed for them to suffer, where every thing was prepared for the bloody catastrophe.

When our martyrs arrived at the spot, they kneeled down, and humbly addressed themselves to Jehovah, the Almighty God, though they were interrupted by their popish enemies.

After they had done praying, they arose, were fastened to the stakes, and all burnt in one fire. They died with amazing fortitude and resignation, triumphing in the midst of the flames, and exulting in hopes of the future glory that awaited their departure from a sinful world.

In like manner, in the afternoon of the same day, William and Alice Munt, Rose Allen, and John Johnson were brought to the same place where their fellow-martyrs had suffered in the morning. As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they all kneeled down, and for some time prayed with the greatest fervency. After prayers, they arose, and submitted to be fastened to the stakes: they then earnestly prayed to God to enable them to endure the fiery trial, exhorted the people to beware of idolatry, and with their latest breath confessed the faith of Christ crucified, whom to know is eternal life, and for whom to die is the glory of all his chosen people.

The Martyrdom of RICHARD CRASHFIELD, who was burnt at Wymondham, in Norfolk.

THE popish emissaries having laid an information against this pious man, he was apprehended on suspicion of heresy, and being brought before chancellor Dunning, he examined him concerning the ceremonies of the church, whether he believed them to be good and godly?

Mr. Crashfield replied he believed as many of them as were founded on the word of God, and authorized by the practice and example of Christ and his apostles. The chancellor then particularly examined him concerning the corporeal presence in the eucharist: to which Crashfield said he believed that Christ's body was broken upon the cross, and his blood shed for his redemption, of which bread and wine are a perpetual remembrance, the pledge of God's mercy and the seal of his promise to those who faithfully believe in his most holy gospel.

Mr. Crashfield was then dismissed for the present and sent back to prison; but the next day he was again brought before the chancellor, who asked him if he still persisted in his heretical opinions? On his replying in the affirmative, and confirming the same by his answers to other questions and articles proposed to him, the chancellor stood up, and in form required him to turn from his wicked errors and damnable heresies, and not be an example of impiety and obstinacy, adding, through his presumptuous reading, he persuaded silly women to embrace his errors at the hazard of their souls, and promising him mercy on his compliance with these terms.

Our martyr boldly maintained his faith in the pure doctrines, and uncorrupted ceremonies of the church of Christ, telling the arrogant chancellor that it was of God whom he had offended, that he craved His mercy, and not of him who was a sinner like himself, and therefore incapable of dispensing forgiveness, or giving any satisfaction to his precious soul.

At length, the chancellor finding him inflexibly attached to his opinions and principles, in order to obtain pretence for condemning him, asked when he was last at his parish church? and on his answering that it was two years past, told him he stood excommunicated, and consequently condemned as an heretic.

Mr. Crashfield not making any reply, sentence of death was passed on him, and he was delivered to the sheriff of the county in order for execution.

A few days after his condemnation he was brought to the stake, where, in the presence of numerous spectators, with great patience and constancy, he yielded up his soul to God in testimony of the truth of his most holy word, in hopes of enjoying an everlasting habitation in the heavenly mansions.

The Sufferings and Martyrdom of Mrs. JOYCE LEWIS, who was burnt at Litchfield in Staffordshire, for professing the Truth of the Gospel.

IN the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, Mrs. Lewis went to church, heard mass, was confessed, and attended to all the ceremonies of the Romish church, till at length it pleased God, by the preaching of a protestant minister, to convince her of her errors, and convert her to the true faith of the gospel of Christ.

What greatly contributed to her conversion was the burning of a faithful servant of God at Coventry. She enquired into the cause of that cruel affair, and being told it was because he would not receive the mass, she began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of the religion she professed, and accordingly applied for satisfaction to one Mr. Glover, who had suffered much himself for his stedfast attachment to the truth of Christ's gospel. This good man pointed out to her the errors of the Romish church, proving them to be anti-scriptural and anti-Christian, and advising her to make the word of God her constant study, and regulate her faith and practice by that alone.

Mrs. Lewis immediately took his advice, and gave herself up to prayer and acts of benevolence, determined, by the grace of God, both to do and believe what she was enjoined by the word of God.

Being one day urged by her husband to go to church, when the holy water was spread about she turned her back on it, and highly expressed her displeasure. This being observed by several of the congregation, an accusation was, the next day, laid against her before the bishop of Litchfield, for despising the sacrament of the church.

The bishop sent an officer to summon her to appear before him; but when it was delivered to her husband he threatened the officer, unless he immediately withdrew.

This treatment being reported to the bishop, he ordered both Mr. Lewis and his wife to appear before him; when, after a short examination, he dismissed the husband on his begging pardon for his conduct, and offered forgiveness to her for the offence she had committed at the church, on the same terms. But she courageously told his lordship that by refusing holy water, she had not offended God, or any of his laws. Though the bishop was greatly offended at this reply, yet as she was a person of considerable repute, he did not proceed immediately against her, but gave her a month to consider of it, binding her husband in an hundred pound bond, to bring her again to him at the expiration of that time.

When the period fixed was nearly arrived, many of their friends advised her husband by all means, not to deliver her up, but to convey her to some convenient retirement, saying, he had better sustain the loss of an hundred pounds, than be instrumental to his wife's destruction. To these remonstrances the unnatural husband replied, he would not forfeit his bond for her sake; and accordingly, when the time was expired, he delivered her to the bishop, who still finding her resolute, committed her to a loathsome prison.

She was several times examined by the bishop, who reasoned with her on her not coming to mass, receiving the sacrament, and sacramentals of the holy church: to this she replied that she found not those things in God's words, which he so much urged and magnified as necessary to salvation, adding that if those things were founded on God's word, she would receive them with all her heart.

His lordship told her if she would believe no more than was in scripture, she was a damnable heretic; and after much farther discourse with her, pronounced sentence against her as an irreclaimable heretic.

After her condemnation she remained a whole year in confinement, when, at length, the writ for her execution arriving, she sent for several of her friends to advise her how to behave herself, that her death might redound to the glory of God, and the establishment of his people; declaring at the same time that she feared not death, when she thought on her Saviour Christ.

The night before she suffered, two priests visited her, and desired to hear her confession, but she rejected their request with disdain.

In the morning of the 10th of September, 1557, she was conducted to the place of execution by the two sheriffs, and a strong guard. As soon as she arrived at the stake, she knelt down, and prayed most earnestly to God, beseeching him to abolish the idolatrous mass, and deliver the kingdom from popery; to which one of the sheriffs, and many of the spectators, cried, Amen.

When she was chained to the stake she appeared not in the least afraid of the horrid punishment that awaited her; but, on the contrary, wore a calm and pleasing countenance: and when the faggots were lighted, she lifted up her hands and eyes to heaven, in

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which posture she quietly resigned her soul into the hands of her blessed Redeemer; for whose most holy word she patiently suffered here, in full hopes of everlasting life in the realms above.

The Martyrdoms of RALPH ALLERTON, JAMES AWSTOO, MARGERY AWSTOO, his Wife, and RICHARD ROTH, who were all burnt together at Islington, near London.

MR. RALPH ALLERTON, being informed against by several bigotted papists in the neighbourhood where he lived, was apprehended on suspicion of heresy; and after undergoing a short examination before a magistrate, was committed to prison.

A few days after he was brought before lord Darcy, who accused him of not only absenting himself from church, but that also, by preaching, he had persuaded others to follow his example.

To this Mr. Allerton made the following confession: that coming to his parish church, and finding the people sitting there, some gazing about and others talking on unprofitable subjects, he exhorted them to pray, meditate on God's word, and not sit idle, to which they willingly consented; and after prayer, he read a chapter to them in the New Testament. This he continued to do for some time, till he was informed his proceedings were contrary to law, as he was neither priest or minister; upon which he desisted.

He likewise confessed that he was taken up for reading in the parish of Welly; but when those that apprehended him understood he had read but once, and that it was an exhortation to obedience, they let him go; after which, being afraid, he kept in woods, barns, and solitary places, till he was apprehended.

After this examination, the lord Darcy sent him to London to the queen's commissioners, by whom he was referred to bishop Bonner, who persuaded him publicly to recant his profession at St. Paul's church, and then dismissed him; whereupon he returned into the country. He was greatly troubled in his conscience for what he had done, earnestly repented of the same, and openly professed the faith he had shamefully revoked, till Thomas Tye, priest of the parish, (who had been a professor of the truth, but was now a persecutor) caused him to be apprehended, and again brought up to the bishop of London.

When he came before his lordship, he asked him the cause of his being brought, telling him he believed he was wrongfully accused, unless he had dissembled.

Allerton told his lordship that he was not guilty of what was said to his charge, and desired to know his accusers, and the particulars of his accusation, in order that he might be able to defend himself.

In answer to this request the bishop told him that if he had not dissembled, he needed not to be afraid, or ashamed; and urged him to tell him if he dissembled in his former recantation.

Allerton replied, "If my accusers are not produced before your lordship, my conscience will constrain me to accuse myself; for I confess I have most grievously offended God by my dissimulation when I was last before your lordship, for which I am now heartily concerned."

When the bishop enquired the cause of his dissembling, he replied, "My lord, if your lordship remembers, I set my hand to a certain writing, the contents of which where that I did believe in all things as the Catholic church teacheth, &c. in which I did not disclose my mind, but most shamefully dissembled, as I made no distinction between the true church and the false one."

Being called upon to declare what he thought to be the true church, he would not allow the church of Rome to be so; but said that on the contrary, those Christians who were persecuted by the Romish church were members of the true Catholic church of Christ. Upon which the bishop called him an heretic, and sent him to the Little-ease prison at Guildhall, in London. After being confined there a whole day, the bishop again sent for him, and in the presence of the dean of St. Paul's, and the chancellor of the diocese, produced some writings which Mr. Allerton acknowledged to be his. The bishop then asked if he had been at mass since he was last before him; to which he answered in the negative, declaring, that he had neither been at mass, or mattins, nor any other strange worshipping of god.

The chief person that appeared against him in the court was Thomas Tye, the priest of the parish, who affirmed that he was a seditious person, and had stirred up great strife in the neighbourhood where he lived.

This, with other complaints, being alledged against him, he was sent to prison again, and in a short time brought before the queen's council, who demanded of him whether he believed that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remained no bread, but the very body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and Man, and no other substance under the form of bread.

On Mr. Allerton's demanding scripture proof for this doctrine of transubstantiation, the bishop asked him if Christ did not say, *This is my body*? adding, wilt thou deny these words of our Saviour Christ, or was he a dissembler? "No, my lord (replied our martyr) Christ is true, and all men are liars: yet I must refuse to understand the words of our Saviour so fantastically as you teach or take them, for then we should agree with the heretics called Nestorians, who denied that Christ had a true, natural body. This, methinks, you do, my lord, if you affirm his body to be there, because you then affirm his body to be fantastical, not natural; and therefore look well to it for God's sake.

The bishop, after severely reprimanding him for what he said, dismissed him for the present, and he was re-conducted to prison.

On the 15th of May he was brought before bishop Bonner, at his palace in London, where the following articles were exhibited against him:

- 1. That he was of the parish of Much-Bentley, in Essex, and of the diocese of London.
- 2. That on the 10th of January last past, Mr. John Mordant preaching at St. Paul's, London, the said Ralph Allerton did there openly submit himself to the church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.
- 3. That he did consent and subscribe, as well unto the submission, as also to one other bill, in the which he granted that if he should, at any time, turn again unto his former opinions, it should be then lawful for the bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an heretic.
- 4. That he had subscribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth still material broad and material wine; and that he believed that the bread is the bread of thanksgiving, and the memorial of Christ's death; and that, when he received it, he received the body of Christ spiritually in his soul, but material bread in substance.
- 5. That he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken that which is contained in the said former fourth article, last before specified.
- 6. That he had spoken against the bishop of Rome, with the see and church of the same, and also against the seven sacraments, and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same church, used then within this realm.
- 7. That he had allowed and commended the opinions and faith of Mr. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and others, of late burnt within this realm, and believed their opinions to be good and godly.
- 8. That he had diverse times affirmed that the religion used within this realm, at the time of his apprehension, was neither good nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himself thereunto.

- 9. That he had affirmed that the book of common prayer, set forth in the reign of king Edward VI. was, in all parts, good and godly: and that the said Ralph, and his company, being prisoners, did daily use, among themselves, in prison, some part of the same book.
- 10. That he had affirmed that if he were out of prison he would not come to mass, mattins, nor even-song, nor bear taper, candle, nor palm, nor go in procession, nor would receive holy water, holy bread, ashes, or pix, nor any other ceremony used within this realm.
- 11. That he had affirmed that if he were at liberty he would not confess his sins to any priest, to receive absolution of him, nor yet would receive the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used.
- 12. That he had affirmed that praying to saints, and prayers for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure; neither that it is lawful to reserve the sacrament, nor to worship it.
- 13. That the said Ralph Allerton has, according to these affirmations, abstained and refused to come unto his parish church, ever since the 10th of January last, or to use, receive, or allow any ceremonies, sacraments, or other rites then used in the church.

To these articles our martyr, in general, answered in the affirmative, objecting only to that clause in the fifth, "that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure;" and confessed, at the same time, that he had neither fasted nor prayed so frequently as it was his duty to have done.

Many arguments were used by Dr. Darbyshire, the bishop's chancellor, and others, to bring Mr. Allerton to a recantation; but all proving ineffectual, he was sent back again to prison. A few days after, he, with his fellow-martyrs, were ordered to appear

before bishop Bonner, at his palace at Fulham, where in his private chapel, he judicially propounded to them diverse articles, the particulars of which were addressed to Ralph Allerton, in the following form:

"Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the information given against thee, and remaining now in the acts of this court of thine ordinary Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, was, and is, a true information."

The substance of the information was this:

That one Lawrence Edwards had a child unchristened, and Mr. Tye, the curate, asked him, why his child was not baptized? Edwards replied, it should be baptized when he could find one of his own religion. Mr. Tye told him he had imbibed those notions from some busy people, who go about to spread heresy. Edwards acknowledged he had, telling him, at the same time, if his doctrine was better he would receive it. He then produced Allerton, to whom the curate said, if he had instructed Edwards, it was against God's commandments to enter into the church. On this, Allerton thus addressed the people who were present: "O good people, now is fulfilled the saying of the priest and prophet Esdras, viz. The fire of a multitude is kindled against a few, they have taken away their houses, and spoiled their goods. Which of you have not seen this day? Who is here among you that seeth not all these things done upon this day? The church unto which they called us, is the church of Anti-Christ, a persecuting church, and the church militant."

This was the cause of his being apprehended, and sent up to the bishop of London. He was also charged with writing several letters, and other things, which were found on him in prison. He confessed, when they were produced, that he had written them, and that they were intended to be sent to some persons that were in prison for the sake of the gospel, at Colchester, where they were afterwards burnt.

Allerton was then dismissed, and the examination deferred to the afternoon, when several other articles were objected to him;

but these being mostly false, he refused to answer. He granted, indeed, that he disapproved of the mass, and other ceremonies, that were contrary to the express word of God.

When the decree of pope innocent III. concerning the sacrament of the altar, was read to him by the bishop, he declared he regarded it not, nor was it necessary that any man should believe it.

When Bonner asked him what he had to alledge why sentence of condemnation should not be passed upon him, he briefly answered, "My lord, you ought not to condemn me as an heretic, for I am a good Christian: but do as you have determined, for I perceive that right and truth are suppressed, and cannot now appear upon earth."

In consequence of this answer Mr. Allerton was condemned as an heretic, and immediately delivered over to the secular power.

JAMES AWSTOO, and MARGERY his wife, were next examined, when the bishop, among other things, asked the former, if he had been confessed in Lent, and whether he had received the sacrament at Easter?

Mr. Awstoo replied he had been confessed by the curate of Allhallows, Barking, near the Tower of London; but that he had not received the sacrament of the altar, because he detested it as an abominable idol.

The bishop then asked Margery, his wife, if she approved of the religion then used in the church of England? She replied in the negative, affirming it to be corrupt and anti-scriptural; and that those who conformed to it were influenced rather by fear, than a conviction that it was founded on the word of God.

Being required by the bishop to go to church, hear mass, and pray for the prosperity of the queen, she declared her abhorrence of the mass, and that she would not come into any church where there were idols.

The bishop then made use of the most forcible arguments to induce them to recant; but they both persisted in their faith and profession, and the renouncing all popish doctrines and practices; in consequence of which they separately received sentence of condemnation, and were delivered into the hands of the sheriff, in order for execution.

RICHARD ROTH, the last examined, was strongly urged by the bishop to acknowledge the seven sacraments, as also the corporeal presence in the eucharist. But he briefly told him that if those doctrines were taught in the holy scriptures, he would believe them; if otherwise, he must reject them.

Being examined more particularly concerning the sacrament of the altar, and other points, he plainly declared that in that ceremony there was not the very body and blood of Christ; but that it was a dead god, and the mass was abominable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he was determined, through the strength of divine grace, never to depart.

He was afterwards accused of being an encourager of heretics, and that he had written diverse letters to certain persons who were burnt at Colchester; the latter of which he frankly acknowledged.

Being asked his opinion of Ralph Allerton, he answered that he esteemed him as a sincere servant of God; and that if hereafter, at any time he should be put to death for his faith and religion, he believed he would die a martyr for the cause of Christ, and the truth of his gospel.

He was then asked, if he approved of the order and rites of the church at that time used in England? To which he answered in the negative, declaring that he utterly abhorred them. In consequence of this he received sentence of death, and was immediately delivered to the sheriff, in order for execution.

On the 17th of September, 1557, these four stedfast believers in Christ were conducted by the sheriff, and his attendants, to Islington, the place appointed for their execution, where they were

fastened to two stakes, and consumed in one fire. They all behaved in a manner truly consistent with their situation, and as became the real followers of Jesus Christ, chearfully resigning up their souls in testimony of the truth of his most holy word.

The Persecution and Deaths of JOHN HALLINGDALE, WILLIAM SPARROW, and RICHARD GIBSON, who all suffered Martyrdom together in Smithfield.

INFORMATIONS having been laid against these three persons, on suspicion of heresy, they were all apprehended, and after being confined for some time, were, at length, brought together to be examined before Bonner, bishop of London, when articles were exhibited against each separately, and their respective answers required thereunto.

The first person examined was John Hallingdale, against whom the following articles were exhibited:

- 1. That the said John Hallingdale is of the diocese of London, and subject to the bishop of London's jurisdiction.
- 2. That the said John, before the time of the reign of Edward the Sixth, late king of England was of the same faith and religion that was then observed, believed, taught, and set forth here in this realm of England.
- 3. That during the reign of the said Edward the Sixth, late king of England upon the occasion of the preaching of certain ministers in that time, he did not abide in his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and so did, and doth continue, till this present day, and so determineth to do (as he saith) to his life's end.
- 4. That the said John Hallingdale has thought, believed, and spoken, diverse times, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service, received, observed, and used now in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, but against

God's commandment and word; especially concerning the mass, and the seven sacraments: and that the said John will in no wise conform himself to the same, but speak and think against it during his natural life.

- 5. That the said John absenteth himself continually from his own parish church of St. Leonard, neither hearing mattins, mass, nor evensong; nor yet confessing his sins to the priest, or receiving the sacraments of the altar at his hands, or in using other ceremonies, as they are now used in the churches and realm of England: and as he remembereth, he never came but once into the said parish-church of St. Leonard, and careth not (as he saith) if he never come there any more, the service being as it is there at present, and so many abuses being there, as he saith there are, especially the mass, the sacraments, and the ceremonies and service set forth in Latin.
- 6. That the said John, when his wife, called Alice, was brought to bed of a male child, caused the said child to be christened in English, after the same manner and form in all points, as it was used in the time of the reign of king Edward the Sixth, aforesaid, and caused it to be called Joshua, and would not have the said child christened in Latin, after the form and manner now used in the church and realm of England; nor will have it, by his will, (as he saith) confirmed by the bishop.

The particulars stated in all these articles our martyr acknowledged to be just; and said he would not, on any condition whatever, revoke his answers.

The bishop then asked him, whether he did firmly believe that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, or not? To which Hallingdale made answer that he neither, in the time of king Edward VI. nor at present, did believe that in the said sacrament there is really the very body and blood of Christ: for, if he had so believed, he would (as others had done) receive the same, which he did not, because he had believed, and then did believe, that the very body of Christ is only in heaven, and no where else.

He likewise said that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and many others, who had been lately burned for heretics, were far otherwise, as they all preached the true gospel. That on their preaching he grounded his faith and conscience, according to the saying of St. John, in the 18th chapter of his Revelation, that the blood of the prophets and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon earth, was founded in the anti-Christian church, by which is understood, that church whereof the pope is head.

After this examination he was re-conducted to prison, and the next day brought again before the bishop, who used his utmost endeavours to prevail on him to recant; but finding them all ineffectual, he read the sentence of condemnation, and he was immediately delivered over to the secular power.

The Examination of William Sparrow.

THE articles exhibited against William Sparrow were the following:

- 1. That thou, William Sparrow, wast, in times past, detected and presented lawfully unto thine ordinary, the bishop of London, called Edmund, who also is now thine ordinary, and of the said diocese and thou wast presented and detected unto him for heresy, errors, and unlawful opinions, which thou didst believe, set forth, and hold.
- 2. That thou, before thy said ordinary, didst openly and judicially confess the said heresies, errors, and unlawful opinions, as appeareth plainly, in the acts of the court made before this ordinary.
- 3. That thou, after the premises didst make thy submission in writing, and didst exhibit and deliver the same as thy deed to thy said ordinary; openly confessing and recognizing thy

heresies, errors, and unlawful opinions, and thine offences and translations in that behalf.

- 4. That thou, after the premises, didst promise unto thy said ordinary, voluntarily, and of thine own accord, that always, after the said submission, thou wouldest in all points conform thyself unto the common order of the Catholic church observed and kept here in this realm of England and in no wise fall again into heresies, errors, or unlawful opinions.
- 5. That thou, since thy said submission, hast willingly fallen into certain heresies and errors, and hast holden and set forth diverse unlawful opinions, to the very great hurt of thine own soul, and also to the great hindrance and loss of diverse others, especially against the sacraments of the Catholic church.
- 6. That thou, since the said submission, hast willingly gone about diverse places within the diocese of London, and sold diverse heretical erroneous, and blasphemous ballads, and was apprehended and taken with the ballads about thee, and committed to prison.

To these respective articles Mr. Sparrow gave the following answers: To the first, second, third, and fourth articles, he answered affirmatively: that he was presented and detected by bishop Bonner, unto whom he made his subjection, &c. as in the said article.

To the fifth article he answered that if he had spoken against the sacrament of the altar, &c. he had spoken but the truth.

To the sixth he answered that he granted it; adding that he did sell the ballads then shewed and read before him, and that the same contained God's holy word.

After this examination he was sent back to prison; but in the afternoon of the same day he was again brought before the bishop, who charged him with his former submission.

To this charge he answered, "I am very sorry that I ever made it; for it was the worst deed I ever did."

The bishop then told him that he went to church, and there was confessed, and heard mass.

This Mr. Sparrow acknowledged, and that it was with a troubled conscience. And added, "that which you call the truth I do believe to be heresy."

Bonner then charged him with the contents of the fifth article; to which he answered that he had done as was contained in that article, and so he would again, were he at liberty.

Being then asked by the bishop whether he would persist and continue in the same; he answered that he would not go from his opinion; and added, "that which you call heresy is good and godly; and if every hair of my head was a man, I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth."

After this the bishop endeavoured to prevail on him to recant, saying that on those conditions he should be dismissed; but Sparrow continuing resolute in his faith and opinions, the bishop proceeded to read the sentence of excommunication against him, and he was condemned as an heretic; after which he was delivered into the hands of the sheriff, and by him again conducted to prison.

The Examination of Richard Gibson.

THE misfortunes of this man arose from his doing a singular piece of service to one with whom he was particularly acquainted. This person was arrested for debt, when Mr. Gibson being surety for him, his friend treacherously fled, and he not being able to discharge the debt, was thrown into the Poultry Compter, where he remained upwards of two years.

When he was about to be released, some litigious and bigoted papist laid an accusation against him to the bishop of London, of heresy, because he had never confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, while he was in confinement.

In consequence of this he was ordered to appear before the bishop, who examined him concerning his faith and religion. At first he seemed to make a certain submission, which was recorded in the bishop's register; but this not appearing sufficiently satisfactory, the following articles were exhibited against him:

- 1. That the said Richard Gibson, prisoner in the Compter in the Poultry, in the diocese of London, has otherwise than became a faithful Christian, and a good subject in this realm of England, behaved himself, in words and deeds, in diverse conditions and points, contrary to the order, religion, and faith of Christ's Catholic church, and contrary to the order of this realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the inhabitants of the city of London, and the prisoners of the prison of the said Compter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt and damage of his own soul; offending, especially in the articles following: by reason whereof the said Richard Gibson was, and is, in the jurisdiction of the said bishop of London, and subject to the said jurisdiction, to make answer to his offences and transgressions under written, according to the order of the law.
- 2. That the said Richard Gibson has irreverently spoken against the pope, and see, and church of Rome, and likewise against the whole church of this realm of England and against the seven sacraments of the Catholic and whole church of Christendom, and against the articles of the Christian faith, here observed in this realm of England and against the commendable and laudable ceremonies of the Catholic church.
- 3. That the said Richard Gibson has commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, and also other heretics here in this realm of England according to the ecclesiastical laws condemned for heretics; and also liked all their heretical, erroneous, damnable, and wicked opinions, especially against the sacrament of the altar, and

the authority of the pope and see of Rome, with the whole religion thereof.

- 4. That the said Richard Gibson has comforted, aided, assisted, and maintained, both by words and otherwise, heretics and erroneous persons, or at least suspected and infamed of heresies and errors condemned by the Catholic church, to continue in their heretical and erroneous opinions aforesaid, favouring and counselling the same unto his power.
- 5. That the said Gibson has affirmed and said that the religion and faith commonly observed and kept, and used now here in this realm of England is not good or laudable, nor in any wise agreeable unto God's word and commandment.
- 6. That the said Richard Gibson hath affirmed that the English service, and the books commonly called the books of communion, or common prayer, here set forth in this realm of England in the time of king Edward the Sixth, were in all parts and points good and godly, and the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this realm of England.
- 7. That the said Gibson has affirmed that if he may at once be out of prison and at liberty, he will not come to any parishchurch, or ecclesiastical place, to hear the mattins,* mass, or evensong, or any divine service now used in this realm of England nor come to the procession upon times and days accustomed, nor bear at any time any taper or candle, or receive pix at mass-time, nor to receive holy water, nor holy bread, nor observe the ceremonies or usages of the Catholic

^{* [}CHCoG: The Catholic Encyclopedia says this: "*The word "Matins"* (*Latin Matutinum or Matutinae*), comes from Matuta, the Latin name for the Greek goddess Leucothae or Leucothea, white goddess, or goddess of the morning (Aurora)." Yes, sounds like a genuine PAGAN 'Christian' ceremony, similar to how Easter is based on Eastre, the pagan godess of fertility.]

church here observed and kept commonly in this realm of England.

- 8. That the said Gibson has affirmed that he is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the presence of a priest, convenient and meet, to confess his sins to the said priest, nor to receive absolution at his hands, nor to receive of him the sacrament, called the sacrament of the altar, after such form as is now used within the realm of England.
- 9. That the said Richard Gibson has affirmed that prayer unto saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, or profitable; and that no man is bound, at any time, or in any place, to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure; and that it is not lawful to reserve, or keep, the said sacrament of the altar.

Mr. Gibson having answered these respective articles, was dismissed for the present; but the next day was again brought before the bishop for a farther examination.

Several questions were put to him, but he refused answering to either, saying the bishop of London was not his ordinary.

His last examination was at the bishop's consistory courts where Bonner, after some discourse, asked, If he knew any cause why sentence should not be pronounced again him? To which he told the bishop, he had not any thing against him for which he might justly condemn him.

The bishop then told him that men said he was an evil man.

Gibson replied, "Yea, my lord, and so may I say of you also.

After this sentence of condemnation was read, at the end of which he said, "Blessed am I that I am cursed at your hands."

He was then delivered to the sheriff, who conducted him to prison in order for execution.

On the 18th of November, 1557, these three faithful servants of Christ were conducted, under a proper guard, to Smithfield, where they were all fastened to one stake. After they had, for some time,

fervently prayed to God to enable them to endure the fiery trial, the faggots were lighted, and they all resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them.

The Suffering and Martyrdoms of JOHN ROUGH, minister, and MARGARET MARING, who were both burnt together in Smithfield.

MR. JOHN ROUGH was a native of Scotland, and born of reputable and pious parents. Being deprived of his right of inheritance to certain lands by some of his kindred, he was so irritated that, though very young, he entered himself a member of the order of Black Friars, at Stirling, in Scotland.

Here he continued upwards of sixteen years, when the earl of Arran, then regent of Scotland, and afterwards duke of Hamilton, taking a liking to him, applied to the archbishop of St. Andrew's to dispense with his professed order; that he might serve him as his chaplain.

The archbishop readily granting the earl's request, Mr. Rough was disengaged from his monastic order, and continued chaplain to his patron about a year, when it pleased God to open his eyes, and give him some knowledge of the truth of the gospel.

At this time the earl sent him to preach in the county of Ayre, where he continued about four years, during which time he discharged the duties of his office with the strictest diligence.

On the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was sent for to officiate at St. Andrew's, for which he had a pension allowed him from king Henry VIII.

After being some time in this situation, he began to abhor the idolatry and superstition of his own country; and when he found that, on the accession of Edward VI. there was free profession of the gospel in England, he left his situation, and went first to Carlisle, where he was appointed preacher, as also to Berwick, and

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by the duke of Somerset, protector to the young king.

A short time after this he married, and the archbishop of York gave him a benefice near the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, which he enjoyed till the death of the king.

On the accession of queen Mary, when the religion was altered and persecution took place in all parts of the kingdom, Mr. Rough fled with his wife into the Low Countries; and took up his residence at a place called Norden. Here he maintained himself by knitting and selling caps and hose till the month of October, 1557, when wanting yarn and other necessities for his trade, he embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 10th of November following.

Soon after his arrival, he was informed there was a private congregation of religious people in a certain part of the city, which having found out he joined them, and was elected their minister.

In this office he continued for some time, till, at the instigation of Roger Serjeant, a hypocrite and false brother, on the 13th of December he, together with one Cuthbert Simpson, deacon of the aforesaid congregation, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's household at the Saracen's-Head in Islington; where the congregation had assembled for the purpose of performing their usual worship; and to avoid suspicion, it had been given out that their meeting was to hear a play.

Mr. Rough and Mr. Simpson were both conducted by the vicechamberlain, to the queen's council, who charged them with assembling to celebrate the communion of the Lord's Supper. After a long examination Simpson was, for the present dismissed, but Rough was sent prisoner to Newgate.

On the 18th of December bishop Bonner ordered Rough to be brought before him at his palace in London, to examine him concerning his religious faith; when the following articles were exhibited against him:

- 1. That thou John Rough, didst directly speak against the seven sacraments used commonly and reverently as things of estimation and great worthiness in the catholic church; and also didst reprove and condemn the substance of the altar, affirming that in the same is not really and truly the very body and blood of Christ; and that confession to a priest, and absolution given him (by the minister of Christ) for sins is not necessary nor available in any wise.
- 2. Thou hast misliked and reproved the religion and ecclesiastical service as it is now used in this realm and hath allowed the religion and service used in the latter years of king Edward the Sixth; and so much as in thee hast, by word, writing, and deed, set forward, taught, and preached the same, openly and in sundry places affirmed that the said English service, and doctrine therein contained; is agreeable, in all points, to God's word, and to the truth; condemned utterly the Latin service now used in the queen's, reign, and induced others by thine example, to do the like.
- 3. Thou hast in sundry places within this realm; commended, and approved the opinion and doctrines of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, concerning the sacrament of the altar; affirming that in the sacrament there remained after the words of consecration, material bread and material wine, without any transubstantiation.
- 4. That thou hast, in sundry places of this realm, since the queen's reign, ministered and received the communion, as it was used in the late days of king Edward VI. and thou knowest or credibly had heard of diverse, that yet do keep books of the said communion, and use the same in private houses, out of the church, and are of opinion against the sacrament of the altar.
- 5. Thou dost know, and hast been conversant with all, or a great part, of such Englishmen as have fled out of the realm; and

hast consented and agreed with them in their opinions, and hast succoured, maintained, and holpen them; and hast been a conveyor of their seditious letters and books into this realm.

- 6. That thou, in sundry places of this realm, hast spoken against the pope of Rome, and his apostolic see, and hast plainly contemned and despised the authority of the same, misliking, and not allowing the faith and doctrine thereof, but directly speaking against, it; and, by thine example, hast induced others, the subjects of this realm, to speak and do the like.
- 7. That thou hast said that thou hast been at Rome, and tarried there about thirty days, or more, and that thou hast seen little good, or none, there, but very much evil. Amongst the which, thou sawest one great abomination, that is to say, a man (or the pope) that should go on the ground, to be carried upon the shoulders of four men, as though he had been God, and no man. Also a cardinal to have his harlot riding openly behind him. And thirdly, a pope's bull, that gave express licence to have and use their stews [CHCoG: ostensibly a public sauna, but frequently was actually a brothel. Note that his inquisitors do not DENY these things, but instead condemn him for telling people about them.], and to keep open bawdry, by the pope's approbation and authority.
- 8. That thou, since thy last coming into England from parts beyond the sea, hast perniciously allured and comforted diverse of the subjects of this realm, both young and old, men and women, to have and use the book of Communion set forth in this realm in the latter days of king Edward VI, and hast also thyself read and set forth the same, causing others to do the like, and to leave off their coming to their parish churches, to hear the Latin service now used.
- 9. That thou, the third Sunday of Advent, the 12th of December, 1557, was apprehended at the Saracen's-Head at Islington, in the county of Middlesex, and diocese of London, by the

queen's vice-chamberlain, with one Simson, a taylor, and Hugh, a hosier, and diverse others there assembled, under the colour of hearing a play, to have read the communion-book, and to have used the accustomed fashion, as was in the latter days of king Edward VI.

To these respective articles Mr. Rough answered as follows:

To the first, he said that he had spoken against the number of the said sacraments, being fully persuaded that there are only two sacraments, to wit, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord; and as for the other five, he denied them to be sacraments, and therefore had spoken against them.

With respect to the sacrament of the altar, (which he called the Supper of the Lord) he confessed that he had spoken and taught, that in the said sacrament there is not really and substantially the very body and blood of Christ, but that the substance of bread and wine both remain in that sacrament, without any change being made to it by consecration.

Concerning the confession of sins, he said he thought it necessary, provided the offence was done to the priest; but if it was done to any other, then it was not necessary to make any confession to the priest; but to endeavour to obtain a proper reconciliation with the party offended.

To the second article he answered that he did, and had before misliked the order of the Latin service then used; and also did allow the service used in the latter time of king Edward's reign, for that the holy scripture had taught the same; and therefore, he granted that he did teach, and set forth the said English service, as in the said article was objected.

The third he granted, saying that he had approved the doctrine of the parties mentioned as agreeable to God's word; and they were godly, learned men, and such as had perfect understanding, as in the contents of the same article. To the fourth article he answered that he did well like the communion used in king Edward's days; but said that he had not ministered nor received the same in England since the queen's reign, nor yet knew many that had the books thereof; but on the other side the sea he knew many that had these books, and that there also he had received the communion in sundry places.

To the fifth article he confessed that he had been familiar with many English men and women in Friesland and agreed with them in opinion; as Mr. Story, Thomas Young, George Roo, and others, to the number of one hundred persons, who fled thither on account of their religion, using the same as was set forth in the reign of the good king Edward VI. but otherwise he denied the contents of the article.

The sixth and seventh articles he acknowledged to be both true.

To the eighth article he answered that since his last coming into England (which was about the 10th of November) he had, in sundry places in the suburbs of London, prayed and read such prayers and service as are appointed in the book of communion, and had desired others to do the like, both men and women, whom he knew by sight, but not by name. However, he did not cause any to withdraw themselves from the Latin service; but only said that it was better to pray in a tongue they understood than in one they did not.

To the ninth article he confessed that at the time and place mentioned, he was present to hear divine service, and there was apprehended by the queen's vice-chamberlain, with one Simson, a taylor, and one Hugh, a hosier, with diverse others, both men and women, whose names he knew not; and by the said vicechamberlain, was brought before the council, who sent him to Newgate, from whence he was, soon after, brought before the bishop of London; but otherwise he denied the contents of this article. After Mr. Rough had given these answers to the respective articles exhibited against him, he was dismissed for the present; but re-conducted to his place of confinement.

On the 20th of December he was brought to the consistory court at St. Paul's, before Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, and others, in order to undergo a final examination.

After various methods used by the court to persuade him to recant, without effect, Bonner read the articles, with his answers, beforementioned. He then charged him with marrying, after having received priestly orders; and that he had refused to consent to the Latin service then used in the church.

Mr. Rough answered, their orders were of none effect, and that the children he had by his wife were legitimate. With respect to the Latin service then used, he said he utterly detested it, and that if he was to live as long as Methuselah, he would never go to church to hear their abominable mass.

In consequence of this declaration the bishop proceeded to the ceremony of degradation, exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their church; after which he read the sentence of condemnation, and Mr. Rough being delivered to the sheriff, was, by him, re-conducted to Newgate, there to remain till the time appointed for his execution.

The examination of Margaret Maring.

MARGARET MARING belonged to a private congregation in London, where Mr. Rough used to officiate. She was suspected by him, and some others, of not being sincere in the religion she professed; but the event shewed their suspicions were ill-founded.

An information being laid against her before the bishop of London, he sent an officer to her house near Mark-lane, to apprehend her: which being done, she was immediately brought before his lordship, who, after a short examination, sent her prisoner to Newgate. On the 18th of December she was brought before the bishop, at his palace in London, in order to undergo a thorough examination relative to her religious principles. The usual articles being exhibited against her, she answered each respectively as follows:

- 1. That there is here on earth a Catholic church, and there is the true faith of Christ observed and kept in the same church.
- 2. That there was only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of Baptism.
- 3. That she was baptised in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing thereby her godfathers and godmothers, the devil, and all his works.
- 4. That when she came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, neither yet was taught it.
- 5. That she had not gone from the Catholic faith at any time; but she said that the mass was abominable in the sight of God and all true christian people, and that it was the plainest cup of fornication of the whore of Babylon.
- 6. Concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said she believed there was no such sacrament in the Catholic church; that she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in the same anti-Christian church.
- 7. That she had refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion was not then used in the same; and that she had not come into the church for the space of one year and three quarters, neither did mean to come any more to the same, in these idolatrous days.
- 8. She acknowledged that she was apprehended, and brought before the bishop of London.

These answers being registered by the bishop's official, she was, for the present, dismissed; but remanded to prison. On the

20th of December she was again brought before the bishop at his consistory court, where her articles and answers were again read to her; after which they asked her if she would stand to the same as they were registered? She answered that she would stand to them to her death; "for the very angels in heaven, says she, laugh you to scorn, to see the abomination that you use in the church."

The bishop then used various arguments to prevail on her to recant; but finding them all ineffectual, he read the sentence of condemnation, and she was delivered to the sheriff for execution, who re-conducted her to Newgate.

Two days after this, (viz. on the 22d of December, 1557) she with her fellow martyr John Rough, were conducted, by the proper officers, to Smithfield, where they were both fastened to one stake, and burnt in the same fire. They both behaved themselves with true christian fortitude, and chearfully gave up their lives in testimony of the truth of that gospel, which was professed by him from whom they hoped to receive an eternal reward in his heavenly kingdom.

The following is a true Copy of a Letter, written by Mr. John Rough to some of his most intimate Friends and Acquaintances, on the very Day of his Condemnation.

THE comfort of the Holy Ghost make you able to give consolation to others in these dangerous days, when Satan is let loose, but to the trial only of the chosen, when it pleaseth our God to sift his wheat from the chaff. I have not leisure and time to write the great temptations I have been under. I speak to God's glory; my care was to have the senses of my soul open, to perceive the voice of God, saying, "Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my father and his angels." And to save the life corporeal, is to lose the life eternal. And he that will not suffer with Christ, shall not reign with him. Therefore, most tender ones, I have, by God's spirit, given over the flesh, with the fight of my soul, and the spirit has the Victory.

The flesh shall now, before it be long, leave off to sin, the spirit shall reign eternally. I have chosen death, to confirm the truth by me taught. What can I do more? Consider with yourselves, that I have done it for the confirmation of God's truth. Pray that I may continue unto the end. The greatest part of the assault is past, I praise my God. I have in all my assaults, felt the present aid of my God; I give him my most hearty thanks therefore. Look not back, nor be ashamed of Christ's gospel, nor of the bonds I have suffered for the same; thereby, ye may be assured, it is the true word of God. The holy ones have been sealed with the same mark. It is no time for the loss of one man in the battle, for the camp to turn back. Up with men's hearts; blow down the daubed walls of heresy. Let one take the banner, and the other the trumpet; mean not to make corporeal resistance, but pray, and ye shall have Elias's defence and Elizeus's company to fight for you. The cause is the Lord's

Now, my brethren, I can write no more, time will not suffer, and my heart, with pangs of death, is assaulted; but I am at home with my God, yet alive. Pray for me and salute one another with the holy kiss. The peace of God rest with you all. Amen. From Newgate prison in haste, the day of my condemnation. JOHN ROUGH.

The deaths of these two martyrs closed the horrid and bloody transactions of the year 1557.

We shall now proceed to a relation of those that occurred in the succeeding year, which, happily, by the queen's death, put an end to human sacrifices in this kingdom.

The Sufferings and Martyrdoms of CUTHBERT SIMSON, HUGH FOX and JOHN DAVENISH, who were all burnt together in Smithfield, for professing the Truth of the Gospel.

THESE three persons were apprehended together at Islington; at the same time with Mr. Rough, and being brought before the queen's council, were committed to different prisons.

CUTHBERT SIMSON; who was deacon of the same congregation of which Mr. Rough was pastor, was committed prisoner to the Tower, where he was examined by the recorder of London, and one Mr. Cholmley, who commanded him to declare what persons he had called upon or summoned to come to the English service; but he peremptorily told them he would not comply with their request.

They then ordered him to be put to the rack; on which he laid, in great agonies, upwards of three hours. While he was in the most excruciating torment, they asked him the same question as they had done before, and he made them the same answer. He was then loosed from the rack, and conducted to the room appointed for his confinement.

On the Sunday following he was again brought to the room in which he had been racked, when the recorder of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, once more desired him to confess; but he still refused, saying he was determined not to satisfy them.

They then tied his two fore-fingers together, with a small arrow between them: this done, they drew the arrow backward and forward so quick that the blood followed, and the arrow broke,

after which they racked him twice, and then conducted him to his dungeon.

About ten days after this the lieutenant asked him again if he would confess what had been repeatedly asked by himself and the recorder; to which Mr. Simson answered that he would say no more than he had said.

On the 19th of March he was taken before the bishop of London for examination, when the seven following articles were exhibited against him.

- 1. That thou Cuthbert Simson art, at this present, abiding within the city and diocese of London; and not out of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome.
- 2. That thou, within the city and diocese of London, hast uttered many times, and spoken deliberately, these words and sentences following, viz. That though thy parents and ancestors, kinsfolks, and friends, yea, and also thyself, before the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, have thought, and thoughtest that the faith and religion observed in times past here in this realm of England, was a true faith, and the religion of Christ, in all points and articles; though in the church it was set forth in the Latin tongue, and not in English: yet thou believest, and sayest that the faith and religion of Christ, but in the Latin tongue, is not the true faith and religion of Christ, but contrary and expressly against it.
- 3. That thou, within the said city and diocese of London, hast willingly, wittingly, and contemptuously done and spoken against the rites and ceremonies commonly used here through the whole realm, and observed generally in the Church of England.
- 4. That thou hast thought and believed certainly, and so within the diocese of London hath affirmed, and spoken deliberately, that there be not in the catholic church seven

sacraments, nor of that virtue and efficacy as is commonly believed in the church of England they are.

- 5. That thou hast likewise thought and believed,:yea, and hast so, within the city and diocese of London, spoken, and deliberately affirmed that in the sacrament of the altar there is not really, substantially, and truly, the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.
- 6. That thou hast been, and to thy power art, at this present, a favourer of all those that either have been here in this realm heretofore; called heretics, or else condemned by the ecclesiastical judges as such.
- 7. That thou, contrary to the order of this realm of England; and contrary to the usage of the holy church of this realm of England hast, at sundry times and places, within the city and diocese of London, been at assemblies and conventicles, where there was a multitude of people gathered together to hear the English service said, which was set forth in the late years of king Edward VI. and also to hear and have communion both read, and the communion ministered, both to the said multitude and also to thyself; and thou hast thought, and so thinkest, and hast spoken, that the said English service, and communion-book, and all things contained in either of them; was good and laudable and for such thou didst, and dost allow, and approve either of them at this present.

The first six of these articles Mr. Simson acknowledged to be true in every part; but to the seventh he would not make any answer, saying he was not bound so to do.

HUGH FOX and JOHN DAVENISH, (who were apprehended with Simson) were next examined; and the usual articles being administered them, they answered as follows:

To the first, concerning the Catholic church, they answered that there was such a church. But John Davenish added that the true church was grounded on the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone; and in that church there was the true faith and religion of Christ.

To the second article, they said that in Christ's Catholic church there were but two sacraments, namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

To the third they answered affirmatively, that they were baptised in the faith of the Catholic church.

They likewise answered affirmatively to the fourth article, and that they continued in the said faith till the age of fourteen years, without having any dislike to the same.

To the fifth article they answered that they had spoken against the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and likewise against the authority of the see of Rome, and that they would do so as long as they lived.

The sixth article they acknowledged to be true.

To the seventh they answered affirmatively, that they had, and did, dislike the mass and sacrament of the altar, and thereupon refused to come to their parish church. John Davenish added that the sacrament of the altar, as then used, was no sacrament at all.

Their respective answers being all written down, they were afterwards read to them; when they persisting, and continuing stedfast in their faith and opinions, the bishop pronounced the definitive sentence, and they were all delivered over to the secular power.

While Cuthbert Simson was in the consistory court, bishop Bonner took particular notice of him to the people. "Ye see, said he, this man, what a personable man he is; and I tell you, that if he were not an heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that ever came before me. He has been twice racked in one day in the Tower, and also in my house he has felt much sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken." On the 28th of March, 1558, these three stedfast believers in Christ were conducted by the sheriffs, and their proper officers, to Smithfield, where they were all fastened to one stake, and burnt in the same fire. They behaved with true Christian fortitude to the last, praising and glorifying God, that he had enabled them to go through the horrid punishment allotted them, for no other reason but their strict adherence to the truth of his most holy gospel.

About this time one WILLIAM NICOLL, of Haverford-West, in Pembrokeshire, was apprehended for speaking disrespectfully of the church of Rome; and being condemned as an heretic, was burnt in the same town, on the 9th of April, 1558. But the particulars of his examination, &c. are not recorded.

The Persecutions and Martyrdoms of WILLIAM SEAMAN, THOMAS CARMAN, and THOMAS HUDSON, who were all burnt together at Norwich.

WILLIAM SEAMAN was an husbandman, of a religious turn of mind, and a strict professor of the truth of the gospel. He was betrayed into the hands of the popish emissaries by the perfidy of a neighbour; and being taken before Sir John Tyrrel for examination, he asked him why he would not go to mass, receive the sacrament, and conform himself to other ceremonies of the church.

In answer to this Seaman said that the sacrament then used was an idol, and that the mass was abominable, and that the ceremonies of the Romish church were superstitious, and full of absurdities; and that, for these reasons, he would not conform to the same.

These answers highly offending Sir John Tyrrel, he committed Seaman to prison; and the next day he was sent to Dr. Hopton, bishop of the diocese, who, after a short examination, passed sentence of condemnation on him, and he was delivered over to the secular power in order for execution. THOMAS CARMAN, who had been apprehended a short time before, was brought before the bishop for examination, on the same day; when asserting the cause of Christ with no less warmth than the former, he was consigned to the same inhuman and merciless punishment.

THOMAS HUDSON was by trade a glover, and lived at the town of Ailesham, in Norfolk. Though destitute of any education in his younger years, yet, by his diligence and love of the gospel, as preached in the days of king Edward, he had learned to read, became well versed in the sacred book of God, and grounded in the faith once delivered to the saints.

Disapproving the doctrines and practices set forth under the reign of queen Mary, he absented himself from his native place, went into Suffolk, and there continued travelling from one part to another, as occasion offered. At length, desirous of seeing his wife and children, he returned home, but finding his continuance there would be dangerous, he devised a scheme with his wife, to make him a hiding-place among his faggots, whither he resorted for a long space of time, praying continually; his wife, at the same time, carefully ministering to him such necessaries as he wanted.

During his retirement, the vicar of the town, who was one of the bishop's commissaries, enquired of his wife concerning her husband; and on her denying that she knew any thing of him, threatened to burn her, because she would not discover the retreat of an heretic.

When Hudson was informed of their great desire to apprehend him, his zeal for the glory of God, and the honour of his Redeemer, encreased daily, and he continued reading and singing psalms, while many people resorted to him, to hear his exhortations, and join with him in prayer.

At length he came out of his retreat, walked about the town, exclaiming against the mass, and all its superstitions and follies;

and when he arrived at his own house, he daily and repeatedly read and sung psalms, in which he was joined by many other strong adherents to the truth of the gospel.

Information of this being given to a magistrate by one of his neighbours, two constables were sent to apprehend him. As soon as they entered his house, he said, "Now mine hour is come; welcome, friends, welcome; you be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God for it, and beg that the lord will prepare me for the glorious work for his mercy's sake.

The constables then took him to Berry, the commissary who was vicar of the town. He asked him various questions concerning his religious tenets; but finding all he could say would not stagger his faith in a single point, he sent him, bound like a thief, to the bishop, who was then at Norwich, and before whom he appeared without the least sign of timidity.

The bishop asked him a great number of questions, to all of which he answered as became a true follower of Christ; and though very illiterate, his arguments were exceeding just and forcible. At length, the bishop passed sentence of condemnation on him, and he was immediately conducted to prison, where, during his confinement, he spent his time in reading and calling on the name of our Lord Jehovah.

On the 19th of May, 1558, these three stedfast believers in Christ were conducted to the place appointed for their execution, called Lollards-Pit, without Bishops-gate, at Norwich. As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot they all knelt down, and severally offered up their prayers to God, to enable them to undergo, with Christian fortitude, the fiery trial that awaited them.

After prayers they arose and went to the stake, to which they were all fastened by a chain. When they had prayed for some time, and the necessary preparations were made for their deaths, Thomas Hudson slipped from under the chain, and came forward. This circumstance greatly alarmed the spectators, many of whom

were apprehensive that he intended to recant, while others attributed it to his desire of taking leave of his parents, who were present, and receiving their blessing before his final departure.

His two companions at the stake were no less alarmed at his conduct than the spectators. They used their utmost efforts to comfort and encourage him, and exhorted him, in the most strenuous manner to be of good cheer, and resign himself to the will of his Redeemer.

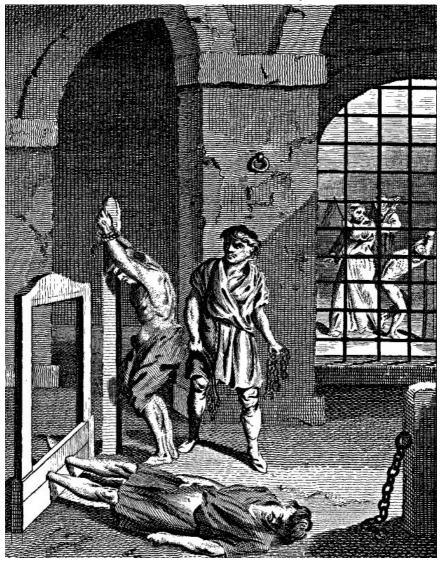
But, alas! he felt more in his heart than they could conceive; for he was encompassed with a distinguished grief of mind, not from the fear of death, but for want of inward experience of the love of his Saviour. Being, therefore, very anxious to obtain this conquest, he fell on his knees, and fervently prayed to God, who, according to his tender mercies, soon sent him comfort. He then arose in an extasy of joy, as a man changed from death to life, saying, "Now, I thank God, I am strong, and care not what man can do unto me."

Immediately after this he returned to his companions at the stake, with the most chearful countenance; in a short time after which the faggots were lighted, and they all chearfully resigned their souls into the hands of that God who had protected and supported them under their sufferings for his name's sake.

About the same time these three were burnt at Norwich, three others suffered at Colchester; namely, WILLIAM HARRIS, RICHARD DAY, and CHRISTIAN GEORGE.

They all willingly submitted to their fate, and resigned up their lives in testimony of the truth of the gospel.

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View of the Inside of LOLLARDS TOWER, with the Manner of Torturing the PROTESTANTS, by order of Bishop Bonner, During the Reign of Queen Mary.

The Persecutions and Sufferings of WILLIAM FETTY, a Lad of twelve Years of Age, who was so barbarously scourged in bishop Bonner's Palace in London, that it occasioned his Death.

IF dying innocently in the cause of Christ, and his religion, constitutes the character of a martyr, no one can be more entitled to a place in our catalogue than this youth, who was unmercifully scourged to death, at the instigation of the relentless and cruel Bonner.

Among those who were persecuted and imprisoned for the profession of Christ's gospel, and yet delivered by the Providence of God, was John Fetty, the father of the lad under consideration. He had been accused, by his own wife, to the minister of the parish in which he lived, of absenting himself from church, the sacrament of the altar, confession, and other ceremonies; for neglect of which he was apprehended by one of the officers employed for that purpose. Immediately after his apprehension his wife grew delirious, in consequence of which, though they were regardless of him, pity towards that ungrateful woman wrought upon them so sensibly, that for the sake of the preservation and support of her and her children, they discharged him, with a compulsion that he should continue in his own house.

Notwithstanding the ingratitude of his wife, he provided for her in such a manner that within the space of three weeks she had, in some measure, recovered her senses. But such was the disposition of this wicked woman, that notwithstanding this instance of his conjugal affection, she laid a second information against him; upon which he was apprehended, and carried before Sir John Mordaunt, one of the queen's commissioners, by whom, after examination, he was sent to Lollards Tower,* where he was

^{*} Lollards Tower was a large, semi-detached stone tower completed in 1435 by Archbishop Chicheley. It eventually became part of bishop Bonner's London palace, and was a prison of the most gloomy nature. It

put in the stocks, and had a dish of water set by him with a stone in it, to point out to him that it was the chief sustenance he might expect to receive.

After he had been in prison for the space of fifteen days, (the greatest part of which time he was kept in the stocks, sometimes by one leg, and sometimes the other) William Fetty, one of his sons, came to the bishop's palace, in order to obtain permission to see him.

When he arrived there, one of the bishop's chaplains asked him his business; the boy replied, he wanted to see his father, at the same time shedding tears, and expressing the greatest unhappiness. The chaplain asked who was his father; and when the boy told him, he pointed towards Lollards Tower, intimating that he was there confined.

The chaplain then told him his father was an heretic; to which the boy (who was of a bold and forward spirit, and had been instructed by the father in the reformed religion) answered, "My father is no heretic; but you have Balaam's mark."

On this the incensed priest took the boy by the hands and led him to a large room in the palace, where he scourged him in the

was set apart for the punishment of Protestants, [called Lollards, for the reason we have already given in Book X, Chapter II.] who were brought before the archbishops on an accusation of heresy, and who were here subjected to various tortures, at the discretion of these bigoted and merciless tyrants. The most common punishment inflicted was setting them in the stocks, some of whom were fastened by the hands, and others by the feet. They were, in general, permitted to sit on a stool, but to encrease the punishment some were deprived of that indulgence, so that lying with their backs on the ground, their situation became exceeding painful. In this dungeon, and under these tortures they were kept, some for several days, and others for weeks, without any other sustenance than bread and water; and to add to their affliction, they were prohibited from being seen by their relations or friends. Many of those who were otherwise escaped.

most severe and unmerciful manner; after which he ordered one of his servants to carry him in his shirt to his father, the blood running down to his heels.

As soon as he saw his father he fell on his knees and craved his blessing. The poor man beholding his child in so dreadful a situation, exclaimed, with great grief, "Alas! Son, who has thus cruelly treated you?" The boy replied, "Seeking to find you out, a priest, with Balaam's mark, took me into the bishop's house, and treated me in the manner you see."

The servant then seized the boy with great wrath, and dragging him from his father, led him back to the place where he had been scourged by the priest. Here he was kept three days, in the course of which his former punishment was several times repeated, though not in so severe a manner as before.

At the expiration of that time Bonner, in order to make some atonement for this cruel treatment of the boy, and to appease the father, determined to release both of them. He, therefore, ordered the latter to be brought before him, in his bedchamber, early in the morning. When the poor man came before the bishop, he said, "God be here, and peace." To which the bishop replied, "that is neither God speed, nor good-morrow."

One of the bishop's chaplains standing by reviled Fetty for the speech he had made, when he, after looking about and spying a bundle of black beads, and a small crucifix, said, "As Christ is here handled, so you deal with Christ's chosen people."

The bishop was so enraged at this that he called him a vile heretic, and said, "I will burn thee, or I will spend all that I possess." However, in a little time his passion cooled, and thinking the consequences that might arise from scourging the child, he ordered them both to be discharged.

The father immediately went home with his son; but the poor boy, from an extraordinary effusion of blood, and a mortification which ensued, died a few days after, to the great grief of his persecuted and indulgent parent.

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The old man remained without farther persecution, during the residue of his life, often praising God for delivering him out of the hands of his enemies, and expressing the sense he had of the divine protection, in words to the following effect:

To heaven I lift my waiting eyes, There all my hopes are laid; The Lord, who built the earth and skies, Is my perpetual aid.

Their feet shall never slide or fall, Whom he designs to keep; His ear attends the softest call, His eyes can never sleep.

He will sustain my weakest powers, With his Almighty arm, And watch my most unguarded hours, Against surprising harm.

He guards my soul, he keeps my breath, Where thickest dangers come; I go and come, secure from death, Till God commands me home.

The Martyrdoms of ROBERT MILLS, STEPHEN COTTON, ROBERT DINES, STEPHEN WIGHT, JOHN SLADE, and WILLIAM PIKES, who were all burnt together at Brentford in Middlesex.

THESE six men were apprehended, with several others, in a close near Islington, where they had assembled to pay their

devotions to their Maker; and being taken before a magistrate, were committed to prison on suspicion of heresy. A few days after their apprehension they were brought before Dr. Thomas Darbyshire, the bishop of London's chancellor, for examination; when the usual articles were exhibited against them, to which they answered as follows:

The first article they all granted. Robert Mills and Stephen Wight said they had not been at church for three quarters of a year; Stephen Cotton not for a twelvemonth; Robert Dines for two years; and John Slade and William Pikes, not since the queen's accession to the throne.

To the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, they all answered, in effect, as other protestants had done; asserting that as the rights, ceremonies, and customs of the then church were against the word of God, so they would not observe any part of the same.

The seventh article they all granted in every part.

To the eighth article they likewise unanimously agreed; but Robert Mills added that he would not come to church, nor approve of their religion, so long as the cross was crept to and worshipped, and images kept in the church.

John Slade affirmed, in effect, what Robert Mills did, adding farther, that there were not seven sacraments, but two, namely, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Stephen Cotton would no farther allow the popish religion than it agreed with God's word; and Robert Dines affirmed, in effect, the same with Stephen Cotton.

To the ninth and tenth articles Robert Mills, John Slade and Stephen Cotton answered that they did not allow the popish service then set forth, because it was against the truth, and in a language which the common people did not understand.

Robert Dines and William Pikes would neither allow or disallow the Latin service, because they did not understand it.

Stephen Wight would not make any answer to either of these two articles, neither to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth articles; but the rest of his fellow-prisoners answered as follows:

To the eleventh article Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton answered that concerning the books, faith, and religion, specified in this article, they did allow them, so far as they agreed with God's word.

Robert Dines would not make any answer to this, saying he did not understand it; and William Pikes said that he would abide by the service, faith, and religion, as set forth in the days of king Edward VI.

To the twelfth article they said they would agree to it provided they might receive the sacrament as administered in the reign of king Edward.

The thirteenth and fourteenth articles they granted to be true in every part.

After they had been all examined, they were re-conducted to prison, but ordered to appear on the 11th of July at the consistory court at St. Paul's. Accordingly, on that day, they were brought before the bishop and his chancellor, by the latter of whom they were asked if they would turn from their opinions against the holy mother-church; and if not, whether they would shew cause why sentence of condemnation should not be pronounced against them. To this they all answered, that they would not go from the truth, nor any part of the same, on any conditions whatever.

The chancellor then dismissed them, but ordered that they should appear again before him the next day in the afternoon, to hear the definitive sentence pronounced, agreeable to the ecclesiastical law then in force.

They were accordingly brought at the time appointed, when the chancellor sat as judge, accompanied by Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis. The chancellor used his utmost endeavours to prevail on them to recant their opinions; but they all

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proved ineffectual. He therefore read the sentence of condemnation, and they were delivered over to the sheriffs, who conducted them to prison, in order for execution.

The chancellor having condemned these six innocent persons, sent a certificate of their condemnation to the lord-chancellor's office, from whence, the next day, a writ was issued for their being burnt at Brentford.

On the 14th of July, 1558, they were conducted by the sheriffs, and their attendants, from Newgate, to the place appointed for their execution. As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they knelt down, and for some time prayed in the most fervent manner. After this they arose, and undressing themselves, went chearfully to the stakes, of which there were three in number, though all consumed in the same fire. Being bound to the stakes, and the faggots lighted, they all quietly yielded up their souls to that God for whose gospel they suffered, and whose heavenly mansions they were in hopes of inheriting.

A few days after the execution of the before mentioned six martyrs at Brentford, seven others, apprehended with them at the same time and place, were burnt at Smithfield. Their names were as follow: HENRY PONDE, RAINHOLD EASLAND, ROBERT SOUTHAM, MATTHEW RICARBY, JOHN FLOYD, JOHN HOLIDAY, and ROGER HOLLAND.

The particular examinations of these respective people are not recorded, except that of Roger Holland which, with his answers to the respective articles exhibited against him, being the same as usual with others on the like occasion, it is unnecessary to repeat them.

Suffice it to say, that he, together with the rest, being convicted of heresy, received sentence of condemnation, and in consequence thereof were all burnt together in Smithfield. They bore their sufferings with true christian fortitude, and as the cause for which they suffered was glorious, so they doubted not of being glorified in heaven. Before the faggots were lighted, Roger Holland embraced the stake and the faggots, and in the most fervent manner, thus expressed himself:

"Lord, I most humbly thank thy majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. and Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord bless thou thy people, and save them from idolatry."

This said, he quietly submitted to the punishment allotted him, as did also his fellow-martyrs: and they finished their lives praising God with their latest breath.

In the beginning of August four men were burnt at Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk. Their names were: JOHN COOKE, ROBERT MILES, ALEXANDER LANE, and JAMES ASHDEY.

They were examined before the bishop of Norwich and Sir Edward Waldgrave; and the chief article exhibited against them was, not going to church. Their answers all tended to the same effect, namely, "Because they would not worship idols."

On this, sentence of condemnation was immediately pronounced; and on the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted to the stake. When there, they were promised their lives on condition that they would recant, but this they peremptorily refused, rather chusing the horrid death allotted them, than to revoke their opinions. They all died as became men and christians, resigning their souls into the hand of him who gave them.

The Persecution and Sufferings of CICILY ORMES, who was burnt at Norwich.

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This woman was one the of the spectators at the burning of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, (before-mentioned) and was apprehended for saying she would pledge them of the cup of which they drank, viz. Success to the true cause of Christ, and destruction to the usurpation of the papists.

When she was taken before a justice of the peace, he asked her several questions relative to the corporal presence in the eucharist. To which she replied that she denied the same, as it had not any authority in the book of God, which she received as her infallible guide in all matters relative to her eternal salvation.

After laying in prison for a considerable time, she was brought before chancellor Dunning, who told her he had shewn more favour to her than he had done to any, and that he was unwilling to condemn her, as she was a poor illiterate woman; but she frankly told him that he could not be so desirous of taking away her life, as she was to lose it in so good a cause. This answer so enraged the chancellor that he arose from his seat, immediately read the bloody sentence of condemnation, and delivered her to the sheriffs for execution.

This poor woman had been before apprehended, and after being some time confined, by the advice of her friends, and fearing the horrors of death, she recanted, and thereby obtained her liberty. But she could not enjoy a moment of peace after: she therefore abjured the abominable errors she had confessed, and determined to adhere inviolably to the true gospel of Christ.

On the 23d of September, 1558, she was conducted to the usual place of execution for martyrs, without Bishops-gate. As soon as she arrived at the stake, she knelt down, and after making her fervent prayers to Jehovah God, thus addressed the spectators:

Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost; this I do not nor will recant. But I renounce, from the bottom of my heart, the principles and practices set forth by the church of Rome, and never will have to do with them, by the grace of God, to my life's end.

I would not have you think, good people, that I expect to be saved, because I offer myself here unto death for the truth's sake. No, I trust for acceptance with God, justification in His sight, and eternal redemption on the merits and passions of Jesus Christ alone.

After this, she embraced the stake, and said, "Welcome to the cross of Christ."

Being fastened, and the faggots lighted, she spoke, with an audible voice, these words: "*My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour*." [Luke 1:46&47] These were the last words she was heard to say, for the fire burning rapidly, she soon gave up the ghost, quietly resigning her life in testimony to the truth of God's most holy Word.

The Martyrdoms of ALEXANDER GOUCH and ALICE DRIVER, who were burnt together at Ipswich in Suffolk.

These two persons, having been suspected of heresy, were apprehended by Mr. Noon, a justice of the peace for the county, who, after a short examination relative to their religious sentiments, committed them both to Melton gaol.

They were, soon after, brought before Dr. Spence, chancellor of the diocese of Norwich, to be examined.

ALICE DRIVER, being first called on, was asked by the chancellor what she had to say with respect to the sacrament of the altar; whether she believed it to be the very flesh and blood, after the words of consecration are spoken.

She answered, she found no such sacrament in the word of God, but granted she read there of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and desired them to tell her what a sacrament was.

The chancellor, and another doctor, told her it was the sign of a holy thing.

She granted it to be so, but replied that if it be a sign, then it could not be the things signified also.

They said the almighty power of God was able to make it his body.

She denied not the almighty power of God to perform what He had promised, but, said she, he hath made no promise to make bread his body. "But he took bread and break it, and gave it to his disciples, saying 'Take, eat, this is my body. Do this in remembrance of me.' And if the disciples had eaten up Christ's body overnight, he must have had two bodies, for his body was crucified the next day."

Much more was said relative to this matter, both at her first and second examination; but she utterly denied the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, for which she was, at length, condemned as an heretic, and delivered over to the secular power, in order for execution.

ALEXANDER GOUCH, of Woodbridge, in Suffolk, was examined on the same day, and by the same persons, about the sacrament of the altar, and other ceremonies of the church of Rome.

He said his belief was that Christ was ascended into heaven, and there remained; and that the sacrament was a remembrance of his death and passion.

He also rejected the mass, and denied the pope to be the supreme head of Christ's church on earth. For his stedfastness in his faith and opinion he received the sentence of condemnation as an heretic, and was delivered to the secular power to be put to death. On the 4th of November, 1558, they were taken from Melton gaol to Ipswich, escorted by the high-sheriff and his officers, and accompanied by a prodigious number of spectators. They arrived at Ipswich about seven o'clock in the morning, and were immediately led to the place of execution.

When they came to the stake they sung psalms together, then knelt down and fervently prayed for some time; at which the sheriff was so offended that he ordered the bailiffs to interrupt them, and desire they would make an end.

On this Gouch arose, and said, "Do, Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a short time to live here." But this was forbid, and the bailiffs were ordered immediately to prepare them for the fire.

Without farther delay they were fastened to the stake, when many of the spectators shook them by the hands, notwithstanding the sheriff severely threatened them for their presumption. The faggots being lighted, they joyfully resigned up their souls to God, their last words being, "Into thy hands, O Lord, we commit our spirits."

About the same time, and for the same cause, three men were burned at Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk, viz. **PHILIP HUMPHRY, JOHN DAVID**, and **HENRY DAVID**, his brother.

But the particular account of their examinations and deaths is not recorded.

The Sufferings and Martyrdom of ELIZABETH PREST, who was burnt at Exeter, for professing the Truth of the Gospel.

THIS poor woman was the wife of a labouring man, and lived at a small village near the town of Launceston, in Cornwall. Her husband and three children were zealous papists, and she would frequently rebuke them for their superstition; but he being the superior, forced her sometimes to go to church, to follow in procession, and conform to the Romish ceremonies.

Being greatly afflicted at the thoughts of doing that which was so much against her inclination, she prayed to Jehovah God for his assistance, took courage, and left her husband and family.

For some time she travelled from one place to another, maintaining herself by labour and spinning. But at length, she returned to her husband; a few days after which she was accused of heresy by some of her neighbours, and being apprehended was sent to Exeter, to be examined by Dr. Troublevile, then bishop of that see.

The chief thing laid to her charge was her having spoken against the sacrament of the altar, and against images in churches, calling them idols.

The bishop reproved her for speaking against the sacrament of the altar; and told her it was a matter too high for her to meddle with, and that she had committed the greatest of crimes by speaking of it with disrespect.

The poor woman answered, there was never such an idol, as your sacrament is made of by your priests, and commanded to be worshipped by all men; whereas Christ commanded it to be eaten and drank in remembrance of his most blessed passion, for our redemption.

The bishop then said, "Hast thou not heard that Christ did say over the bread, '*This is my body*.' and over the cup, '*This is my blood*.'?"

The woman answered, "Yes, he said so; but he meant that it is his body and blood, not carnally, but sacramentally."

On the bishop's telling her that she had heard this from some new preacher, or learned it from some ill book, and that she was deceived: the poor woman replied, "No, my lord, what I have learned was from godly preachers, and godly books; and if you

will give me leave, I will declare the reason why I will not worship the sacrament; but you must bear with me, a poor woman."

Having obtained leave, she said,

"I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which saith, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of his father, both body and soul, until he come again to judgement? Or, whether he be not there in heaven, and makes intercession for us to God the Father? If it be so, Christ is not here on earth in a piece of bread. If he be not here, and if he doth not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, why then do we seek him here? If he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offering? If Christ with one offering of himself, made all perfect, why do we, with a false offering, make all imperfect? If he be to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, why do ye worship a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drunken in faith and truth, if his flesh be not profitable to be among us, why do vou say you make his body and blood, and say it is profitable for body and soul? Alas! I am but a poor woman, but rather than I would do as ye do, I would live no longer."

After this she was dismissed for the present, and sent back to prison; but in a few days she was again brought before the bishop, who finding her still obstinate, and that all his endeavours to alter her opinion were ineffectual, he read the dreadful sentence of condemnation; at the close of which she said, "I thank thee, my Lord, my God; this day have I found that which I have long sought."

Between the time of her condemnation and execution, she was visited by several priests, who used the most forcible arguments to prevail on her to recant, promising that, on those conditions, her

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life should be saved. She replied, "No; that I will not. God forbid that I should lose the life eternal, for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly husband to my earthly husband; from the fellowship of angels, to mortal children; and if my husband and children be faithful, then am I theirs. God is my father, God is my mother, God is my sister, my brother, my kinsman. God is my friend most faithful."

On the day appointed for her death, she was delivered to the sheriff, who, with his officers, conducted her to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Southernhay.

When she arrived at the stake, several priests again endeavoured to prevail on her to recant, but she begged them not to interrupt her, as she was determined to submit to the fate allotted her, in defence of the true gospel of Christ.

Being fastened to the stake, and the faggots lighted, she repeatedly cried out, "God be merciful to me a sinner." And in a short time quietly resigned her soul into the hands of him who gave it.*

Happy is it we can here say the beforementioned person completed the number of human sacrifices in this island. She was the last who fell a victim to gratify the malevolent heart of bishop Bonner, and the bigoted zeal of the unfeeling and relentless queen Mary. At the time this poor woman suffered martyrdom, there were great numbers of people in the different prisons in the kingdom, whose fate, it was determined, should be similar with hers. But their lives were happily spared through the interposition of Providence, who was pleased to take off their infatuated and

^{* [}CHCoG: Some sources call her Agnes Prest, and say she was burnt on 15 August, 1557, which would make someone else the last to be burnt by Queen Mary.]

persecuting sovereign, a short time before that appointed for their execution.

The queen's health had been long declining. She had, for some time, been afflicted with the dropsy, the consequence of a false conception, and the improper regimen she had pursued. The malady was greatly augmented by the anxiety of her mind, which was now encreased by the most painful reflections. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects; the mortification of being without children; the fear of leaving a crown to her sister, whom she detested; the approaching ruin that threatened the Catholic religion; the indifference of a husband (Philip of Spain) who was going to retire into his own country; all these disagreeable reflections so preyed upon her mind, that it threw her into a slow fever, of which she died on the 17th of November, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign.

When we consider the bigoted zeal of this infatuated princess, and the great number of lives offered up through her arbitrary mandates, we are naturally led to condemn her, first, as a fellowcreature, and next, as a sovereign; but more particularly in the latter character, because, as Providence had placed her in so distinguished a rank, she should have held out the arm of protection to her subjects, instead of the torch of destruction. But the whole progress of her reign does not furnish us with a single instance of merit in her, either as a woman, or a sovereign. On the contrary, all her actions were of the most horrid and gloomy cast; and the barbarities she committed during her sovereignty were so great as to exceed description. With her the practice of religion became the trade of murder, and the care of her people the exercise of her cruelty; while all her views for their happiness terminated in punishments for their virtues. Her bigotry infected every branch of government, and weakened every band of society. She had not any thing engaging, either in her person, her behaviour, or her address: her understanding was confined within very narrow limits, and her

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temper was morose and gloomy; while obstinacy, bigotry, violence, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, directed all her actions.

The death of queen Mary revived the drooping spirits of the long-oppressed protestants. They now beheld the pleasing prospect that they should no longer be persecuted for their religion, and that their virtues would not expose them, for the future, to the rage of ignorance and bigotry.

Nor were they mistaken. The amiable Elizabeth (sister to Mary) was as strong an advocate for the protestant religion as her predecessor had been the most inveterate against it. No sooner did she ascend the throne, than her attention was immediately directed to the protection of the reformed: but she did it in so wise and prudent a manner, as to prevent any disturbance from the opposite party.* By her distinguished management, in a short time, she

^{* [}CHCoG: Though she did not deliberately persecute Roman catholics for their religious beliefs, the pope himself made this essentially impossible. Catholics were told their oaths to Queen Elizabeth, and to England, were not binding on them, and urged them to take any and all actions they could to destroy her. This resulted in an act of Parliament in 1571 which made it treason to reject Elizabeth as head of the church in England. Any papists who refused to swear allegiance to her were barred from all positions in government, and some were even executed. This combination of events made it impossible for Roman catholics to fully and freely follow their faith, as the pope, interested primarily in his own power, had made their faith fundamentally political, and inimical to the English government. Though Southwell's statement of tolerance applied to mainstream protestants, some persecution of others was thus inevitable. However, these Roman catholics were typically prosecuted in civil courts, not ecclesiastical, and if condemned to death, this was never by being burnt alive.

However, that did not always apply to radical Christians. Elizabeth (via her 'protestant' Church of England), had nine protestants killed, most of them burnt, for their Christian beliefs. Two of them were Anabaptists, four were Unitarians, one was a Puritan and two were Brownists.

James I, and thus the Church of England, also burnt two 'radical' Christians, Bartholomew Legate, for rejecting the Trinity, and Edward

fixed the protestant religion on so solid a basis as to prevent its being again interrupted; and ever since her reign, though attempts have been made to wound it, they have all been subverted, and the inhabitants of this island have enjoyed their religious opinions from that time to the present; which, that they may continue to do, so long as time shall be, is the most sincere prayer, and wish, of

THE AUTHOR.



Wightman, an Anabaptist. Wightman was burnt at Lichfield, Staffordshire, on 11 April, 1612, and he was the last person burned in England because of their religious beliefs.]

CHAP. VIII.

Containing an Account of an Attempt made by the Spaniards in the Year 1588, to invade England and destroy all the Protestants by their Invincible Armada.

PHILIP, king of Spain, husband to the deceased queen Mary of England was no less an enemy to the protestants than that princess. He had ever disliked the English, and after her death, determined, if possible, to crown that infamous cruelty which had disgraced the whole progress of her reign, by making a conquest of the island and putting every protestant to death.

The great warlike preparations made by this sagacious and powerful monarch, though for what purpose unknown, gave an universal alarm to the English nation. Though he had not declared his intention, yet it appeared evident that he was taking measures to seize the crown of England. Pope Sextus V. not less ambitious than himself, and equally desirous of persecuting the protestants, urged him to the enterprize. He excommunicated the queen, and published a crusade against her, with the usual indulgences. All the ports of Spain resounded with preparations for this alarming expedition; and the Spaniards seemed to threaten the English with a total annihilation.

Three whole years had been spent by Philip in making the necessary preparations for this distinguished enterprize; and his fleet, which, on account of its prodigious strength, was called "The Invincible Armada," was now completed. A consecrated banner was procured from the pope, and the gold of Peru was lavished on the occasion.

This tremendous armament consisted of the following particulars: nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers; eight thousand two hundred and fifty seamen; two thousand and eight galley-slaves;* and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance. The marquis of Santa Cruz, an officer of great reputation and experience, was appointed to command the Armada; and by his counsels and directions, all the naval preparations were conducted. There was hardly a noble family in Spain but sent either a son, a brother, or a nephew on board this fleet, in order to acquire riches and estates in England, which was considered as an easy conquest.

The duke of Parma, in order to insure success, was ordered to provide transports sufficient to embark an army of twenty-five thousand men, and land them in England as soon as the Spanish fleet appeared on the coast of Flanders. Ships were accordingly provided, and the duke quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieuport.

The English fleet, at this time, consisted only of twenty-eight sail, most of which were very small vessels; but the alacrity of Elizabeth's subjects sufficiently atoned for the weakness of her navy. The maritime towns, the nobility and gentry testified the greatest zeal on this occasion. The city of London fitted out thirty ships, though fifteen only had been required. The gentry and nobility hired and armed forty-three ships at their own expence. Lord Howard, of Essingham, a man of great courage and capacity, was lord-admiral, and took upon him the command of the navy; Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The main fleet was stationed at Plymouth; while a smaller fleet, consisting of forty vessels, under the command of lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the forces commanded by the duke of Parma.

Twenty thousand land forces were cantoned along the southern coasts of England; another body of disciplined men encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the command of the

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^{* [}CHCoG: Most of these galley-slaves were nominally Roman Catholics who had been condemned to this punishment on the flimsiest of excuses by the Spanish Inquisition.]

earl of Leicester, whom the queen, on this occasion, created general in chief of all her forces; and the lord of Hunsdon commanded a third army, consisting of thirty thousand men, for the defence of her majesty's person.

Arthur, lord Grey, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, men renowned for their valour and experience, were consulted about the management of the war; and pursuant to their advice, all the landing-places on the coast, from Hull to the Land's-End, and thence to Milford-haven, were fortified and garrisoned. The militia of the country were armed and regulated under proper officers, who received instructions for interrupting the disembarkation of the enemy, wasting the country before them, attacking their rear, and keeping up a continual alarm in their army, till a sufficient force could be assembled to give them battle.

Sir Robert Sydney was sent into Scotland in order to induce James to continue firmly attached to the English interest. The Scottish monarch was sufficiently disposed to cultivate an union with Elizabeth, and even to march, at the head of all the forces of his kingdom, to the assistance of the English. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the connection resulting from their common religion, prevailed upon that prince to seize a squadron of ships which Philip had either purchased, or hired, in the Danish harbours.

But her chief hopes of success were placed on the affections of her people. The very papists themselves, though they knew the pope had absolved them from their oaths of allegiance, exerted themselves on this occasion. Conscious that they could not expect to be intrusted with authority, several of the young nobility served as volunteers, either in the fleet or army; some equipped ships at their own expence, and gave the command of them to protestants; while others were active in animating their tenants and vassals in support of their sovereign. Party distinctions were forgotten, and every man exerted himself in the defence of his country. The magnanimity of Elizabeth was remarkable on this trying occasion. She appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, harangued her army, and expressed an entire confidence in their loyalty and courage. She assured her troops that the weakness of her sex should not prevent her marching at their head against the Spanish invaders; that she would behold and reward their bravery herself; and that she would sooner perish on the field of battle, than live to see the slavery of her people. "My arm, (said she) is but the arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and what is more, of a king of England." The whole army catched the heroic ardour of the queen; they were impatient to meet the enemy, and earnestly desirous of convincing the haughty Spaniards that they still possessed the spirit of Englishmen.

The Armada was some time prevented from sailing by the death of the marquis of Santa Cruz. The duke of Medina Sidona, a nobleman of great family, but wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, was appointed admiral in his room. This interval was employed by Elizabeth in making new preparations for rendering the design abortive. At length the invincible fleet sailed from Lisbon on the 29th of May; but being overtaken with a dreadful tempest, the fleet was obliged to put into the Groyne, having received considerable damage. After a delay of two months, the Armada sailed, once more, to prosecute the intended enterprize. The fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, of which near an hundred were galleons, and of a greater burden than any that had ever before appeared on the coast of England.

The Spanish admiral was ordered to sail as near the coast of France as possible, in order to join prince Parma, and avoid meeting the English fleet, which might occasion some delay in the enterprize; for it was never imagined that they could make any effectual opposition.

But an accident induced the Spanish admiral to neglect this prudent advice. He took a fishing-boat in his passage, the master of which informed him that the English admiral, persuaded that the late storm which scattered the Armada, had prevented any attempt being made this season, had laid up his ships, and discharged the greater part of his seamen. Deceived by this intelligence, the Spaniard determined to destroy the English ships in Plymouth harbour, before he joined the prince of Parma. He accordingly steered towards that port, hoping to obtain an easy victory. The Armada was disposed in the form of a half moon, and stretched to the distance of seven leagues, from the extremity of one division to that of the other.

But this tremendous appearance dismayed not the English; they knew their huge vessels were so ill constructed, and so difficult to be managed, that they would not be able to support themselves against the repeated attacks of ships at a distance. Experience soon convinced them that they were not mistaken. Two of the largest ships in the Spanish fleet were soon after taken by Sir Francis Drake; and while the enemy advanced slowly up the channel, the English followed their rear, and harassed them with perpetual skirmishes. The Spaniards now began to abate in their confidence of success: the design of attacking the English navy in Plymouth was laid aside; and they directed their course towards Calais, in order to join the prince of Parma.

No sooner were these transactions made known in England than the nobility and gentry hastened out with their ships, from every harbour, to join the admiral, who soon found his fleet amounted to one hundred and forty sail. He still hung upon the rear of the Spaniards, and distressed them with repeated attacks. At last the Armada came to an anchor before Calais, in expectation of being joined by the prince of Parma: but before that general could embark his troops, all hopes of success vanished by a stratagem of the English admiral. He filled eight of his smaller ships with combustible materials, and setting them on fire, sent them, one after another, into the midst of the enemy's fleet. Terrified at this appearance, the Spaniards cut their cables, and betook themselves to flight, in a very precipitate and disorderly manner. In the midst of this confusion, the English fell upon them with such fury that twelve of their largest ships were taken, and several others were thoroughly damaged.

The ambitious Spaniards were now convinced that their scheme was entirely frustrated, and would willingly have abandoned the enterprize, and returned immediately to their ports, could they have done it with safety: but this was impossible; the wind was contrary: and the only chance of escaping was that of making a tour of the whole island and reaching at last the Spanish harbours by the ocean. But a violent storm soon overtook them, and completed the destruction of the Invincible Armada; not half the number of vessels returning to the ports of Spain.

It is said that Philip, being informed of these disasters, fell on his knees, to thank heaven for leaving him so much; while the Spanish clergy, confounded at an event so contrary to their expectation, assigned a very ridiculous cause for it, namely, that some infidel Mahometans were suffered to continue in a Catholic kingdom.

The lord high-admiral having entirely cleared the English coast of Spaniards, returned with his fleet to the Downs, and was received in London with the greatest acclamations of joy. A public thanksgiving was ordered to be observed throughout the whole kingdom for so singular a deliverance; and the queen herself went to St. Paul's, in great solemnity, to perform the sacred duty. At the same time eleven standards and colours, taken from the enemy, were hung up in the body of the church, as trophies of so distinguished a victory.

Thus was this diabolical scheme subverted; and while the Spanish monarch suffered for his presumption, the English, under their auspicious sovereign, rejoiced at the prosperous and happy event!

It may not be improper here to subjoin a list of the different articles taken on board the Spanish ships, designed for the tormenting of the protestants, had their scheme taken effect. The

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account of these is accurately preserved in a very valuable work,* lately published, and from which we shall take an exact copy.

Account of the Spoils of the Spanish Armada.

- 1. The common soldiers pikes eighteen feet long, pointed with long sharp spikes, and shod with iron, which were designed to keep off the horse, to facilitate the landing of the infantry.
- 2. A great number of lances used by the Spanish officers. These were formerly gilt, but the gold is almost worn off by cleaning.
- 3. The Spanish ranceurs, made in different forms, which were intended either to kill the men on horseback, or pull them off their horses.
- 4. A very singular piece of arms, being a pistol in a shield, so contrived as to fire the pistol, and cover the body, at the same time, with the shield. It is to be fired by a match-lock, and the sight of the enemy is to be taken through a little grate in the shield, which is pistol proof.
- 5. The banner, with a crucifix upon it, which was to have been carried before the Spanish general. On it is engraved the pope's benediction before the Spanish fleet sailed; for the

^{*} The work here alluded to is a late publication, entitled, *A New History*, *Description, and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and their adjacent Parts. Including not only all the Parishes within the Bills of Mortality, but the Towns, Villages, Palaces, Seats, and Country, to the Extent of Twenty Miles round, comprizing a Circle of near 50 Miles.* By Walter Harrison, Esq. Adorned with a great number of beautiful copper-plates, exhibiting architectural, perspective, antique, and rural views of churches, chapels, palaces, gates, antiquities, ruins, hospitals, bridges, and other buildings, public and private; also delightful landscapes, beautiful prospects, and captivating situations; besides seats, plans, maps, surveys, &c.—This useful work may be had complete, or in weekly numbers, Price 6d. each, of C. Cooke, No. 17, Paternoster-Row, London.

pope came to the water-side, and on seeing the fleet blessed it, and styled it INVINCIBLE.

- 6. The Spanish cravats, as they are called. These are engines of torture, made of iron, and put on board to lock together the feet, arms, and heads of Englishmen.
- 7. Spanish bilboes, made of iron likewise, to yoke the English prisoners two and two.
- 8. Spanish shot, which are of four sorts; pike-shot, star-shot, chain-shot, and link-shot, all admirably contrived, as well for the destruction of the masts and rigging of ships, as for sweeping the decks of their men.
- 9. Spanish spadas poisoned at the points, so that if a man received the slightest wound with one of these, certain death was the consequence.
- 10. A Spanish poll-axe, used in boarding of ships.
- 11. Thumb-screws, of which there were several chests full on board the Spanish fleet. The use they were intended for is said to have been to extort confession from the English, where their money was hid.
- 12. The Spanish morning star; a destructive engine resembling the figure of a star, of which there were many thousands on board, and all of them with poisoned points; and were designed to strike at the enemy as they came on board, in case of a close attack.
- 13. The Spanish general's halbert, covered with velvet. All the nails of this weapon are double gilt with gold; and on its top is the pope's head, curiously engraved.
- 14. A Spanish battle-axe, so contrived as to strike four holes in a man's head at once; and has besides a pistol in its handle, with a matchlock.
- 15. The Spanish general's shield, carried before him as an ensign of honour. On it are depicted, in most curious workmanship, the labours of Hercules, and other expressive allegories.

When the Spaniards were asked by some of the English what their intentions were, had their expedition succeeded, they replied, "To extirpate the whole from the island at least all heretics, (as they called the protestants) and to send their souls to hell."— Strange infatuation! Ridiculous bigotry! How infernal must those minds be, who would wish to destroy their fellow-creatures, not only in this world, but, if it were possible, in that which is to come, merely because they could not think as they did! Horrid reflection! But, thanks to Providence, their intentions were defeated.



CHAP. IX.

Account of a horrid Conspiracy formed by the papists for destroying James I. the Royal Family, and both Houses of Parliament; known as the Gunpowder Plot.

THE papists (of which there were great numbers in England at the time of the Spanish invasion) were so irritated at the failure of that expedition, that they were determined, if possible, to project a scheme at home, that might answer the purposes, in some degree, of that intended by their blood-thirsty co-religionists.

In order to crush popery in the most effectual manner in this kingdom, James, soon after his accession, took proper measures for eclipsing the power of the Roman catholics, by enforcing those laws which had been made against them by his predecessors. This enraged the papists to such a degree that a conspiracy was formed, by some of the principal leaders, of the most daring and impious nature; namely, to blow up the king, the royal family, and both houses of parliament, while in full sessions, and thus involve the nation in utter and inevitable ruin.

The infernal cabal who formed the resolution of putting in practice this horrid scheme consisted of the following persons: Henry Garnet, an Englishman, who, about the year 1586, had been sent over here as superior of the English Jesuits; Catesby, an English gentleman; Tesmond, a Jesuit; Thomas Wright; two gentlemen of the name of Winter; Thomas Piercy, a near relation of the earl of Northumberland; Guido Fawkes, a bold and enterprising soldier of fortune; Sir Edward Digby; John Grant, Esq; Francis Tresham, Esq. and Robert Keyes and Thomas Bates, gentlemen.

Most of these were both men of birth and fortune; and Catesby, who had a large estate, had already expended two thousand pounds in several voyages to the court of Spain, in order

to introduce an army of Spaniards into England for overturning the then government, and restoring the Roman catholic religion; but, being disappointed in his project of an invasion, took an opportunity of disclosing to Piercy (who was his intimate friend, and who, in a sudden fit of passion, had hinted a design of assassinating the king) a nobler and more extensive plan of treason, such as would include a sure execution of vengeance, and at one blow, consign over to destruction all their enemies.

Piercy assented to the project proposed by Catesby, and they resolved to impart the matter to a few more, and by degrees, to all the rest of their cabal, every man being bound by an oath, and taking the sacrament, (the most sacred rite of their religion) not to disclose the least syllable of the matter, or to withdraw from the association without consent of all concerned.

These consultations were held in the spring and summer of the year 1604, and it was towards the close of that year they began their operations; the manner of which, and the discovery, we shall give the reader with as much brevity as is consistent with perspicuity.

It had been agreed that a few of the conspirators should run a mine below the room in which the Parliament was to assemble, and chuse the very moment when the king should deliver his speech to both houses, and then, by one blow, to cut off the king, the royal family, lords, commons, and all the other enemies of the Catholic religion, in that very spot where that religion had been most oppressed.

For this purpose Piercy, who was at that time a gentlemanpensioner, undertook to hire an house adjoining to the upper house of parliament, with all diligence. This was accordingly done, and the conspirators, expecting the parliament would meet on the 17th of February following, began, on the 11th of December, to dig in the cellar, through the wall of partition, which was three yards thick. There were seven in number joined in this labour: they went in by night, and never after appeared in sight, for having supplied

themselves with all necessary provisions, they had no occasion to send out. In case of discovery, they had provided themselves with powder, shot, and fire-arms, with a resolution rather to die than yield, or be taken.

On Candlemas-day,* 1605, they had dug so far through the wall as to be able to hear a noise on the other side; upon which unexpected event, fearing a discovery, Guido Fawkes (who personated Piercy's footman) was dispatched to know the occasion, and returned with the favourable report, that the place from whence the noise came was a large cellar, under the upper house of parliament, full of sea-coal, which was then on sale, and the cellar offered to be lett.

On this information, Piercy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals: he then sent for thirty barrels of gunpowder from Holland and landing them at Lambeth, conveyed them gradually, by night, to this cellar, and covered them with stones, iron bars, a thousand bullets, and five hundred faggots: all which they did at their leisure, the parliament being prorogued to the 5th of November.

This being done, the conspirators next consulted how they should secure the duke of York, who was too young to be expected at the parliament-house, and his sister the princess Elizabeth, educated at lord Harrington's, in Warwickshire. It was resolved that Piercy and another should enter into the duke's chamber, and a dozen more, properly disposed at several doors, with two or three on horseback at the court-gate to receive him, should carry him safe away as soon as the parliament-house was blown up; or, if that

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^{* [}CHCoG: Candlemass Day, though rebadged as the day when the baby Jesus was presented in the temple, the day of Mary's purification and even the Festival of Light, is really an ancient Babylonian sun-worship day, marking the halfway point between the northern winter solstice and the spring equinox. Jeshua was NOT presented at the temple at this time, nor did God ever tell us this was one of His holy days. It is instead one of the pagan events that Jehovah told us to NEVER copy (Deuteronomy 12:29-32).]

could not be effected, to kill him, and to declare the princess Elizabeth queen, having secured her, under colour of a hunting-match, that day.

Several of the conspirators proposed obtaining a foreign aid previous to the execution of their design; but this was over-ruled, and it was agreed only to apply to France, Spain, and the archduke for assistance after the plot had taken effect: they also resolved to proclaim the princess Elizabeth queen, and to spread a report after the blow was given, that the puritans were the perpetrators of so inhuman an action. All matters being now prepared by the conspirators, they, without the least remorse of conscience, and with the utmost impatience, expected the 5th of November. But all their counsels were blasted by a happy and providential circumstance. One of the conspirators, with a desire to save William Parker, lord Monteagle, sent his lordship the following letter:

My LORD,

Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation; therefore I advise you, as you tender your life, to devise you some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time: and think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event with safety; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow, this parliament, yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned. because it can do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past so soon (or as quickly) as you burn this letter; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you.

The lord Monteagle was, for some time, at a loss what judgement to form of this letter, and unresolved whether he should slight the advertisement or not; and fancying it a trick of his enemies to frighten him into an absence from parliament, would have determined on the former, had his own safety been only in question; but apprehending the king's life might be in danger, he took the letter at midnight to the earl of Salisbury, who was equally puzzled about the meaning of it; and though he was inclined to think it a wild and waggish contrivance to alarm Monteagle, yet he thought proper to consult about it with the earl of Suffolk, lordchamberlain.

The expression, "that the blow should come, without knowing who hurt them," made them imagine that it would not be more proper than the time of parliament, nor by any other way like to be attempted than by gunpowder, while the king was siting in that assembly: the lord-chamberlain thought this the more probable, because there was a great cellar under the parliament-chamber, never used for any thing but some wood or coal, belonging to Wineyard, the keeper of the palace; and having communicated the letter to the earls of Nottingham, Worcester, and Northampton, proceeded no farther till the king came from Royston, on the first of November.

His majesty being shewed the letter by the earls, who, at the same time, acquainted him with their suspicions, he was of opinion that either nothing should be done, or else enough to prevent the danger; and that a search should be made on the day preceding that designed for the execution of the diabolical enterprize.

Accordingly, on Monday, the 4th of November, in the afternoon, the lord-chamberlain, whose office it was to see all things put in readiness for the king's coming, accompanied by Monteagle, went to visit all places about the parliament-house, and taking a slight occasion to see the cellar, observed only piles of billets and faggots, but in greater number than he thought

Wineyard could want for his own use. On his asking who owned the wood, and being told it belonged to one Mr. Piercy, he began to have some suspicions, knowing him to be a rigid papist and so seldom there that he had no occasion for such a quantity of fuel; and Monteagle confirmed him therein, by observing that Piercy had made him great professions of friendship.

Though there were no other materials visible, yet Suffolk thought it was necessary to make a farther search; and upon his return to the king, a resolution was taken that it should be made in such a manner as should be effectual, without scandalizing any body, or giving any alarm.

Sir Thomas Knevet, steward of Westminster, was accordingly ordered, under the pretext of searching for stolen tapestry hangings in that place, and other houses thereabouts, to remove the wood, and see if any thing was concealed underneath. This gentleman going at midnight, with several attendants, to the cellar, met Fawkes just coming out of it, booted and spurred, with a tinderbox and three matches in his pockets; and seizing him without any ceremony, or asking him any questions, as soon as the removal of the wood discovered the barrels of gunpowder, he caused him to be bound and properly secured.

Fawkes, who was a hardened and intrepid villain, made no hesitation of avowing the design, and that it was to have been executed on the morrow. He made the same acknowledgement at his examination before a committee of the council; and though he did not deny having some associates in this conspiracy, yet no threats of torture could make him discover any of them, declaring he was ready to die, and had rather suffer ten thousand deaths than willingly accuse his master, or any other.

By repeated examinations, however, and assurances of his master's being apprehended, he at length acknowledged that whilst he was abroad, Piercy had kept the keys of the cellar, had been in it since the powder had been laid there, and in effect, that he was one of the principal actors in the intended tragedy. In the mean time it was found out that Piercy had come past out of the north on Saturday night, the 2d of November, and had dined on Monday at Sion-house, with the earl of Northumberland; that Fawkes had met him on the road; and that, after the lordchamberlain had been that evening in the cellar, he went, about six o'clock, to his master, who had fled immediately, apprehending the plot was detected.

The news of the discovery immediately spreading, the conspirators fled different ways, but chiefly into Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby had appointed a hunting-match, near Dunchurch, to get a number of recusants together, sufficient to seize the princess Elizabeth; but this design was prevented by her taking refuge in Coventry; and their whole party, making about one hundred, retired to Holbeach, the seat of Sir Stephen Littleton, on the borders of Staffordshire, having broke open stables, and taken horses from different people in the adjoining countries.

Sir Richard Walsh, high-sheriff of Worcestershire, pursued them to Holbeach, where he invested them, and summoned them to surrender. In preparing for their defence, they put some moist powder before a fire to dry, and a spark from the coals setting it on fire, some of the conspirators were so burned in their faces, thighs, and arms, that they were scarce able to handle their weapons. Their case was desperate, and no means of escape appearing unless by forcing their way through the assailants; they made a desperate sally for that purpose. Catesby (who first proposed the manner of the plot) and Piercy were both killed. Thomas Winter, Grant, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates, were taken and carried to London, where the first made a full discovery of the conspiracy.

Tresham, lurking about the city, and frequently shifting his quarters, was apprehended soon after, and having confessed the whole matter, died of the strangury in the Tower. The earl of Northumberland suspected by reason of his being related to Thomas Piercy, was, by way of precaution, committed to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth; and was afterwards fined thirty thousand pounds, and sent to the Tower, for admitting Piercy into the band of pensioners without tendering him the oath of supremacy.

Some escaped to Calais, and arriving there with others who fled to avoid a prosecution, which they apprehended on this occasion, were kindly received by the governor; but one of them declaring before him that he was not so much concerned at his exile, as that the powder-plot did not take effect, the governor was so much incensed at his glorying in such an execrable piece of iniquity, that he endeavoured, but without effect, to throw him into the sea.

On the 27th of January, eight of the conspirators were tried and convicted; among whom was Sir Everard Digby, the only one that pleaded guilty to the indictment, though all the rest had confessed their guilt before. Digby was executed on the 30th of the same month, with Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, at the west end of St. Paul's church-yard. And Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes, were executed the following day in Old Palace Yard.

Garnet was tried on the 28th of March, "for his knowledge and concealment of the conspiracy; for administering an oath of secrecy to the conspirators; for persuading them of the lawfulness of the treason, and for praying for the success of the great action in hand at the beginning of the parliament." Being found guilty, he received sentence of death, but was not executed till the 3d of May, when, confessing his own guilt, and the iniquity of the enterprize, he exhorted all Roman catholics to abstain from the like treasonable practices. Gerard and Hull, two jesuits, got abroad; and Littleton, with several others, were executed in the country.

The lord Monteagle had a grant of two hundred pounds a year in land and a pension of five hundred pounds for life, as a reward for discovering the letter which gave the first hint of the conspiracy. And the anniversary of this providential escape was ordered to be for ever commemorated.

Thus was this diabolical scheme happily rendered abortive; and the authors of it brought to that condign punishment their infamy merited!—In this affair Providence undoubtedly interposed in behalf of the protestants, and saved them from that destruction which must have taken place, had the scheme succeeded to the wishes of a bigoted, superstitious, and wicked faction.

CHAP. X.

Containing an Account of a horrid Plot, concerted by the Papists, for destroying the City of London by Fire, in the Reign of King Charles II.

STIMULATED by revenge, and prompted by the force of superstitious principles, the papists still dedicated their thoughts to every machination their invention could project, to obtain their wished for purposes, namely, the destruction of the protestants in this island.

Having failed in several efforts, they, at length, bethought themselves of a scheme for destroying the capital of the kingdom, which they flattered themselves might be productive of facilitating their farther intentions of extirpating the protestants, and once more establishing popery in the English dominions.

Though their scheme, in some measure, took place, yet it was not productive of the consequences they hoped and wished for. A great part of the city was indeed destroyed, the melancholy particulars of which we shall copy from the London Gazette, published a few days after:

Whitehall, September 8, 1666.

On the second instant, at one of the clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire, at a baker's in Pudding-lane, near Fifth-street, which falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as ought to have been; so that this lamentable fire, in a short time, became, too big to be mastered by any engines or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following, spreading itself up to Grace-church-street, and downwards to Cannonstreet to the water side; as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintry.

The people in all parts about it, were distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods. Many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals, but all in vain, the fire seizing upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself, even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding his majesty's own, and his royal highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unweariedly assisting therein, for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people.

By the favour of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side, so that on Wednesday morning we began to hope well, and his royal highness never despairing, or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple church, near Holborn-bridge, Pie-corner, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, near the lower end of Coleman-street, at the end of Basinghall-street, by the Postern, at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street, and Leadenhall-street, at the standard in Cornhill, at the church in Fenchurchstreet, near Clothworkers-hall in Mincing-lane, at the middle of Mark-lane, and at the Tower-dock.

On Thursday, by the blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished. But so as that evening it unhappily burst out again afresh at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed) upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his royal highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by applying powder to blow up the houses about it, before the day most happily mastered it.

His majesty then sat hourly in council, and ever since has continued making rounds about the city, in all parts of it where the danger and mischief was greatest, till this morning that he has sent his grace the duke of Albemarle, whom he has called for to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing this memorable deliverance.

During the progress of this dreadful conflagration, orders were given for pulling down various houses in the tower of London, in order to preserve the grand magazine of gunpowder in that fortress; to the preservation of which the violent easterly wind contributed more than the precaution.

Many thousands of citizens, who, by this calamity, were deprived of their habitations, retired to the fields, destitute of all necessaries, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, till a sufficient number of huts could be erected for their relief. In order to mitigate the distresses of the people, his majesty ordered a great quantity of naval bread to be distributed among them; and issued a proclamation, commanding the magistrates of the city to encourage the bringing of all kinds of provisions.

By the certificate of Jonas Moore and Ralph Gatrix, the surveyors appointed to examine the ruins, it appeared that this dreadful fire over-ran 373 acres of ground within the walls, and burnt 13,200 houses, 89 parish churches, besides chapels; and that only eleven parish churches within the walls were left standing.

To this account may also be added the magnificent buildings of St. Paul's cathedral, Guildhall, the Royal-Exchange, Customhouse, and Blackwell-hall; many hospitals and libraries, fifty-two halls of the city companies, and a great number of other stately edifices; together with three of the city gates, and the prisons of Newgate, the Fleet, the Poultry and Wood-street Compters; the loss of which, by the best calculation, amounted to upwards of ten millions sterling. And notwithstanding all this destruction, yet only six persons lost their lives.

Various were the conjectures of the people on the cause of this singular calamity. At first some imagined it to be casual, but from a train of circumstances, it afterwards appeared to have been done from the malice and horrid contrivances of the papists. Several suspected persons were taken into custody; but no positive proof being produced against them, they were discharged.

Though this diabolical scheme took place, in a great measure, to the wishes of the wicked contrivers, yet, instead of being prejudicial, it was, in the end, productive of the most happy consequences to the metropolis. It certainly, for a time, occasioned the most distinguished distress to the inhabitants, but it afforded an opportunity that never happened before, and in all human probability, never may again, of restoring the city with more uniformity, conveniency, and wholesomeness, than could be expected in a town of progressive growth.

The streets were before narrow, crooked, and incommodious; the houses chiefly of wood, dark, close, and ill-contrived; with their several stories projecting beyond each other as they rose over

the narrow streets. The free circulation of the air was, by these means, obstructed, and the people breathed a stagnant, unwholesome element, replete with foul effluvia, sufficient of itself to generate putrid disorders, and disposed to harbour any pestilential taint it might receive. All these inconveniences were removed by the streets being made more open, and the buildings principally formed of brick; so that if, either by accident or otherwise, a fire should happen in future, its progress would be soon stopped, and the direful consequences which generally arise from such circumstances rendered trifling.

Besides the conveniences already mentioned, the fire of London was certainly productive of an advantage of the most valuable nature, namely, the extirpation of that contagious and destructive distemper the plague, which, but the year before, had brought thousands to their graves. This horrid disease had made great devastation among the inhabitants, not only of the metropolis, but different parts of the kingdom, at various periods; but, thank God, its baneful influence has never taken place here since the beforementioned catastrophe, and there is great reason to suppose that the fire materially contributed to the production of so happy a circumstance.

To perpetuate, however, the remembrance of so singular an occurrence, a monument was erected in that part of the city near which the fire began; and as it still remains in its original state, it may not be improper here to preserve a description of it.

The monument, which is a noble fluted column, is situated in a small square open to the street, on the east side of Fifth-street hill. It was designed by Sir Christopher Wren, by whom it was begun to be erected in the year 1671, and thoroughly completed by that great architect in the year 1677. It is esteemed the noblest modern column in the world; and may, in some respects, vie with the most celebrated of antiquity, which are consecrated to the names of Trajan and Antoninus.

This stately column, which is twenty-four feet higher than Trajan's pillar at Rome, is built of Portland-stone, of the Doric order, and fluted. Its altitude from the ground is 202 feet, and the diameter of the shaft, or body of the column, is fifteen feet. It stands on a pedestal forty feet high, the ground, plinth, or bottom of which, is twenty-eight feet square. Within is a large staircase of black marble, containing 345 steps, each six inches thick, and ten inches and a half broad. Over the capital is an iron balcony, which encompasses a cone thirty-two feet high, supporting a blazing urn of brass gilt.* On the cap of the pedestal, at the angles, are four dragons, (the supporters of the city arms) and between them trophies with symbols of regality, arts, sciences, commerce, &c.

The west side of the pedestal is adorned with curious emblems, by the masterly hand of Mr. Cibber, father to the late poet-laureat; in which the eleven principal figures are done in alto, and the rest in basso relievo. The principal figure to which the eye is particularly directed, is a female, representing the city of London, sitting in a languishing posture, on a heap of ruins: her head appears reclining, her hair is dishevelled, and her hand lies carelessly on her sword.—Behind is Time gradually raising her up;

^{*} In the place of this urn, which was set up contrary to Sir Christopher's opinion, was originally intended a colossal statue, in brass gilt, of king Charles II. as founder of the new city, after the manner of the Roman pillars, which terminated with the statues of their Cæsars; as also a figure erect of a woman crowned with turrets, holding a sword and cap of maintenance, with other ensigns of the city's grandeur and re-erection. Sir Christopher, prior to this, made a design of a pillar somewhat less in proportion, viz. fourteen feet in diameter, and after a peculiar device; for as the Romans expressed by relievo on the pedestals, and round the shafts of their columns, the history of such accidents and incidents as were intended to be thereby commemorated; so this monument of the conflagration and resurrection of the city of London was represented by a pillar in flames. The flames, blazing from the loop-holes of the shaft, intended to give light to the stairs within, were in brass work, gilt; and on the top was a phoenix rising from her ashes, also of brass, gilt.

and at her side a woman representing Providence, gently touching her with one hand whilst, with a winged sceptre in the other, she directs her to regard two goddesses in the clouds; one with a cornucopia, signifying Plenty, and the other with a palm-branch, denoting the emblem of peace. At her feet is a bee-hive, shewing that by industry and application, the greatest difficulties are to be surmounted. Behind Time are diverse citizens exulting at his endeavours to restore her; and beneath, in the midst of the ruins is a dragon, who as supporter of the city arms, endeavours to preserve them with his paw. Opposite the city, on an elevated pavement, stands king Charles II. in a Roman habit, with a wreath of laurel on his head and a truncheon in his hand who, approaching the city, commands three of his attendants to descend to her relief; the first represents the Sciences, with wings on her head, and a circle of naked boys dancing upon it, holding Nature in her hand with her numerous breasts ready to give assistance to all. The second is Architecture, with a plan in one hand and a square and pair of compasses in the other. The third is Liberty, waving a hat in the air, and shewing her joy at the pleasing prospect of the city's speedy recovery.

Behind the king stands his brother the duke of York, with a garland in one hand to crown the rising city, and a sword in the other for her defence. Behind him are Justice and Fortitude, the former with a coronet, and the latter with a reined lion. In the pavement, under the sovereign's feet, appears Envy, peeping from her cell, and knawing a heart; and in the upper part of the back ground, the re-construction of the city is represented by scaffolds, erected by the sides of the unfinished houses, with builders and labourers at work upon them.

On the east side of the pedestal is the following inscription, signifying the times in which this pillar was begun, continued, and brought to perfection:

Incepta Richardo Ford, Eq. prætore Lond. A.D. MDCLXXI. perducta altius. Geo. Waterman, Eq. P. V. Roberto Hanson, Eq. P. V. Gulielmo Hooker, P. V. Gulielmo Hooker, P. V. Roberto Viner, Eq. P. V. Josepho Sheldon, Eq. P. V. perfecta Thomas Davis, Eq. P. V, urb. Anno Dom. MDCLXXVII.

The north and south sides of the pedestal have each a Latin inscription; one describing the desolation of the city, and the other its restoration. That on the north side is as follows:

ANNO CHRISTI CIODCLXVI. DIE IV,* NONIS SEPTEMBRIS, HINC IN ORIENTEM, PEDUM CCII. INTERVALLO (QUÆ EST HUJUSCE COLUMNÆ ALTITUDO) ERUPIT DE MEDIA NOCTE INCENDIUM, QUOD VENTO SPIRANTE HAUSIT ETIAM LONGINQUA, ET PARTES PER OMNES POPULABUNDUM SEREBATUR CUM IMPETU &

^{*} The fire of London certainly began on the 2d of September, but, by some mistake of the mason, it is dated the 4th in the Latin inscription on the monument. It is very singular that none of the authors of the surveys of this metropolis have taken the least notice of this glaring error, except Walter Harrison, Esq. whom we have before quoted, and from whose distinguished accuracy, in a multiplicity of instances, may be placed the greatest dependence on the circumstances related in that valuable performance.

INCREDIBILI. XXCIX REMPLA. FRAGORE ÆDES PORTAS. PRÆTORIUM. PUBLICAS. PROCHOTROPHIA, SCHOLAS, BIBLIOTHECAS, MAGNUM NUMERUM. INSULARUM DOMUS CCIDDOOOOOCC, VICOS CD.ABSUMPFIT: DE XXVVM. REGIONIBUS. XV. FUNDITUS DELEVIT, ALIAS VIII. LACERAS & FEMIUSTAS RELIOUIT. URBIS CADAVER AND CDVI. JUGERA, HINC AB PER THAMESIS RIPAM AND ARCE TEMPLARIORIUM FANUM. ILLINC AB EURO AQUILONALI PORTUS FECUNDUM MUROS AND CAPUT. FLETANAS SOFFÆ PORREXIT: OPES CIVIUM **ADVERSUS** æ FORTUNAS INFESTUM, ERGA VITA INNOCUUM. UT PER OMNIA REFERRET SUPREMAM ILLAM MUNDI **EXUSTIONEM**

VELOX CLADES SUIT; EXIGUUM TEMPUS EANDUM VIDIT CIVITATEM FLORENTISSIMAM, & NULLAM. TERTIO DIE, CUM JAM PLANE EVICERAT HUMANA CONSILIA & SUBSIDIA OMNIA, CŒLITUS, UT PAR EST CREDERE, JUTSUS STETIT FATALIS IGNIS & QUAQUAVERSUM ELANGUIT.

SED FUROR PAPISTUCUS QUI TAM DIRÆ PATRAVIT NONDUM TESTINGUTUR.

TRANSLATION.

In the year of Christ 1666, the 2d [4d] day of September, eastward from hence, at the distance of two hundred feet, (the height of this column) a fire broke out about midnight, which, being driven on by a strong wind, not only wasted the adjacent parts, but also very remote places, with incredible noise and fury. It consumed eighty-nine churches, the city gates,

Guildhall, many hospitals, schools, and libraries; a vast number of stately edifices, above thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, and four hundred streets; of the twenty-six wards it destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered, and half burnt. The ruins of the city were four hundred and thirty-six acres, from this pillar, by the Thames-side, to the Temple-church; and from the north-east side, along the city wall, to Holbornbridge. To the estates and fortunes of the citizens it was merciless; but to their lives very favourable; that it might in all things resemble the last conflagration of the world.

The destruction was sudden; for in a small space of time the same city was seen most flourishing, and reduced to nothing. Three days after, when this fatal fire had baffled all human councils and endeavours in the opinion of all, it stopped, as it were, by the will of heaven, and was extinguished on every side.

The inscription on the south side runs thus:

CAROLUS IL C. MART. E. MAG. BRIT. FRANC. & HIB. REX. FID. D. PRINCEPS CLEMENTISSIMUS. MISERATUS LUCTTUOSAM RERUM FACIEM, PLURIMA SUMANTIBUS JAM TUM RUINIS. IN SOLATIUM CIVIUM & URBIS SUÆ ORNAMENTUM PROVIDIT. TRIBUTUM REMISIT. PRECES ORDINIS & POPULI LONDINENSIS RETULIT AD REGNI SENATUM. OUI CONTINUO DECREVIT. UTOPERA PECUNIA PUBLICA. PUBLICA EX VECTIGALI CARBONIS FOSSILIS ORIUNDA, IN MELIOREM FORMAM RESTITUERENTUR: UTIQUE ÆDES SACRÆ & D. PAULI TEMPLUM A MAGNIFICENTIA FUNDAMENTIS OMNI EXTRUERENTUR; PONTES, PORTÆ, CARCERES NOVI SIERENT: EMUNDARENTUR ALVEI. VICI AD REGULAM RESPONDERENT. CLIVI COMPLANARENTUR. APERIRENTUR ANGIPORTUS, FORA & MACELLA IN AREAS SEPOSITAS ELIMINATUR ANGIPORTUS, FORA & **MECALLA** INAREAS **SEPOSITAS** ELIMINARENTUR. CENSUIT ETIAM. UTI SINGULA DOMUS MURIS INTERGERINIS CONCLUDERENTUR. UNIVERSÆ IN FRONTEM PARI ALTITUDINE CONSURGERENT, OMNESOUE PARIETES SAXO QUADRATO AUT COCTO LATERE SOLIDARENTUR; UTIOUE NEMINI LICERET ULTRA SEPTENNIUM ÆDISICANDO IMMORARI. AD HÆC LITES DE TERMINIS ORITURAS LEGE LATA PRÆSCIDIT: AD.JECIT OUOOUE SUPPLICATIONES ANNUAS, & AD **STERNAM** POSTERORUM MEMORIAM H.C.P.C. FESTINATUR UNDIOUE. RESURGIT LONDINUM. MAJORE *SPLENDORE* CELERICATE ANINCERTUM: UNIUM TRIENNIUM ABSOLVIT QUOD SECULI OPUS CREDEBATUR.

TRANSLATION:

Charles the Second, son of Charles the Martyr, king of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, a most gracious prince, commiserating the deplorable state of things, whilst the ruins were yet smoaking, provided for the comfort of his citizens, and the ornament of his city; remitted their taxes, and referred the petitions of the magistrates and inhabitants to the parliament, who immediately passed an act that public works should be restored to greater beauty with public money, to be raised by an imposition on coal; that churches, and the cathedral of St. Paul's, should be

rebuilt from their foundations, with all magnificence; that bridges, gates, and prisons should be new made, the sewers cleansed, the streets made strait and regular, such as were steep levelled, and those too narrow to be made wider. Markets and shambles to be also enlarged, and situated in different parts of the city. That every house should be built with party walls, and all in front raised of equal height; that those walls should be of square stone or brick; and that no man should be longer than seven years building his house. Anniversary prayers were also enjoined; and to perpetuate the memory thereof to posterity, they caused this column to be erected The work was carried on with diligence, and London is restored; but whether with greater speed or beauty, may be made a question. In three years time the world saw that finished, which was supposed to be the business of an age.

Under the beforementioned inscriptions, in one continued line round the base of the pedestal, are the following words:

This pillar was set up in perpetual remembrance of the most dreadful burning of this protestant city, begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction, in the beginning of September, in the year of our Lord 1666, in order to execute their horrid plot, to extirpate the protestant religion, and the old English liberty, and to introduce popery and slavery.

This inscription, on the duke of York's accession to the throne, was immediately erased; but was restored again soon after the revolution. And the whole fabric is, at present, in the situation above described.

[CHCoG: Though this monument has been restored twice since then, this lower inscription has been again erased. As there was never enough evidence to prosecute anyone for starting this fire, it is perhaps reasonable that this inscription was removed.]

CHAP. XI.

Containing an Account of the Life and Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, assassinated concerning the Popish Plot against King Charles II. Also an Account of the Meal-Tub Plot.

BEFORE we describe the horrid machinations of the papists (which form a principal part of the contents of this chapter) against the English government, and the establishment of the protestant religion, we shall give some account of the life of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, whose zeal for the truth of the Gospel, and assiduity in discharging the duties of his magisterial office, were the principal cause of his meeting with that fate he so little deserved.

This great and good man was descended from an ancient and respectable family in the county of Kent, who gave him an education suitable to his birth and quality. He received the first rudiments of learning at Westminster school, and finished his studies at the university of Oxford.

In order to improve himself still farther, he travelled into foreign parts, and during his residence there, was equally careful to avoid immorality as he was to be deluded by the false religion, as practiced in those parts. From the sound principles of religion and virtue, which he had imbibed by means of his careful parents and instructors, he was sufficiently armed against both; and returned home rather informed than corrupted. Like the industrious bee, he extracted the honey of useful experience and observations from the worst of things, and thereby procured an advantageous harvest.

On his return to England he entered himself a member of Gray's-Inn, where by diligent application, he soon acquired a competent knowledge of the municipal laws of his country. His intentions were to have distinguished himself by obtaining a situation at the bar; but having a natural defect in his hearing, he

thought it would be a prejudicial impediment in that character; and therefore, after continuing some years at that inn, he left it, and retired to his friends in the country.

Being naturally of an active disposition, he soon became weary of solitude, and determined to undertake some enterprize in which his time might be usefully employed. He accordingly left the country, and came to London, where he entered into partnership with a person who kept a wood-wharf near Dowgate.

In this connection he was exceeding happy, his partner being nearly of the same disposition with himself. By their joint attention to business, in the course of a few years they each acquired a very handsome fortune; when Mr. Godfrey's partner marrying to advantage, left the business entirely to him.

Soon after this, Mr. Godfrey removed from Dowgate to Charing-cross, where he still continued to prosecute business with the most unremitting assiduity. The uprightness of his dealings, and his fixed adherence to the strictest justice, made him universally beloved, and were the means of calling him to the exercise of a more public employment.

He had, in a few years, acquired a very considerable fortune by his business, and being, from his distinguished integrity, particularly noticed by some elevated characters, they represented him to the king, who was pleased to appoint him one of the justices of peace for the county of Middlesex, and city of Westminster; in which office he continued till his death.

We are now to consider Mr. Godfrey only in his magisterial character, in which he distinguished himself with such integrity and justice, as to acquire the particular notice of his sovereign, who frequently said he took him to be the best justice of peace in his kingdom. What greater encomium than this, from such a prince, could be expected or desired, to illustrate the merits of a worthy and deserving magistrate?

But to shew that he was not undeserving this royal encomium, we shall give a short but just character of him.

He was naturally of a kind, courteous, and affable temper, free of access, and ready to hear the meanest persons, who either came on business, or to seek redress for injuries received from others. Civility and courtesy were the ornaments of his temper, the ground of which consisted in the administration of justice, and the practice of charitable actions. No person could be more punctual and exact than he, in discharging the duties of his office. He rendered to every man his right, and discreetly looked after his own. He preserved sound and orthodox principles, but was far from censuring those who differed from him in religious sentiments.

Though he was most strict in reproving and punishing greater enormities, yet he could charitably bear with the lesser infirmities of such, in whom a controlling virtue more eminently prevailed. In fine, though he had a warm regard to himself, and his own actions, yet he could bear with others far greater miscarriages than he allowed in himself; though he always frowned upon the frontless sinner, yet such was his candour, he would not, if possible, put a modest transgressor to the blush.

His charity was so truly christian and heroic, that in the practice of it he did it with such privacy that his left hand was a stranger to what his right hand did. Few have more merited applause in this respect than himself, though none sought it less. Among other humane and charitable actions, he allowed a poor, but religious family in Westminster, 10£ per annum towards their support, and this annuity he continued for several years.

Though he was ever severe against beggars and vagabonds who refused to maintain themselves by industry and labour, and lived altogether on the alms of others; yet he was so much a friend to those whose poverty was neither occasioned by misconduct, or continued by idleness, that they never went without relief, either by being employed, or receiving some charitable donation.

He was ever anxious for reconciling differences between contending parties; nor would he rest till he had accomplished his ends. He coveted not so much the triumph of the laurel as the shadow of the olive-branch. Moderation and peace were the proper elements of his nature.

Thus far we have considered Mr. Godfrey merely as a man; we shall now take some notice of him as a Christian, and a pure follower of the true gospel of Christ. But we cannot display his character on this head more fully than is done by that learned prelate Dr. Lloyd, who preached his funeral sermon; and who, as by reason of his intimacy with him he had the greatest opportunity, so by his faculty was most capable to judge of him in this particular. His words are these:

As to those things which belong to a private Christian, I ought to know him better than most others. And, I did know that by him which gives me abundant comfort in his death. I knew him to be a just and a devout, a zealous, and a charitable man: conscientious Christian. His religion was more for use than shew. And yet he was constant in all the acts of God's worship, as well out of judgment as affection. And though the compassion that he had for all men that did amiss, extended itself to all manner of dissenters, and amongst them he had a kindness for the persons of many Roman catholics: yet he always declared a particular hatred and detestation of Popery. I say this on purpose to be remembered (because some would have him a Papist, or inclined that way). I never pleased him with any duty I performed; at least, he never thanked me for any so much, as he did for those sermons which I preached against popery.

Having said thus much with respect to the private character of Mr. Godfrey, as a man and a Christian; we shall now consider him in his more public capacity as a magistrate, in which province we shall notice such particulars as may be most deserving the

attention of the reader, and at the same time do justice to the merits of so great and good a man.

Besides what we have before hinted of his abilities for this service by the happiness of his education, (having been brought up a student in the laws of England) he was otherwise qualified for it, by having many natural endowments requisite to the composition of a good magistrate. He had a deep and piercing judgment to search into the niceties and intricacies of such difficult business as he often met with, and to determine accordingly: an indefatigable patience, mixed with a genuine serenity of mind, whereby he could bear with the clamours and impertinences of such as came before him, leisurely attending to the allegations both of appellants and criminals, and fully hearing whatever (and so long as) they had any thing in reason to offer to him; rather than the truth on either side should be undiscovered by any prejudicate fore-stalling of the evidence.

He had a sound integrity of mind, the golden vein of all his actions: he was not to be corrupted by bribes (the common taint of justice) nor to be biassed by any sinister interests: he was plain and upright, and regularly conformable to the strictest rules of justice and honesty in all the particular administrations of his province. To these qualities may be added an heroic fortitude and invincible courage of mind, which was the shield of his other virtues, and by which he was defended against all the difficulties and discouragements he met with; keeping his ground with a steadfast uprightness amidst such trials as persons of less courage than himself would have sunk under.

The following is a sufficient proof of the greatness of his mind, in daring to be just to himself, and of his wishes to eclipse the power of iniquity, though in the most elevated character. A great personage at court was indebted to him a considerable sum of money, for the payment of which he had frequently applyed without receiving any other satisfaction than that of promises. Mr. Godfrey, well knowing the ability of the person, and that his

pretences were but so many formal delays to defer the payment of that which, though justly due, he knew (by reason of his privilege) he could not in ordinary course of justice be troubled for, resolved, however, to sue him at common law (notwithstanding his said privilege) and rather trust to his majesty's clemency for infringing on the privilege of his household, than suffer himself to be defrauded of a just debt by one who would make such a protection an asylum to that injustice which he knew his majesty would neither patronize or allow.

Accordingly, after again trying fair means without success, Mr. Godfrey got the courtier arrested by virtue of the king's writ, and a warrant thereon granted by the sheriff; and he was taken into custody till such time as he should give sufficient bail to answer the action. But instead of endeavouring to do this; he insisted on his privilege, sent to Whitehall, and got an order for the commitment of Mr. Godfrey for breach of privilege.

In consequence of this, Mr. Godfrey was taken into custody, and was to remain a prisoner till he should discharge the nobleman of the arrest. But this he peremptorily refused, rather chusing to suffer a disagreeable restraint, than to gratify the obstinacy of his adversary by a too easy compliance.

Mr. Godfrey quietly submitted to his confinement for six days, at the expiration of which his majesty, who had been informed of the circumstances of the case, ordered his discharge. He was so well pleased with the magnanimity and heroic disposition of Mr. Godfrey, that he not only pardoned the misdemeanour, but conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and as a farther token of respect admitted him again into the commission of the peace, from which he had, by means of his adversary, been removed.

The above is one instance of this great man's fortitude of mind, as well in daring dangers as bearing troubles; but a still more distinguished one appears in his conduct during the dreadful plague in 1665; when the cities of London and Westminster were, in a manner, deserted by their inhabitants, and few left but such of

the poorer sort, who had neither money or friends to enable them to remove farther; when the arrows of the Almighty were scattered abroad in every corner; when almost every house was turned into a sepulchre, and epitaphed with the doleful inscription of a *Miserere* Domini, while the dead and living seemed buried together; when the fear of the contagion rendered the few inhabitants as unsociable to each other, as they would have been with wild beasts in a wilderness, every man fearing to come near another, lest he should meet with his own executioner; when their very words were feared as bullets; when breath itself, the instrument of life in one, might be death to another as it passed from him. In fine, when death and danger filled all places, and turned the whole town into one universal scene of misery and mortality; then it was that this worthy magistrate shewed the greatest proof of a true christian courage and resolution, in endeavouring to stay for a public good, in all the greatest heats of this dangerous contagion. When death, in various appearances, seemed ready to devour him, and which must have been the case, if his tutelar angel (consigned by Providence) had not preserved him to greater purposes.

It was no unadvised forwardness, or injudicious temerity, that prompted him thus to hazard his life; neither was it from any advantageous expectations: on the contrary, it arose purely from a just and conscientious regard to his duty, in the place where he knew (in the absence of his fellow-magistrates who had fled from the danger) he might be instrumental, as well in preserving the lives, as the properties, of those who should be exposed both to the danger of the contagion, and the rapine of the wicked, the latter of whom frequently take advantage of such public calamities, by enriching themselves with the spoils of the deceased, to the great injury of the wretched survivors.

For these ends, and these only, did Sir Edmundbury Godfrey continue in London during the whole time the pestilence raged: and such was his assiduity in endeavouring to relieve the afflictions of the wretched inhabitants in his neighbourhood, that

they considered him as their guardian genius; as the asylum and sanctuary of their distressed conditions. But the most just representation of his conduct, during this melancholy period, is given by that worthy prelate Dr. Lloyd, whom we have before quoted; and whose words, on the occasion, are briefly as follow:

He was the man, says he, (shall I say the only man of his place) that stayed to do good, and did the good he stayed for. Shall we go about to instance in particulars? It is impossible, they are innumerable. It is easier to say, what good did he not, that lay within the verge of his province? His house was not only the seat of justice, but an hospital of charity, where, besides that relief which he commonly afforded the poor, at other times, for the necessity of living, he now extended his charity to give them physic, to preserve them from dying, when they were in a more immediate danger by the contagion, than of starving. He was the man (and where was there such another) that laying aside the grandeur of his circumstances, would familiarly visit his poor sick neighbours, and administer suitable relief to them: he was the man, that at that time durst venture himself into the very garrison of death, the Pest-house, the ordering of which he took into his peculiar care and administration) and there, amidst the deadly fumes that arose from their putrid sores, would he stand by the diseased lazars, and see them dressed, not denying them any relief or assistance that lay in his power to afford them.

His justice was no less remarkable than his charity, when there was any need of it, as many times there were, to right the dead, as well as to relieve the living; of which the following is a singular instance:

A profligate and unfeeling wretch had, for some time, made it a practice to rob the dead, notwithstanding the horror which is naturally concomitant to such actions. He went, in the dead of the night, to the cemetries and church-yards, where, breaking up the silent clods, he sacrilegiously ransacked the graves, and pillaged them with no less remorse than soldiers do their vanquished enemies in the field of war. He took from the bodies their apparel, the sheets, and other linen, in which they were interred, and decently covered, leaving their carcases naked and exposed.

This distinguished miscreant had practised his nocturnal and inhuman depredations so long, and with such diligence, that he had filled a large warehouse with the spoils of the dead. He was happily at length detected, and information being given to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, he went, attended by proper assistants, to the place where he was informed the goods were concealed, and seized them. In the mean time, the criminal, having heard of the discovery, fled; and being hardened against the fear of infection by his great familiarity with the dead, he took sanctuary in the Pesthouse, where he thought himself sufficiently secure. This, indeed, might have been the case had it not been for the magnanimity of the intrepid magistrate. The officers that attended him, and to whom warrants were directed for apprehending the criminal, declined the service; on which the noble knight himself, as a pattern of distinguished but seasonable courage, and from his great zeal for justice, ventured to go to the fatal place, where he immediately seized the offender, and delivered him into the hands of the officers, in order to be secured for examination at a convenient opportunity.

The next day he was brought before the magistrates, where the facts being clearly proved by several witnesses, in order to make a proper example of so great a villain, and to prevent others from following his example, Sir Edmundbury pronounced the following sentence, as being most suitable to the nature of his crime: that he should be taken to the church-yard, where he had perpetrated his villainies, and after, being stripped naked to the waist, should be severely scourged round the place by the beadle of the parish. This sentence was accordingly executed in the presence of a great number of spectators, who had assembled to see (what was at that time) so remarkable a punishment.

So hardened was this wretch, and so insensible to shame, that instead of being affected either for the crimes he had committed, or at the punishment inflicted, he meditated revenge against the worthy magistrate, and formed the horrid resolution of depriving him of his existence.

To effect this, he one evening laid in wait for him at the corner of a street by which he knew he must pass. As soon as Sir Edmundbury appeared, the villain struck at him with a cudgel, on which the knight immediately drew his sword, and defended himself for a considerable time. At length, with the assistance of some people who came that way, the villain was secured, and committed to Newgate for trial the ensuing sessions at the Old-Bailey. Of this offence he was acquitted, but several other indictments appearing against him for felony, he was capitally convicted, and received sentence of death. By the interposition of the court his sentence was remitted to that of transportation, when following the like wicked practices abroad that he had done at home, he was there convicted of a criminal fact; and not meeting with the like lenity, suffered that punishment his infamy merited.

From a strict attention to business, and the natural fatigues consequent thereon, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, in the year 1678, became so reduced by bodily illness that his life was apparently in danger. He was therefore advised, by his physicians, to go to Montpellier, in France, the air of that country being esteemed an almost certain restorative to decayed constitutions. He accordingly took their advice, and after residing there a few months, returned to England greatly benefited by his excursion.

But the pains he thus took to preserve that life, which had hitherto been so distinguishedly beneficial to great numbers of his fellow-creatures, were all lost by a most horrid plot, which was discovered soon after his return, and which exposed him to an untimely and cruel death.

This horrid conspiracy was formed by the papists, and is distinguished in the annals of England by the name of the Popish Plot. It was said that the design of the conspiracy was to kill the king, to subvert the government, to extirpate the protestant religion, and to establish popery.

The authors and promoters of this plot were said to be the pope and cardinals, the Romish, French, Spanish and English jesuits; the seminary priests in England who at this time came over in great numbers, and several popish lords, and others of that party. The duke of York himself was deeply suspected of being concerned in it, except that part of killing the king; and that point excepted, the king himself was supposed to have favoured the conspiracy. The article of taking off the king appeared to be only the project of a part of the conspirators, to make way for the duke of York to ascend the throne, who was more forward, active, and less fearful than the king, and consequently more likely to bring the grand design of the conspiracy, the changing the government and religion, to a speedier conclusion.

The chief discoverer of this conspiracy was one Titus Oates, who had formerly been a clergyman of the church of England but had now reconciled himself to the church of Rome, or at least pretended so to do, and entered into the number of the English seminarists at St. Omer's. He also went into Spain, and was admitted to the councils of the jesuits. By these means he got acquainted with all the secret designs that were carrying on, in order to establish popery in this nation: and then returning to England he digested the several matters he had heard into a narrative, and by the means of Dr. Tonge, a city divine, got a copy of it delivered to the king, who referred him to the lord-treasurer Danby.

These two informers, finding the king did not take much notice of their discovery, resolved to communicate it to the parliament; previous to which Oates went and made oath of the truth of the narrative before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, leaving one copy of it with him, and reserving another for himself.

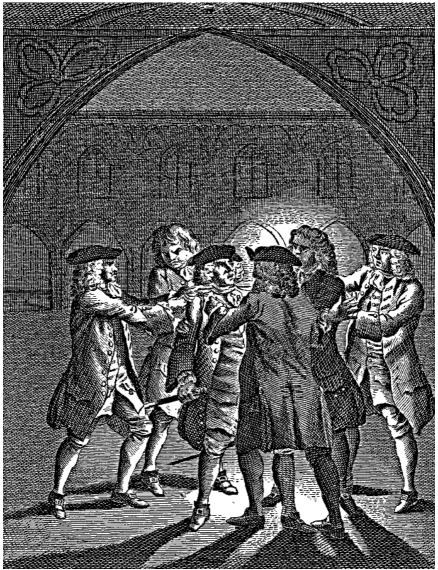
The affair having now taken wind, it was resolved to bring it before the council, who accordingly sat twice a day for above a week together, to examine into it; and Tonge and Oates had lodgings assigned them in Whitehall, with a handsome allowance to each for their maintenance, and a guard for the security of their persons.

On their informations several persons were apprehended, particularly one Wakeman, the queen's physician, and Coleman, the duke of York's secretary. In the latter's house were found several letters, which seemed to concur with Oates's testimony, and gave great weight to what he advanced. This, with the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey soon after, who had sworn Oates to his narrative, confirmed the people in their belief of the plot.

Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been remarkably active in his office against the papists, to which his murder was immediately ascribed; and the truth was confirmed by the evidence of Bedloe and Prance; the latter of whom deposed that he, with Green, Berry, Hill, and some others, dogged the justice for some time, till they got him into Somerset-house, where they strangled him with an handkerchief; that they afterwards carried the body, and laid it in a ditch near Primrose-hill, after having thrust his own sword through it, in which condition he was found.

Green, Berry, and Hill were afterwards condemned and executed for the murder, but protested their innocence to the last.

Thus died that good man, and wise magistrate, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who fell a martyr to the diabolical machinations of these wicked and blood-thirsty papists.



SIR EDMUNDBURY GODFREY, a Zealous Protestant Magistrate, who was active in preventing a popish Conspiracy, STRANGLED with a handkerchief in Somerset House, by five Roman Catholic Assassins.

His body was interred with great solemnity in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields; and he was attended to the grave by an incredible number of lamenting spectators. This strange conspiracy engaged the whole attention of the parliament, who addressed the king to remove all popish recusants out of the cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten miles of them; and in another address they besought his majesty to take care of his royal person; that he would command the lord-mayor, and lieutenancy of London, to appoint proper guards of the trained bands during the sitting of parliament; and that the lordslieutenants of the counties of Middlesex and Surry should appoint sufficient guards in Middlesex, Westminster, and Southwark.

The houses attended to no other business but this plot; and so warmly did they enter into the matter, that several days they sat from morning till night, examining Oates, and other witnesses. At length, on the 31st of October, they unanimously resolved, "that the lords and commons are of opinion, that there has been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, continued and carried on by popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the protestant religion."

These opinions were farther confirmed by a circumstance which happened soon after; for about the beginning of May, 1679, the citizens discovered a plot, formed by the jesuits and other papists, for destroying the city of London a second time by fire. One Elizabeth Oxley, a servant in Fetter-lane, having set fire to her master's house, was apprehended and committed to prison; when she confessed the fact, and declared that she had been hired to do it by one Stubbs, a papist, who was to give her ten pounds as a reward.

Stubbs, being immediately secured, confessed that he had persuaded her to it; but that he himself had been prevailed on by one father Gifford, his confessor, who, he said, assured him that instead of its being a sin, it would be a great service to the church, to burn and destroy all the houses of heretics; saying that he had conversed many times on that affair with Gifford, and two Irishmen. And the maid and Stubbs jointly declared that the papists intended to rise in London, in expectation of being assisted by a powerful army from France.

Soon after this, a prosecution being commenced against several of the jesuits who were concerned in the plot, five of them were convicted and executed; and several lords being also impeached of the same, were committed prisoners to the Tower.

The parliament meeting on the 21st of October, the lord Stafford, who was one of those impeached of being concerned in the popish plot, was brought to his trial; and being convicted of high treason, received sentence to be hanged and quartered. The king, however, as is usual in such cases, remitted this sentence, and left Stafford to be beheaded; but the zeal of the two sheriffs of London started a doubt as to the king's power of mitigating the sentence in any part. They proposed queries on this point to both houses; the peers deemed them superfluous; and the commons, apprehensive lest an examination into these queries might produce the opportunity of Stafford's escape, expressed themselves satisfied with the manner of execution by severing his head from his body.

In a very short time after the before mentioned conspiracies, a sham plot was discovered to have been formed by the papists, in order to throw off the odium they had justly acquired, and to place it on the presbyterians.

One Dangerfield, a fellow who had suffered almost every punishment the law could inflict on the most abandoned, was tutored for the purpose. The Catholic party released him out of Newgate, where he was imprisoned for debt, and set him to work. He pretended to have been privy to a design for destroying the

king and the royal family, and converting the government into a commonwealth. The king and his brother countenanced the tale, and rewarded him for his discovery with a sum of money; but certain papers which he produced in evidence of his assertions appearing, upon examination, to be forged by himself, he was put under an arrest. All his haunts were ordered to be searched; and in the house of one Mrs. Collier, a midwife, a Roman Catholic, and an intimate acquaintance of his, was found the model of the pretended plot, wrote very fair, and neatly made up into a book, tied with a ribband and concealed in a meal-tub, from whence it acquired the name of the MEAL-TUB PLOT.

Dangerfield, finding himself thus detected, applied to the lordmayor, made an ample confession of the imposition, and discovered his employers.

The detection of this contrivance so irritated the populace in general against the papists, that it added much to the whimsical solemnity of burning the effigy of the pope; for, on the 17th of November, the anniversary of queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, the ceremony was performed with the most singular pomp and magnificence; and every mark was shewn by the people, that could demonstrate their abhorrence to popery.

Thus were all these diabolical schemes, projected by the papists to injure the protestants, happily rendered abortive; and their power so weakened as to render any farther effort of the like kind, from that time to the present, totally ineffectual.

We must not quit this chapter without taking notice that on the accession of James II. [a fervent papist] to the English throne, the famous Titus Oates, who was so materially concerned in the popish plot, was tried for perjury on two indictments; and being found guilty, was sentenced to be fined one thousand marks for each; and to be whipped, on two different days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be imprisoned during life, and to stand on the pillory five times every year. He made the most solemn appeals to heaven, and the strongest protestations of

the veracity of his testimony. The whipping was so severe that he swooned away several times, and it was evidently the design of the court to have put him to death by that punishment. He was, however, enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover, and he lived till William III. came to the throne, when he was cleared from his confinement, and had a pension allowed him of 100£ per annum.*

^{* [}CHCoG: Though this plot is usually presented today as a fraud, at least two of the above facts mitigate against this: the murder of Godfrey for exposing the plot and the decision to reinstate Oates and pay him a generous annuity.]

CHAP. XII.

Account of a horrid Conspiracy formed by the papists against the Life of King William III. which is distinguished as the Assassination Plot.

THE papists, whose souls were still anxious for procuring means to eclipse the power of the protestants, and to subvert the government, had been, for some time, projecting another scheme to answer their wished for purposes, and at length an opportunity offered; but, happy for England it was providentially frustrated.

The intent of this diabolical scheme was to assassinate the king, and to restore James to the English throne. It was first projected by the French king, and furthered by the popish emissaries in England.

King William had been, for a considerable time, at war with France; and had such success as almost to ruin and depopulate that country. This so enraged the French monarch that he determined to make one grand and final effort to restore, if possible, James, his good friend and ally, in concert with the English Jacobites, to the throne; in the success of which they were filled with the most sanguine hopes, by the death of queen Mary, which circumstance, they supposed, had greatly lessened the king's interest.

The scheme of an invasion, and the design of taking off the English monarch, was publickly mentioned in France the beginning of February, 1695; and it was known that Louis had sent an army to Calais, so that nothing but a favourable opportunity seemed wanting to begin the daring attempt.

On the 18th of February James set out for Calais, when the troops, artillery, and stores were ordered to be immediately put on board the proper vessels lying there for that purpose; news being hourly expected from England of the assassination being perpetrated.

In the mean time the duke of Wirtemberg, alarmed at the reports current in France, dispatched an aid-de-camp to England in order to inform William of the destruction that awaited him. The prince of Vaudemont, then at Brussels with the elector of Bavaria, dispatched messengers with the same intelligence, adding that he had laid an embargo on all the ships in the harbours of Brussels, in order to transport troops into England for his majesty's service. But notwithstanding all the expedition used by the duke of Wirtemberg, the king had, some time before the arrival of his messenger, received certain accounts, not only of the intended invasion, but also of the conspiracy against his person.

The principal persons at home concerned in the plot for assassinating the king, were the following: the earl of Aylesbury; the lord Montgomery, son to the marquis of Powis; Sir John Fenwick; Sir William Perkins; Sir John Friend; captain Charnock; captain Porter; and Mr. Goodman.

The duke of Berwick had come privately over to England in the beginning of February, in order to hasten the preparations of the conspirators, whom he assured that King James was ready to make a descent, at the head of twenty-two thousand French forces. At the same time, he distributed commissions, and gave directions for procuring men, horses, and arms, for joining him on his arrival. Various rumours were spread, with regard to the nature of these commissions: some said they imported nothing more than to levy war against the prince of Orange, and all his adherents, and that king James was totally ignorant of the more detestable part of the scheme; while others asserted that they related to both.

But however that be, the conspirators, who were several in number, besides those already mentioned, had held various meetings, in order to concert the most proper measures for executing their hellish design. One Sir George Berkeley, a native of Scotland a person of undaunted courage, close, cautious, and circumspect, though a furious bigot to the church of Rome, came over in January with a private commission from king James, by virtue whereof, the party in England were to obey implicitly his orders.

This person undertook the detestable task of murdering the king, with the assistance of forty horsemen, furnished by the conspirators. Various methods were at first proposed for effecting this purpose; but it was at last determined to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he usually hunted every Saturday. The place pitched upon was the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham Green. Perhaps a place more likely could not be found; for his majesty generally returning late from the chase, usually crossed the ferry, attended by only a few of his guards, without coming out of his coach; and as he landed on the Middlesex side of the river, the coach drove on without stopping for the rest of his guards, who were obliged to wait on the Surry side till the boat returned to carry them over. So that the king must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the conspirators before the rest of his guards could have come to his assistance.

Nor were the time and place more artfully contrived than the disposition of their men: for having secured several places in Brentford. Turnham-Green. and other houses in the neighbourhood, to put up their horses, till the king returned from hunting, one of the conspirators was ordered to wait at the ferry till the guards appeared on the Surry side of the water; and then to give speedy notice to the rest, that they might be ready at their respective posts, while the king was crossing the river. In order to do this, they were divided into three parties, who were to make their approaches by three different ways; one from Turnham-Green, another from the lane leading to the Thames, and a third from the road leading through Brentford. One of these parties were to attack the king's guards in the front, another in the rear, while ten or twelve of the most bloody and resolute were to assassinate his majesty, by firing their blunderbusses at him through the coach windows. It was also agreed that when the bloody purpose was accomplished, the conspirators should form

one body, and continue their route to Hammersmith, and there to divide into small parties of three or four, and make the rest of their way to Dover, where the sudden landing of the French would secure them from the rage of the populace, and the hand of justice. Sir George Berkeley, complaining that the money he had brought over with him was so nearly exhausted that the remainder was not sufficient to furnish forty horses, the only necessaries which were now wanting, they agreed that he should find but half the number, and Sir William Perkins, Porter, and Charnock, were to provide the rest.

Saturday, the 15th of February, was fixed for the murder of the king, but his majesty being indisposed, did not go abroad that day. This trivial circumstance struck the assassins with dismay. They immediately concluded the conspiracy was discovered; but finding all remained quiet, they met again, and agreed to be in readiness the Saturday following. Just as they were setting out, they received intelligence from Chambers and Durant, two of their accomplices, that the guards were all come back in great haste, and that there was a whisper among the people, that a horrid plot was discovered. This news put the conspirators into the utmost consternation, and they immediately dispersed.

The conspiracy was discovered in the following manner: captain Porter, the day before the scheme was to have been put into execution, discovered the whole plot to an intimate friend of his, named Pendergrass, whom he solicited to be one of their number. Pendergrass seemingly complied; but struck with horror at the atrociousness of the crime, he instantly acquainted the earl of Portland with the scheme, and desired he might be introduced to his majesty, which being complied with, he fully made known to him all the particulars he knew of this horrid conspiracy, and after many entreaties from the king, added to a solemn promise that he should not be produced as an evidence without his own consent, he gave in a list of the assassins.

A proclamation was now issued for apprehending the conspirators, and most of them were secured, but Berkeley found means to escape. Admiral Russel was ordered to Chatham, to hasten the fleet out to sea. The rendezvous was appointed in the Downs, to which place all the men of war then in the sea-ports were ordered to sail. This was accomplished with such expedition, that in a few days a fleet of fifty sail had assembled, with which the admiral stood over to the French coast. The enemy, astonished at his sudden appearance, retired, with the utmost precipitation, into their harbours; and James, perceiving that his design was defeated, returned, overwhelmed with despair, to St. Germains, where he past the remainder of his life.

On the 24th of February the king went to the house of peers, and in a speech to both houses, informed them of the conspiracy, and intended invasion. In a very affectionate and loyal address, they congratulated him on the escape of his royal person from the designs of his enemies; declared their abhorrence of such villainous attempts; and solemnly promised to stand by and assist his majesty, and defend his royal person against all his enemies, open and private; and if he should come by a violent death, revenge it on all the papists. They likewise drew up an association to the same purpose, which was signed by all the members of the house. From the parliament the association was carried to every part of the kingdom, and signed by all ranks of people. The bishops drew up a particular form, but in the same spirit, which was subscribed to by most part of the clergy.

On the 11th of March, Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys, three of the conspirators, were brought from Newgate to their trials at the Old-Bailey. The court indulged them with all the liberty they could wish to make their defence; notwithstanding which they were, upon the fullest and plainest evidence, found guilty of high-treason; and sentence being passed upon them, they were, on the 18th of March, hanged and quartered at Tyburn. Their execution was followed by that of several others of the conspirators; a proclamation was issued for apprehending lord Montgomery and Sir John Fenwick, suspected to be accomplices in the plot; and the earl of Aylesbury was committed to the Tower on the same suspicion.

The case of Sir John Fenwick was, some time after brought into the house of commons, where, though his guilt was thoroughly proved, he could not be convicted by common law, on account of one positive evidence only appearing against him: a bill of attainder was, therefore, after some debates, passed by both houses; and on the 28th of March, he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

Thus was this horrid conspiracy happily frustrated, and the authors of it brought to that condign punishment their infamy merited. The king's life was the security of his subjects, who most heartily rejoiced in being thereby preserved from the miseries of popery and arbitrary government.

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We shall close this book, and the various projects concerted for overthrowing the English government, with an account of a plot formed for that purpose, in the reign of king George the First, the great attempt in the year 1715 being happily perverted.

In the year 1722, advice was received from the duke of Orleans, of a most treacherous conspiracy carried on against government in favour of the Pretender [CHCoG: the son of the deposed James II]. On this intelligence a camp was formed in Hyde-Park, the military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands; some troops were called over from Ireland and the Dutch states were desired to keep in readiness the guarantee troops, in order to be sent to England in case of emergency.

The conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest solicitations to foreign powers for assistance, but were disappointed in their expectations; notwithstanding which,

confiding in their numbers, they resolved to trust to their own strength, and to attempt the subversion of the government. But their intentions being timely discovered, their scheme was rendered abortive.

Several persons were apprehended for being parties in this plot. The earl of Orrery, the bishop of Rochester, and the lord North and Grey, were committed to the Tower for high-treason; and the duke of Norfolk, who had been seized by his majesty's order, was, with the consent of the house of peers, sent to the same place.

Christopher Layer, Esq. a counsellor at law, who had been also apprehended on account of the said conspiracy, was tried at the King's-Bench, Westminster, on the 21st of November. His indictment set forth, "that he had been employed in forming a most traitorous, horrid plot and conspiracy, against his majesty and government, by enlisting men for the Pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion; and also that he had held a correspondence with the Pretender, by carrying letters and treasonable papers to him beyond the seas, and from him to the disaffected in this kingdom."

After a trial, which lasted seventeen hours, the jury brought him in guilty, and he received sentence of death. He was reprieved from time to time in hopes of his making discoveries; but he either could not, or would not, satisfy these expectations. He was, therefore, on the 17th of May, 1723, drawn on a sledge to Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered, pursuant to his sentence; after which his head was cut off, and fixed on Temple-Bar.

This conspiracy was so artfully carried on under fictitious names that it required the greatest application to come to the true knowledge of some of the persons concerned. The committee which had been appointed by the house of commons, to examine the papers relating to the conspiracy, delivered it as their opinion, that a design had long been carried on by persons of figure and distinction abroad, for placing the Pretender on the throne of these

kingdoms: that various methods had been attempted, and different times fixed for putting their designs in execution: that the first intention was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade these kingdoms, at the time of the late elections; but that the conspirators being disappointed in this expectation, they resolved next to make an attempt at the time his majesty intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such forces and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river, with a great quantity of arms provided in Spain for that purpose, at which time the Tower was likewise to have been seized, and the city of London to have been made a place of arms; but this design being also prevented by the discoveries made in England and his majesty putting off his journey; by the encampment of the forces at home, as well as the sending of those from Ireland; by the readiness of his majesty's good allies, the states-general, to assist him in case of necessity; by the orders given in Spain that the late duke of Ormond should not embark; and the like orders issued in France, that he should not be suffered to pass through that kingdom; the conspirators found themselves under a necessity of deferring their enterprize till the breaking up of the camps. During which interval they were labouring, by their agents and emissaries, to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of his majesty's army; and so much did they depend on this defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the Pretender on the throne, though they should not obtain any assistance from abroad, which nevertheless they still continued to solicit.

The house of commons, after mature consideration of the whole matter, brought in three several bills to inflict pains and penalties on Francis, lord bishop of Rochester, John Plunket, and George Kelly, as being very principally concerned in this diabolical plot; which bills passed both houses, and received the royal assent. The bishop was deprived of his office and benefice, banished the kingdom, and pronounced guilty of felony if he returned. The power of pardoning him was denied to the king, without the consent of parliament; but he was not to forfeit his goods and chattels. Plunket and Kelly were to be kept in close custody, during his majesty's pleasure, in any prison in Great-Britain; and they were not to attempt an escape on pain of death, to be inflicted on them and their assistants.

The duke of Norfolk, the lord North and Grey, Dennis Kelly, and Thomas Cockran, Esqrs. who had been confined in the Tower, were admitted to bail; as was also David Du Boyce, confined in Newgate on the same account. A man of war was appointed to convoy the bishop of Rochester over to France, the place he had chose for his asylum during his exile; and the royal pardon was granted to lord Bolingbroke, who owed that indulgence to the earnest solicitation of lord Harcourt, though it was vehemently opposed at the council-board.

Thus did this conspiracy, like the former, fall to the ground; and though another attempt was made, in the succeeding reign, to overthrow the government by placing the Pretender on the throne, and thereby again establishing popery, it happily proved equally abortive.

Since that period no other effort has been made; and the protestants have been, and it is hoped ever will be, in an uninterrupted possession of those religious principles which are consistent with, and conformable to the true gospel of the Redeemer of Mankind.

CHCoG: Though much is to be said for the above, there is also much that has been overlooked. Southwell's book is mainly an account of prominent mainline protestant martyrs. He ignores the sufferings and martyrdoms of most of the Christians who rejected the Roman pretensions in the early centuries, and those who went beyond the reforms of Luther, Calvin and the Church of England.

As noted elsewhere, the misnamed Anabaptists, who can trace their roots all the way back to Christ's Apostles, including such groups as the Albigenses and Waldenses, were usually treated as heretics by both the papists and the partly-reformed protestants. Though they were only rarely burnt alive by the protestants, they were often beheaded, hung or drowned by them, as conformity to the tenets of Calvin, Luther, etc, became more important to them than conforming to the teachings and practices of Christ and his Apostles.

As time passed, the names of these more scriptural Christians changed and even some of their beliefs were corrupted. Other names in Europe were Mennonites, Amish, Hutterites, etc.

In England, the Lollards were largely replaced by the presbyterians, who believed that each congregation should choose their own clergy, and the Puritans, who, like the Anabaptists, wanted a purer, more scriptural faith than the Church of England was offering. The Puritans generally rejected church hierarchy, regal supremacy, all use of images, Christmas, Lent, etc. and desired a more respectful observance of the Sabbath.

From 1662 the Puritans were commonly called Nonconformists, as they rejected the *Act of Uniformity*. Some prominent non-conformists were John Bunyan, Matthew Henry and Issac Watts.

Though these later groups were no longer killed for their faith, they were banned from holding public offices, government employment, and denied degrees from universities. Their churches were often shut down, and their pastors were frequently hunted down, arrested and imprisoned. By 1881, there were more active non-conformists than Anglicans in Britain.

Many of these people chose to leave Europe and settle in America, where they were promised freedom of worship.



BOOK XII.

Of the Persecutions against the Protestants in SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

The State of Religion, and Power of the Clergy, in Scotland, previous to the Reformation.

BEFORE the reformation in Scotland, the clergy were in possession of many lands and revenues, which had been given to them by those in power who were bigots to the Romish religion: and being almost the only men of letters in that age, they were of course advanced to the highest places of honour in the kingdom. Hence they grew idle and voluptuous, and became the objects of hatred to the great, and of contempt to the vulgar. They had likewise fallen into the error of omitting to recommend to the people the weightier duties of religion; and instead thereof, making it to consist chiefly in the practice of certain human institutions, which had little to do with its internal nature. Of this sort were pilgrimages, indulgencies, donations to the church, invocation of saints, confessions, penances, &c.

In order to represent the evil tendency arising from these indulgencies in its proper colours, it will be necessary to take notice of the form of absolution granted in that age, which must necessarily shock every honest and sensible reader. It was as follows:

I absolve thee from all ecclesiastical censures, and from all thy sins, how enormous soever. And by this plenary indulgence, I remit thee all manner of punishment, which thou oughtest to suffer in purgatory. And I restore thee to the sacraments of the church, and that innocence and purity which thou hadst at thy baptism; so as, at thy death, the gates of hell will be shut against thee, and the gates of Paradise shall be laid open to receive thee.

How blasphemous was such an indulgence with respect to the Almighty! How injurious with regard to mankind! This was throwing society into the utmost confusion, and consequently calling aloud for a reformation; and therefore, latest posterity may justly bless the memory of Martin Luther, who so vigorously opposed those destructive doctrines.*

These were not the only circumstances which contributed to make way for a reformation: for as the clergy had not hitherto been accustomed to hear of an opposition in the received doctrines of the church, they had not taken care to instruct the people how to maintain or defend their religious principles, if ever they should be attacked on that head.

It is no wonder, therefore, if the clergy were so negligent of their duty, that the people should go over to men who not only put those divine oracles into their hands, but publicly taught and instructed them in the true principles of Christianity and who, by a greater art of disputation than they had been accustomed to hear, suggested to them the weakness and insufficiency of such doctrines and practices, as they had formerly been most conversant in. Such were the disadvantages in the government of the church in Scotland at the time preceding the reformation.

^{* [}CHCoG: This ignores England's own reformer, Wycliffe, and his myriad of followers, the Lollards, who had been battling these, and many other, abominations and distributing English Bibles throughout Britain for 150 years before Luther appeared to fan their flames, thus also making Southwell's next paragraph above quite inaccurate.]

By the indulgencies of the pope, granted to the kings of Scotland, they were invested with a privilege of nominating to all the considerable vacant bishoprics, abbies, and priories in the kingdom, the consequence of which was, that they, at the solicitation of their favourites and courtiers, usually nominated to vacant bishoprics persons unworthy of that sacred character; and to abbies and priories, people of no education, nor in any orders of the church; but often mere boys, under the name of abbots and priors commendators; by which fraudulent and sacrilegious kind of dealing, the rents and benefices of the church became the patrimony of private families. It is even certain that persons in no ecclesiastical orders were, by the presentation of the Scottish kings, and the provision of the popes, set over episcopal sees.

Such being the bad use made, by the kings in question, of these privileges, the natural consequence was that, as far too many of those prelates were neither bred up to letters, nor endued with a virtuous disposition, they themselves not only lived irregularly, but introduced, by degrees, through a neglect of their charge, such a deluge of ignorance and vice, not only among the clergy, but all ranks of men, that the state of the church called loudly for a reformation.

This reformation was, in a great measure, brought about by means of one Mr. John Knox, whose life and conduct will be the subject of the ensuing chapter.

CHAP. II.

The life of Mr. John Knox, the Scottish Reformer.

MR. JOHN KNOX was born in the year 1505, at Gifford, near Haddingtoun, in the shire of East-Lothian, in Scotland. He received the rudiments of his education at the grammar-school at Haddingtoun, from whence he was removed to the university of St. Andrew's, and placed under the tuition of the learned John Mair, or Major. He applied with uncommon diligence to the academical learning at that time in vogue; and having great acuteness of wit, he made a very considerable progress in his studies, and obtained, whilst very young, the degree of master of Arts.

As the bent of his inclinations led him strongly to the church, he turned the course of his studies early that way, and became so distinguished for his skill in scholastic theology that he obtained priest's orders before the time usually allowed by the canons. However, Knox having read the works of St. Jerome and St. Austin, began to dislike the scholastic theology, and to apply himself to a more plain and solid divinity.

At his entrance upon this new course of study, he attended the preaching of Thomas Guilliam, a Black Friar, whose sermons were of extraordinary service to him: and the famous Mr. George Wishart, (whose life and sufferings will be hereafter given) coming from England in 1544, with the commissioner sent from king Henry VIII. Knox, being of an inquisitive temper, learned from him the principles of the reformed religion: upon which he renounced the errors of popery, and became, from henceforward, a zealous protestant.*

^{* [}CHCoG: Though Knox was very important in the Scottish Reformation, he was not at the forefront of it chronologically. In that regard, this chapter should perhaps be preceded by the following two or three chapters.]

Mr. Knox had quitted St. Andrew's a short time before this, being appointed tutor to the sons of the lairds of Ormistoun and Langnidry, who were both favourers of the reformation. His usual residence was at Langnidry, where he not only instructed his pupils in the several branches of learning, but was particularly careful to instill into them the principles of piety and the protestant religion. This coming to the ear of David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, that prelate persecuted him with such severity that he was frequently obliged to abscond, and to fly from place to place.

Being wearied with such continual dangers, he at length resolved to retire to Germany, where the reformation was gaining ground; knowing that in England, though the papal supremacy was renounced, yet most of the doctrines of popery were still retained. But he was dissuaded from this design by the fathers of his two pupils; and cardinal Beaton being assassinated in 1546, Mr. Knox was prevailed on to go to St. Andrew's, about Easter, 1547; and for his own safety, as well as that of his pupils, to betake himself to the castle, where they might be all secure from the efforts of the papists—for the persons who had been concerned in the death of Beaton were, at this time, in possession of the castle of St. Andrew's.

Here Mr. Knox continued to teach his pupils in his usual manner. Besides the grammar and the classical authors, he read a catechism to them, which he obliged them to give an account of publicly in the parish church of St. Andrew's. He likewise continued to read to them the gospel of St. John, which he had begun to do before his departure from Langnidry. This lecture he read at a certain hour, in the chapel within the castle, at which several people of the place were present; and amongst others, Henry Balnaveis, and John Rough, who was preacher there. These being much pleased with Mr. Knox's manner of teaching, earnestly endeavoured to prevail on him to take the preacher's place, which he at length did, though not without extreme reluctance. Mr. Knox was better qualified in point of learning, and had more extensive views, than any of those who had before preached the reformed doctrines in Scotland. His predecessors had, however, laid the foundations of the reformation, the principles of which now began to be generally known. The inquisitive genius of the age pressed forward in quest of truth; the discovery of one error opened the way to others; the downfall of one impostor drew many after it; the whole fabric, which ignorance and superstition had erected in times of darkness, began to totter; and nothing was wanting to complete its ruin, but a daring and active leader to direct the attack.

John Knox was eminently qualified for this purpose; for, besides those qualifications which we have before mentioned, he possessed the greatest intrepidity of mind. and therefore, when he began his public ministry at St Andrew's, it was attended with that success which always accompanies a bold and popular eloquence. Instead of amusing himself with lopping the branches, he struck directly at the root of popery, and attacked both the doctrine and discipline of the established church, with a vehemence peculiar to himself, but admirably suited to the temper and wishes of the age.

He continued to preach against popery with great resolution and success, converting many to the protestant religion; though he was violently opposed by the popish party: but in July, 1547, the castle being surrendered to the French, Mr. Knox was carried, with the garrison, into France.

He remained a prisoner on board the gallies till the latter end of the year 1549, when being set at liberty, he went into England and was there licensed, and appointed preacher, first at Berwick, and then at Newcastle.

Whilst he was thus employed, he received a summons, in 1551, to appear before Tonstal, bishop of Durham, for preaching against the mass. However, in 1552, he was appointed chaplain to king Edward VI. it being thought fit (says Mr. Strype) that the king should retain six chaplains in ordinary, who should not only wait

on him, but be itineraries, and preach the gospel all over the nation. And the following year he had the grant of an annuity of forty pounds, payable quarterly out of the Augmentation-Office, till some benefice of the church should be conferred on him.

Being now well esteemed by king Edward VI. and some of his court, for the zealous manner in which he had preached against the errors of the Romish church, he was appointed to preach before his majesty and the council, at Westminster; and in his sermons he directed some very severe strokes against several great men about the court. But notwithstanding this, the council sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, to bestow upon Knox the living of Allhallows, in London, which was accordingly offered him; but he refused it, not chusing to conform to the rites of the English church. He was called before the council to give his reasons for refusing the benefice that had been offered him; and after some conference concerning the ceremonies to which he objected, he was told that "he was not called there with any ill meaning, and that they were sorry to find him of a contrary mind to the common order." Knox's reply was that he "was sorry the common order was contrary to Christ's institution." It is also said that he was even offered a bishopric by the king's command; but he refused it with indignation, vehemently condemning the prelatical titles, as favouring of the kingdom of Anti-Christ.

Notwithstanding Mr. Knox's refusal to conform to the ceremonies of the church, he was still permitted to hold his place of itinerary preacher; and in the discharge of that office, going to Buckinghamshire, was greatly pleased with the reception he met with at some towns, particularly at Amersham in that county.

He continued to preach there and at other places, some time after the accession of queen Mary. But at the beginning of the year 1554 he left England and crossed over to Dieppe, in France, from whence he went to Geneva. He had not been long there, whence he was called by the congregation of English refugees, then established at Frankfort, to be preacher to them; which vocation he obeyed, though unwillingly, at the command of John Calvin. He continued there till some differences arose in his congregation about ceremonies. Some of the English protestants, particularly Dr. Richard Cox,* were very desirous of introducing the use of king Edward's liturgy amongst the English exiles. This, however, was vigorously opposed by Knox, and many of his congregation, who preserved the Geneva service, which they conceived to be

^{*} Richard Cox was born at Whaddon, in Buckinghamshire, of mean parentage, in the year 1499. He is supposed to have received his first education in the small priory of Snelshall, in the parish of Whaddon; but being afterwards sent to Eaton school, he was from thence elected into a scholarship at King's college, in Cambridge, of which he became fellow in the year 1519. Having, the same year, taken the degree of batchelor of arts, and being eminent for his piety and learning, he was appointed one of the junior canons of cardinal Wolsey's new college. In 1526 he took the degree of master of arts, and was esteemed one of the best scholars of the age, and his poetical compositions were in great esteem. But showing himself averse to many of the popish superstitions, and declaring freely for some of Luther's opinions, he incurred the displeasure of the governors of the university, who stripped him of his preferment, and threw him into prison on suspicion of heresy.

When he was released from his confinement, he quitted Oxford; and some time after, was chosen master of Eaton school, which was observed remarkably to flourish under his care and vigilance. In 1537 he commenced doctor in divinity at Cambridge; and in 1540 was made archdeacon of Ely. He had also several other preferments conferred on him, and in particular was made dean of Christ-church. These promotions he obtained by means of archbishop Cranmer and bishop Goodrich, to the latter of whom he had been chaplain; and by their recommendation, he was chosen tutor to the young prince Edward, whom he instructed with great care in the principles of the protestant religion, and formed his tender mind to an early sense of his duty both as a christian and a king.

On that prince's accession to the throne, he became a great favourite at court, and was made a privy-counsellor, and almoner to the king. In 1547 he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, and in 1549

more thoroughly purged from popish superstition. However, Dr. Cox and his party succeeded, and Mr. Knox was, in the end, obliged to quit Frankfort.

It appears that very ungenerous arts were practised against him, to procure his removal. Knox had, some considerable time before, whilst he was in England published a treatise, intitled, "An*Admonition to Christians*" in which he had said, with his usual

was made dean of Westminster. About the same time he was appointed one of the commissioners to visit the university of Oxford, in which he is accused of abusing his commission, by making a great havock of books in the libraries, under the pretence of destroying such as tended to popery In 1550 he was ordered to go down into Sussex, and or magic. endeavour, by his learned and persuasive sermons, to quiet the minds of the people, who had been disturbed by the factious preaching of Day, bishop of Chichester, a bigotted papist. Both in this and the former reign, when an act passed for giving all chauntries, colleges, &c. to the king, through Dr. Cox's powerful intercession, the colleges in both universities were excepted out of that act. But soon after the accession of queen Mary, he was stripped of his preferments; and in August, 1553, he was committed to the Marshalsea. He was, indeed, soon released from his confinement; but foreseeing that a cruel persecution was likely to ensue, he resolved to quit the realm, and withdraw to some place where he might enjoy the free exercise of his religion.

He first went to Strasburg, in Germany, where he heard that some of the English exiles at Frankfort had thrown aside the English liturgy, and set up a form of their own, framed after the Geneva model. This he thought a very rash and improper proceeding; he therefore repaired to Frankfort, in order to oppose this innovation, and to have the Common Prayer-Book settled among the English congregation there. He happily succeeded in his design, and the English liturgy was established amongst the exiles at Frankfort; after which, Dr. Cox returned to Strasburg, for the sake of conversing with Peter Martyr, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship at Oxford.

On the death of queen Mary he returned to England and was one of those divines who were appointed to revise the liturgy. And when a disputation was to be held at Westminster, between eight papists and

vehemence, that "the emperor was no less an enemy to Christ than Nero." The other party taking an unfair advantage of this, and some other similar expressions in Knox's book, accused him to the senate of treason against the emperor. However, the senate being tender of the emperor's honour, and not willing to embroil themselves in a controversy of this nature, desired Knox, in a

eight of the reformed clergy, he was one of the champions on the protestant side. He preached often before gueen Elizabeth in Lent; and in his sermon at the opening of the first parliament, he earnestly exhorted them to restore religion to its primitive purity, and banish all the popish innovations and corruptions. In June, 1559, the queen nominated him to the bishopric of Norwich; but her mind altering, she preferred him to the see of Ely, in the room of Dr. Thirlby, who was deprived. Before his consecration, he joined with Dr. Parker, archbishop-elect of Canterbury, and some of the other prelates, in a petition to the queen against an act passed for alienating and exchanging the lands and revenues of the He afterwards incurred the displeasure of the queen, by bishops. refusing to officiate in the royal chapel, on account of the crucifix and lights which were placed on the altar there; but it appears that he did, at length, comply in this particular, though with great reluctance. He was, however, a great defender of the rights and ceremonies of the church of England; and when the privy council interposed in favour of the puritans, and endeavoured to screen them from persecution, he wrote a warm letter to the lord-treasurer Burleigh, in which he expostulated with the council, for meddling with the affairs of the church; which, he said, ought to be left to the determination of the bishops. He admonished them, therefore, to keep within their own sphere; and told them he would appeal to the queen if they continued to interpose in matters that belonged not to them.

Sir Christopher Hatton, and some other court favourites, endeavoured to wrest from him Ely-house, in Holborn, and also a manor and park belonging to his see; in which they were countenanced and supported by the queen. Bishop Cox, however vigorously opposed them; but this involved him in so much trouble and vexation that, being at length wearied out, he offered to resign his bishopric, provided they would

respectful manner, to depart the city, which he did accordingly, on the 25th of March, 1555.

After this Mr. Knox repaired to Geneva, where he continued a few months, and then resolved to pay a visit to his native country, from which he had now been long absent. On his arrival in Scotland he found the professors of the protestant religion there much encreased in number, and immediately joining himself to them, he began again to preach with his usual zeal and diligence. Soon after, he accompanied one of the protestant chiefs, the laird of Dun, to his seat in the north, where he continued a month, teaching and preaching daily to great numbers who resorted thither, amongst whom were the chief gentlemen in that country. From thence he went to Lothian, and resided chiefly in the house of Sir James Sandilands, where he met with many persons of the first rank, with whom he conversed familiarly, and confirmed them in the truth of the protestant religion. He afterwards preached for a considerable time at Edinburgh, as he did also in many other parts of Scotland, the people flocking to hear him in great numbers, and many of them being induced by his preaching to embrace the reformed doctrines.

The popish clergy being now greatly alarmed at Mr. Knox's success, summoned him to appear before them in the church of Black Friars, at Edinburgh, on the 15th of May, 1556. He readily determined to obey the summons; but the bishops finding that a very formidable party were resolved to stand by him, thought proper to drop the prosecution. However, Knox went to Edinburgh at the time appointed for his appearance, and there preached to a

allow him out of it an annual pension of two hundred pounds, and one of the mansion-houses belonging to his see, for his residence during his life. This was at last agreed to and forms of resignation were actually drawn up; but the court could not find any divine of character who would accept the bishopric upon their terms; by which means our prelate enjoyed the bishopric till his death, which happened on the 22d of July, 1581, in the 82d year of his age, after having enjoyed the episcopal dignity upwards of twenty-one years.

greater audience than ever he had done before; and this he continued to do, twice a day for ten days successively.

At this time the earl of Glencairn prevailed with the earl Marischal, and his trustee Henry Drummond, to hear one of Mr. Knox's sermons; which, when they had done, they testified their satisfaction at his discourse, and proposed to him to write to the queen-regent an earnest letter, to persuade her, if possible, to hear the protestant doctrine. He readily complied with their desire, and accordingly wrote to her in May, 1556. This letter was delivered by the earl of Glencairn; and when the queen-regent had read it, she gave it to James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, with this sarcasm: "Please you my lord, to read a pasquil?" This gave occasion to Mr. Knox to make some additions to his letter, which he printed at Geneva in 1558.

While Mr. Knox was thus employed in Scotland he received letters from the English congregation at Geneva, earnestly intreating him to come thither. Accordingly, he determined to accept their invitation, and with that view he left Scotland in July, 1556, and went first to Dieppe, in France, and from thence to Geneva.

He had no sooner left Scotland than the bishops summoned him to appear before them; and upon his non-appearance, they passed sentence of death against him for heresy, and burnt him in effigy at the cross at Edinburgh.

Against this sentence he drew up, and afterwards printed at Geneva, in 1558, his "Appellation from the cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false bishops and Clergy of Scotland; with his supplication to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonality of the said Realm."

The same year he also published, at Geneva, a treatise, intitled, "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women." His chief motive for writing this appear to have been, the cruel and bloody government of queen Mary of England and the endeavours of Mary of Lorrain, the queen-regent of Scotland

who was influenced by French councils, to break through the legal constitution, and introduce an arbitrary government into that kingdom.

Mr. Knox intended to have written a subsequent treatise against the government of women, which was to have been called "*The Second Blast*;" but queen Mary dying, and he having expectations of advantage in the protestant cause from the ascension of Elizabeth, dropped his design.

In 1559 he determined to return to Scotland; but having a strong desire to visit in his way thither, those places in England where he had formerly preached, he applied to Sir William Cecil, to procure leave for that purpose. But this petition was so far from being granted that those whom he appointed to solicit for him on this occasion narrowly escaped imprisonment. Being thus disappointed, he made the best of his way to Scotland where he arrived on the 2d of May, 1559.

A short time before Mr. Knox's arrival in his native country, the public exercise of the protestant religion had been introduced into the town of Perth. This gave to much umbrage to the queenregent, such that she commanded all the protestant preachers in the kingdom to be summoned to a court of justice, which was to be held at Stirling on the 10th of May. The Scottish protestants had now united themselves together in a covenant, or bond of association; and began, about this time, to be distinguished by the name of the Congregation. They were alarmed, therefore, but not intimidated, by the procedure of the queen-regent with respect to their ministers; and they instantly resolved not to abandon the men, to whom they were indebted for the most valuable of all blessings, the knowledge of truth.

At that time it was a prevailing custom in Scotland introduced at first by the institutions of vassalage and clanship, for any person who was accused of a crime, to be accompanied to the place of trial by a retinue of his friends and adherents, assembled for that purpose from every corner of the kingdom. Authorized by this

ancient practice, the protestants gathered together in great numbers to attend their pastors to Stirling. The regent dreaded their approach with a train so numerous; and therefore, in order to prevent them from advancing, she impowered John Erskine, of Dun, a person of considerable authority with the reformed party, to promise, in her name, that she would put a stop to the intended trial, on condition that the preachers, and their retinue, advanced no nearer to Stirling. Erskine, firmly believing the queen-regent to be sincere, served her with the utmost zeal. And the protestants, averse to proceeding to any act of violence, listened with pleasure to so pacific a proposition. Accordingly the preachers, with a few leaders of the party, remained at Perth; while the multitude, which had gathered from different parts of the kingdom, dispersed, and quietly retired to their own habitations.

But notwithstanding the regent's solemn promise, on the 10th of May she proceeded to call to trial the persons who had been summoned; and upon their nonappearance, they were pronounced outlaws. By this mean artifice the queen forfeited the esteem and confidence of the whole nation. The protestants, shocked no less at the indecency with which she violated the public faith, than at the danger which threatened themselves, prepared boldly for their own defence.

Erskine, enraged at having been made the instrument for deceiving his party, instantly abandoned Stirling, and repairing to Perth, added to the zeal of his associates, by his representations of the queen's inflexible resolution to suppress their religion.

It was but a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling, that John Knox arrived in Scotland. He hurried instantly to Perth, to share with his brethren in the common danger, or to assist them in promoting the common cause. And whilst their minds were in that ferment, which the queen-regent's perfidiousness, and their own danger, occasioned, he mounted the pulpit, and by a spirited harangue against idolatry, inflamed the multitude with the utmost rage. The indiscretion of a priest, who, immediately after Knox's sermon, was preparing to celebrate mass, and began to decorate the altar for that purpose, precipitated them into immediate action. With tumultuary, but irresistible violence, they fell upon the churches in that city, overturned the altars, defaced the pictures, and broke in pieces the images; and proceeding next to the monasteries, they, in a few hours, laid those edifices almost level with the ground. This riotous insurrection was not the effect of any previous deliberation; it was censured by the reformed preachers, and publicly condemned by the persons of most power and credit with that party; and must therefore be considered as an accidental irruption of popular rage.

Mr. Knox continued to promote the reformation in Scotland by every method in his power, and to advance the end which he had in view, sparing no pains, and fearing no danger. And when, at length, the protestant party had gained such an ascendency as to abolish the papal authority and worship in that kingdom, in 1560, it was chiefly by his influence and authority, that the new scheme of ecclesiastical policy was adjusted. The ill use which the popish bishops had made of their authority and power occasioned the Scottish protestants to conceive a violent aversion to episcopacy. And as to Knox himself, he having been a considerable time at Geneva, had, during his residence in that city, studied and admired that system of ecclesiastical policy which had been there established by Calvin. He, therefore, warmly recommended to his countrymen the presbyterian scheme of church government and discipline; and which was accordingly soon after adopted.

At first, however, Knox did not think it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form. Instead of bishops, he proposed to establish ten or twelve superintendents in different parts of the kingdom. These were impowered to inspect the lives and doctrines of the other clergy. They presided in the inferior judicatories of the church, and performed several other parts of the episcopal function. Their jurisdiction, however, extended to sacred things only; they claimed no seat in parliament, and pretended no right to the dignity or revenues of the former bishops. And in order to give greater strength and consistence to the presbyterian plan, Knox, with the assistance of his brethren, composed the first book of discipline, which contained the model, or platform, of the intended policy; and which was presented to a convention of estates, that was held in the beginning of the year 1561.*

This year Mary, queen of Scots, arrived in her native country, from which she had been absent near thirteen years; though she was not yet nineteen. Her late consort, Francis II. king of France, died the preceding year.

On the Sunday after her arrival she commanded mass to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace. The first rumour of this occasioned a secret murmuring amongst the protestants who attended the court; and Knox, with his accustomed celerity, declared from the pulpit, that "one mass was more frightful to him, than ten thousand armed enemies, landed in any part of the realm."

The animosity of the people against popery was so great that the servants belonging to the queen's chapel were insulted and abused; and much greater violences were likely to ensue, had not the prior of St. Andrew's, who was one of the heads of the protestant party, seasonably interposed. By his influence, and that of some of the other more moderate protestant leaders, the queen and her domestics were permitted to enjoy the undisturbed exercise of the Romish religion.

Mr. Knox's freedom of speech in the pulpit gave great offence to the queen, and the court, and her majesty had a long conference

^{* [}CHCoG: The Scottish reformers banned the observation of Christmas at this time, as they recognized it as merely a papal rebranding of the pagan 'Day of the Invincible Sun.' In 1640 the Scottish Parliament formally banned keeping Christmas, and in June, 1647, the English Parliament banned Christmas, Easter and Whitsun festivities, again due to their pagan and papal origins. It was not until 1958 that Christmas again became a public holiday in Scotland, as papal superstitions have become more acceptable, even among many Protestants.]

with him upon this and other subjects. In the course of this conversation, Mary charged him with writing his treatise against the government of women, which Knox readily avowed. She likewise charged him with denying her just authority. In answer to this charge, he pleaded the authority of the learned in all ages, and cited Plato in particular, who had publicly taught doctrines contrary to the common opinion, without disturbing society, bearing with patience the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. "Even so, madam, (said he) am I content to do in uprightness of heart; and with the testimony of a good conscience I have communicated my judgment to the world. If the realm finds no inconveniency in the government of a woman, that which they approve shall I not further disallow than within my own breast; but shall be as well content to live under your grace, as Paul was to live under Nero. And my hope is, (continued he) that so long as ye defile not your hands with the blood of the saints of God, that neither I nor the book shall either hurt you or your authority."

In 1563 the parliament was assembled for the first time after Mary's arrival in Scotland. No attempt, however, was made in this parliament, to procure the queen's assent to the laws which had been enacted before her arrival, for the establishment of the protestant religion. For her ministers, though zealous protestants themselves, were aware that this could not be urged at present without danger and imprudence: and as the laws in favour of the protestant religion were generally observed, though they had not yet received the royal assent, Mary's ministers thought it best to defer any further proceedings in favour of the reformed religion till a better opportunity, hoping that the queen by degrees might be brought to be less prejudiced in favour of the Romish religion.

The zeal of the protestant clergy was, however, deaf to these considerations of policy. The leading men of that order insisted that this opportunity of establishing religion by law was not to be neglected. They pronounced the moderation of the courtiers,

apostasy; and Knox solemnly renounced the friendship of the earl of Murry as a man so blindly zealous for the queen's service, as to become regardless of those objects which he had hitherto esteemed most sacred.

The protestant preachers being thus disappointed by the men in whom they had placed the greatest confidence, gave vent to their indignation in their pulpits. These echoed more loudly than ever with declarations against idolatry; and with bitter reproaches against those, who, from interested motives, had deserted that cause which they once reckoned it their honour to support. The people, inflamed by such vehement declamations, which were dictated by a zeal more sincere than prudent, proceeded to rash and unjustifiable acts of violence.

During the queen's absence on a progress into the west of Scotland, mass continued to be celebrated in her chapel at Holyrood House. The multitude of those who openly resorted thither gave great offence to the citizens of Edinburgh, who, being free from the restraint which the royal presence imposed, assembled in a riotous manner, interrupted the service, and filled such as were present with the utmost consternation. However, two of the ringleaders in this tumult were seized, and a day appointed for their trial.

From the opinion Mr. Knox had conceived of the wickedness and idolatry of the popish mass, he esteemed the zeal of these persons against it to be laudable, and their conduct to be meritorious, and therefore considered them as sufferers in a good cause. Accordingly, in order to screen them from danger, he issued circular letters, requiring all who professed the true religion, or were concerned for the preservation of it, to assemble at Edinburgh on the day of trial, that by their presence they might comfort and assist their distressed brethren. One of these letters fell into the queen's hands: and as to assemble the subjects without the authority of the sovereign was construed to be treason, a resolution was taken to prosecute Knox for that crime before the privycouncil. Happily for him, his judges were not only zealous protestants, but men who themselves had a short time before openly resisted and set at defiance the queen's authority. It was under precedents drawn from their own conduct, that Knox endeavoured to shelter himself. Nor would it have been an easy matter for these counsellors to have found out a distinction by which they could censure him, without condemning themselves. And accordingly, after a long hearing, he was unanimously acquitted.

Notwithstanding queen Mary made many declarations in favour of her protestant subjects, they could not help harbouring many suspicions of her entertaining designs against their religion. For she had never once consented to hear any preacher of the reformed doctrines; and she had abated nothing of her bigotted attachment to the Romish faith. She had also given her friends on the continent repeated assurances of her resolution to re-establish the catholic church; and she had industriously avoided every opportunity of ratifying the acts of parliament in favour of the reformation.

The vigilant zeal of the protestant preachers was inattentive to none of these circumstances. And the coldness of their principal leaders, who were at this time entirely devoted to the court, added to their jealousies and fears. These they uttered to the people, in language which they esteemed suitable to the necessity of the times, and which the queen reckoned disrespectful and insolent.

At a meeting of the general assembly in 1564, Mr. Knox was accused by one Maitland of teaching seditious doctrine, concerning the right of subjects to resist those sovereigns who trespass against the duty which they owe to the people. He was not backward to justify what he had taught. And upon this general doctrine of resistance, so just in its own nature, but so delicate in its application to particular cases, there ensued a debate, which admirably displayed the talents and character of both the disputants; the acuteness of the latter, embellished with learning,

but prone to subtlety; the vigorous understanding of the former, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear.

In 1565, lord Darnley, being married to queen Mary, was advised by the protestants about the court to hear Mr. Knox preach, it being supposed that this would contribute towards procuring him the good-will of the people. Darnley accordingly did so; but he was so much offended at Knox's sermon that he complained to the council, who, out of complaisance to the queen's consort, silenced our preacher for a few days. Knox's text was Isaiah. xxvi. 13. "O Jehovah our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name." From these words he took occasion to speak of the government of wicked princes, who, for the sins of the people, are sent as tyrants and scourges to plague them; and among other things, he said, that "God sets over them, for their offences and ingratitude, boys and women."

In 1566, Mr. Knox requested the general assembly, which then met at Edinburgh, that he might have leave to go into England to visit two of his sons who were in that kingdom, and also to transact some other affairs there. Before he set out, he had ample testimonial from the assembly of his life, doctrine, and usefulness, and was by them recommended to all to whom he should come. The assembly limited his stay in England to the meeting of the next general assembly. He carried with him a letter from the assembly of the church of Scotland to the bishops of England which was drawn up by himself; the purport of which was to complain of the severe treatment which the English puritans received, and to solicit that they might not be used with so much rigour.

Mr. Knox, after his return from England, preached a sermon in 1567, at the coronation of king James the Sixth of Scotland and first of Great-Britain, the government being then taken out of the hands of queen Mary. He continued to exert himself to the utmost in promoting the reformation to his death, which happened on the

24th of November, 1572, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.* By an unwearied application to study, and to business, as well as by the frequency and fervour of his public discourses, he had worn out a constitution naturally strong. During a lingering illness, he discovered the utmost fortitude; and met the approaches of death with a magnanimity inseparable from his character. He was constantly employed in acts of devotion, and comforted himself with those prospects of immortality which not only preserve good men from desponding, but fill them with exultation in their last moments.

He was interred with much solemnity in the kirk yard of St. Giles's, the corpse being attended by several of the nobility who were then at Edinburgh, and particularly by the earl of Morton, the regent, who, as soon as Knox was laid in his grave, said, "There lies he, who never feared the face of man; who has often been threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For he had God's providence watching over him in an especial manner, when his very life was sought."† This eulogium is the more honourable for Knox, as it came from one whom he had often censured with peculiar severity.

Mr. Knox, in his private life, was exemplary and irreproachable; and it has been remarked that his declamations

^{*} The massacre of Paris happened about three months before his death, and he is said to have been much affected with that tragical event. He was, at that time, weak in body: however, he had strength enough to preach a sermon on the occasion, in which he denounced God's vengeance against the king of France, for the share he had in the massacre of the protestants; and he desired the French ambassador might be acquainted therewith.

[†] One remarkable escape he had is recorded as follows. It was his custom to sit at the table-head in his own house, with his back to a window; yet, upon a certain night, he sat with his back to the table, when a bullet was shot in at the window, purposely to kill him; but the conspirators missed him, and the bullet struck the candlestick, and made a hole in it, which is yet (it is said) to be seen.

against vice and luxury have in them every character of that natural antipathy, which cannot be counterfeited or dissembled.

Dr. Robertson, the famous Scottish historian, gives the following character of him:

"He was (says he) the prime instrument of spreading and establishing the reformed religion in Scotland. Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness, were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted, too, with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse, and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncomplying himself, he showed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. And regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim. Those very qualities, however, which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back."

Mr. Knox was twice married, first to Margery Bowes, an English woman; and after her death to Margaret Stewart, daughter to Andrew Lord Ochiltrie; a zealous promoter of the reformation, and sister to James, earl of Arran. This lady, surviving Mr. Knox, was afterwards married to Sir Andrew Ker, of Faudonside. By his first wife Mr. Knox had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, and one daughter, who was married to Mr. Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's in Edinburgh, and for some time a lord of session. His sons were both educated at the university of Cambridge, and

admitted of St. John's college in December, 1572, soon after the death of their father. Nathaniel took his first degree in arts in 1576, and the following year was admitted fellow of his college. He took the degree of master of arts in 1598, and died the same year. The second son, Eleazar, was admitted fellow of his college in 1579, commenced master of arts in 1581, was appointed university-preacher in 1588, and about the same time took the degree of bachelor in divinity, and was made vicar of Clacton-magna. He died in 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St. John's college.

Mr. Knox, by his second wife, had three daughters, to whom, with their mother, in 1573, was granted the following pension, viz. five hundred marks in money, two chalders of wheat, six chalders of beer, and four chalders of oats. This favour is said to have been granted on account of Mr. Knox's long and fruitful labours in the kirk, and for the education and support of his wife and children. One of these daughters was married to Mr. John Welch, minister at Air; and another to Mr. James Fleming, who was also a minister.

Mr. Knox wrote many religious pieces, among which he published the following:

1. A faithful Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel of Christ within the Kingdom of England 1554.

2. A Letter to Mary, Queen-Regent of Scotland 1556.

3. The Appellation of John Knox, from the cruel and unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland &c. 1558.

4. The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women, 1558.

5. A brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel, heretofore, by the tyranny of Mary, suppressed and banished 1559.

6. A Sermon preached before the King, Henry Darnley, 1566.

After his death was published his *History of the Reformation* of Religion within the Realm of Scotland &c. at the end of the

fourth edition of which, at Edinburgh, 1732, in folio, are subjoined the before-mentioned pieces.

Besides his printed works, there were also, in 1732, some manuscript pieces of his in the hands of Mr. Robert Woodrow, minister of Eastwood; and others are preserved in Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*. And among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 416, are two pieces attributed to our author, one of which is a long consolatory letter, supposed to be written by him to his wife; and the other a letter, or rather treatise, addressed by him to the faithful in London, Newcastle, Berwick, &c.

CHAP. III.

Containing an Account of those who suffered Martyrdom in Scotland for professing the Truth of the Gospel, during the Reign of Henry VIII. previous to the Death of George Wischart.

THOUGH the persecutions against the protestants in Scotland were not so prevalent, or carried on with such vigour as in England, yet there were many innocent people who fell victims to bigoted malevolence, and resigned up their souls in testimony of the truth of that gospel to which they had strenuously and religiously adhered.

The first person we meet with [in the sixteenth century] who suffered in Scotland on the score of religion, was one **PATRICK HAMILTON**, a gentleman of an independent fortune, and descended from a very ancient and honourable family.

Having acquired a liberal education, and being desirous of farther improving himself in useful knowledge, he left Scotland and went to the university of Wirtemberg, in Germany, in order to finish his studies.

During his residence there, he became intimately acquainted with those eminent lights of the gospel, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon; from whose writings and doctrines he strongly attached himself to the protestant religion.

After staying some time at Wirtemberg, he left that place, and went to the university of Marburg, which was then but lately established by one Philipp Landgrave, of Hessen. Here he formed an intimacy with several distinguished characters who were friends to the reformation, among whom was Francis Lambert.

From this person Mr. Hamilton received such enlightened assistance that he set up public disputations on religion at

Marburg; and from the solidity of his arguments, joined to his well-known piety, and regular conduct in life, he soon obtained a number of followers, who were happy in having the opportunity of hearing the true gospel of Christ displayed in its proper colours.

After labouring here some time in the vineyard of his Redeemer, he determined to return to his own country, and there exert himself in behalf of the protestant religion. He accordingly went thither, and from his great diligence, as well as singular abilities as a preacher, soon became popular, and was followed by great numbers of advocates for the cause of Christ.

The archbishop of St. Andrew's (who was a rigid papist) hearing of Mr. Hamilton's proceedings, cited him to appear before him at his palace, where, after several conferences with him on different points of religion, he was dismissed, the bishop seeming to approve of his doctrines, and acknowledging that in many particulars, there needed a reformation in the church.

This, however, was all hypocrisy and deceit; the bishop's intentions were to make a sacrifice of Mr. Hamilton; but he was fearful that his attempts would prove abortive by Mr. Hamilton's being acquainted with many personages who had free access to the king, and that if he should convict him of heresy, he would escape by means of their intercession.

To obviate this difficulty the bishop, who had great ascendency over the Scottish king, persuaded him to go on a pilgrimage to St. Dothesse, in Rosse. The king, who was a strong bigot, readily took the bishop's advice, and a few days after set out on his journey, little suspecting the bishop's intentions. The very next day after his departure the bishop caused Mr. Hamilton to be seized, and being brought before him, after a short examination relative to his religious principles, he committed him a prisoner to the castle, at the same time ordering him to be confined in the most loathsome part of the prison.

The next morning Mr. Hamilton was brought before the bishop, and several others, for examination, when the principal

articles exhibited against him were his publicly disapproving of pilgrimages, purgatory, prayers to saints, for the dead, &c.

These articles Mr. Hamilton acknowledged to be true, in consequence of which he was immediately condemned to be burnt; and that his condemnation might have the greater authority, they caused it to be subscribed by all those of any note who were present, and to make the number as considerable as possible, even admitted the subscription of boys who were sons of the nobility.

So anxious was this bigoted and persecuting prelate for the destruction of Mr. Hamilton, that he ordered his sentence to be put in execution on the afternoon of the very day it was pronounced. He was accordingly led to the place appointed for the horrid tragedy, and was attended by a prodigious multitude of spectators. The greatest part of the multitude would not believe it was intended he should be put to death, but that it was only done to frighten him, and thereby bring him over to embrace the principles of the Romish religion. But they soon found themselves mistaken.

When he arrived at the stake he knelt down, and for some time, prayed with the greatest fervency. After this he arose, and was accosted by a priest, who told him that if he would recant, his life should be spared: but our martyr was so furnished with godly strength, that neither the love of life, nor fear of the most cruel death, could in the least move him to deviate from the truth of that gospel he had so religiously professed, and for which he was determined to relinquish a miserable existence.

Having finished his devotions, he took off his gown, coat, cap, and other garments, and delivered them to a faithful servant that attended him, saying, "These will not profit in the fire, but they will profit thee: after this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee to bear in mind; for though it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess who deny Christ Jesus before this wicked generation."

After this he was fastened to the stake, and the faggots placed round him. A quantity of gunpowder having been fastened under his arms, was first set on fire, which scorched his left hand and one side of his face, but did him no material injury, neither did it communicate with the faggots. In consequence of this more powder and combustible matter was brought, which being set on fire took effect, and the faggots being kindled, he called out, with an audible voice, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?"

The fire burning slow put him to great torment; but he bore it with christian magnanimity. What gave him the greatest pain was the clamour of some wicked men set on by the friars, who frequently cried out, "Turn, thou heretic; call upon our Lady; say, *Salve Regina*, &c." To whom he replied, "Depart from me, and trouble me not, thou messenger of Satan." One Campbell, a friar, who was the ringleader, still continuing to interrupt him by opprobrious language; he said to him, "Wicked man, God forgive thee." After which, being prevented from farther speech by the violence of the smoak, and the rapidity of the flames, he resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

This stedfast believer in Christ suffered martyrdom in the year 1527.

Campbell, the friar, who had so interrupted him at the place of execution, afterwards ran distracted, and died within the year. These two circumstances put together made an impression upon the people; and as these points began to be enquired into, many embraced the new opinions.

This execution is ascribed by Drummond to a revenge of a private quarrel against the earl of Arran. After which several persons, in all parts of the kingdom, began to enquire into the articles for which Mr. Hamilton had been so inhumanly treated. Many entertained favourable sentiments concerning them; insomuch that several of the friars, from that time, declaimed

openly against the lewd behaviour of their brethren the clergy; and particularly that in Lent, one Seton, confessor to the king, presumed to recommend some of the new doctrines from the pulpit, and to set forth to the people the virtues which St. Paul requires in a good minister.

This freedom was not a little grating to most of the clergy; and they found less difficulty to bring Seton into discredit at court, as he had used much freedom in reproving the king. Mr. Seton, however, perceiving his majesty's countenance was changed, and dreading the power and influence of the clergy, retired from court, and went to London, after having wrote a letter to the king.

One **Henry Forest**, a young inoffensive benedictine, being charged with speaking respectfully of the above Patrick Hamilton, was thrown into prison; and in confessing himself to a friar, owned that he thought Hamilton a good man; and that the articles for which he was sentenced to die might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, it was received as evidence; and the poor Benedictine was sentenced to be burnt.

Whilst consultation was held, with regard to the manner of his execution, John Lindsay, one of the archbishop's gentlemen, offered his advice, to burn friar Forest in some cellar; for, said he, the smoak of Patrick Hamilton has infected all those on whom it blew.

This advice was taken, and the poor victim was rather suffocated than burnt.

The next who fell victims for professing the truth of the gospel were **DAVID STRATTON** and **NORMAN GOURLAY**. The first of these was by trade a fisherman, and a very illiterate person, paying little regard either to morality or religion.

The bishop one day sent to Stratton, and demanded of him a tithe of the fish he caught; to which he returned for answer, that if

they would have tithe of what his servants took in the sea, they should receive it in the place where it was caught, and immediately ordered the man to carry every tenth fish, and throw it into the sea.

Though the bishop was greatly irritated at the behaviour of Stratton, yet he took no notice of him for the present, but determined to be revenged on him at some future opportunity.

In the mean time, Stratton having accidentally fallen into the company of some godly and christian people, he was so struck with their conversation that it impressed on his mind that sense of his duty to which he had hitherto been a stranger.

From this period he attended, with the greatest diligence, to hear the word of God, which, before, he had despised; and in a short time became so serious a convert that he exhorted others to follow his example, and not to fix their minds only on the concerns of the world.

The laird of Dun Areskin, who had been enlightened with the truth of the gospel, endeavoured to propagate it to others, and for that purpose frequently expounded the scriptures to such as would attend to hear him. Among these were our two martyrs, who never let any opportunity slip whereby they might receive christian knowledge; and it was from their constant attendance here that they became not only good christians, but the most sincere friends; and were never so happy as when in company with each other.

Attending one day, as usual, to hear the laird of Dun Areskin, he took for his text the following words: "He that denieth me before men, or is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him before my father, and his holy angels."

Stratton was so sensibly struck at hearing these words that he immediately fell on his knees, and stedfastly lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, thus exclaimed: "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou withdraw thy grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercy sake, let me never deny thee, nor thy truth, for fear of death, or any corporeal pain." The great attention these two persons paid to the duties of religion made them so distinguished that an information of heresy was laid against them by their enemies before the archbishop, who now determined to punish Stratton for the treatment he had received from him before his conversion.

They were accordingly both apprehended, and committed to prison, where they were confined for some weeks, during which they were very cruelly treated. They had scarce sufficient refreshment allowed them to preserve their miserable existence; nor were they suffered to be seen by any of their friends or acquaintances.

At length they were brought before the archbishop, at Holy Rood-house, for examination, the king himself being present on the occasion.

Several articles of heresy were exhibited against them, all which they answered with great fortitude and composure of mind. The archbishop endeavoured to prevail on them to recant their errors, and return to the mother-church; but they denied having committed any offence, and said they were determined to preserve their religious sentiments, in opposition to every effort that might be offered to make them alter their opinions.

In consequence of this the archbishop pronounced on them the dreadful sentence of death, which was that they should be first hanged, and then burnt; and in the afternoon of the same day they were led to the place appointed for their execution.

As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they both kneeled down and prayed for some time, with great fervency. They then arose, when Stratton, addressing himself to the spectators, exhorted them to lay aside their superstitious and idolatrous notions, and employ their time in seeking the true light of the gospel. He would have said more, but was prevented by the officers, at the desire of the archbishop, who attended.

Their sentence was then put into execution, and they chearfully resigned up their souls to that God who gave them,

hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious resurrection to life immortal.—They suffered in the year 1534.

The martyrdoms of the two beforementioned persons were soon followed by that of Mr. **THOMAS FORRET**, who, for a considerable time, had been a dean of the Romish church.

This person, having himself been enlightened with the truth of the gospel, was desirous of conveying the knowledge of it to others. To effect this he preached every sabbath to his parishioners, from the epistles and gospels of the day, which highly offending the friars (who claimed that privilege to themselves only) they accused him of heresy, and laid an information against him before the bishop of Dunkeld.

Though the bishop would willingly have avoided concerning himself in this matter, yet, from the persons who laid the information, he thought it most prudent to take some notice of it. He accordingly ordered dean Forret to appear before him; which being immediately complied with, the following dialogue ensued:

Bishop.] "My good dean, I love you well, and therefore I must give you counsel how to govern yourself. I am informed that you preach the epistle and gospel every Sunday to your people, and that you take not your dues from them, which is very prejudicial to the churchmen. Therefore, my good dean Thomas, I would advise you to take your dues, otherwise it will be too much to preach every Sunday; for by so doing you make the people think we should do the same. It is enough for you, when you find a good epistle or gospel, to set forth, and preach the liberty of the holy mother-church."

Dean.] "My lord, I presume none of my parishioners complain for my not taking my dues. And whereas you say it is too much to preach every Sunday, I think it is too little, and wish your lordship would follow my example."

Bishop.] "Nay, nay, dean Thomas, let that be, for we are not ordained to preach."

Dean.] "My lord, you told me to preach when I meet with a good epistle and gospel: I have read them all over, and I know no bad ones amongst them, but when your lordship shows me such I will pass by them."

Bishop.] "I thank God I never knew what the Old and New Testament were; and I desire not to know any thing more than my pontifical. Go your ways, and lay aside all these fancies; for if you persevere herein, you will repent when it is too late."

Dean.] "I trust my cause is good and just in the presence of God, and therefore I care not what follows."

The dean then took leave of the bishop, but was, a short time after, summoned to appear before cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, by whom, after a short examination, he was condemned to be burnt as an heretic.

The like sentence was pronounced, at the same time, on four others, namely, **KILLOR** and **BEVERAGE**, two blacksmiths; **DUNCAN SIMSON**, a priest; and **ROBERT FORESTER**, a gentleman. They were all burnt together, on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh, the last day of February, 1538.

They endured their sufferings with great fortitude, and died in the most lively exercise of faith in Christ, to obtain eternal life in that glorious state where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

The year following the martyrdoms of the beforementioned persons, viz. 1539, two others were apprehended on a suspicion of heresy; namely, **JEROM RUSSEL**, and **ALEXANDER KENNEDY**, a youth about eighteen years of age.

These two persons, after being some time confined in prison, were brought before the archbishop for examination. Kennedy's

tender years inclining him to pusillanimity, he would at first have recanted; but being suddenly refreshed by divine inspiration, and feeling himself, as it were, a new creature, his mind was changed, and falling on his knees, he, with a chearful countenance, thus expressed himself:

O eternal God! how wonderful is that love and mercy thou bearest unto mankind, and to me, a miserable wretch above all others! for even now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and to have cast myself into everlasting damnation, thou by thine own hand has pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and made me feel that heavenly comfort which has taken from me that ungodly fear wherewith I was before oppressed. Now I defy death; do with me as you please; I praise God, I am ready.

In the course of their examination Russel, being a very sensible man, reasoned learnedly against his accusers. They, in return, made use of very opprobrious language; to which Russel replied as follows:

This is your hour and power of darkness: now ye sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day will come when our innocence will appear, and ye shall see your own blindness to your everlasting confusion. Go on, and fill the measure of your iniquity.

The examination being over, and both of them deemed heretics, the archbishop pronounced the dreadful sentence of death, and they were immediately delivered over to the secular power in order for execution. The next day they were led to the

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place appointed for them to suffer; in their way to which Russel, seeing his fellow-sufferer have the appearance of timidity in his countenance, thus addressed him: "Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world. The pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us, therefore, strive to enter into our Master and Saviour's joy, by the same strait way which he has taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him, for whose sake we are now going to suffer."

When they arrived at the fatal spot, they both kneeled down and prayed for some time; after which, being fastened to the stake, and the faggots lighted, they resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them, in full hopes of an everlasting reward in the heavenly mansions.

In 1543, the archbishop of St. Andrews made a visitation into various parts of his diocese, where several persons were informed against at Perth for heresy. Among these the following were condemned to die, viz. WILLIAM ANDERSON, ROBERT LAMB, JAMES FINLAYSON, JAMES HUNTER, JAMES RAVELESON, and HELEN STARK.

The accusation laid against these respective persons were as follow:

The four first were accused of having hung up the image of St. Francis, nailing rams horns on his head, and fastening a cow's tail to his rump; but the principal matter on which they were condemned was having regaled themselves with a goose on a fastday.

James Raveleson was accused of having ornamented his house with the three-crowned diadem of Peter, carved in wood, which the archbishop conceived to be done in mockery to his cardinal's cap. Helen Stark was accused of not having accustomed herself to pray to the Virgin Mary, more especially during the time she was in child-bed.

On these respective accusations, they were all found guilty, and immediately received sentence of death; the four men for eating the goose to be hanged; James Raveleson to be burnt; and the woman, with her sucking infant, to be put into a sack and drowned.

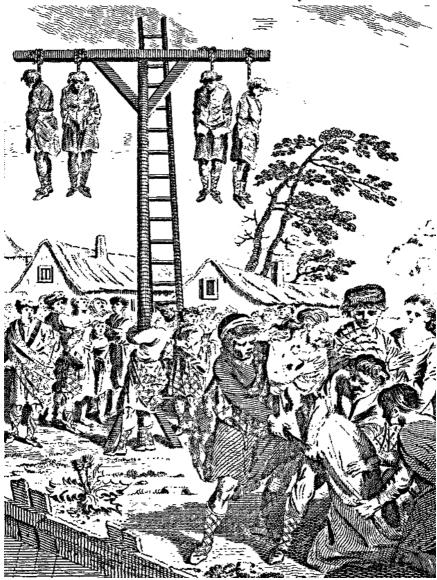
The four men, with the woman and child, suffered at the same time; but James Raveleson was not executed till some days after.

On the day appointed for the execution of the former, they were all conducted, under a proper guard, to the place where they were to suffer, and were attended by a prodigious number of spectators.

As soon as they arrived at the place of execution, they all fervently prayed for some time; after which Robert Lamb addressed himself to the spectators, exhorting them to fear God, and to quit the practice of papistical abominations.

The four men were all hanged on the same gibbet; and the woman, with her sucking child, were conducted to a river adjoining, when being fastened in a large sack, they were thrown into it, and drowned.

They all suffered their fate with becoming fortitude and resignation, committing their departing spirits to that Redeemer who was to be their final judge, and who, they had reason to hope, would usher them into the realms of everlasting bliss. The New Book of Martyrs



A WOMAN with her sucking INFANT tied together in a Bag, and thrown into a River in Scotland, and FOUR MEN hung at the same time for eating Goose on a Fast Day.

The New Book of Martyrs

When we reflect on the sufferings of these unhappy persons, we are naturally induced, both as men and christians, to lament their fate, and to express our feelings by dropping the tear of commiseration. The putting to death four men, for little other reason than that of satisfying nature with an article sent by Providence for that very purpose (merely because it was on a day prohibited by ridiculous bigotry and superstition) is shocking indeed; but the fate of the innocent woman, and her still more harmless infant, makes human nature shake, and almost tremble, to think there is such a being as man. O horrid bigotry, to what lengths wilt thou not go! What sacrifices wilt thou not make, to gratify the most base and inhuman of passions.

Besides the above mentioned persons, many others were cruelly persecuted during the archbishop's stay at Perth, some being banished, and others confined in loathsome dungeons. In particular, **JOHN ROGERS**, a pious and learned man, was, by the archbishop's orders, murdered in prison, and his body thrown over the walls into the street; after which the archbishop caused a report to be spread that he had met with his death by attempting to make his escape.

Such were the persecutions against the protestants in Scotland previous to the death of Mr. George Wishart, whose life will be the subject of the succeeding chapter.

CHAP. IV.

The Life, Sufferings, and Death of Mr. GEORGE WISHART, or WISCHART, who was burnt in Scotland for professing the Truth of the Gospel.

MR. GEORGE WISHART was born in Scotland, and after receiving a grammatical education at a private school, he left that place, and finished his studies at the university of Cambridge.

In order to improve himself as much as possible in the knowledge of literature, he travelled into various parts abroad, where he distinguished himself for his great learning and abilities, both in philosophy and divinity. His desire to promote true knowledge and science among men accompanied the profession of it himself. He was very ready to communicate what he knew to others, and frequently read various authors both in his own chamber, and in the public schools.

After being some time abroad he returned to England and took up his residence at Cambridge, where he was admitted a member of Benet college. Having taken up his degrees, he entered into holy orders, and expounded the gospel in so clear and intelligible a manner as highly to delight his numerous auditors.

Being desirous of propagating the true gospel in his own country, he left Cambridge in 1544, and in his way thither preached in most of the principal towns, to the great pleasure of himself, and the satisfaction of his hearers. On his arrival in Scotland he first preached at Montrose, and afterwards at Dundee. In this last place he made a public exposition of the epistle to the Romans, which he went through with such grace and freedom, as greatly alarmed the papists.

In consequence of this (at the instigation of cardinal Beaton, the archbishop of St. Andrew's) one Robert Miln, a principal man at Dundee, went to the church where Wishart preached, and in the middle of his discourse, publicly told him not to trouble the town any more, for he was determined not to suffer it.

This sudden rebuff greatly surprized Wishart, who, after a short pause, looking sorrowfully on the speaker and the audience, said, "God is my witness, that I never minded your trouble but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more grievous to me than it is to vourselves: but I am assured, to refuse God's word, and to chase from you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it: for God shall send you ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation. With the hazard of my life I have remained among you: now ve yourselves refuse me; and I must leave my innocence to be declared by my God. If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth: but if unlooked for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful. But if you turn not at the first warning, he will visit you with fire and sword." At the close of this speech he left the pulpit and retired

After this he went into the west of Scotland, where he preached God's word, which was gladly received by many; till the archbishop of Glasgow, at the instigation of cardinal Beaton, came with his train to the town of Air, to suppress Wishart, and insisted on having the church himself to preach in. Some opposed this; but Wishart said, "Let him alone, his sermon will not do much hurt; let us go to the market-cross." This was agreed to and Wishart preached a sermon that gave universal satisfaction to his hearers, and at the same time confounded his enemies.

He continued to propagate the gospel to the people with the greatest alacrity, preaching sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another; but coming to Macklene, he was, by force, kept out of the church. Some of his followers would have broken in; upon which he said to one of them, "Brother, Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church; and himself often preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places. The like word of peace

God sends by me: the blood of none shall be shed this day for preaching it."

He then went into the fields, where he preached to the people for above three hours; and such an impression did his sermon make on the minds of his hearers, that one of the most wicked men in all the country, the laird of Shield, became a convert to the truth of the gospel.

A short time after this Mr. Wishart received intelligence that the plague was broke out in Dundee. It began four days after he was prohibited from preaching there, and raged so extremely, that it was almost beyond credit how many died in the space of twentyfour hours. This being related to him, he, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends to detain him, determined to go thither, saying, "They are now in troubles, and need comfort. Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence the word of God, which before they lightly esteemed." Here he was with joy received by the godly. He chose the East-gate for the place of his preaching; so that the healthy were within, and the sick without the gate. He took his text from these words, He sent his word, and healed them, &c. In this sermon he chiefly dwelt upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgements that ensue upon the contempt or rejection of it, the freedom of God's grace to all his people, and the happiness of those of his elect, whom he takes to himself out of this miserable world. The hearts of his hearers were to raised by the divine force of this discourse as not to regard death, but to judge them the more happy who should then be called, not knowing whether they might have such a comforter again with them.

After this the plague abated; though, in the midst of it, Wishart constantly visited those that lay in the greatest extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

When he took his leave of the people of Dundee, he said that God had almost put an end to that plague, and that he was now called to another place.

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He went from thence to Montrose, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation and prayer. It is said that before he left Dundee, and while he was engaged in the labours of love to the bodies as well as to the souls, of those poor afflicted people, cardinal Beaton engaged a desperate popish priest, called John Weighton, to kill him; the attempt to execute which was as follows: one day, after Wishart had finished his sermon, and the people departed, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown. But Mr. Wishart, having a sharp piercing eye, and seeing the priest as he came from the pulpit, said to him, "My friend, what would you have?" And immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The priest being terrified, fell on his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, we will take him by force; and they burst in at the gate. But Wishart, taking the priest in his arms, said, "Whosoever hurts him shall hurt me, for he has done me no mischief, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulness for the time to come." By this conduct he appealed the people, and saved the life of the wicked priest.

Soon after his return to Montrose, the cardinal again conspired his death, causing a letter to be sent to him as if it had been from his familiar friend, the laird of Kinnier, in which he was desired, with all possible speed, to come to him, because he was taken with a sudden sickness. In the mean time the cardinal had provided sixty men armed, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of Montrose, in order to murder him as he passed that way.

The letter coming to Wishart's hand by a boy, who also brought him a horse for the journey, Wishart, accompanied by some honest men, his friends, set forward; but something particular striking his mind by the way, he returned back, which they wondering at, asked him the cause; to whom he said, "I will not go; I am forbidden of God; I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." Which doing, they made the discovery; and hastily returning, they told Mr. Wishart: whereupon he said, "I know I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

A short time after this he left Montrose, and proceeded to Edinburgh, in order to propagate the gospel in that city. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother called James Watson, of Inner-Goury. In the middle of the night he got up, and went into the yard, which two men hearing, they privately followed him. While in the yard, he fell on his knees, and prayed for some time with the greatest fervency; after which he arose, and returned to his bed. Those who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, saying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw your gestures."

On this he, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will tell you; I am assured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I shrink not when the battle waxeth most hot."

When they heard this they wept, saying, "This is small comfort to us." "Then," said he, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack, in despite of all enemies, the top-stone; neither will it be long before this be accomplished. Many shall not suffer after me, before the glory of God shall appear, and triumph in despite of Satan. But, alas, if the people afterward shall prove unthankful, then fearful and terrible will the plagues be that shall follow."

The next day he proceeded on his journey, and when he arrived at Leith, not meeting with those he expected, he kept

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himself retired for a day or two. He then grew pensive, and being asked the reason, he answered, "What do I differ from a dead man? Hitherto God has used my labours for the instruction of others, and to the disclosing of darkness; and now I lurk as a man ashamed to shew his face." His friends perceived that his desire was to preach, whereupon they said to him, "It is most comfortable for us to hear you, but because we know the danger wherein you stand we dare not desire it." "But," said he, "if you dare hear, let God provide for me as best pleaseth him." After which it was concluded that the next day he should preach in Leith. His text was of the parable of the sower, Matt. xiii. The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who were earnest professors of Jesus Christ, would not suffer him to stay at Leith, because the governor and cardinal were shortly come to Edinburgh; but took him along with them, and he preached at Branstone, Longniddry, and Ormistone. He also preached at Inveresk, near Muselburgh. He had a great concourse of people, and amongst them Sir George Douglas, who, after sermon, said publicly, "I know that the governor and cardinal will hear that I have been at this sermon; but let them know that I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine, and the preacher, to the uttermost of my power."

Among others that came to hear him preach, there were two Grey-friars, who, standing at the church door, whispered as they came in; which Wishart observing, said to the people, I pray you make room for these two men, it may be they come to learn; and turning to them, he said, "Come near, for I assure you you shall hear the word of truth, which this day shall seal up to you either your salvation or damnation." After which he proceeded in his sermon, supposing that they would be quiet; but when he perceived that they still continued to disturb the people that stood near them, he said to them the second time, with an angry countenance, "O ministers of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth yourselves, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for your portion; God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this kingdom; ye shall be abominable to men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." He spoke this with much vehemency. Then turning to the people, said, "These men have provoked the spirit of God to anger;" after which he proceeded on his sermon, and finished it highly to the satisfaction of his hearers.

From hence he went and preached at Branstone, Languedine, Ormistone, and Inveresk, where he was followed by a great concourse of people. He preached also in diverse other places, the people much flocking after him; and in all his sermons he foretold the shortness of the time he had to travel, and the near approach of his death.

When he came to Haddington, his auditory began much to decrease, which was thought to happen through the influence of the earl of Bothwel, who was moved to oppose him at the instigation of the cardinal. Soon after this, as he was going to church, he received a letter from the west country gentlemen, which, having read, he called John Knox, who had diligently waited upon him since his arrival at Lothian; to whom he said, he was weary of the world, because he saw that men began to be weary of God: for (said he) the gentlemen of the west have sent me word that they cannot keep their meeting at Edinburgh.

Knox, wondering he should enter into conference about these things immediately before his sermon, contrary to his usual custom, said to him, "Sir, sermon-time approaches; I will leave you for the present to your meditations."

Wishart's sad countenance declared the grief of his mind. At length he went into the pulpit, and his auditory being very small, he introduced his sermon with the following exclamation: "O Lord! how long shall it be, that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, O Haddington, that in thee there used to be two or three thousand persons at a vain and wicked play; and now, to hear the messenger of the eternal God, of all the parish can scarce be numbered one hundred present. Sore and fearful shall be the plagues that shall ensue upon this thy contempt. With fire and sword shalt thou be plagued; yea, thou, Haddington, in special, strangers shall possess thee; and you, the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else you shall be chased from your own habitations; and that because you have not known, nor will know, the time of your visitation."

This prediction was, in a great measure, accomplished not long after, when the English took Haddington, made it a garrison, and enforced many of the inhabitants to fly. Soon after this, a dreadful plague broke out in the town, of which such numbers died that the place became almost depopulated.

Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, being informed that Mr. Wishart was at the house of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormistone, in East-Lothian, he applied to the regent to cause him to be apprehended; with which, after great persuasion, and much against his will, he complied.

The earl accordingly went, with proper attendants, to the house of Mr. Cockburn, which he beset about midnight. The laird of the house being greatly alarmed, put himself in a posture of defence, when the earl told him that it was in vain to resist, for the governor and cardinal were within a mile, with great power; but if he would deliver Wishart to him, he would promise, upon his honour, that he should be safe, and that the cardinal should not hurt him.

Wishart said, "Open the gates, the will of God be done;" and Bothwel coming in, Wishart said to him, "I praise my God, that so honourable a man as you, my lord, receive me this night; for I am persuaded that for your honour's sake you will suffer nothing to be done to me but by order of law: I fear less to die openly, than secretly to be murdered." Bothwel replied, "I will not only preserve your body from all violence that shall be intended against you without order of law: but I also promise, in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither the governor nor cardinal shall have their will of you; but I will keep you in my own house, till I either let you free, or restore you to the same place whence I received you." Then, said the laird, "My lord, if you make good your promise, which we presume you will, we ourselves will not only serve you, but we will procure all the professors in Lothian to do the same."

This agreement being made, Mr. Wishart was delivered into the hands of the earl, who immediately conducted him to Edinburgh. As soon as the earl arrived at that place, he was sent for by the queen, who being an inveterate enemy to Wishart, prevailed on the earl (notwithstanding the promises he had made) to commit him a prisoner to the castle.

The cardinal being informed of Wishart's situation, went to Edinburgh, and immediately caused him to be removed from thence to the castle of St. Andrew's.

The inveterate and persecuting prelate, having now got our martyr fully at his own disposal, resolved to proceed immediately to try him as an heretic; for which purpose he assembled the prelates at St. Andrew's church on the 27th of February, 1546.

At this meeting the archbishop of Glasgow gave it as his opinion that application should be made to the regent, to grant a commission to some noblemen to try the prisoner, that all the odium of putting so popular a man to death might not lie on the clergy.

To this the cardinal readily agreed; but upon sending to the regent, he received the following answer: "That he would do well not to precipitate this man's trial, but delay it until his coming; for as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the cause was very well examined; and if the cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation, that the blood of this man should be required at his hands."

The cardinal was extremely chagrined at this message from the regent; however, he determined to proceed in the bloody business he had undertaken, and therefore sent the regent word that he had not written to him about this matter, as supposing himself to be any

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way dependant upon his authority, but from a desire that the prosecution and conviction of heretics might have a shew of public consent; which, since he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way which to him appeared most proper.

In consequence of this the cardinal immediately proceeded to the trial of Wishart, against whom no less than eighteen articles were exhibited, which, in substance, were as follow:

- 1. That he had despised the holy mother-church, and had deceived the people; and that when he was ordered to desist from preaching at Dundee by the governor, he would not obey, but still persevered in the same.
- 2. That he had said, the priest standing at the altar and saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail.
- 3. That he had preached against the sacraments, saying that there were not seven, but two only, viz. baptism and the supper of the Lord.
- 4. That he had taught that auricular confession was not a blessed sacrament; and had said confession should be made to God only, and not to a priest.
- 5. That he had said it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism, contrary to the established maxims of the Roman catholic church.
- 6. That he had said the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes; and the ceremonies attending it was but a superstitious rite against the commandment of God.
- 7. That he had said extreme unction was not a sacrament.
- 8. That holy water was equally simple and insignificant as water not consecrated; and that he had said the curses of the Romish clergy availed nothing.
- 9. That he had said every layman was a priest; and that the pope had no greater authority or power than another man.
- 10. That he had said a man had no free will, but was like the stoics, who said, that it was not in man's will to do any thing,

but that all concupiscence and desire came from God, of what kind soever it might be.

- 11. That it was as lawful to eat flesh on a Friday as on a Sunday.
- 12. That the people should not pray to saints, but to God only.
- 13. That in his preaching he had said that there was no purgatory, and that it was a false conception to imagine there was any such thing after death.
- 14. That he had taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns and priests; and had said that whoever was bound to such vows, they vowed themselves to the state of damnation; Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry, and not to live single.
- 15. That he had spoken disrespectfully of the general and provincial councils.
- 16. That he had said it was in vain to build costly churches to the honour of God, seeing that he remained not in churches made with men's hands; nor yet could God be in so small a space as between the priest's hands.
- 17. That he had despised fasting, and had taught the people to do the like.
- 18. That in his preaching he had said the soul of man should sleep till the last day, and should not obtain immortal life till that time.

Mr. Wishart answered these respective articles with great composure of mind, and in so learned and clear a manner, as greatly surprised most of those who were present.

A bigoted priest, at the instigation of the archbishop, not only heaped a load of curses on him, but also treated him with the most barbarous contempt. He used language fit only for the most compromised infidel; and not satisfied with that, he spit in his face, and otherwise maltreated him.

On this Mr. Wishart fell on his knees, and after making a prayer to God, thus addressed his judges: "Many and horrible sayings unto me, a Christian man, many words abominable to hear

have ye spoken here this day; which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought a great abomination."

After the examination was finished, the archbishop endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Wishart to recant; but he was too firmly fixed in his religious principles, and too much enlightened with the truth of the gospel, to be in the least moved.

In consequence of this, the archbishop pronounced on him the dreadful sentence of death, which he ordered should be put into execution on the following day.

As soon as the archbishop had finished this cruel and melancholy ceremony, our martyr fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed:

O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the rage and great cruelty of the ungodly, to exercise their fury upon thy servants, which do further thy word in this world? Whereas they, on the contrary, seek to destroy the truth, whereby thou hast revealed thyself to the world. O Lord, we know certainly that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecutions, afflictions, and troubles in this present world; yet we desire that thou wouldest preserve and defend thy church, which thou hast chosen before the foundation of the world, and give thy people grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

Having said this he arose, and was immediately conducted by the officers to the prison from whence he had been brought in the castle.

In the evening he was visited by the two friars, who asked him to make his confession to them; to whom he said, "I will not make any confession to you;" on which they immediately departed. Soon after this came the sub-prior, with whom Wishart conversed

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in so feeling a manner on religious matters, as to make him weep. When he left him, he went to the cardinal, and told him, he came not to intercede for Wishart's life, but to make known his innocence to all men. At these words, the cardinal expressed great dissatisfaction, and forbid the sub-governor from again visiting Wishart.

Towards the close of the evening, our martyr was visited by the captain of the castle, with several of his friends; who bringing with them some bread and wine, asked him if he would eat and drink with them? "Yes," said Wishart, "very willingly, for I know you are honest men." In the mean time he desired them to hear him a little, when he discoursed with them on the Lord's Supper, his sufferings and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, and to lay aside all rancour and malice, as became the members of Jesus Christ, who continually interceded for them with his father. After this he gave thanks to Jehovah God, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving some to each, saying, at the same time, "eat this, remember that Christ died for us, and feed on it spiritually." Then taking the cup, he drank, and bade them "remember that Christ's blood was shed for them, &c." After this he gave thanks, prayed for some time, took leave of his visitors, and retired to his chamber.

On the morning of his execution there came to him two friars from the cardinal; one of whom put on him a black linen coat, and the other brought several bags of gunpowder, which they tied about different parts of his body.

In this dress he was conducted from the room in which he had been confined to the outer chamber of the governor's apartments, there to stay till the necessary preparations were made for his execution.

The windows and balconies of the castle, opposite the place where he was to suffer, were all hung with tapestry and silk hangings, with cushions for the cardinal and his train, who were from thence to feast their eyes with the torments of this innocent

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man. There was also a great guard of soldiers, not so much to secure the execution, as to shew a vain ostentation of power; besides which, brass guns were placed on different parts of the castle.

The necessary preparations being made, our martyr, after having his hands tied behind him, was conducted to the fatal spot. In his way thither he was accosted by two friars, who desired him to pray to the Virgin Mary to intercede for him. To whom he meekly said, "Cease, tempt me not, I beseech you."

As soon as he arrived at the stake, the executioner put a rope about his neck, and a chain about his middle; upon which he fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed: "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of mercy, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands."

After repeating these words three times, he arose, and turning himself to the spectators, addressed them as follows:

Christian brethren and sisters, I beseech you, be not offended at the word of God for the torments which you see prepared for me; but I exhort you, that ye love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort. I pray you also, shew my brethren and sisters, who have often heard me, that they cease not to learn the word of God, which I taught them according to the measure of grace given me, but to hold fast to it with the strictest attention; and shew them that the doctrine was no old wives fables, but the truth of God; for if I had taught men's doctrine, I should have had greater thanks from men; but for the word of God's sake I now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake; behold

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my face, you shall not see me change my countenance. I fear not the fire, and if persecution come to you for the word's sake, *I pray you fear not them that can kill the body, and have no power to hurt the soul.*"

After this he prayed for his accusers, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have, from ignorance or an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart, I beseech Christ to forgive them that have ignorantly condemned me."

Then, again turning himself to the spectators, he said, "I beseech you, brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; or also there will shortly come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."

As soon as he had finished this speech, the executioner fell on his knees before him, and said, "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death."

In return to this, Wishart cordially took the man by the hand and kissed him, saying "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee: My heart, do thine office."

He was then fastened to the stake, and the faggots being lighted, immediately set fire to the powder that was tied about him, and which blew into a flame and smoak.

The governor of the castle, who stood so near that he was singed with the flame, exhorted our martyr, in a few words, to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To which he replied, "This flame occasions trouble to my body, indeed, but it has in no wise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place (pointing to the cardinal) shall, ere long, be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his ease."

When he had said this, the executioner pulled the rope which was tied about his neck with great violence, so that he was soon strangled; and the fire getting strength, burnt with such rapidity that in less than an hour his body was totally consumed.

Thus died, in confirmation of the gospel of Christ, a sincere believer, whose fortitude and constancy during his sufferings can only be imputed to the support of divine aid, in order to fulfil that memorable promise. "As is thy day, so shall thy strength be also."

The prediction of Mr. Wishart, concerning cardinal Beaton, is related by that great historian Buchanan, as also by archbishop Spotswood and others; but it has been doubted by some later writers, whether he really made such prediction or not. Be that as it may, however, it is certain that the death of Wishart did, in a short time after, prove fatal to the cardinal himself; the particulars of which it may not be improper here to subjoin.

Soon after the death of Mr. Wishart, the cardinal went to Finhaven, the seat of the earl of Crawford, to solemnize a marriage between the eldest son of that nobleman and his own natural daughter Margaret. Whilst he was thus employed, he received intelligence that an English squadron was upon the coast, and that consequently an invasion was to be feared. Upon this he immediately returned to St. Andrew's and appointed a day for the nobility and gentry to meet, and consult what was proper to be done on this occasion. But as no farther news was heard of the English fleet, their apprehensions of an invasion soon subsided.

In the mean time Norman Lesley, eldest son of the earl of Rothes, who had been treated by the cardinal with injustice and contempt, formed a design, in conjunction with his uncle John Lesley, who hated Beaton, and others who were inflamed against him on account of his persecution of the Protestants, the death of Wishart, and other causes, to assassinate the prelate, though he now resided in the castle of St. Andrew's which he was fortifying at great expence, and had, in the opinion of that age, already rendered it almost impregnable. The cardinal's retinue was numerous, the town was at his devotion, and the neighbouring country full of his dependants. However, the conspirators, who were in number only sixteen, having concerted their plan; met together early in the morning, on Saturday the 29th of May. The first thing they did was to seize the porter of the castle, from whom they took the keys, and secured the gate. They then sent four of their party to watch the cardinal's chamber; that he might have no notice given him of what was doing; after which they went and called up the servants and attendants, to whom they were well known, and turned them, to the number of fifty, out of the gate, as they did also upwards of an hundred workmen, who were employed in the fortifications and buildings of the castle; but the eldest son of the regent, who lodged also in the castle,* they kept for their own security.

All this was done with so little noise that the cardinal was not waked till they knocked at his chamber door; upon which he cried out, "Who is there?" John Lesley answered, "My name is Lesley." "Which Lesley?" replied the cardinal, "Is it Norman?" It was answered that he must open the door to those who were there; but instead of this, he barricaded the door in the best manner he could. However, finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and they having, as it is said by some, made him a promise of his life, he opened the door. They immediately entered with their swords drawn, and John Lesley smote him twice or thrice, as did also Peter Carwichael; but James Melvil, (as Mr. Knox relates the affair) perceiving them to be in choler, said, "This work, and judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with greater gravity;" and presenting the point of his sword to the cardinal, said to him, "Repent thee of thy wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire

^{*} It is said that the cardinal was so jealous of the regent that he kept his eldest son as an hostage in his house under pretence of taking care of his education.

consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee; and we from God are sent to revenge it. For here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest, an obstinate enemy of Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having said this, he with his sword run the cardinal twice or thrice through the body; who only said, "I am a Priest! Fie! Fie! all is gone!" and then expired, being about fiftytwo years of age.* Thus fell cardinal Beaton, who had been as great a persecutor against the protestants in Scotland as Bonner was in England; and whose death was as little regretted by all true professors of Christ's gospel.

The character of this distinguished tyrant is thus given by a celebrated writer:

^{*} The president De Thou gives the following account of the assassination of Beaton. "Norman Lesley came to St. Andrew's, attended with only five persons, that he might give no umbrage, having sent before him ten others of his accomplices, who were disposed in several places. The cardinal was so intent upon fortifying the castle, that the work went forward by night as well as by day. Very early in the morning, when the gate was opened to let in the workmen, two men, who lay in ambuscade at a neighbouring house, seized upon the porter, and upon giving the signal to their companions, all of them entered without tumult. Four of them were sent to guard the cardinal's chamber door; the rest rouzed up and secured the servants, who were half asleep, and threatening them with death if they made the least noise, put them out of the castle without doing them any injury. After this, returning to the cardinal, they knocked at his door, and having told their names, and promised to offer no violence to his person, they were let in and immediately dispatched the trembling wretch with repeated stabs. His friends in the city, who hardly stirred themselves at the first report, beginning to call out and run to arms in a disorderly manner, Lesley, to appease the tumult, ordered the body to be exposed to public view in that very window where the cardinal had lately with so much pleasure beheld the death of Wishart. Thus his prediction was by this event fulfilled."

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Cardinal Beaton (says he) had not used his power with moderation equal to the prudence by which he obtained it. Notwithstanding his great abilities, he had too many of the passions and prejudices of an angry leader of a faction to govern a divided people with temper. His resentment against one part of the nobility, his insolence towards the rest, his severity to the reformers, and above all, the barbarous and illegal execution of the famous George Wishart, a man of honourable birth, and of primitive sanctity, wore out the patience of a fierce age; and nothing but a bold hand was wanting to gratify the public wish by his destruction.

CHAP. V.

Account of the Persecutions in Scotland after the Death of Mr. George Wishart, with the circumstances that happily produced a Reformation in that Country.

THE death of cardinal Beaton, for a short time, gave new spirits to the reformed in all parts of Scotland; but their pleasing expectations were damped when they discovered the disposition of his successor, who was no less a rigid papist and violent persecutor of the protestants than his predecessor.

No sooner did he assume the archiepiscopal dignity, than he dedicated the principal part of his time in oppressing those who favoured the reformed doctrine; many of whom he caused to be imprisoned till they recanted; and others, who would not, were banished from the kingdom.

The first person who fell a martyr, to satisfy the rancorous heart of this bigoted tyrant, was one **ADAM WALLACE**, of Winton, in East-Lothian, who having obtained a true knowledge of the gospel of Christ, spent the greater part of his time in endeavouring to propagate it among his fellow creatures.

His conduct being noticed by some bigoted papists, an information was laid against him for heresy, on which he was apprehended, and committed to prison.

A few days after he was brought before the archbishop of St. Andrew's and several other prelates, assembled at the church of the Black-friars in Edinburgh, in order to be examined relative to his religious opinions, when three separate articles were exhibited against him, which, with the questions that ensued thereon, and his respective answers, were as follow: 1. That he had said and taught that the bread and wine in the altar, after the words of consecration, were not the real body and blood of Christ.

To this he replied, "I never said or taught any thing but what I found in this book, (pointing to a bible that hung by his side) which contains the word of God. From this I am informed, as you may likewise be, that after our Lord had eaten the paschal lamb, at his last supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament, in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, *Take, eat; this is my body*. And he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, *Drink ye all of it: for this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for the remission of many. As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.*"

The earl of Huntley, addressing himself to Wallace, said, "Thou answerest not to that which is laid against thee; say, either yes or no."

To this our martyr replied, "If ye will admit God, and his word, spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son, ye will admit what I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone of faith, and which ought to be judge to me, and to all the world."

"Why, said the earl, hast thou not a good judge here? And thinkest thou that we know not God and his word? Answer to the accusation laid against thee."

"I never taught," replied Wallace, "more than the writ faith; nor yet more than I have before said. I know well what St. Paul meaneth, when he saith, *Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation.* Therefore, when I taught (which was but seldom, and to those only who required it of me) I said, "that if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered and used, as the Son of the living God instituted it; where that was done, there was God himself by his Divine Power."

The bishop of Orkney then asked Wallace if he believed that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, was the very body of God, flesh and blood?

To this he replied, "I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; that he had a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members, and that he walked about in the world preaching to the people; that he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; and that by his godly power, he raised that body again the third day: that he afterwards ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, who shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead."

He then quoted several texts of scripture, tending to prove the absurdity of the popish doctrine; which not being agreeable to his judges, they desisted from asking any farther questions relative to the first article; and therefore proceeded to state the second.

2. That he had said, and openly taught, that the mass was very idolatry, and an abomination in the sight of God.

To this he replied that he had read the Bible in three different tongues, and never met with the word mass in either; therefore he thought it idolatry, and an abomination in the sight of God.

3. That he had said, and openly taught, that the God which was worshipped by the members of the holy mother-church, was but bread made from corn growing on the earth, and that it was brought to the form in which it was used by the hands of men.

Wallace, in answer to this, said, "I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein. I know of no other God, and him only will I worship so long as I live."

The archbishop, after telling Wallace he had been guilty of many other errors, which he should pass over, asked him whether

he granted or denied the articles propounded. To which he answered in the affirmative.

He then pronounced sentence of death on him as an heretic; and he was immediately delivered over to the secular power, in order for execution.

In the evening of the same day, Wallace was visited by several Romish priests, who endeavoured to prevail on him to recant; but he stood so stedfast in the faith he professed, and used such forcible arguments in vindication of the true gospel, that they left him with some wrath, saying he was too abandoned to receive any impression.

The next morning he was conducted to the Castle-Hill at Edinburgh, when, being chained to the stake, and the faggots lighted, he chearfully resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it, in full assurance of receiving a crown of glory in the heavenly mansions.

It was supposed that the persecutors of Wallace were more violent against him than they would otherwise have been, on account of his wife, who being employed as tutoress to the children of lady Ormiston, catechised them in the new forms of religion.

The next and last person who suffered martyrdom in Scotland for the cause of Christ, was one **WALTER MILL**, who was burnt at Edinburgh in the year 1558.

This person, in his younger years, had travelled into Germany, and on his return was installed a priest of the church of Lunan in Angus; but, on an information of heresy, in the time of cardinal Beaton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and abscond.

After the death of that prelate he returned, not knowing the persecuting spirit of his successor. Being well known by several bigotted papists in the neighbourhood, they laid an information

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against him for heresy; in consequence of which he was apprehended, and committed to prison.

A few days after he was brought before the archbishop and his suffragans, in order to be examined relative to his religious opinions; when Sir Andrew Oliphant, by order of the archbishop, interrogated him as follows:

Oliph. What think you of priest's marriage?

Mill. I hold it is a blessed band; for Christ himself maintained and approved it, and made it free to all men. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. St. Paul saith, "It is better to marry than burn." I have done so; for God never forbade marriage to man of any degree whatsoever.

Oliph. You say there are not seven sacraments?

Mill. Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest.

Oliph. You say the mass is idolatry?

Mill. It undoubtedly is so, and highly derogatory to the principles of all true Christians.

Oliph. You deny the sacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ?

Mill. The scripture of God is only to be considered in a spiritual light; and as to the mass, it is wrong, and contradictory to all reason; for Christ having once offered himself up for the sins of men, all sacrifice then ended.

After being thus interrogated, Sir Andrew Oliphant asked Mill if he would recant his opinions; to which he answered in the negative, saying he would sooner forfeit ten thousand lives, than relinquish a particle of those heavenly principles he had received from the suffrages of his blessed Redeemer.

In consequence of this, sentence of condemnation was immediately passed on him, and he was conducted to prison in order for execution the following day.

This stedfast believer in Christ was eighty-two years of age, and exceeding infirm; from whence it was supposed that he could

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scarcely be heard. However, when he was led to the place of execution, he expressed his religious sentiments with such courage, and at the same time composure of mind, as astonished even his enemies. As soon as he was fastened to the stake, and the faggots lighted, he addressed the spectators as follows:

The cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner,) but only for the defence of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ; and I praise God, who has called me, by his mercy, to seal the truth with my life; which, as I receive it from him, so I willingly offer it up to his glory. Therefore, if you would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of the seat of antichrist, but depend solely on Jesus Christ, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation."

And then he added that he trusted he should be the last who would suffer death in Scotland upon a religious account.

Thus did this pious Christian give up his life, in defence of the truth of Christ's gospel, not doubting but he should be made a partaker of his heavenly kingdom. The people were so grieved at the death of this good man that as a monument of it to future ages, they raised a pile of stones on the spot where he suffered. This however was removed by order of the popish clergy, but replaced again by the people several times, till at length a guard was appointed to apprehend all persons who should carry stones to that place.

It is remarkable that from the universal esteem in which this man was held by the people, a cord could not be found to tie him with after his condemnation; and on that very account his execution was postponed till the next morning, when they were reduced to the necessity of using the cords belonging to the archbishop's pavilion.

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The death of this man proved the overthrow of popery in Scotland. The clergy were so sensible that their affairs were falling to decay that they, from that time, never dared to proceed to a capital punishment on account of religion: insomuch, that in the synod held in Edinburgh, in July this year, 1558, some persons who had been impeached of heresy were only condemned, upon their non-appearance, to make a public recantation at the market-cross of that city, on the 1st of September following, being St. Giles's Day, the tutelar saint of that place.

It was usual, at the feast of this saint, which now nearly approached, to carry his image in procession through the town, and the queen-regent was to honour the solemnity with her presence. But when the time was come, the image was missing; it having been stolen from its station by some who were too wise to pray to it.

This caused a halt to be made, till another image was borrowed from the Grey-friars, with which they set forward: and after the queen had accompanied them a considerable way, she withdrew into the castle, where she was to dine. But no sooner was she gone, than some persons, who had been purposely appointed, tore the picture from off the shoulders of those who carried it, threw it into the dirt and totally destroyed it.

This gave such universal satisfaction to the people that a general shout ensued, and a riot continued in the street during some hours, which was at length suppressed by the vigilance of the magistrates.

About the same time a great disturbance happened at Perth, the circumstances attending which were as follow: a famous reformist minister having preached to a numerous congregation, after sermon was over, some godly persons remained in the church, when a priest was so imprudent as to open a case in which was curiously engraved the figures of many 'saints;' after which he made preparations for saying mass. A young man observing this,

said aloud, "This is intolerable! As God plainly condemns, in scripture, idolatry, shall we stand and see such an insult?"

The priest was so offended at this that he struck the youth a violent blow on the head, on which he broke one of the figures in the case, when immediately all the people fell on the priest, and destroyed every thing in the church that tended to idolatry. This being soon known abroad, the people assembled in large bodies, and proceeded to the monasteries of the Grey and Black Friars, both of which they stripped; and then pulled down the house of the Carthusians; so in the space of two days nothing remained of those noble buildings but the bare walls. The like kind of outrages broke out in many other towns in the kingdom.

At this time there were many persons who made it their business to solicit subscriptions in order to carry on the work of reformation, and to abolish popery. Among these were several of the nobility, particularly the earl of Argyle, the lord James Stewart, the earl of Glencairn, &c.

The endeavours of these reformists were attended with such success that they at length effected a reformation in the kingdom; though they met with many obstacles from their inveterate enemies, the papists.

As the particular circumstances attending this happy change are materially connected with the subject of this book, we shall, by way of conclusion, present them to our readers.

In the year 1559, when there was a probability of compleating the treaty of Cambray (by which the reformed were to be persecuted) the cardinal of Lorrain, of the house of Guise, wrote to his sister, the queen-regent of Scotland and also to the archbishop of St. Andrews, informing them of the resolution taken to extirpate heresy; and pressing them to employ their endeavours for that purpose. The queen-regent saw plainly that she would thereby not only forfeit the promise made by her to the lords, who had hitherto adhered to her upon assurances given them of her protection; but that the peace of Scotland would likewise be endangered. For besides that, their party (the reformed) was strong, it was not to be doubted but that queen Elizabeth would support them, for which reasons, the queen-regent was not inclined to favour her brother's bloody counsels.

The nobility and gentry had presented the preceding year a petition to the queen-regent, praying that the service might be performed in the vulgar tongue; that the communion might be administered in both kinds; and that such priests as led scandalous lives might be removed, and worthy men put in their stead.

The queen-regent being unwilling to exasperate so formidable a party, before the dauphin was declared king of Scotland, promised that they should not be punished on account of prayers having been said in the vulgar tongue.

They then moved, in parliament, for a repeal of those laws by which bishops were impowered to persecute heretics; and entreated that such points only might be judged heresy, as were condemned by the word of God. Her majesty answered that these things could not pass, because of the opposition made by the spiritual estate.

Against this they entered a protest to the following purpose; that having moved, in the most humble manner, for a redress of abuses, they consequently were not to be blamed for any evils which might ensue from her majesty's rejecting their petition.

The queen, after she had obtained her ends, with regard to the dauphin, ordered all the protestant preachers to be served with citations. In consequence of this, the earl of Glencairn was sent to remind her majesty of her former promises; when she made him the following answer; that they should be banished from Scotland in spite of all that might be attempted in their favour; adding that princes were bound to perform their promises, no farther than was convenient to them. The earl replied that if the queen renounced her promises, they would renounce their allegiance to her.

This bad conduct of the queen-regent, and what follows, must be imputed to the sanguinary counsels of the Guises, she herself being an excellent woman, and far from being possessed of a persecuting disposition.

In the town, of Perth, the reformed nobles entered the churches, and there heard sermons publicly. The ministers were flocking from all parts, to appear on May 20, (the day for which they had been cited) and were accompanied by great numbers of people.

The queen, fearing the ill effects of so considerable a number of people, dispatched an order forbidding their coming; whereupon many returned home: notwithstanding which, they were declared rebels for their non-appearance.

This foul play occasioned many of her friends to leave her, and go over to those who were assembled at Perth.

The people were now so strongly inflamed that they broke into the houses of the monks and friars; when, after distributing every thing found in them, they razed the buildings to the ground.

This so enraged the queen that she resolved to punish that town in an exemplary manner. She immediately assembled the French soldiers and others; but the earl of Glencairn, getting together 2500 men, marched, with incredible speed, to that place, where there were now 7000 armed men; which intimidating the queen, a reconciliation was proposed and agreed upon.

An oblivion, with regard to every thing past, was now promised; all matters concerning religion were to be referred to a parliament; and her majesty was to be admitted into Johnstoun, upon condition of not taking the Frenchmen with her.

But notwithstanding this, she marched them into the town; when the people remonstrating with her for violating her engagements, she replied, "Princes are not to be strictly tied down to promises, especially those made to heretics:" adding, that she thought it no sin to destroy them all; and that, when this should be done, she would find good reasons to justify her conduct." All this (as was observed) must be ascribed to the cruel machinations of the Guises.

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The minds of the people were alienated to such a degree at this conduct of the queen-regent, that they began to pull down images and monasteries in many places, all which the queen-regent represented to the French king, as being done with no other view than to shake off the Gallic yoke; and therefore entreated that a great force might be sent her, in order to reduce the country.

On the other hand, the lords sent over certain persons, to give his Gallic majesty an impartial account of things; and to inform him that an indemnity for all that was past, and the free exercise of their religion in time to come, would give full satisfaction.

The French king began now to be apprehensive that the keeping Scotland in tranquillity would put him to great expence; and he saw the danger that must ensue, should the Scotch throw themselves into the arms of the queen of England. He, therefore, deputed a person in whom the constable of France put the utmost confidence, to go to Scotland; commanding him to bring him a genuine account of the state of an affair which was so variously represented.

However, before the person deputed could come back, the French king died, and the constable was disgraced. When all affairs being put into the hands of the brothers of the house of Guise, no moderate councils were listened to. And now the people of Scotland rose so universally against the queen-regent that she was obliged to retire to Dunbar-castle. She once resolved to refer the whole affair to a parliament; but two thousand troops coming over from France to her aid, and assurances being given her of a greater force, she threw off all fear; and advancing to Leith, fortified it.

Upon this the lords declared that during the minority of their queens, the government was vested principally in the estates; and that the regent, being only the chief administratrix, was therefore accountable to them; whereupon they resolved to remove her from the regency. They, accordingly, accused her of lighting up a war in the kingdom, and bringing in foreigners to subdue it; of debasing the coin; of governing without the consent of the nobility; and breaking her faith, and promises made to them. They then pronounced her to be fallen from the regency, and suspended her power till the meeting of the parliament.

The lords (now styled Lords of the Congregation) withdrew from Edinburgh to Stirling; upon which the French marched to the former, and again set up mass in the churches. Immediately after new succours, commanded by the marquis d'Elbeuf; one of the brothers to the queen-regent came from France; so that there were, by this time, four thousand French in Scotland.

The arbitrary proceedings of the queen made her detested by her subjects, who considered her in no other light than that of a common enemy. The Scotch, who had hitherto been secretly encouraged and assisted with both money and ammunition from England, were forced to implore more openly queen Elizabeth's aid; and France was so much divided with intestine broils, that the English queen was not much afraid of engaging in a war with France: whence she was the more easily inclined to aid the Scotch.

A treaty being concluded between the English and Scotch, two thousand horse, and six thousand foot, marched out of England to succour the latter. They besieged Leith, during which each side sustained considerable loss; but that of the English was soonest made up, as supplies were so near at hand. At last, queen Elizabeth offered to mediate a peace between France and Scotland; but before that could be effected, the queen-regent died.

During her sickness she sent for some of the Scotch lords, and begged pardon for the injuries she had done them. She advised them to send away both the English and French out of Scotland; intreating them to persevere in the allegiance they owed their queen. Discoursing with one of their preachers, her majesty declared that she expected to be saved through the merits of Christ only. She had ruled the Scotch nation, till the last year of her life, with so much justice and wisdom; and set so shining an example to others, both in her own person and in the order of her court, that had she but died before the bloody counsels of her brother led her astray, she would have been more lamented than any queen who had been in that country for many years.

Soon after the death of the queen-regent, (who was succeeded by her daughter Mary) a peace was concluded between England, France, and Scotland: an oblivion was granted for whatever had past; the French and English were to be sent out of Scotland; and all other affairs referred to a parliament, which met accordingly in the month of August.

At this meeting of parliament, all acts in favour of the Romish religion were repealed; and a confession of faith, drawn up by the protestant ministers, and afterwards inserted among the acts of parliament, was confirmed. These acts met with no opposition, except from three temporal lords, who declared that they would not depart from the faith of their fathers. But they were assented to by the spiritual lords, as well as bishops and abbots, who dilapidated the lands and revenues of the church in a most unheard of manner. The abbots turned their abbies into temporal estates; and the bishops, though they still adhered to popery, divided all their lands among their kindred and friends.

By these means the church was so greatly impoverished that had not king James I. and king Charles I. with great zeal, retrieved some part of the ancient revenues, and provided a considerable maintenance for the poor clergy, every encouragement to religion and learning in Scotland would have been reduced to so very low an ebb, that barbarism must have again overspread that kingdom.

When these acts were sent over to France, they were rejected with the utmost scorn, which made the Scotch apprehensive of a fresh war: but Francis II. dying soon after, suppressed all their fears; for their sovereign being no longer favoured by so mighty a crown, was obliged to return home. In this manner queen Elizabeth severed Scotland from its ancient dependence on France; and acquired afterwards so great an interest in the former, that most affairs there were chiefly governed by her influence.

The establishment of the reformation, which was completed in the year 1560, was followed by an order to pull down all the monasteries, which was immediately put in execution.

Mary, queen of Scots, on her return to her kingdom in 1561, was received with great demonstrations of joy, both by the nobles and the people. However, she had the mortification to see the reformation established by such strict laws, that none but herself was allowed to have mass said in her chapel, and this without any pomp. Nevertheless, some lords still continued to profess the old religion; and being in hopes of restoring it, by her authority, they thence made their court to her with great assiduity. These lords were very considerable by their birth, their riches, and their vassals; and yet they, perhaps, would never have once thought of restoring the old religion, had they not depended on the queen's favour, who only could balance the power of the protestants.

Their first project was to alienate her, if possible, from such of the protestants as had most credit with her, and with the nation; and as James Stuart, her natural brother, adhered strongly to the protestant religion, he thence became the chief object of their hatred. The queen, on her arrival, had made him chief minister, whence they exerted their utmost endeavours to destroy him in her good opinion. But all the efforts of the Romanists to restore popery proved ineffectual; and it has never been able to triumph in Scotland since the times of which we have been treating: and we hope never will, so long as time shall be.



Of the Persecutions in IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

Containing an Account of the rise of the Protestant Religion in Ireland; with the Circumstances that occurred in consequence thereof.

THE gloom of popery had hung over the kingdom of Ireland from its first establishment till the reign of Henry VIII. when it began to disperse, and give that light which had never before been known.* The ignorance in which the people were kept, with the absurd and superstitious notions they entertained, were sufficiently evident to many; and the distinguished artifices of their priests, who kept them in an absolute state of darkness, was so conspicuous that several persons of the first characters, who had hitherto been

^{* [}CHCoG: Though true in the short term, the long-term reality is quite different. St. Patrick, who first introduced Christianity to Ireland in the fifth century was NOT a papist, and in fact was strongly opposed to their unscriptural practices. He established a Bible-based Celtic Christianity there which continued for many centuries. These Christians operated mostly via open villages, which were functional demonstrations of how Christian societies should live. During the dark ages, they kept learning alive through their libraries and by copying manuscripts, and ran missions into Wales, Scotland, England and the European mainland. In 1155, English-born pope Adrian IV had the arrogance to issue the DONATION of IRELAND (Laudabiliter), basing his fraud on an earlier Roman Catholic forgery, the Donation of Constantine, by which he claimed to give the English king Henry II the right to invade and rule Ireland, provided Henry rooted out their existing Christian religion and replaced it with Roman Catholicism. This was done with unrelenting brutality, and many, many Bible-loving Christians were martyred.]

strenuous Romanists, would willingly have endeavoured to shake off papacy, and embrace the protestant religion; but the natural ferocity of the people, and their strong attachment to the ridiculous principles they had been taught, made the attempt dangerous. It was, however, at length undertaken, though attended with the most horrid and inhuman consequences.

The introduction of the protestant religion in Ireland was principally owing to one George Browne, an Englishman, consecrated (in London) archbishop of Dublin, on the 19th of March, 1535, in the 26th year of Henry VIII. He had been an Augustine friar, and provincial of his order; and is said to have acquired this dignity merely from his merit.

After having enjoyed it about five years, he, at the time that Henry VIII. was demolishing the religious houses in England, caused all the relics and images to be removed out of the cathedral and other churches in Dublin, and the rest of the churches in his diocese; in the place of which he caused to be put up the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.

A short time after this he received a letter from Thomas Cromwell, lord privy-seal, informing him that Henry VIII. had thrown off the papal supremacy in England and was determined to do the like in Ireland; and that he thereupon had appointed him (archbishop Browne) one of the commissioners for seeing the same put in execution. The archbishop wrote (in December, 1535) to the lord privy-seal, in answer, that he had employed his utmost endeavours, at the hazard of his life, to cause the Irish nobility and gentry to acknowledge king Henry as their supreme head, in matters both spiritual and temporal; but had met with a most violent opposition, especially from George, archbishop of Armagh: that this prelate had, in a speech to his clergy, laid a curse on all those who should own his highness's (for such were the kings of England styled in those days) supremacy; adding, that their isle, called in the Chronicles *Insula Sacra*, or the Holy Island, belonged

to none but the bishop of Rome; and that the king's progenitors had received it from them.

He observed likewise, that the archbishop, and the clergy of Armagh, had each dispatched a courier to Rome; and that it would be necessary for a parliament to be called in Ireland to pass an act of supremacy, the people not regarding the king's commission. He concluded with observing that the popes had kept the people in the most profound ignorance, and that the clergy were exceeding illiterate. That the common people were more zealous, in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs had been in the defence of truth at the beginning of the gospel; and that it was to be feared Shan O'Neal, a lord of great interest in the northern part of that island, would oppose the king's commission.

The following year a parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin, by order of Leonard Grey, at that time vice-roy, or lordlieutenant. At this assembly archbishop Browne made a speech, in which he set forth that the bishops of Rome used, anciently, to acknowledge emperors, kings and princes, to be supreme in their own dominions; and therefore, that he himself would vote king Henry VIII. as supreme, in all matters, both ecclesiastical and temporal. He concluded with saying that whosoever should refuse to vote for this act was not a true subject to the king. This speech greatly startled the other bishops and lords: but at length, after strong debates, the king's supremacy was allowed.

Two years after this the archbishop wrote a second letter to lord Cromwell, complaining of the clergy, and hinting at the machinations of the pope of Rome, then carrying on against the protestants. This letter is dated Dublin, April 1538; and in it, among other particulars, the archbishop says as follows: "A bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as many of the clergy do in this country. These, though not scholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's (the king's) orders. The country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, the Blacksmith's Son. As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble person. Rome has a great kindness for the duke of Norfolk, and great favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness."

A short time after this, the pope sent over to Ireland (directed to the archbishop of Armagh and his clergy) a bull of excommunication against all who had, or should, own the king's supremacy within the Irish nation; and adding a curse to all of them, and theirs, who should not, within forty days, acknowledge to their confessors, (after the publishing of it to them), that they had done amiss in so doing.

Archbishop Browne gave notice of this, in a letter, dated Dublin, May, 1538. Part of the form the confession, or vow, sent over to there Irish papists, ran as follows:

I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or neice, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil power, above the authority of the mother-church; or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her, the mother of churches, opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here swore unto: so God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Holy Evangelists, help, &c.

The councils of Lateran and Constance, expressly declare that no favour should be shewn to heretics, nor faith kept with them. That they ought to be excommunicated and condemned, and their estates confiscated; and that princes are obliged, by a solemn oath, to root them out of their respective dominions.

How abominable a church must that be, which thus dares to trample upon kings! How stupid the people who pay a regard to the injunctions of such a church!

In the archbishop's last-mentioned letter, dated May, 1538, he says, "His highness's vice-roy of this nation, is of little or no power with the old natives. This nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficiently strong to oppose them. Now both English and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders; and to lay aside their national quarrels, which I fear will (if any thing will) cause a foreigner to invade this nation."

Not long after this, archbishop Browne seized one Thade O'Brian, a Franciscan friar, who had got a paper sent from Rome, dated May, 1538, and directed to O'Neal. In this letter were the following words:

His holiness Paul, now pope, and the council of the fathers, have lately found in Rome, a prophecy of one St. Lacerianus, an Irish bishop of Cashell, in which he saith that the mother-church of Rome falleth, when, in Ireland the Catholic faith is overcome. Therefore, for the glory of the mother-church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy, and his holiness's enemies.

This Thade O'Brian, after farther examination and search made, was pilloried, and kept close prisoner, till the king's orders arrived in what manner he should be farther disposed of. But news coming over from England that he was to be hung, he laid violent hands on himself in the castle of Dublin. His body was afterwards carried to Gallows-green, where, after being hung up for some time, it was there interred.

After the accession of Edward VI. to the throne of England, an order was directed to Sir Anthony Leger, the lord-deputy of Ireland; commanding that the liturgy in English be forthwith set up

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in Ireland there to be observed within the several bishoprics, cathedrals, and parish-churches; and it was first read in Christchurch, Dublin, on Easter-day, 1551, before the said Sir Anthony, archbishop Browne, and others. Part of this order was as follows:

Whereas our gracious father, king Henry VIII. taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects; dispensing with the sins of our nations by their indulgencies and pardons for gain; purposely to cherish all evil vices, as robberies, rebellions, thefts, whoredoms, blasphemies, idolatry, &c. our gracious father hereupon dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbeys, and other pretended religious houses; as being but nurseries for vice or luxury, more than for sacred learning, &c."

On the day after the common-prayer was first used in Christchurch, Dublin, the following wicked scheme was projected by the papists:

In the church was left a marble image of Christ, holding a reed in his hand with a crown of thorns on his head. Whilst the English service (the Common-Prayer) was reading before the lordlieutenant, the archbishop of Dublin, the privy-council, the lordmayor, and a great congregation, blood seemed to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, and to trickle down the face of the image. On this, some of the contrivers of the imposture cried aloud: "See how our Saviour's image sweats blood; but it must necessarily do this, since heresy, (the Common Prayer,) is come into the church." Immediately many of the common people prostrated themselves, with beads in their hands before the image, and prayed to it. Great numbers flocked to see this sight: whence

such confusion arose, that the congregation broke up; and the lordlieutenant and council hastened out of the choir, for fear of danger.

As soon as they were gone, the archbishop, suspecting the cheat, caused the image to be searched and washed, to see whether it would bleed afresh. This was no sooner done, but a sponge was found within the hollow of the head of the image, which one Leigh (a monk of that church) had soaked in blood, and watching his opportunity, early on Sunday morning, had fixed the sponge, so swollen with blood, within the crown of the image's head, that, by an imperceivable pressure, the blood fell, drop by drop, on the face. Immediately the sponge was brought down, and shewn to those worshippers, who, being greatly ashamed at the discovery, cursed father Leigh, and the contrivers of the cheat. These afterwards did public penance in the church, and stood on a table before the pulpit, with their crimes written on their breasts; the archbishop preaching that day before the lord-lieutenant and council, on the following seasonable text: "God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie."

Information of this imposture being sent to England, orders were immediately dispatched to Dublin, that all images should be removed from the churches.

When the order came over from England for publishing proclamations for reading the English liturgy, Sir Anthony St. Leger summoned an assembly of the archbishops, bishops, and other clergy of Ireland and informed them of the king's pleasure.* Immediately George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, stood up and strongly opposed the order, saying that every illiterate fellow will be able to read the mass.[†] To this Sir Anthony answered,

^{* [}CHCoG: It is odd that the original intent of the change: to have the services in the local language so they can be understood, did not result in these services being translated into Gallic for use in Ireland. Instead it appears to have been used as yet another way to reinforce the domination of England over the Irish people.]

[†] [CHCoG: Reconfirming that at this time 'illiterate' could often really mean poorly educated rather than someone unable to read their own

"There are already too many illiterate priests, who know not the meaning of the Latin, nor can even pronounce it." George Dowdall then bid Sir Anthony beware of the clergy's curse; to which the other replyed, that he feared it not.

Then George Dowdall left the assembly, with several of his suffragan bishops (him of Meath excepted;) whereupon archbishop Browne, taking the order from Sir Anthony, declared his submission to it, being in all things just and lawful. Several of the more moderate bishops and clergy joined with archbishop Browne, soon after which Sir Anthony St. Leger was recalled to England and Sir James Crofts placed in his stead. George Dowdall still refusing to obey the order aforesaid, he was deprived of the title of primate of all Ireland and the same was conferred on George Browne, then archbishop of Dublin; after which George Dowdall was banished.

On the death of king Edward VI. a council being summoned in Dublin, a division arose among the assembly, some declaring for lady Jane Gray, and others for lady Mary, who, at last, was voted queen, on her promising to confirm every thing enacted in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

She kept her promise with them during three or four months after her coronation; but, then, having accomplished her design, she, pursuant to the practice of the papists, broke her faith with the protestants; after which every thing was undone that had been settled by the reformers, who were at that time persecuted with fire and faggot in England.

Many of the principal people were removed, and others placed in their stead. George Browne was deprived of his archiepiscopal see, which, after continuing vacant two years, was filled by Hugh Corrin, or Corwine, an Englishman, who was also made chancellor of Ireland.

A short time before archbishop Browne was deprived of his archiepiscopal dignity, he preached a sermon at Christ-Church

language, and thus who did not know Latin.]

from the following text: "Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law." In the course of his sermon he inveighed against the church of Rome, and particularly against the jesuits, of whom he said, "These shall spread over the whole world; shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them; yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, unto them, and yet they not perceive it. But, in the end, God, to justify his law, shall cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them; so that in the end they shall become odious to all nations, and be worse than the Jews."

These words were, in a great measure, prophetical, that order having since been suppressed in most parts of the world.*

Towards the close of queen Mary's reign, a very extraordinary accident happened, which prevented the protestants in Ireland from being persecuted; the particulars of which are as follow:

Queen Mary, resolving to persecute them, appointed Dr. Cole (a bloody agent of Bonner) one of the commissioners for this purpose. Being arrived at Chester with his commission, the mayor of that city, who was a papist, immediately waited on 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." A womanservant of the mayor who was present, being a protestant, and having a brother in Dublin, was greatly troubled at what she heard. But watching her opportunity whilst the mayor and the doctor were in conversation together, she opened the box, took out the commission, and instead thereof, put in a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, and the knave of clubs at the top.

^{* [}CHCoG: And indeed, at that time it was true. They were even cast out of most Roman Catholic countries. But today they have re-established themselves, and have infiltrated almost everywhere, as they have become more subtle, and few now truly understand how dangerous they really are.]

The doctor, not suspecting any thing, put up the box, and arrived with it at Dublin in the month of September, 1558. He immediately waited on lord Fitzwalters, at that time vice-roy, to whom he presented the box, which being opened, nothing was found but the paper and cards. This greatly surprized the whole company; but, after a little reflection, the lord-deputy said, "We must procure another commission: and in the mean time, let us shuffle the cards."

Dr. Cole was immediately ordered to return to England for this purpose; but while he was waiting for a wind, news arrived that queen Mary was dead. This was very happy for the protestants, who, by so singular an incident, escaped a cruel persecution. This relation is confirmed by historians of the greatest credit; who add that queen Elizabeth settled a pension of 40£ per annum on the poor woman, who was the means of saving the lives of her protestant subjects.

At the time queen Elizabeth acceded to the English throne, Ireland was principally inhabited by the native Irish, and by the descendants of English [and Scottish] families who had been transplanted thither ever since the reign of Henry II. Among these were many great men, who though they outwardly recognized the English sovereign's authority, yet imagined they had a right to do themselves justice whenever any supposed injury was done to them.

Hence these lords frequently made war with each other, regardless of the viceroys, who had not force sufficient to check them, but were obliged to send for troops from England whenever a rebellion broke out in Ireland; and as this was expensive, forces were never sent over but in the greatest extremity. Thus, as few of the lord-lieutenants were able to force obedience, they thence willingly connived at the destructive irregularities committed by the Irish lords, for fear of hurting the royal authority; and contenting themselves with filling their purses, omitted the natives. This pusillanimous conduct of the viceroys made the lords of the country so arrogant that they acknowledged the royal authority no farther than was just sufficient to protect them from the power of their enemies. Add to this, the natural aversion the Irish had to the English government; which aversion was greatly encreased on

the change made by queen Elizabeth in matters of religion. From the natural illiteracy of the Irish, and the superstitious notions instilled into them by the Roman catholic priests, they had a stronger attachment to the pope, a circumstance which disposed them to listen to the Romish emissaries, who were perpetually exciting them to rebellion against the government.

This being made known to queen Elizabeth, she kept as watchful an eye as possible over the transactions of that island, well knowing the great credit which the pope, her mortal enemy, had there.

But, notwithstanding all her precautions, in 1567, a rebellion broke out in the northern part of Ireland, headed by that inveterate enemy to the protestants Shan O'Neal; but it was happily quelled, and terminated with the death of that distinguished rebel, who was killed by his own people.

Two years after this, fresh commotions broke out in the same part of the kingdom, which were excited by Edmund and Peter Boteler, brothers to the earl of Ormond; but that nobleman being sent from England to repel them, he used much persuasive arguments; and conducted himself with such propriety that he prevailed on them to lay down their arms; and the intention of their employers were happily frustrated. This rebellion was fomented by the king of Spain, who, in conjunction with the pope, also endeavoured to spirit up another in 1577; but that likewise proved luckily abortive.

In 1594 the famous Hugh O'Neal, earl of Tyrone, having been promised assistance from the king of Spain, raised a more

considerable rebellion than had hitherto been attempted in that kingdom. This obliged queen Elizabeth to send over a strong reinforcement, but notwithstanding that assistance, so powerful were the insurgents that the rebellion continued for some years.

In 1599 the earl of Essex was sent over, at the head of an army consisting of 20,000 foot, and 1300 horse; but even these were not able to suppress the rebellion, so vigorously was it fomented by the earl of Tyrone; nor was it quelled till after the arrival of the lord Montjoy in that island in 1602, when Tyrone came and submitted to him.

About the beginning of the year 1607, the lord Mountjoy brought Tyrone to London, and presented him to king James I. by whom he was very graciously received. He soon after returned to Ireland and attempted to raise another rebellion in that kingdom; but not succeeding, to avoid danger, he fled from the island.

No very material transaction occurred from this period till the dreadful year 1641, when from the infernal machinations of the papists, cruelties of the most horrid nature were inflicted on the protestants in that kingdom; the melancholy particulars of which will be the subject of the ensuing chapter.

CHAP. II.

Of the Persecutions against the Protestants in Ireland distinguished by the Name of The Irish Massacre.

THOUGH the various attempts made by the Irish against the English usually go under the denomination of rebellion, yet they more properly deserve the epithet persecution, as all their destructive efforts were particularly levelled at the protestants only, whom they were determined, if possible, totally to extirpate from the kingdom.* They had, indeed, hitherto miscarried; but they at length hit upon a project that succeeded to their wishes, and produced a catastrophe that will remain in characters of blood to the latest posterity.

That the Romish clergy of Ireland were the principal fomenters of the rebellion in that kingdom, already mentioned, is particularly evident from their treacherous and disloyal behaviour under queen Elizabeth and king James I. They were continually urging to the people the lawfulness of killing all protestants who supported the right of the crown of England to Ireland; and assuring them that all papists who should die fighting against the protestants would go immediately to heaven.

These Irish ecclesiastics, under Charles I. were greatly encreased by titular Romish archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, abbots, priests, and friars; for which reason, in 1629, the public exercise of the popish rites and ceremonies was forbid.[†]

^{* [}CHCoG: There is ample evidence that these rebellions were directed against all the English and Scottish occupiers; being protestant merely reinforced their bitterness against them. Even Southwell's following account often verifies this.]

[†] [CHCoG: From the Irish viewpoint, the 'new' Church of England and its rites, which were now being forced onto them, were little different in many ways from the Church of Rome. In both cases, they were being

But notwithstanding this, soon after the Romish clergy erected a new popish university in the city of Dublin. They also proceeded to build monasteries and nunneries in various parts of the kingdom; in which places these very Romish clergy, and the chiefs of the Irish, held frequent meetings; and from thence, used to pass, to and fro, to France, Spain, Flanders, Lorrain, and Rome, where the detestable plot of 1641 was hatching by the family of the O'Neals, and their followers.

A short time before the horrid conspiracy broke out, which we are now going to relate, the papists of Ireland had presented a remonstrance to the lords-justices of that kingdom, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houses of parliament in England solemnly answered that they would never grant any toleration to the popish religion in that kingdom.

This farther irritated the papists to put in execution the diabolical plot concerted for the destruction of the protestants; and it failed not of the success wished for by its malicious and rancorous projectors.

The design of this horrid conspiracy was that a general insurrection should take place at the same time throughout the kingdom; and that all the protestants, without exception, should be murdered. The day fixed for this horrid massacre was the 23d of October, 1641, the feast of Ignatius Loyola, the 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 detestable scheme might the more infallibly succeed, the most distinguished artifices were practised by the

dictated to by foreigners, and in particular, replacing the pope of Rome with the king of England as Head of the church, and Latin with English services, improved nothing. The continuing imposition of rigid English rule over the Irish increased their susceptibility to the intrigues of the Roman emissaries, especially the subtle and devious jesuits.]

papists; and their behaviour, in their visits to the protestants, at this time, was with more seeming kindness than they had hitherto shewn, which was done the more completely to effect the inhuman and treacherous designs then meditating against them.

The execution of this savage conspiracy was delayed till the approach of winter, that the sending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Richlieu, the French minister, had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money; and many Irish officers had given the strongest assurances that they would heartily concur with their Catholic brethren, as soon as the insurrection appeared.

The day preceding that appointed for carrying this horrid design into execution was now arrived, when, happily for the metropolis of the kingdom, the conspiracy was discovered by one Owen O'Connelly, an Irishman, for which most signal service the English parliament voted him 500£ and a pension of 200£ during his life.*

So very seasonably was this plot discovered, even but a few hours before the city and castle of Dublin were to have been surprized, that the lords-justices had but just time to put themselves, and the city, in a proper posture of defence. The lord M'Guire, who was the principal leader here, with his accomplices, were seized the same evening in the city; and in their lodgings were found swords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and such other instruments of death as had been prepared for the destruction and extirpation of protestants in that part of the kingdom.

Thus was the metropolis happily preserved; but the bloody part of the intended tragedy was past prevention. The conspirators were in arms all over the kingdom early in the morning of the day appointed, and every protestant who fell in their way was immediately murdered. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same

^{* [}CHCoG: 500£ then would be worth at least 90,000£ in 2023.]

stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the same fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight save them from the first assault: destruction was 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, full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourse of kindness and Nay, even death was the slightest punishment good offices. inflicted by these monsters in human form: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause whatever. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost licence, cannot reach to a greater pitch of ferocity than appeared in these merciless barbarians. Even the weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcases of defenceless children of the English.*

Nor was the avarice of the Irish sufficient to produce the least restraint on their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, were, because they bore the name of English, wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods, there to perish by slow

^{* [}CHCoG: It is doubtful that what happened to the English in Ireland was more barbaric than what the French catholics did to the Huguenots during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572. Mob mentality knows no limits.]

and lingering torments. The commodious habitations of the planters were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had shut themselves up in the houses, and were preparing for defence, they perished in the flames, together with their wives and children.

Such is the general description of this unparalleled massacre; but it now remains, from the nature of our work, that we proceed to particulars.

The bigoted and merciless papists had no sooner began to embrue their hands in blood, than they repeated the horrid tragedy day after day; and the protestants in all parts of the kingdom fell victims to their fury by deaths of the most unheard-of nature.

The ignorant Irish were more strongly instigated to execute the infernal business by the jesuits, priests and friars, who, when the day for the execution of the plot was agreed on, recommended, in their prayers, diligence in the great design, which they said would greatly tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the Catholic cause. They every where declared to the common people that the protestants were heretics, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them; adding that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman than to kill a dog; and that relieving or protecting them was a crime of the most unpardonable nature.

The papists having besieged the town and castle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the latter, who were protestants, surrendering on condition of being allowed quarter, the besiegers, the instant the townspeople appeared, attacked them in the most unmerciful manner. Their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the belly of the English protestant minister; after which his followers murdered all the rest, some of whom they hung, others were stabbed or shot, and great numbers knocked on the head with axes provided for the purpose.

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The garrison at Sligo was treated in like manner by O'Connor Slygah; who, upon the protestants quitting their holds, promised them quarter, and to convey them safe over the Curlew mountains, to Roscommon. But he first imprisoned them in a most 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.

Soon after this the parish forced Dr. Bedell, his two sons, and the rest of his family, with some of the chief of the protestants whom he had protected, into a ruinous castle called Lochwater, situated in a lake near the sea. Here he remained with his companions some weeks, all of them daily expecting to be put to death. The greatest part of them were stripped naked, by which means, as the season was cold, (it being in the month of

They continued in this situation till the 7th of January, when they were all released. The bishop was courteously received into the house of Dennis O'Sheridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England; but he did not long survive this kindness.

During his residence here, he spent the whole of his time in religious exercises, the better to fit and prepare himself, and his sorrowful companions, for their great change, as nothing but certain death was perpetually before their eyes.

He was at this time in the 71st year of his age, and being afflicted with a violent ague caught in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake, it soon threw him into a fever of the most dangerous nature. Finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy, like one of the primitive martyrs just hastening to his crown of glory. After having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience, in the most pathetic manner, as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family and his children, he finished the course of his ministry and life together, on the 7th of February, 1642.

His friends and relations applied to the intruding bishop for leave to bury him, which was with difficulty obtained; he, at first, telling them that the church-yard was Holy-ground, and should be no longer defiled with heretics: however, leave was at last granted, and though the church funeral service was not used at the solemnity, (for fear of the Irish papists) yet some of the better sort, who had the highest veneration for him when living, attended his remains to the grave. At his interment, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, *Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum*: that is, "May the last of the English rest in peace." Adding, that as he was one of the best, so he should be the last English bishop found among them.

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His learning was very extensive, and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he printed all he wrote. Scarce any of his writings were saved, the papists having destroyed most of his papers, and his library. He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of scripture, all which, with a great trunk full of his manuscripts, fell into the hands of the Irish. Happily his great Hebrew MS. was preserved, and is now in the library of Emanuel College, Oxford.

In the barony of Terawley, the papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above forty English protestants, some of whom were women and children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword, or of drowning themselves in the sea. These chusing the latter were accordingly forced, by the naked weapons of their inexorable persecutors, into the deep, where, with their children in their arms, they first waded up to their chins, and afterwards sunk down and perished together.

In the castle of Lisgool upwards of 150 men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and at the castle of Moneah not less than 100 were 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.

Many others were put to deaths of the most horrid nature, and such as could have been invented only by demons instead of men.

Some of them were laid with the centre of their backs on the axle-tree of a carriage; with their legs resting on the ground on one side, and their arms and head on the other. In this position one of the savages scourged the wretched object on the thighs, legs, &c. while another set on furious dogs, who tore to pieces the arms and

upper parts of the body; and in this dreadful manner were they deprived of their existence.

Great numbers were fastened to horses tails, and the beasts being set on full gallop by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired.

Others were hung on lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finished their lives partly by hanging, and partly by suffocation.

Nor did the more tender sex escape the least particle of cruelty that could be projected by their merciless and furious persecutors. Many women, of all ages, were put to deaths of the most cruel nature. Some in particular were fastened with their backs to strong posts, and being stripped to their waists, the inhuman monsters cut off their right breasts with shears, which, of course, put them to the most excruciating torments; and in this position they were left, till, from the loss of blood, they expired.

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, who were near the time of their delivery, 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 encrease the horrid scene, they would oblige the husband to be a spectator before he suffered himself.

At the town of Liffenskeath they hanged above one hundred Scottish protestants, shewing them no more mercy than they did to the English. M'Guire, going to the castle of that town, desired to speak with the governor, when being admitted, he immediately burnt the records of the county, which were kept there. He then demanded 1000£ of the governor, which having received, he immediately compelled him to hear mass, and to swear that he would continue so to do. The New Book of Martyrs



Representation of Scenes in the bloody IRISH MASSACRE in 1642, wherein 40,000 PROTESTANTS were inhumanly sacrificed by the Papists.

And to complete his horrid barbarities, he ordered the wife and children of the governor to be hung up before his face; besides massacring at least one hundred of the inhabitants.

Upwards of one thousand men, women, and children, were driven, in different companies, to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there compelled to throw themselves into the water; and such as attempted to reach the shore were knocked on the head.

In the same part of the country, at least four thousand persons were drowned in different places. The inhuman papists, after first stripping them, drove them like beasts to the spot fixed on for their destruction; and if any, through fatigue, or natural infirmities, were slack in their pace, they pricked them with their swords and pikes; and to strike a farther terror on the multitude, they murdered some by the way. Many of these poor wretches, when thrown into the water, endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to the shore; but their merciless persecutors prevented their endeavours taking effect by shooting them in the water.

In one place one hundred and forty English, after being driven for many miles stark-naked, and in the most severe weather, were all murdered on the same spot, some being hanged, others burnt, some shot, and many of them buried alive; and so cruel were their tormentors that they would not suffer them to pray before they robbed them of their miserable existence.

Other companies they took under pretence of safe-conduct, who, from that consideration, proceeded on their journey; but when the treacherous papists had got them to a convenient spot, they butchered them all in the most cruel manner.

One hundred and fifteen men, women, and children were conducted, by order of Sir Phelim O'Neal, to Portendown-bridge, where they were all forced into the river and drowned. One woman, named Campbel, finding no probability of escaping,

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suddenly clasped one of the chief of the papists in her arms, and held him so fast, that they were both drowned together.

In Killoman they massacred forty-eight families, among whom twenty-two were burnt together in one house. The rest were either hanged, shot, or drowned.

In Kilmore the inhabitants, which consisted of about two hundred families, all fell victims to their rage. Some of them they set in the stocks till they confessed where their money was; after which they put them to death. The whole county was one common scene of butchery, and many thousands perished, in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all the other most cruel deaths that rage and malice could invent.

These bloody villains shewed so much favour to some as to dispatch them immediately; but would by no means suffer them to pray. Others they imprisoned in filthy dungeons, putting heavy bolts on their legs, and keeping them there till they were starved to death.

At Casel they put all the protestants into a loathsome dungeon, where they kept them together for several weeks, in the greatest misery. At length they were released, when some of them were barbarously mangled and left on the highways to perish at leisure; others were hanged, and some were buried in the ground upright, with their heads above the earth, the papists, to encrease their misery, treating them with derision during their sufferings.

In the county of Antrim they murdered nine hundred and fiftyfour protestants in one morning; and afterwards about twelve hundred more in that county.

At a town called Lisnegary they forced twenty-four protestants into a house, and then setting fire to it, burned them together, counterfeiting their outcries in derision to others. Among other acts of cruelty, they took two children belonging to an English woman, and dashed out their brains before her face; after which they threw the mother into a river, and she was drowned. They served many other children in the like manner, to the great affliction of their parents, and the disgrace of human nature.

In Kilkenny all the protestants, without exception, were put to death; and some of them in so cruel a manner, as, perhaps, was never before thought of.

They beat an English woman with such savage barbarity, that she had scarce a whole bone left; after which they threw her into a ditch, but not satisfied with this, they took her child, a girl about six years of age, and after ripping up her belly, threw her to her mother, there to languish till she perished.

They forced one man to go to mass, after which they ripped open his belly, and in that manner left him. They sawed another asunder, cut the throat of his wife, and after having dashed out the brains of their child, an infant, threw it to the swine, who greedily devoured it.

After committing these, and 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 greater satisfaction at having thus murdered and exposed the unhappy protestants.

It is impossible to conceive the pleasure these monsters took in exercising their cruelty; and to encrease the misery of those who fell into their hands, when they butchered them, they would say, "Your soul to the devil."

One of these miscreants would come into a house with his hands embrued in blood, and boast that it was English blood, and

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that his sword had pricked the white skins of the protestants, even to the hilts.

When any one of them had killed a protestant, others would come and receive a gratification in cutting and mangling the body; after which they left it exposed to be devoured by dogs; and when they had slain a number of them, they would boast that the devil was beholden to them for sending so many souls to hell.

But it is no wonder they should thus treat the innocent Christians, when they hesitated not to commit blasphemy against God, and his most holy word. In one place they burnt two protestant bibles, and then said they had burnt hell-fire. In the church at Powerscourt they burnt the pulpit, pews, chests, and bibles belonging to it. They took other bibles, and after wetting them with dirty water, dashed them in the faces of the protestants, saying, "We know you love a good lesson; here is an excellent one for you: come to-morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this."

Some of the protestants they dragged by the hair of their heads into the church, where they stripped and whipped them in the most cruel manner; telling them, at the same time, that if they came tomorrow, they should hear the like sermon.

In Munster they put to death several ministers in the most shocking manner. One, in particular, they stripped stark naked, and driving him before them, pricked him with swords and darts till he fell down, and expired. In some places they plucked out the eyes and cut off the hands of the protestants, and in that manner turned them into the fields, there to wander out their miserable existence. They obliged many young men to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned; wives to assist in hanging their husbands; and mothers to cut the throats of their children.

In one place they compelled a young man to kill his father, and then immediately hanged him. In another they forced a woman to

kill her husband then obliged the son to kill her, and 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 cutting their throats.

In the county of Tipperary upwards of thirty protestants; men, women, and children, fell into the hands of the papists, who, after stripping them naked, murdered them with stones, pole-axes, swords, and other weapons.

In the county of Mayo about sixty protestants, fifteen of whom were ministers, were, upon covenant, to be safely conducted to Galway, by one Edmund Burk and his soldiers; but that inhuman monster, by the way drew his sword, as an intimation of his design to the rest, who immediately followed his example, and murdered the whole, some of whom they stabbed, others were run through the body with pikes, and several were drowned.

In Queen's County great numbers of protestants were put to the most shocking deaths. Fifty or sixty were placed together in one house, which being set on fire, they all perished in the flames.

Many were stripped naked, and being fastened to horses by ropes placed round their middles, were dragged through bogs till they expired.

Some were hung by the feet to tenter-hooks driven into poles; and in that wretched posture left till they perished.



The Manner in which the **PROTESTANTS were dragged through Bogs in IRELAND**, and hung on Tenter hooks fastened to Poles till they perished through Pain and Want of Food.

Others were fastened to the trunk of a tree, with a branch at top. Over this branch hung one arm, which principally supported the weight of the body; and one of the legs was turned up, and fastened to the trunk, while the other hung strait, and in this dreadful and uneasy posture did they remain, as long as life would permit, pleasing spectacles to their blood-thirsty persecutors.

At Clownes seventeen men were buried alive; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a servant maid, were all hung together, and afterwards thrown into a ditch.

They hung many by the arms to branches of trees, with a weight to their feet; and others by the middle, in which postures they left them till they expired.

Several were hung on windmills, and before they were half dead, the barbarians cut them in pieces with their swords. Others, both men, women, and children, they cut and hacked in various parts of their bodies, and left them wallowing in their blood, to perish where they fell. One poor woman they hung on a gibbet with her child, an infant about a twelvemonth old, the latter of whom was fastened by the neck with the hair of its mother's head, and in that manner finished its short but miserable existence.

In the county of Tyrone no less than three hundred protestants were drowned in one day and many others were hanged, burned, and other-ways put to death.

Dr. Maxwell, rector of Tyrone, lived at this time near Armagh, and suffered greatly from these merciless savages. This person, in his examination, taken upon oath before the king's commissioners, declared that the Irish papists owned to him that they, at several times, had destroyed, in one place, twelve thousand protestants, whom they inhumanly slaughtered at Glynwood, in their flight from the county of Armagh. As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced thither, at different times, a great number of unarmed, defenceless protestants, and with pikes and swords violently thrust above one thousand into the river, where they miserably perished.

Nor did the cathedral of Armagh escape the fury of these barbarians, it being maliciously set on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy protestants who lived in or near Armagh, the Irish first burnt all their houses, and then gathered together many hundreds of those innocent people, young and old, on pretence of allowing them a guard and safe conduct to Colerain; when they treacherously fell on them by the way, and inhumanly murdered them.

The like horrid barbarities with those we have particularized, were practised on the wretched protestants in almost all parts of the kingdom; and when an estimate was afterwards made of the number who were sacrificed to gratify the diabolical souls of the papists, it amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand. But it now remains that we proceed to the particulars that followed.

These desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with success, (though by methods attended with such excessive barbarities as perhaps not to be equalled) soon got possession of the castle of Newry, where the king's stores and ammunition were lodged; and with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of Dundalk. They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murdered all the protestants, and then proceeded to Drogheda. The garrison of Drogheda was in no condition to sustain a siege, notwithstanding which, as often as the Irish renewed their attacks, they were vigorously repulsed by a very unequal number of the king's forces, and a few faithful protestant citizens under Sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, assisted by the lord viscount Moore. The siege of Drogheda began on the 30th of November, 1641, and held till the 4th of March, 1642, when Sir Phelim O'Neal, and the Irish miscreants under him, were forced to retire.

In the mean time 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 eclipsed the power of the Irish rebels; and the protestants, for a time, lived in tranquillity.

In the reign of king James II. they were again interrupted, for in a parliament held at Dublin in the year 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 bigotted papist, and an inveterate enemy to the protestants. By his orders they were again persecuted in various parts of the kingdom. The revenues of the city of Dublin were seized, and most of the churches converted into prisons. And had it not been for the resolution and uncommon bravery of the garrisons in the city of Londonderry, and the town of Inniskillin, there had not one place remained for refuge to the distressed protestants in the whole kingdom; but all must have been given up to king James, and to the furious Popish party that governed him.

The remarkable siege of Londonderry was opened on the 18th of April, 1689, by twenty thousand papists, the flower of the Irish army. The city was not properly circumstanced to sustain a siege, the defenders consisting of a body of raw, undisciplined protestants, who had fled thither for shelter, and half a regiment of lord Mountjoy's disciplined soldiers, with the principal part of the inhabitants, making in all only seven thousand three hundred and sixty-one fighting men.

The besieged hoped, at first, that their stores of corn, and other necessaries, would be sufficient; but, by the continuance of the siege, their wants daily encreased, and these at last became so heavy, that, for a considerable time before the siege was raised, a pint of coarse barley, a small quantity of greens, a few spoonsful of starch, with a very moderate proportion of horse-flesh, were reckoned a week's provision for a soldier. And they were, at length, reduced to such extremities that they ate dogs, cats, and mice.

Their miseries increasing with the siege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languished away, or fell dead in the streets. And it is remarkable, that when their long-expected succours arrived from England they were upon the point of being reduced to this alternative, either to preserve their existence by eating each other, or attempting to fight their way through the Irish, which must have infallibly produced their destruction.

These succours were most happily brought by the ship Mountjoy, of Derry, and the Phoenix, of Colerain, at which time they had only nine lean horses left, with a pint of meal to each man. By hunger, and the fatigues of war, their seven thousand three hundred and sixty-one fighting men were reduced to four thousand three hundred, one-fourth part of whom were rendered unserviceable.

As the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their protestant friends and relations; all of whom (even women and children) were forcibly driven from the country thirty miles round, and inhumanly reduced to the sad necessity of continuing some days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town, and were thus exposed to the continual fire both of the Irish army from without, and the shot of their friends from within.

But the succours from England happily arriving, put an end to their affliction; and the siege was raised on the 31st of July, having been continued upwards of three months.

The day before the siege of Londonderry was raised, the Inniskillingers engaged a body of six thousand Irish Roman catholics at Newton-Butler, or Crown castle, of whom near five thousand were slain. This, with the defeat at Londonderry,

dispirited the papists, and they gave up all farther attempts to persecute the protestants.

The year following, viz. 1690, the Irish took up arms in favour of the abdicated prince, king James II. but they were totally defeated by his successor, king William III. That monarch, before he left the country, reduced them to a state of subjection, in which they have ever since continued; and it is to be hoped will so remain so long as time shall be.

By a report made in Ireland in the year 1731, it appeared that a great number of Roman ecclesiastics had, in defiance of the laws, flocked into that kingdom: that several convents had been opened by jesuits, monks, and friars: that many new and pompous mass-houses had been erected in some of the most conspicuous parts of their great cities, where there had not been any before; and that such swarms of vagrant, immoral Romish priests had appeared that the very papists themselves considered them as a burthen.

But notwithstanding all this, the protestant interest at present stands upon a much stronger basis than it did a century ago. The Irish, who formerly led an unsettled and roving life in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbours; they, who, in the morning seized the prey, and at night divided the spoil, have, for many years past, become quiet and civilized. They taste the sweets of English society, and the advantages of civil government. They trade in our cities, and are employed in our manufactures. They are received also into English families, and are treated with great humanity by the protestants.

The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great Irish families, who cruelly oppressed and tyrannized over their vassals, are now dwindled in a great measure to nothing; and most of the ancient popish nobility and gentry of Ireland have renounced the Romish religion.

It is also to be hoped that inestimable benefits will arise from the establishment of protestant schools in various parts of the kingdom, in which the children of the Roman catholics are instructed in religion and reading, whereby the mist of ignorance is dispelled from their eyes, which was the great source of the cruel transactions that have taken place, at different periods, in that kingdom.

In order to preserve the protestant interest in Ireland upon a solid basis, it behoves all in whom that power is invested, to discharge it with the strictest assiduity and attention; for should it once again lose ground, there is no doubt but the papists would take those advantages they have hitherto done, and thousands might yet fall victims to their malicious bigotry.

> Of popish bigotry, protestants, take heed; Your ruin's fix'd, if they to pow'r succeed: Their cruel, bloody scenes, they'll act once more, And streets again shall stream with martyrs gore. Wherever Romish superstitions reign, Reason shall speak, and nature plead in vain; Zealots shall perpetuate each barb'rous task, While priests turn butchers in religion's mask: The reeking dagger, and consuming fire, The groaning gibbet, and the scourging wire, The dreadful rack to terrify the frail, The torturing pincers nature to assail, Of protestants shall be the certain dower, Wherever popish factions rise to power. The innocent, who truth's bright tenets own, Shall die by malice, or by tortures groan. Think on the massacres of which you've read, Think on the murders of the mangled dead, Then think, if ever popery bears the sway, Such bloody scenes again shall face the day.



BOOK XIV.

Containing an Account of the Martyrdoms in the Island of GUERNSEY, and the dreadful Persecutions of the Protestants who were condemned to the Gallies, in the Reign of the French King Louis XIV.

CHAP. I.

Of the Persecutions of the Protestants in the Island of Guernsey.

IT is highly to be lamented, that there are few parts of the universe but have been the scenes of the most direct deviation from the principles pretended to by persons who have professed and called themselves Christians; and perhaps the sublimity of that truly noble institution was never scandalized by any thing more irreconcilable to the divine precepts taught by our Great Deliverer, than the blind bigotry of Popish persecution.

To evince that even the most obscure parts of the world have testified the truth of the foregoing observation, we lay before the reader the following narrative, which, though confined to a place of small importance, perhaps will be found to equal in barbarity and shocking want of feeling, the horrid cruelties sustained by the noble army of martyrs in the greatest empires.

The island of Guernsey was the place where as cruel and unjust an action was committed, under the pretext of religion, as ever disgraced the annals of this, or any other country.

In the year 1556, a virtuous matron, of unblemished reputation, with her two daughters, were, contrary to the least

There is something particularly affecting in the sufferings of these three martyrs. The mother's name was CATHERINE CAWCHES; the daughters GUILLEMINE GILBERT and PEROTINE MASSEY. These three unhappy persons having, during the reign of Edward VI. been instructed in the truths of protestantism, and a just abhorrence of the errors of popery, fell, notwithstanding they quietly kept their opinions to themselves, without giving any offence to the arbitrary sway of the vindictive bloodhounds of the Romish church, (which, under the tyranny of Mary the bigot, ruled triumphant) sacrifices to the impious cruelty of the papists.

The clergy of the island of Guernsey, catching, as it were, the dreadful spirit of persecution, which, under the bloody auspices of the female tyrant before mentioned, pursued the professors of the pristine Christian faith, and were so outrageously zealous as to punish, with the most furious rigour, whatever they thought deserving of the appellation of sins of commission or omission.

Under the last head they conceived the unhappy women we have named to be included, from their not frequenting the idolatrous mass. This was looked on as matter of offence sufficient to mark them for objects of their implacable cruelty. Ever attentive to wreak their direful vengeance on the wretched heads of those they deemed enemies to their miscalled holy mother-church, they watchfully attended to every action of the poor souls they had doomed to destruction, anxious to find any pretence for executing their barbarous purpose. An accident fell out, at length, which afforded them an opportunity of effecting the bloody scheme, and triumphing in the success of their hellish machinations.

A woman devoid of integrity, named Vincent Gosset, feloniously stole a silver cup from a neighbouring house, and bringing it to Perotine, who, in the absence of her husband resided

with her mother and sister, requested her to lend her sixpence on the depositing it with her: this she at first refused, as supposing it not to have been obtained honestly; but thinking if she advanced that trifling sum, she might be a means of restoring the cup to the right owner, she complied with the request, and immediately acquainted a person, whom she looked on as the loser, with her proceedings. The result discovered the rectitude of her surmises, as the neighbour she addressed herself to really had lost the article in question; and on taxing the female thief with the fact, she confessed her guilt, but, to extenuate her crime, wickedly suggested that the above family had received the cup, knowing it to be stolen.

This charge, unjust as it was, served as a specious pretext for committing these unhappy women to prison, which was one of the main objects of their persecutors will, who were determined, that if they could, under any colour, get them into gaol, they never should quit their dungeons but with the loss of their lives.

Conscious of their innocence, and depending on the laws of their country, the three devoted females agreed to stand or fall by the laws of the land which, after the strictest investigation, pronounced them by no means culpable of the crime so unmeritedly imputed to them, and very properly punished the wicked calumniator of their unblemished reputations.

But notwithstanding this legal testimony of their unjust treatment, their sufferings did not subside here; for their malevolent and bloodthirsty pursuers, artfully representing to the court wherein they were tried, that, admitting they were cleared of the present imputation, still there remained a much heavier charge against them, namely, that of heresy; it therefore highly behoved that tribunal to enquire of the ecclesiastical powers whether they had any crime to alledge against the parties, previous to their discharge from confinement. In consequence of this representation, the bailiff, lieutenant, jurats, &c. wrote to the dean and curates of the island to know if any charge of a spiritual nature

lay against the above persons, sufficient to authorize the said magistrates to impede the enlargement of the parties in their custody.

The result of these deliberations was that after the poor creatures had, under the mask of justice, been examined before the dean and other clergy, touching their neglect of attendance at mass, they were, notwithstanding their unavailing offers to conform to the then mode of superstition, condemned, by the spiritual authority, to be burnt to ashes; and the civil power was ordered by the ecclesiastical to see the sentence rigidly conformed to with the entire confiscation of the parties effects.

This bloody sentence was accordingly put in execution, on July 18, 1556, with circumstances of such horrid barbarity, as almost creates a shudder to relate; for the three helpless female martyrs being fastened to the stake, the mother in the midst, and the daughters on each side of her, Perotine, being quite pregnant, the intense heat of the devouring flames occasioned her womb to burst, and from her body was forced the innocent babe from within her alive; it was a fine male infant, and being by a spectator of this scarce to be paralleled scene snatched from the fire and laid on the grass, it was, as soon as the bailiffs, &c. came to the knowledge of the fact, most inhumanly ordered it to be cast into the flames, where, with its hapless mother, it miserably perished, being, as it may not be improperly termed, baptized in its innocent blood, born and dying a martyr.

In order to shew in its proper colours, the total injustice of this horrid action, the same men who had so barbarously condemned and executed these martyrs, being, on a representation of a relation of the sufferers to the council, apprehensive of meeting with a severe punishment, joined in a petition to the queen, wherein they fully acknowledged their inequitable proceedings, and beseeching a pardon for their cruel behaviour to these slaughtered innocents; and yet, notwithstanding they not only admitted their guilt, but also owned they likewise had, previous to this fact, so highly

perverted justice as to pardon a wilful murderer, of whose crime they were fully convinced; yet did queen Mary grant them their desired pardon, though their crimes were certainly of the most enormous nature that, as magistrates, they could commit, namely, their cruelly punishing the innocent, and scandalously favouring those found to be guilty of the most flagitious crimes. This conduct in Mary strongly characterizes the unjust and partial bigotry of that bitter enemy of the protestant faith.

Before we dismiss this melancholy narrative, we must add that it might not be thought perhaps probable that there should be found any man so lost to every sense of truth, justice, and humanity, as to endeavour to controvert a fact incontestably true, or defend a system of infernal cruelty that must, by every good Christian, be abhorred; and yet, so scandalously abandoned was a popish priest, of the name of Harding, as to strive, by a train of artful lies and jesuitical reasoning, to deny proof positive, and by the most groundless calumnies, to asperse the blameless characters of the victims to popish cruelty abovementioned.

All his attempts to rob them of their good names, as well as lives, are fully refuted by an historian of undoubted veracity; but as we cannot enter into the controversy at large, we shall only observe that one of the principal of his wicked charges against the honest name of poor Perotine, calling her an incontinent woman, and her poor babe a bastard, must undoubtedly be a plain falsity, as at the very time the same author wrote, he proves that her lawful husband was then living, and well known as such; that the clergyman who solemnized their marriage was then actually living in St. Martin's-le-Grand, and ready to testify the legality of the same.

It remains, therefore, only just to observe that, as in controverted matters in general, where one party is convicted of a most palpable falsehood, little credit is to be given to the least of his assertions; so it is much more particularly necessary to be thus cautious in all disputes with the misguided dupes of the Roman

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church, whose tenets make it a point of as little scruple to destroy the good name of protestants, as cruelly to effect their bloody purposes on their bodies.

CHAP. II.

Account of the Sufferings of the French Protestants, condemned to the Gallies for persevering in their Religion.

AT a period when the Catholic persuasion appears to be gaining as much ground in protestant states, as it seems to be losing its advocates in those countries where it has hitherto been considered as the established church, it may not be amiss to subjoin the following accounts of the most inhuman cruelties practised by the intrigues of the French Catholic clergy, against even their own countrymen, who were professors of the reformed religion, and had virtuous constancy enough to persist in their abhorrence of Popish superstition, notwithstanding their sincerity involved them in the most piteous calamities that, perhaps, ever afflicted human nature.

The edict of Nantz, settled by Henry IV. and which was looked on as the great bulwark of protestant security against the thunders of Romish ecclesiastical persecution, was by Louis the Fourteenth (instigated by those who took care of that PIOUS monarch's conscience) revoked; and popery having, by that means, a power to tyrannize, its unpitying bloody tribunals were erected predominant in every part of the French dominions.

The miseries of the protestants of that period are pathetically described even by their own historians; torn from their families, while turning their streaming eyes to take a last farewell; emaciated in dungeons, destitute of the small consolations of friendship; exposed to every insult of misguided zeal; brought to the rack by executioners, fresh bathed in the blood of their expiring friends; and finally, their mangled carcases, blackening in the sun, or exposed to rot on dunghills! While Louis, miscalled the Great (without it was for his eminent wickedness) was rioting at Versailles, and triumphing in those monstrous barbarities executed on his unhappy protestant people.

But as we have mentioned in a former part of this work several of these murderous scenes, we shall confine ourselves, in this part, to give an account of the sufferings of the protestants, who though they did not immediately suffer death, went through a train of such unparalleled misery, as must have rendered death, in any shape, desirable; and as the unshaken fortitude with which they bore, even for years, these amazing cruelties for the truth of Christ's word, certainly entitle them to the holy name of martyrs; which glorious title indeed, many of them, after sustaining inexpressible miseries, by expiring in agonies of woe, and sealing their faith with their deaths, must certainly be entitled to.

It will easily be perceived we allude to the protestants of France condemned to the gallies for their religion, in the reign of Louis XIV. not with impropriety, for his many persecutions of God's saints, to be surnamed the Detestable.

Previous to our entering on this detail, it will be necessary to take a view of what the nature of the offences of these unhappy men was, to deserve from the hands of their pretended courts of justice, but more properly to be termed diabolical tribunals; a punishment so exemplary, that on a comparative view of the crimes imputed to them, and the punishments they received, we may see the harmless nature of the one, and the unrelenting inhumanity of the other.

The offences for which these persons were in general condemned, were as follow: for procuring, or having, devout books in their possession, in vindication of the reformed religion: others for frequenting pious assemblies, who were met to praise Christ in purity: others for benevolently giving shelter to the ministers of God's word, from the furious rage of their murderous pursuers; and lastly, others for endeavouring to fly from their barbarous country (where they underwent every cruelty to compel them to abjure, with dreadful execration, their faith) to other parts,

where they could worship God according to the principles of their consciences.

For these (falsely called) terrible crimes, they were condemned, most of them for life, to a species of slavery, aggravated by the peculiar nature of it, to the highest pitch of misery that the human frame could support.

But before we come to the shocking explanation which we shall give of the above, we must proceed to give an account of the sufferings undergone by these poor souls, from the period of their condemnation to that of their arrival on board the gallies.

As soon as they were condemned, it was usual to remand them to the prison they came out of; from whence, in a few days, they were conducted to the general rendezvous of the miserable wretches consigned to the gallies, which, as the distance was often considerable, was performed in great pain, being on foot, handcuffed, and allowed nothing but bread and water to sustain a tiresome march; but even that is not to be compared to the dreadful way in which a whole chain of slaves were dragged to their fate when linked together.

Those destined for the gallies of Dunkirk usually assembled at Lisle, where, on their arrival, they were conducted to the tower of St. Peter's, the walls of which are of a most prodigious thickness; an abode the most frightful that can be beheld, and which, never admitting the smallest gleam of light, the unhappy wretches wandered about its damp and dismal dungeons, unknowing day from night, but by the pittance of bread and water they received in the morning. No lamp or candle were ever allowed, and an old mattress, swarming with vermin, was their only bed.

But as the greatest number of slaves were designed for the gallies at the port of Marseilles, the unhappy wretches were assembled at Paris, from whence, in a numerous body, they began their miserable journey; we therefore shall give an account of the manner of their treatment there, and on their march to the place of their destination.

On their arrival at Paris they were conducted to the castle of Tournelle, of which vast but dismal abode the following is but a faint description: this gloomy prison, or rather cavern, is round, and of great extent; the floor was made uneven by large oak beams, placed at three feet distance from each other: these beams were two feet and a half thick, and to these were joined large iron chains, each a foot and a half long, at intervals of two feet from each other, and at the end of each chain was a large iron ring.

When a slave was first brought in he was made to lie along till his head touched the beam; then the ring was put round his neck, and fastened by a hammer and anvil. As the chains were fixed in the beam, at two feet distance, and the beams forty feet long, twenty men were thus chained down in a row; and in this manner were fastened frequently five hundred miserable wretches, in a posture certainly enough to melt the hardest heart. Imagine a man unable to stretch himself along, as the beam to which his neck is fixed is too high; and also incapable to sit or stand as he is chained down too short; part of the body on the block, and part on the floor, between sitting and lying, in a posture as painful and incommodious as can be conceived.

As it frequently happened that many of these miserable people were in this dreadful situation the space of some months, being brought from the most remote parts of France, to wait till a proper complement of them were thus cruelly imprisoned in this horrid place, where the only sounds to be heard were the cries and lamentations of the miserable sufferers or the dying groans of those expiring under their cruel treatment; so it is not at all to be wondered at that numbers of them, unable to survive so deplorable a confinement, gave up the ghost in that piteous situation.

After the full number were arrived, they left their dismal abode, and the truly miserable cavalcade set forward in the following mournful order: being first chained by the neck two and two, with a heavy chain three feet long, with a ring in the midst. After being thus paired, they were placed couple before couple, and a long and weighty chain passing through the rings in the middle, they were, by those means, all fastened together.

In this manner, with an enormous weight of chain to each man, were the miserable wretches drove all the way from Paris to Marseilles, but not without every additional ill usage that the barbarity and mercenary disposition of their conductors could suggest: a shocking instance of which they experienced at the close of their first day's march; when being drove into a court-yard belonging to an inn, they were even, in the most severe weather, ordered to strip quite naked, and leaving their cloaths on one side the yard, march to the other, while their guards were, under the pretence of searching for files, saws, &c. rummaging their garments for money, or any little trifle they thought worth depriving these poor creatures of. As this ceremony took up the space of two hours, during which they remained on the cold earth stark naked, their limbs became frozen and stiff; so that when they were commanded again to march to their cloaths, and dress themselves, many of them were incapable of moving an inch, but remained where they lay, waiting fresh instances of their keeper's cruelty.

But they did not wait long before the whip was handled by these strangers to pity, and by their merciless fury, the bodies of the poor wretches were mangled without distinction; but in some to no purpose, for this could not supply vital warmth when life was no more, and some actually dead; others dying, were dragged along by the neck, and thrown into a waggon to take their fate; so that frequently eighteen or twenty persons were thus barbarously deprived of life, before their departure for a fresh stage; which treatment was oftentimes repeated during their tedious journey.

In this wretched manner they continued marching several leagues a day, long stages, considering the weight of their chains, their being obliged to sleep in stables, or on the ground: their miserable provisions, and want of proper liquid to dilute them; frequently wet through with rain, swarming with vermin, and

ulcerated with sores, in such a manner that their shirts stuck to their backs: in short, sustaining every misery human nature was almost capable of, which misery was not a little augmented by the cruelty of the country people as they passed; for when the poor wretches held out their little wooden cups, and parching with thirst, craved a drop of water: "You shall have no water from us, you heretics," said they, brutally, "you are going to sea, where you will have water enough."

We cannot dismiss this melancholy narration of their piteous journey without shewing in what an inhuman manner those miserable wretches were treated, who, through age, infirmity, or the consequential effects of their shocking ill usage, sunk under the weight of it, unable to proceed. It is to be observed that waggons were provided to carry those objects that could not possibly walk; but as the captain of the train was allowed only twenty crowns for every slave's conveyance to Marseilles, and was paid nothing for those that expired on the road; and as the expence of conveying a slave that length of journey in a waggon, would, exclusive of their wretched subsistence, amount to above double that sum; he never permitted the sinking wretch that indulgence, without examining his capability of walking, by the most feeling administration of the lash; after suffering that torture till near expiring, they were dragged by their chain into one of the waggons, and there thrown in to live or die, without farther assistance.

The expences of interring one of these barbarously murdered creatures gave their conductor not the least concern, as in that case he took no farther trouble about the body, but ordering a hole to be dug in the first convenient place, and throwing it in without the least ceremony. Such is the manner in which persons of the first families, unblemished character, and pious disposition, have been dragged to their miserable fate, under which accumulated affliction, if they have not expired, they immediately, on their arrival, entered on a fresh scene of misery, if possible, superior to their preceding ones; and under which, the majority of them

languished during the remaining period of their existence, as nothing could remove their sufferings but death; and that our readers may not think our account too exaggerated, we shall proceed to give them the best information of the nature of the gallies, and of the treatment of those, so truly to be termed wretches, who are condemned to be slaves in them.

Description of a Galley, with the Manner of navigating it, &c.

IT is a mortifying reflection on the natural depravity of human nature, to consider what indefatigable pains and expence mankind have, in all ages, and indeed in almost all countries, been at, to render one another miserable; when it must naturally be obvious to every unprejudiced person, that one thousandth part of the trouble they have taken to make their fellow-creatures wretched, must have, by their pursuing the opposite conduct, certainly tended to have rendered them reciprocally as happy as the instability of this transitory life will admit of.

The shocking subject we shall now proceed on seems naturally to occasion and justify the above observation, as perhaps the diabolical nature of cruelty was never more inventive than in the construction and conducting one of those horrid machines, (contrived almost on purpose to torture, by every method possible, unhappy men) called a galley.

A galley is generally an hundred and fifty feet long, and forty broad: it consists of but one deck, which covers the hold. This hold is in the middle seven feet, but at the sides of the galley only six feet high. Consequently the deck rises about a foot in the middle, and slopes towards the sides to let the water off; for when a galley is loaded, it seems to swim under water, as the sea constantly washes the deck, and would enter the hold by the apertures where the masts are placed, were it not prevented by what is called the coursier, which is a long case of boards fixed on the middle of the deck, and runs from one extremity of the vessel to the other, and in which are placed the hatchways to enter the hold by; and to carry off the water which enters, there are boards raised about a foot from the deck, and which serves as a footstool for the rowers, under which it returns to the sea.

A galley has two masts, the main and mizen; the former placed in the centre of the vessel, the latter in the prow; the main is sixty feet high, the mizen forty, and each support a sail-yard just double their proportion; but it is not to the sails these otherwise unwieldy vessels owe their speed, as they are only used occasionally, but to the indefatigable labour of the poor slaves at the oar.

There are fifty benches for rowers, twenty-five on each side, each ten feet long: to these the slaves are chained, six to each bench; the oars are fifty feet long, thirteen of which are in the vessel: and as they are too enormous to be grasped, have handles for the better management of them.

When the galley is to proceed, it is rowed in this manner; the six slaves on each bench place one foot on the stretcher, and the other on the bench opposite, and raising the end of the oar, push it forwards over the backs of those before them, who are, in the same moment, executing the like operation on their foremost companions, and plunging it into the sea, they throw themselves backwards on their bench, to repeat the same motion, which is performed with such exactness that the oars seem to give but one stroke, for which indeed there is an absolute necessity to prevent the oars striking the heads of those on the preceding bench.

The excessive labour and fatigue of this operation is looked on by persons who have beheld it, to be the highest that human nature can undergo; and more especially when we consider the miserable pittance they were allowed to subsist on, which was only twentyone ounces of biscuit, and four of horse-beans, boiled in oil and water per day.

The comite, who is master of the crew of slaves, and the cruel tyrant so much dreaded by them, stands always at the stern, near the captain: there are likewise two sub-comites, one in the middle, the other at the prow of the galley: these three have each a whip of knotted cord, which they exercise, without mercy, on the bodies of the slaves, who when at work are naked.

When the captain gives the word for rowing, the comite gives the signal by the sound of a silver whistle, which hangs round his neck: this is repeated by his mates, on which the slaves, who have their oars ready, strike all at once, as the omission of the most minute point of time is punished with the most unrelenting cruelty; for, on that occasion, the comites use the whip like so many furies, while the muscles of the wretched slaves, all in convulsion under the lash, pour down streams of blood on the seats, mingled with trickling drops of sweat; and however horrible, and dreadfully shocking, the bare idea of such inhuman barbarity may be to the humane reader, it is really a truth, that so callous are the diabolical miscreants who overlook this bloody spectacle; and so insensible are they to the piteous sufferings of their miserable fellowcreatures, that it is beheld by them with the utmost indifference, and considered merely as a matter of course, and only as the necessary manoeuvre to expedite the speed of the vessel.

When they give orders to execute what is termed forcing the slaves, the scene becomes truly horrible indeed; but it must be allowed this is not often practised, and never but when in chase, or endeavouring to retreat from a superior force; not that the restraint arises from motives of compassion, but as the officers are sensible that such a terrible proceeding, often repeated, would, in a short space, kill every slave on board. On this occasion, when the miserable objects of cruelty have, by their incessant labour and the loss of blood which flows from their mangled carcases, been cruelly tortured, indiscriminately, by the lash, for whole hours; when, by such horrid treatment, they are almost expiring, their tormentors put into their mouths frequently a bit of bread, steeped in wine, to enable them to survive, and feel fresh fatigue and barbarity. At those times scarce any thing is to be heard but horrid blasphemies, (from their persecutors) loud bursts of despair, or

ejaculations to heaven; all the slaves streaming with blood, while their unpitying task-masters mix oaths and threats, and the smacking of their bloody whips, to complete the horrid cruelties.

If they find that the speed of the galley, which, at that time, moves almost incredibly fast, is not adequate with their view either of chase or retreat, the barbarous officers roar to their comites, to redouble their blows; and when any of the slaves sink under such toil and severity, which not unfrequently happens, he is immediately whipped by two or three of these barbarians at once, till there appears to be no remains of life; and then is, without farther ceremony, unchained and thrown into the sea.

How much happier is that unpitied wretch than those he leaves behind? Perhaps heaven was pleased to give him all the punishment due to his crimes here, with a view of rewarding him with an happy and eternal immortality. [CHCoG: Sounds suspiciously like a pre-death version of purgatory. And how could anyone deserve such sustained mistreatment?]

When we mention blasphemies and crimes, it is to be understood that the innocent protestants who were condemned to this terrible state for nothing but their virtuous perseverance in the truth, were always, on the first arrival at the ports where the gallies rode, distributed equally among the whole fleet of slaves condemned for pecuniary and other crimes; and it was constantly made a rule to join them with those slaves that had committed the most atrocious crimes, and of the basest principles, on purpose, if possible, to encrease their miseries, by the ill treatment and shocking impieties of those wretches, whose excessive miseries had drove them frantic with sin and despair:—thus literally linking, in one chain, the opposite extremes of virtue and vice!

And here it may not be deemed obtrusive to mention an affair, which, we are of opinion, is a striking instance of the judgments of the Divine Being, even in this world, on sinners who are singularly wicked. It is relative to an incident that befell an officer of the gallies, remarkable for his sanguinary principles, and his

implacable detestation of the poor Huguenots, as they were termed, who were unhappy enough to belong to the galley he did; of which hatred they almost daily received fresh instances, by every addition to their sufferings in his power to inflict, till God, by an exemplary event, put an end to his enormous barbarity.

The galley to which this wretch belonged, and of which he was first-lieutenant, in conjunction with five others belonging to Dunkirk, were in pursuit of a valuable fleet of English merchantmen, almost entering the mouth of the Thames, under convoy of one frigate alone, not suspecting any danger so near their own coasts: five of the gallies were ordered to get between the fleet and the Thames, while the sixth was to attack their convoy, and by burying its beak in her stern, and pouring the five pieces of heavy cannon carried in its prow into it, sink her at once: a method which, when a galley can effect it, seldom fails to be the case.

The English frigate being considerably ahead, and this brute fearing he should miss his intended prey, notwithstanding the galley, by forcing the slaves, advanced with a most astonishing degree of rapidity, gave orders to the comite to strike without mercy. "So I do, Sir," says the executioner of dreadful cruelty, "but I cannot effect impossibilities." To which the former, even more savagely brutal, replied that if he did not come up with the frigate very soon, he, the comite, should certainly be hanged at the yard-arm. "Strike, strike, without mercy," says the wretch, "if your blows and stripes cannot animate, they will at least torture." "I have seen" continued he, "a comite in the gallies of Malta cut off a slave's arm, and use it as an instrument of punishment on the rest of the slaves."

Oh! horrid barbarity, that a person of genteel family and education should so far derogate from the character of a christian and a gentleman, as to endeavour to exceed, in shocking cruelty, a brutal wretch, who, from his youth, had been trained in the exercise of the most terrible barbarities! As the comites are

brought up from boys in the practice of the most shocking cruelties; and all the qualification that a captain of a galley requires in a candidate for that post, is proofs of his brutal ferocity, and that he has been sufficiently habituated to such horrid deeds, as to steel his inflexible heart against the smallest emotions of pity, or relent for his agonizing fellow creatures.

But the justice of Divine Providence soon overtook this wretch and the instrument of his cruelty; and as we have seen in frequent instances, made his crime his punishment; and could this wicked sinner have conceived, that the purpose he wanted to effect would have been the certain means of his utter destruction, he would, no doubt, have rather desired to impede his approaching dissolution, than to have hastened it, and rushed, as it were, the next moment, into the presence of his much-offended God, with "all his imperfections on his head;" and without the smallest opportunity of craving the divine mercy for his past sins, and more particularly for the horrid crimes he had so recently committed.

It happened that immediately on their coming up with the Englishman, he, and the cruel comite, were both shot dead on the first fire, by one cannon ball; and their carcases fell across, as if heaven meant to shew, by its abhorrence of their shocking cruelty, a similar punishment in the same moment; with this difference, that as the officer had rather exceeded the comite in barbarity, so there was a singular incident in his death that seems plainly to point out his superior guilt; for, as though his body was unworthy christian interment, notwithstanding every precaution used to preserve it to be buried with his ancestors, being of a noble extraction, and though the galley was only three days ere she returned into port, yet so horridly putrescent was his loathsome carcase, that in spight of every endeavour to prevent it, it was necessitated to be cast overboard, even in sight of Dunkirk, as the stench it emitted was so intolerably offensive, as to endanger the health of every survivor on board.

A dreadful example of the divine vengeance, and from which we may deduce this useful moral: that however the mild forbearance of our Creator may, for a time, bear with our sinful actions, showing his desire that we should live and repent of our misdeeds; yet, that where he finds sinners incorrigible, he sometimes thinks fit to snatch them to his holy tribunal, in the moment of committing the greatest enormities. A thought that should make every one shudder who is about to commit a bad action, lest he should be deprived of his existence even during the commission of it, and hurried almost, as it were, instantly to the silent grave, wherein is no repenting.

To relieve the feeling reader from the perusal of these shocking scenes of human depravity, which certainly justify the pious poet, Dr. Young's assertion that:

> Heaven's Sovereign saves all beings but himself, That HIDEOUS SIGHT, a naked human heart;

we shall contrast it with one of the most noble actions, performed by a virtuous christian, struggling under accumulated distress, with a fortitude that nothing but the consciousness of internal rectitude, and an implicit adherence to the maxims of his divine legislator, could enable humanity to support; hoping that examples of such astonishing instances of truly christian resignation and firmness may excite every peruser to an humble imitation of such holy fortitude, under every affliction our frail nature brings on us; and to shew that it is our duty to lay down even our lives, rather than depart from the precepts of our blessed Lord.

The Romish clergy of Marseilles, who took every opportunity of persecuting the poor protestants, who were slaves in the gallies at that port for their religion, being informed that they frequently received, in a clandestine manner, remittances from the charitable in most protestant states, to enable them the better to endure their sufferings, and mitigate their misery, were determined to set every engine at work to prevent such proceedings for the future, and to preclude every avenue of relief, conceiving that no argument was so powerful as that of distress, to shake the faith of the reformed; but in this, as the sequel will shew, they were very much deceived, as not even the most dreadful extremities could effect their wishedfor purpose.

In the gallies at the above place was an aged sufferer for the truth, named **Sabbatier**. This worthy soul was universally esteemed on account of his singular piety and Christian virtues, by all the reformed in captivity; and as such, was mutually appointed to receive from all parts the contributions of protestants for their suffering brethren, and to make equal distribution thereof, which, notwithstanding the severe penalties on those who should be detected in supplying the protestant slaves with money, he found means, by assistance of certain merchants, to evade, and faithfully applied it for a long time undetected, to the benevolent and Christian-like purpose for which it was designed.

Now it is to be observed, that in the French gallies there was a Turkish slave to every oar, who, as being much more robust than the French, were placed at the end thereof, where the labour is hardest. These unhappy men entertained the highest veneration for the protestant sufferers, whom they called their *brothers in affliction*; and the zeal with which they were ever ready to hazard the most dangerous undertakings to serve them, sufficiently shewed their considering them as such; for had it not been for their assistance, the reformed could never have received the smallest relief; for the Turkish slaves alone being allowed the privilege of going ashore when in harbour, it was by their means the money was received, which was distributed to the protestants.

It was necessary to mention the foregoing circumstance, for our readers more properly understanding this narrative: to proceed with which, Sabbatier, as we have observed, being appointed receiver, had intelligence that a sum of money was lodged in the hands of a certain merchant at Marseilles, which, by the means

aforesaid, he received; but as he could not distribute it to the brethren, but by the same method he obtained it, he and his faithful Turkish agent were obliged to hold frequent conferences relative thereto, which giving a suspicion to their keeper, he communicated his apprehensions to the major of the gallies, and the Turk was one day seized going out of his galley, with a sum of money about him, and a written list of the persons for whose use it was intended. He was examined concerning the manner in which he came by this money, but refused to give the least information. However, his denial was of no import, as Sabbatier's known connection with him fixed the strongest surmise where he had it; and as the latter, on being taxed, candidly confessed that it was he that had entrusted the Turk with the money, the Turk was dismissed, and Sabbatier ordered for examination.

The intendant of the port, who was a professed enemy to the reformed, and a bigot to popery, on being acquainted with the above transaction, was in raptures to think he should now be enabled to discover and punish the merchant that supplied them, and by that means entirely cut off every method of their receiving the smallest relief. But the intendant being confined with the gout, it was not in his power to examine Sabbatier on board, therefore he was ordered to be chained to a Turk, and conducted by a centinel into his presence.

When Sabbatier appeared, the intendant addressed him in the mildest manner, saying that as he had made profession of the truth, he hoped he would say nothing but what was true. Sabbatier replied that he was ready to discover all that concerned himself, and called heaven to witness the truth of what he should say. "Right," returned the intendant; "only confess the truth, and depend on my protection."

"First then," says the intendant, "from whom had the Turk this money?" "From me, Sir," replied Sabbatier. "To whom sent?" "To my brothers, in bonds and in the gospel." "For what purpose designed?" "To relieve their distress and soften the rigours of

slavery." "From whence had you this money?" "From Geneva." "Do you receive such contributions frequently?" "Frequently, Sir." "Who remits them?" "A banker of Geneva to a correspondent at Marseilles." "Well, and what is that correspondent's name?"" "Here, Sir," replied Sabbatier, resolutely, "I must be silent. What concerns myself, you know; if I have been criminal, I am prepared for punishment. No calamity from man can afflict me so much as to be the treacherous betrayer of him whose only fault was an endeavour to do me service. Yes, let me repeat it; no torments shall compel me to betray my benefactor." "Slave." replied the intendant, "wilt thou thus obstinately run upon destruction? I will wring the secret from thee, if tortures can do it." "Prepare then your torments," replied Sabbatier, "and see what they can do."

The intendant, foaming with rage, commanded the centinel to beat him; the guard, touched with pity for the prisoner, whom he had known many years, entreated the intendant to excuse him. "Rascal!" replied the tyrant, "give me the stick;" and taking it, ordered Sabbatier to be brought nearer his easy chair; which, when done, with the most inhuman barbarity he laid on the unresisting slave, who neither groaned or changed his attitude; till the intendant, no longer able, through fatigue, to continue the punishment himself, ordered him to undergo the bastinado on board the galley, till he should be compelled to confess. A punishment so very dreadful, that nothing but the support of God, in a righteous cause, could ever enable any human being voluntarily to suffer for his opinions.

This horrid and most inhuman operation, which even galleyslaves, though inured to almost every misery, tremble at the name of, is thus executed: The criminal is stripped from the waist upwards; he is extended with his face downward, his arms upon one bench, and his legs upon the opposite; both legs and arms are held by two slaves that stand opposite each other. The executioner, who is generally a Turkish slave, as being the strongest, stands over him with a rope in his hand with which he is to beat the

criminal without the least mercy, for if he happens to be remiss, the comites directly use him as he should have used the criminal: thus then each stroke being laid on with the executioner's whole force, every blow raises a mark as thick as one's thumb. Few that suffer this punishment can sustain above ten or twelve blows without fainting. This does not prevent the executioner from laying on the miserable and seemingly lifeless carcase, till the number of blows ordered are given.

Poor Sabbatier underwent this repeated torture with the most unshaken fortitude; and while able to speak, ceased not to call upon heaven for assistance. When he fainted under the lash, they still continued their inhuman proceedings, till the surgeon of the gallies, who was present, gave orders to desist, alledging that he would infallibly expire if they further persisted, which would consequently render it impossible for them to come at the secret; whereas the punishment might be repeated when the criminal was better able to bear it, and more inclined to confess. The comite acquiesced, and the mangled body was rubbed with salt and vinegar; which, with its excessive smart, again gave him life to feel his misery.

He was conducted to the hospital, in order to give him strength for another trial; but he continued so long in a state seemingly between life and death, that his intended punishment was remitted, either because his conduct was at last forgotten, or his treatment was thought already sufficiently severe. He recovered, at length, but his intellects were so impaired, that he ever after remained an object of the utmost pity. He was, some time after, relieved from slavery with the other protestants; by what means we are proceeding to show, and died at an advanced age in Holland; but never recovered the effects of this barbarous treatment from his singular virtue. Yet, by this method of abusing the reformed, the Romish church [followers] thought they gained heaven! How very different from the benevolent, forgiving precepts of our Blessed Redeemer!

As another instance of the terrible spirit of persecution that seems to be one of the fundamental principles of the Romish priests, it will not be amiss to mention the following instance of their pretended *mild* endeavours to convert the reformed, who suffered for their adherence to the truth.

Soon after the peace of Ryswick, the jesuits undertook to deprive the protestant slaves of a privilege they had ever been allowed, of separating from the rest of the crew when mass was performed on board the gallies, and to force them to kneel, with their heads uncovered, during the celebration of that superstitious ceremony.

To effect this design, they engaged in their interest M. Bonbelle, major-general of the gallies, a man possessed of all the spirit of inquisitorial persecution. It was resolved between them that every one of the reformed should undergo the bastinado till he should comply, and promise to kneel while mass was saying, and to make all sure, it was determined that he should begin first with one galley, the next day with another, and so on till each was gone through; and then to renew the punishments till he forced a compliance, or till the slave should expire under the lash.

Bonbelle began his bloody business, and executed the commands of the priests without mercy. His brutal manner of exhorting them to a compliance, must give a tolerable idea what pretence he could make to the appellation of a Christian. "Dog, (he would say) fall on your knees, and in this posture, if you won't pray to God, pray to the devil if you will, for aught I care."

All who were thus inhumanly treated persisted in their courageous resolution without shrinking; and while their bodies were mangling, seemed, with unfeeling serenity, to give their Maker praise for this trial of their constancy. But this inhuman treatment being made known to several protestant powers, they made so warm a remonstrance on the subject to the French court that the bloody project was ordered to be discontinued, and the reformed allowed the liberty of retiring during mass as before, but not till hundreds of them had been thus barbarously treated.

It will doubtless give the reader the greatest satisfaction to find that after these poor creatures had endured such a series of uncommon miseries, they were at length relieved from their sufferings, in spite of their cruel enemies efforts to the contrary, and that they met with the most benevolent reception by pious protestants all over Europe.

But before we proceed to a relation of this, it will be necessary we should just shew the various ineffectual arts made use of to obstruct and impede the deliverance of these hapless objects of their merciless persecution, by the unchristian priests of the idolatrous church of Rome.

The jesuits, and indeed the whole body of the French clergy, perceiving that, at length, the barbarous usage of these martyrs to truth was known to and had roused the protestant princes to a determination, by some means, to effect their deliverance, and conscious that a very spirited application by the whole of them, headed by our glorious queen Anne, was about to be made to the French king; and well knowing that his situation with the queen of England was so critical that he dared not refuse her a request she would insist on, as she was so very strenuous in the demand of it, they were almost at their wits ends to prevent a measure which would expose their horrid barbarities, and most unChristian persecution to all Europe; and consequently render them the just objects of detestation and abhorrence to good men of every nation and persuasion.

Their first scheme was to endeavour, by holding out every temporal temptation, to draw some of the reformed to abjure their religion; but in this they were deceived, as they found them, to a man, immoveably fixed in their pious resolutions, and as little to be influenced by rewards as punishments; and perceiving their virtuous adherence to the truth was inflexible, they had recourse to other means. They prevailed on two wretched slaves, both Roman

catholics, and condemned for the most atrocious crimes, to pretend to abjure their religion, and embrace the protestant faith: they were to seem resolutely bent to adhere to it at first, but after hearing the father's earnest admonitions, seem overcome by the weight of their arguments in favour of popery, and recanting their errors, to return to the holy mother-church, and be received into the pale thereof with great solemnity; for which they were to be rewarded with their freedom.

This scheme was accordingly put in practice, and the two new converts, after having abjured their pretended errors, were artfully represented to the king as two of the principal chiefs of the reformed, and as having been the greatest sticklers for that religion; and that as they had, by their great assiduity, made these converts to papacy, they had no doubt but they should be able, in a very short time, to convert the rest; so that solicitations in their favour would now be quite useless, as their deliverance would be the natural consequence of their conversion, without their being obliged for it to any power on earth. Impudent falsehood, and scandalous imposition, highly worthy of the priests of Anti-Christ!

But this mean subterfuge does not appear to have any ways answered their villainous purpose; for the only answer they received to their lying representations was an order from court to send an exact list of every slave in the gallies on the score of religion; and the return of the royal courier brought the king's commands, to immediately set free the protestant slaves in every port of France.

When this news arrived at Marseilles, where the greatest number of the reformed were, it drove the priests in general, and the jesuits in particular, almost frantic. They directly flew to their friend the intendant, and prevailed with him to suspend his orders for eight days, till they could send an express to court; but all they reaped by it was another order to the intendant to execute, without delay, the king's command, which was in consequence immediately performed, and every slave set free; but, determined

to shew the rancour of their malice to these saints, they represented so strongly the ill consequences to their religion to permit them to pass through France, that an order was issued to oblige them to leave the ports by sea, in vessels hired for that purpose by their protestant friends, and never to enter the king's dominions, on pain of being again sent to the gallies.

This malicious scheme so far succeeded, as, for a time to retard their deliverance, owing to the difficulty of procuring vessels, which the priests strove their utmost to render as troublesome as they could; and they so far gained their point, as, for some time, to retard the departure of many of the reformed, who were anxiously desirous of leaving the ports.

But, at length, one hundred and thirty-six were able to leave the port of Marseilles, being the first delivered; and after some time, a deputation of twelve of them arrived in London, and waited on queen Anne, to gratefully thank her majesty for the great share she took in their deliverance, and to entreat her commiseration on those of their brethren left behind. Her majesty, much to her honour; gave them a most gracious reception, and assured them she would give proper orders that the remainder should be very shortly delivered. They had the honour to kiss her majesty's hand; and in a very little time, those left behind experienced the veracity of her royal promise.

On a retrospect of the scenes we have laid before the reader, we should think that if this alone was the only instance of popish persecution, it would be sufficient to stimulate every protestant Briton to guard against the least innovation of our religious liberty, on which our civil [liberty] so materially depends; and at a time when papacy seems to be making great head in these kingdoms, carefully to watch the advances of a religion inculcated on the most shocking principles and fallacies, by a set of men who having schooled away their principles, subtilize upon the commonest duties, until they no longer appear binding. Lies, hypocrisy and cruelty take with them the names of virtue, if exercised in what

they imagine is the destruction of heresy. All frauds with them may be used to circumvent an enemy; and all men who happen to differ from them in opinion are enemies. Bred up in all the unfeeling apathy of a monastic life, they have neither joy nor distress among themselves, and consequently are seldom elated with the good, or depressed with the calamities of others. Thus they praise the happy without being sincere, and punish the miserable without feeling the distresses they inflict. By study they freeze every sentiment of humanity, and at last, become mere menhaters, because they themselves are actually miserable.

BOOK XV.

Containing an Account of the Persecutions against the Roman catholics in CHINA and JAPAN; the Persecutions in the EAST INDIES; and the Cruelties practised in the Inquisition at GOA.

CHAP. I.

Of the Roman catholic Church in China, and the various Persecutions in that Country.

CHRISTIANITY [CHCoG: No, this is actually papism, not Christianity, throughout both this and the next chapter.] was first established in China by three Italian missionaries, called Roger the Neapolitan, Pasis of Bologne, and Matthew Ricci of Mazerata, in the marquisette of Ancona. These entered China about the latter end of the sixteenth century, being well circumstanced to perform their important commission with success, as they had previously studied the Chinese language.

These three missionaries [all Roman Catholic priests] were very assiduous in the discharge of their duty; but Roger and Pasis returning to Europe in a few years, the whole labour fell upon Ricci, who aimed to establish Christianity with a degree of zeal that was indefatigable. He had a numerous congregation, consisting not only of the lower orders of the people, but including many persons eminent for their rank and learning. Ricci was a man of profound erudition and great genius: to these natural and acquired qualifications he added an insinuating kind of rhetoric, and pleasing address, which insensibly won upon his hearers, and in a short time, rendered his doctrines pleasing, even to those who were, at first, the most prejudiced against them. By these means he made his hearers admire the tenets he propagated, and embrace what they admired. Hence he may justly be considered in the light of first founder, and father, of the Christian church in China.

Ricci, exclusive of his skill in theology, and his accomplishment as an orator, was an admirable mathematician: this opened to him the hearts of the great and learned; and the Bonzees, in return for what he communicated to them, instructed him in the secret mysteries of Chinese literature. He then thought proper to lay aside the European habit, and assume that of a Chinese philosopher,* which was of infinite service to his interest, as the Bonzees, and most eminent men of China, embraced him then as a brother and member of their society; and the lower class of people honoured him more, on seeing him respected by their sages and great men. Ricci composed some treatises in the Chinese language to recommend the Christian faith, which were eagerly read, and productive of great benefit to the cause of Christianity. He likewise composed rules for the conduct of missionaries, which we shall insert, as they are exceedingly curious in themselves, and shew a spirit of benevolence and moderation that are truly laudable.

1. A missionary who hopes for success must assume the character of a divine, or a philosopher, of the country in which he preaches, which will, at once, remove the vulgar prejudices against him, both as a foreigner, and a propagator of new doctrines. Hence, in India, he must become a Braman; in Siam, a Talopoin; in China, a Bonzee; and in

^{* [}CHCoG: He actually arrived in China dressed (disguised) as a Buddhist monk, but when he perceived that the Confucians had more influence, he adopted their dress and culture. In each case he pretended to be something he was not. He did not adopt the common civilian dress of the Chinese people.]

Africa, a Marabout, extending thus the doctrines of Christianity under the favourite characters of the country.

- 2. A missionary should make it his earnest endeavour to be favoured at court, and leave no means untried to ingratiate himself with those who are at the head of affairs. He must, if possible, insinuate himself so far into the confidence of the great and powerful, as to be consulted in matters of state and government. If he obtains this end, he may preach with the greatest security.
- 3. A missionary must conform to the customs, manners, and opinions of the people he is sent to, provided they are not manifestly repugnant to the faith he is commissioned to preach.
- 4. He must treat with respect whatever has the appearance of truth and piety, in the religion of the country where he is sent to preach, and try to shew that his own doctrine only refines and improves on theirs.
- 5. Let him not be tenacious of abolishing ancient ceremonies which are harmless; as the common people are usually attached to such pageantry, let the people retain the ceremonies of their forefathers. It is sufficient to sanctify them, by separating and expunging all that is idolatrous and superstitious.
- 6. A missionary must have money, and if not well supplied from home, trade may enable him to procure it. His acting in a commercial line is no disgrace to his mission, if he converts his gain to the service of God.

CHCOG: Southwell has been less than honest in this chapter so far. He has failed to acknowledge that these three Italian missionaries, including Ricci, were all jesuit priests, and as such, the 'christianity' they were bringing into China was in fact the same Babylonian Mystery religion cloaked as christianity which Southwell has been railing against chapter after chapter, NOT biblical Christianity. It is bizarre that he now endorses this jesuit's slightly milder version of Romanism and calls it christianity. And Ricci's six slippery rules became those commonly used by the jesuits when they infiltrate foreign nations. The hoped-for result, even by Ricci, was to bring that nation, and everyone in it, absolutely under the heavy yoke of the pope.

Ricci drew many of the principal people of China to embrace christianity [papism] by his politeness and moderation; and innumerable were the proselytes he made among the lower order of people. He lived and conversed like a gentleman; dressed like a Chinese philosopher, and wrote like a scholar. He pointed out to the learned men of China many passages in the writings of *Confucius* which exactly resembled the morality of the sacred scriptures; with these similitudes they were highly pleased, and the more easily came into a religion that in some particulars had an affinity to their own. He never attempted to abrogate or explode any of the customs or ceremonies which were essentially entwined with the laws of the empire;* but he zealously attempted to overturn such common usages as might be injurious to the propagation of Christianity [Romanism], or inconsistent with its principal truths.

^{*} The religion of China is two-fold, one kind as ancient as the empire itself, and in all probability introduced by its founders. The other is of much later date, and imported from India not long after the birth of Jesus Christ. The latter has idols, temples, sacrifices, priests, monks, festivals, and many external rites and ceremonies. The former is free from all these, as it only prescribes reverence to an invisible being, residing in the visible heaven, and distributing from thence happiness and misery among mankind, but it enjoins no particular worship to him; so that temples, priests, sacrifices, and rites, are entirely foreign to it. The moral part of the old system is likewise short and easy, and allows great latitude to the natural inclinations of mankind.

The Chinese are the most ceremonious people in the world; for the very compliments they use in common life are established by law. Among their other customs, which are partly legal, partly traditional, are these: At certain times every family in China is bound to assemble in a large apartment called the *Hall of the Ancestors*, where they pay veneration to their fathers and forefathers, whose names are written in little tables, or registers, and hung up in the hall. Before these tables they prostrate themselves, kill beasts, burn gilt paper, &c. in honour of the deceased. A similar tribute of respect is likewise paid to the emperor Confucius.

Ricci, though much disposed to indulge his converts as far as possible, made great hesitation at their ceremonies, which seemed to amount to idolatry. At length, after eighteen years consideration, he began to soften his opinion, and tolerated all the parts of those customs which were ordered by the laws of the empire, but strictly enjoined his Chinese Christians to omit the rest. His arguments on which his toleration was founded are these:

- 1. That they were to be considered not as religious, but political customs.
- 2. That the Chinese respect neither their ancestors, nor Confucius, as deities or saints; their reverence to their ancestors is only to them as persons to whom they owe their lives; and Confucius is honoured only as a philosopher and legislator.
- 3. Those who kill the beasts at their ceremonies are not priests, but butchers.
- 4. The same honours which are paid to deceased ancestors and to Confucius; are likewise paid to the living emperors, and great officers of state.
- 5. These customs were established in China before idolatry took place, therefore they are not idolatrous.

This was the condition of Christianity in China when the Christian [Roman] Church established there was governed only by Ricci, who, by his moderation, made innumerable converts. In 1630, however, this tranquillity was disturbed by the arrival of some new missionaries: these being unacquainted with the Chinese customs, manners, and language, and with the arguments on which Ricci's toleration was founded, were astonished when they saw 'christian' converts prostrate before Confucius and the tables of their ancestors, and condemned the custom accordingly.

A warm controversy now ensued between Ricci, seconded by his converts, and the new missionaries; and the latter wrote an account of the whole affair to the pope, and the [jesuit] society for the propagation of the Christian faith. The society soon pronounced that *the ceremonies were idolatrous and intolerable*, and the pope confirmed the sentence. In this both the society and the pope were excusable, [CHCoG: Yes, only ceremonies and idolatry endorsed by the papacy are acceptable. And now we are to make excuses for the Society of Jesuits and the Pope??? This entire chapter reads like drivel written by a jesuit.] as the matter had been represented to them; for the enemies of Ricci had affirmed the halls in which the ceremonies were performed to be temples, and the ceremonies themselves idolatrous sacrifices.

The sentence abovementioned was sent over to China, but treated with contempt, and matters remained as they were for some time. At length, a true representation of the matter was sent to Rome, setting forth that the Chinese customs and ceremonies alluded to were entirely free from idolatry, being merely political, and tending only to the peace and welfare of the empire. The pope, finding that he had made himself ridiculous by confirming an absurd sentence upon a false report, wanted to get rid of the affair, and therefore referred the representation to the inquisition, which reversed the sentence immediately, at the private desire of the pope, as may be naturally supposed. The Christian [Roman] church, for all these divisions, flourished in China till the death of the first Tartar emperor, whose successor was a minor.

During this minority of the young emperor Cang-hi, the regents and nobles conspired to extirpate the [Roman] Christian religion. The execution of this design was begun with expedition, and carried on with severity, so that every Christian teacher in China, as well as those who professed the faith, were struck with amazement. John Adam Schall, a German ecclesiastic [another jesuit], and one of the principals of the mission, was thrown into a dungeon in the year 1664, being then in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and narrowly escaped with his life. The ensuing year, viz. 1665, the ministers of state publicly and unanimously resolved, and made a decree, specifying:

- 1. That the Christian doctrines were false.
- 2. That they were dangerous to the interest of the empire.
- 3. That they should not be practised under pain of death.

The publication of this decree occasioned a furious general persecution, in which some were put to death, many were ruined, and all were, in some manner, oppressed. This decree was general, and the persecution universal accordingly throughout the empire; for, previous to this, the Christians had been partially persecuted at different times, and in different provinces.

Four years after, viz. 1669, the young emperor was declared of age, and took the reins of government upon himself, when the persecution immediately ceased by his order. This prince possessed most uncommon talents, was fond to an excess of the liberal arts and sciences, and was above prejudices in his mode of thinking. Hence the Christian church flourished during his long and glorious reign.

Cang-hi invited the European Christians to court, admired the literature of Europe, and was fond of the sciences in which they

were well skilled. He took their advice in council, gave them considerable employments, settled on them large salaries, and even entrusted them with a share in the government. This favour, in which the learned christians stood, procured protection for their churches, and promoted the cause of Christianity.

During this prosperity of the Christians in China, some French missionaries arrived, and contributed greatly to the benefits of the church; for they were men of the greatest abilities, and most profound learning. They soon became acquainted with the monarch's inclinations and views; and by exerting their utmost sagacity to please and entertain, at last became necessary to the pleasures of his life. Useful to him in many capacities, and pleasing in all, they were at once his Councellors, Instructors, Astronomers, Navigators, Painters, Founders, Masters of the Ordnance, Friends, Physicians, Geographers, Architects, Turners, Watchmakers, Engineers, Accomptants, &c. In short, the Christians directed almost every thing at the court of Peking; and had such interest with the emperor, that they persuaded him to publish a decree in the year 1692, to this purport:

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IS GOOD AND SALUTARY, AND ALL THE SUBJECTS OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE ARE PERMITTED TO EMBRACE IT.

And still farther to add to his favours, he built them a magnificent church within his own palace.

An observation, however, has been justly made upon the singular conduct of this monarch, viz. that he kept company with none but Christians, made Christian studies and amusements the principal business of his life, favoured the Christians to the utmost of his power, and yet would never become a Christian. He died in the year 1722, professing that religion, which, among the Tartars, is called the *Faith of Genghiz-Khan*, and which, except in some few points, differs very little from the Ten Commandments.

At this happy period, however, when the Chinese court was so favourable to the cause of Christianity [Roman Catholicism], some intestine broils divided and diffracted the Christian church in China. The new missionaries being joined by some others from Europe, became great enemies to all such as adhered to the doctrines originally established by Ricci. One in particular, named Charles Maigrot, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was dignified with the title of apostolical vicar, and was the principal foe to the doctrines of the primitive missionaries.

Maigrot used every argument and remonstrance to bring over the opposite party to his opinion; but in vain, for his antagonists, instead of acceding to his reasonings, threatened him with the resentment of the emperor. This occasioned an open rupture: Maigrot published a manifesto, in which, as apostolical vicar, he prohibited all Christians in China paying the usual respects to their ancestors, and to Confucius. "This (says an excellent writer upon the subject) was a piece of spiritual heroism, that a stranger who wanted both money and friends, and was neither a bishop nor plenipotentiary from the pope, should dare to bid defiance to men who enjoyed all the intimacy of friendship with the sovereign of the country. That he should venture this without applying to his principal at Rome; and by his own authority supercede a decree of the inquisition, and that confirmed by a pope! Misguided zeal makes no difficulty of surmounting ordinary rules. This seems to be his only excuse. He was sensible himself that his conduct would require much apology. In the same year, therefore, in which he published his injunction, he sent it to Rome, with a letter to the pope, and an humble petition that judgment might be passed at Rome, whether he had done well or ill." These papers and complaints were powerfully seconded at Rome, when pope Innocent the Twelfth appointed a committee to take them into consideration, but died before they had made any great progress in the business

Clement the Eleventh, who succeeded Innocent the Twelfth, ordered the committee to proceed. The church of Rome was in commotion on the affair; and all [papal] Europe waited with impatience to see on which side the victory would terminate. Maigrot's party printed a strong address to the pope, in which they represented the followers of Ricci's doctrines in China as corruptors of the Christian faith. The other party answered with great energy and eloquence; and a genuine letter was produced in their favour, signed by the emperor of China himself, who therein declares that the ceremonies rejected by Maigrot were merely political, and indeed necessary, because the peace and internal tranquillity of the empire, in some measure, depended on them. After the name of the emperor were a thousand other names signed to the abovementioned letter, for it was subscribed to by exactly that number of Chinese, believers and unbelievers, learned and ignorant, rich and poor.

After a tedious time taken up in deliberation, judgment was at length pronounced, the sentence being as follows:

DECREE of the HOLY OFFICE.

IT is hereby ordered, that the two Chinese words *Tien* and *Chang-Ti*, shall no longer be applied to God, but instead of them, the word *Tien-Chu*, which signifies Lord of Heaven, shall be introduced.

That the tables upon which was written in Chinese letters, King-Tien, or the honour of heaven, shall be removed from the Christian churches.

That Christians shall by no means assist at those sacrifices which are offered in spring and autumn, at the time of the equinox to Confucius and their ancestors.

That the Christians shall absent themselves from those houses and temples which are built in honour of Confucius, in order to pay to that philosopher the worship due to him from the *Literati* of the empire.

That they shall thenceforward, upon no account, pay that worship which is paid by the Chinese to their ancestors, where or in what manner soever it be offered.

Finally, that those tablets of their forefathers, upon which was written in Chinese letters, The seat of the soul, or spirit of M. or N. shall be removed from the houses of all Christians.

The affair was thus decided in favour of the new missionaries; and about the same time the pope appointed Charles Thomas de Tournon, a noble Lorrainer of great mental abilities, to go to China and the East-Indies as legate. When he arrived at China, the successors and disciples of the old missionaries received him with great respect, and even introduced him to court. But this respect only lasted while their expectations remained, that he would reconcile the new missionaries to them, or at least have found out a remedy to terminate their disputes. But when it was discovered that Tournon wholly took part with the new missionaries, the disciples of the old missionaries and their followers, who were called the ancient Chinese Christians, came to an open rupture with him. While he was prudent they continued obliging and respectful: but as soon as his prudence failed him, and he began to publish harsh decrees, they opposed him with spirit.

Tournon was of that party in the church of Rome called Rigids, and therefore naturally an enemy to every kind of toleration, or to doctrines that appear in the least moderate. The ancient Chinese Christians represented his conduct in publishing decrees to bind the consciences of the inhabitants of that country, as a most glaring piece of insolence to the emperor; and indeed, it could be deemed nothing less, as the emperor had himself exculpated the ancient Christians, and publicly attested that the ceremonies objected to were not religious, but political, and ancient customs of the empire.

An intelligent gentleman upon this subject says, "A stranger, a legate of an European bishop (meaning the pope of Rome) boldly and publicly opposes the emperor; and in his own dominions, without his knowledge, makes a law to prohibit the subjects from practices enjoined by the laws of the empire. No sovereign prince would suffer a conduct like this to pass with impunity. It is doubtless that Tournon far transgressed the bounds of prudence and respect. He was in truth not qualified to discharge reputably and usefully the great and important commission he was intrusted with. His natural disposition was under the influence of a narrow spirit and weak understanding, of which his writings, letters, and injunctions, printed by Norbert and others, furnish abundant proof. They contain dry and insipid thoughts, so swelled indeed by pompous expression, that the careless and injudicious reader can hardly distinguish their flatness and impotence."

The emperor was greatly enraged on being informed that the European, to whom he had been so affable and polite, had presumed to withstand his edict, and to know more of the religion of his country than himself. This caused him to publish a mandate, by which all ecclesiastics in China were forbid, under severe penalties, to teach any thing contrary to the laws of the empire, and the ancient traditions of the Chinese. Most obeyed this injunction; those who did not were imprisoned and treated with great severity, and Tournon himself was ordered immediately to quit the country, under the penalty, if he did not comply, of being punished as a traitor. Tournon retired to Macao, where he was soon afterwards seized, and confined as a state prisoner.

The pope, when he heard of these transactions, was astonished, and chagrined at the treatment given to his legate; and by way of recompence, created Tournon a cardinal, thinking that title would cause him to be treated with greater respect. But at Macao this new dignity was turned into ridicule, and the compliment paid by

the pope to a man totally out of his power, made a subject of laughter. Tournon remained in confinement till a fit of sickness released him at once from his prison and this life. His body was conveyed to Europe, and his funeral obsequies performed with great solemnity, when pope Clement the Eleventh spoke an oration on the occasion, and canonized him as a saint.

The pope still continued to inflame matters, and intermeddle with the affairs of the Chinese Christians; but his power was not sufficient to affect the ancient Chinese Christians, as they were powerfully protected by the emperor, and continually made proselytes to Christianity, by their moderate methods of proceeding, and their amiable ways of winning their converts, by degrees, to the truth [of Romanism]; for there is a gradation to faith, and various steps to real grace, agreeable to the following poetical lines of an eminent clergyman:

> Lo! Christ from the curse Our souls doth redeem, However averse Proud reason may seem. Faith yields approbation, And longs to possess A lively sensation Of pardoning grace.

When Jesus appears, And utters his voice, The sinner who hears Begins to rejoice: To all things assenting Which God doth reveal; While Christ is preventing, And turning his will.

He wonders to see God's justice and grace, So wisely agree To save a lost race: In deep admiration, He stands to behold, The way of salvation The scriptures unfold.

He feels himself weak, And leans on the Lord; Nor ceases to seek Till he is restor'd. With eagerness flying From God's fiery wrath, And firmly relying On Jesus by faith.

The pope thought proper to send another vicar-general, named Charles Castorani, to China, to succeed Tournon; but this delegate, like Tournon, was received with contempt, and his orders utterly disregarded. When the pope was informed of this, he issued a bull against the Chinese Christians, and commanded Castorani to read it publicly. This task he was imprudent enough to perform, for which he was apprehended by the emperor of China's orders, heavily loaded with irons, and imprisoned as a traitor, who had dared to introduce foreign laws, and read foreign edicts in the empire. After seventeen months confinement Castorani was released, on condition of immediately setting sail from China, and delivering back the bull into the hands of the pope.

The Roman pontiff, finding his authority was disregarded in China, and that he could not trample on the consciences of the ancient Chinese Christians, while they were protected by the emperor, determined, if possible, to gain the favour of that monarch. With this view he dispatched an embassy to the emperor

himself; the legate, who acted as ambassador, being Charles Anthony Mezzabarba, a Milanese. The purport of this embassy was to entreat the emperor that all Christians whatever in China might be obliged to conform to the bull. The character of this legate is thus drawn by a judicious and masterly hand: "Mezzabarba was a man of sound judgment, and quick apprehension, perfectly knew the world, possessed all the art and finesse of an Italian, was never disconcerted in the most sudden circumstances of danger, and always deliberated before he spoke."

Without departing in the least from his dignity, he paid all the respect due to the person of the emperor, and in the midst of his zeal against the jesuits, expressed marks of reverence to him as sovereign of the country, and to his substitutes as officers under him.

The emperor received him with the usual ceremonies, behaved to him with an affected politeness, and frequently gave him an audience. The legate's situation was, however, disagreeable, for the emperor being of a lively and facetious disposition, and much disposed to raillery, would very often turn the pope, his bull, his legate, and the Roman catholic superstitions, into ridicule. Mezzabarba was obliged to be very cautious and reserved in his answers to the emperor's jokes, as that monarch's fury at certain times equalled his mirth at others. The legate strongly solicited an answer to his embassy, when, after various delays, he received a paper, containing the following words:

THE EMPEROR OF CHINA'S OPINION CONCERNING AN ORDINANCE, OR EDICT, ISSUED BY THE POPE, OR BISHOP or ROME.

The bull concerns only European subjects of the pope, and does not affect the great and venerable doctrine of the Chinese christians. It contains many absurdities and falsehoods; and the best step we can

take to put a final end to these disputes, is to prohibit the Europeans from preaching their law in our empire.

With this cool answer Mezzabarba set sail for Europe, not having in the least effected the purpose of his embassy; and the pope found on his return that his supposed infallibility was of little use in the empire of China.

It was about this time that the celebrated emperor of China, Cang-hi, or Cam-hi, died, and was succeeded by his son Yong-Tching, who caused a great revolution in the Christian church of China, as he told the missionaries immediately on his succession, that he would permit them to continue in the palace, and the apartments allotted for them by the late emperor, as mechanics and artists, viz. Painters, Statuaries, Watch-makers, Lock-makers, Arithmeticians, Geometricians, Astronomers, Designers, Surgeons and Physicians; but prohibited them, under the severest penalties, from troubling themselves with any of his affairs, Religious, Political, Economical, or Domestic.

This first proceeding of the emperor alarmed the Christians greatly, as they did not know, from his conduct, in what manner to act, or what part of their behaviour he might consider as offensive, and what not offensive.

They soon after found, to their great sorrow, that he gave ear to every suggestion against them, and listened to their enemies with pleasure. His distaste to the Christians was not long of the placid kind, for he soon published an edict, which he commanded to be strictly obeyed, and which enjoined:

- 1. That all edicts made by his father, the late emperor, in favour of the Christians, should be considered as null and void, as they were, by his will and ordinance, repealed, and therefore totally abolished.
- 2. That no Chinese subject should in future, on pain of death, embrace the Christian religion.

3. That all Christian churches should be demolished.

4. That all Christians should be persecuted.

This edict was put in force with the utmost severity; many of the [Roman] Christians were banished to Macao, and confined within the limits of that unwholesome town; several were imprisoned in Canton, Peking, and other Chinese cities, and great numbers were put to death under the criminal laws as traitors, when every mode of cruelty was used, and every species of barbarity exercised, to make them renounce their faith: the emperor himself headed and animated the persecution; and to give a colourable pretext for his proceedings, pretended the Christians had formed a plot to subvert the government, and dethrone him.*

One who was on the spot at the time, in speaking of this persecution, says, "It is usual for persecutions, if not to appease intestine controversies in the church, at least to effect a cessation of arms. The foreign enemy pursues both contending parties indifferently, engages all the attention which before they employed against the other, and converts their redundant spirits into fear and anxiety. By these means he unites the minds of the persecuted, better than all the mediators and lawgivers. But the sufferings and adversities of the church in China had not this happy effect. The war among the clergy was carried on with the same life and vigour when they were imprisoned, and beset with their enemies, as in the times of peace and liberty."

This cruel persecution continued till the death of Yong-Tching, when Kian-Long, one of his sons, succeeded him. He was twentyfive years of age when the empire fell into his hands, and began his reign with various acts of humanity. Among other instances of clemency, he caused the persecution against the Christians to cease, and in some measure restored the indulgencies of the Christian church in China, and put it on much the same footing in

^{* [}CHCoG: A claim entirely consistent with papal pretensions and subterfuges in many other countries.]

which it continues at the present time; that is, tolerant with respect to the laws and customs of the empire, and moderate with regard to the professors of Christianity.

[CHCoG: Southwell's conclusion is difficult to accept. Even after he wrote this, in 1807, the first protestant missionaries were attempting to enter China, but were still banned, as was internal Chinese christianity, due to the various attempts of Roman catholicism to interfere in China. It was not until near the end of the nineteenth century that missionaries were allowed into China, and that was only because they were forced to accept them by Western warships. Nor does Southwell ever present any indication that these jesuit-educated "ancient chinese christians" ever held any other scriptural beliefs apart from their eventual rejection of the pope's authority over them.] 1466

CHAP. II.

Account of the Persecutions in Japan.

CHRISTIANITY [Romanism] was first introduced into the powerful but idolatrous empire of Japan by some Portuguese missionaries in the year of our Lord 1552, and their endeavours in making converts to the light of the gospel met with a degree of success equal to their most sanguine wishes.

The greatest recommendation of the missionaries to the Japanese was their profound knowledge in the mathematical sciences, and their skill in many useful and curious mechanical arts, to which we may add their being excellent physicians. The emperor, the tributary kings (for there are several such under the emperor) the nobles and the literati were equally pleased with them; and fond of learning those arts and sciences in which they were able to instruct them.

They admired the mild precepts of a religion so different from the sanguinary tenets of their own faith, and many became converts to Christianity.* The proselytes among the poor were innumerable, for they could not help being captivated with the charities and assistance given to the poor, lame, blind, sick, &c. by the missionaries, both in money and physic. A religion which

^{* [}CHCoG: Wow!! Similar to the previous chapter, these 'Portuguese missionaries' were Roman Catholic priests, and were soon being led by Francis Xavier, co-founder of the jesuits. And as soon as these mild and peaceful 'christians' had sufficient numbers and influence in any area of Japan, they began persecuting the shintos and buddhists and destroying their temples, etc. As in China, the dishonesty and intrigues perpetrated by the papists eventually resulted in Japan being closed to Christian missionaries of all beliefs. For details on all of this and more, read *Vietnam: Why Did We Go*, by Avro Manhattan, at chcpublications.net. You will also learn that the 20th century Vietnamese war was yet another papal attempt to create a Roman Catholic empire in Asia.]

recommended such humanity and benevolence appeared to be just, rational, and consistent with the nature, dignity and goodness of God. They compared the precepts with those of their own persuasion, which taught them that all persons who were lame, blind, afflicted with sickness, or plunged into distress, were wretches marked out by Heaven as objects of vengeance, and as such ought not to be assisted.

They soon perceived, on the comparison, that their own religion was calculated to make them Cruel, Unnatural, Uncharitable, Unsocial, Perfidious and Inhuman; and that the Christian faith, on the contrary, would render them Kind, Humane, Benevolent, Social, Sincere and Tender.

The contrast was too striking for the balance not to turn in favour of the pure tenets of the Christian truth. [CHCoG: So now we are told to believe that the Roman Catholic church has "the pure tenets of the Christian truth." Were all the martyrs tortured and killed by the papacy wrong, and died as real heretics? In these two chapters Southwell appears to lose his mind entirely and writes like an enthusiastic jesuit.]

Such had been the pernicious influence of those absurd maxims of a religion replete with idolatry and barbarity, that many unhappy Japanese, on meeting with a trivial misfortune, or being seized with a common disorder, would go and destroy themselves, thinking that as they were objects of destruction, the sooner the fatal blow was struck the better. Swayed by such ridiculous tenets, husbands and wives would refuse comfort to each other in affliction, or assistance to their children in sickness. Friends would desert each other when their kind offices were most wanted, and servants assist in plundering an unfortunate master. Thus the religion of Japan undermined conjugal faith, parental love, filial duty, and every other moral and social tie. [CHCoG: Note that Southwell makes no attempt to verify the truth of his caricature of Japanese beliefs.] Happy then must the people be to receive a faith which pointed out every virtue, divine and human, and taught the

practice of whatever could lead to happiness here, and hereafter. The afflicted then, instead of giving way to despondency, or destroying themselves through despair, might say with the hoping sinner:

Awake, my soul, shake off this dust, To Jesus now at length look up; No longer weep, no more distrust, But take religion's chearing cup. Strongly reach out thine arm of faith, And seize the purchase of his death.

How many sinners, such as I, In glory now his love proclaim? Shall I alone despair and die, Without redemption in his name? Sinners he pardons—am I not one? Cannot his blood for me atone?

The Lord is very near to all Who faithfully invoke his name; He listens to the earnest call Of those who make a serious claim. None ever sought Jehovah in vain, Ask penitently, and obtain.

Many of the tributary kings and nobility became converts to Christianity; but some of these the missionaries represented as acting in a very hypocritical manner, and pretending outwardly to be Christians, merely through interested motives, in order to monopolize the commerce of the Portuguese, which was to them extremely lucrative; for it is to be understood that trade is no disparagement to the greatest characters, and that kings, and even

the emperor himself, may, without derogating from their dignity, have commercial concerns.

Christianity [Romanism] flourished greatly in Japan till the year 1616, when the missionaries being accused of having concerned themselves in politics, and formed a plan to subvert the government and dethrone the emperor, great jealousies subsisted till 1622, when the court ordered a dreadful persecution to commence against both foreign and native Christians [papists]. Such was the rage of this persecution, that, during the first four years, no less than twenty thousand five hundred and seventy Christians were massacred. The public profession of Christianity was prohibited under pain of death, and the churches were shut up by an express edict. Many who were informed against, as privately professing Christianity, suffered martyrdom with great The persecution continued many years, when the heroism. remnant of the innumerable Christians [Romanists], with which Japan abounded, to the number of thirty-seven thousand souls, retired to the town and castle of Seniabra, in the island of Xinio, where they determined to make a stand to continue in their faith, and to defend themselves to the very last extremity.

The Japanese army pursued the Christians, and laid siege to the place. The Christians defended themselves with great bravery, and held out against the besiegers for the space of three months, but were at length compelled to surrender, when men, women, and children were indiscriminately murdered; and [papal] Christianity, in their martyrdoms, entirely extirpated from Japan.

This event took place on the 12th of April, 1633, since which period no Christians but the Dutch are allowed to land in the empire, and even they are obliged to conduct themselves with the greatest precaution, and to carry on their commerce with the utmost circumspection. To obtain the valuable commerce of Japan, the Dutch, who will sacrifice every consideration for gain, pretended to be *not* Christians, (and indeed, we rather conjecture that those who were employed upon that occasion spoke literally the truth). To continue in possession of that commerce, they still annually make a parade of treating Christianity with contempt, by treading publicly on a cross.

They were first allowed to settle in the island of Firando, where they built elegant houses, and extensive magazines; but the Japanese fancying the houses looked more like castles than places of common residence, and that the magazines bore greater resemblance to military forts than merchants warehouses, which, indeed, was fact, the Dutch were, before they had time to fortify themselves sufficient to become formidable, compelled to relinquish this excellent situation, and a place called Nangazaki was appointed as the seat of their factory. This place is the only part of the Japanese empire where the Dutch are allowed to reside; and even here they are confined to very narrow limits, are obliged to observe very strict regulations, and are watched with the nicest eye of circumspection. This renders the lives of those who belong to the factory exceedingly irksome; but gain qualifies every

inconvenience, and gold, the idol of the Dutch,* expels the fear of danger, and dread of difficulties.

It is a melancholy reflection, that men should sacrifice their prospects of eternal happiness for a few temporary conveniences, and give up their dearest hopes for the sake of sordid gain. Blinded by the love of riches, the Dutch, upon this occasion, meanly and profanely bartered their souls for commercial profits,

^{*} Before we quit this article, it may not be improper to mention the dreadful massacre of the English at Amboyna by the Dutch; for though the persons murdered were not immediate sacrifices on account of religion, yet they were martyrs to innate honesty, and an open confidence too implicitly placed on a set of avaricious villains. The English and Dutch, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, had several settlements in the East-Indies in conjunction. That at Amboyna was very considerable, and of a nature extremely lucrative. The English had five factories on the island, the principal being at the town of Amboyna, where they grew so flourishing that the Dutch envying their prosperity, were determined on their destruction, and formed a most cruel and barbarous plot, to countenance them in their persecutions of the English, and in the murders they intended to commit. The particulars are thus related:

On the 11th of February, 1662, a Japanese soldier belonging to the Dutch came to a Dutch centinel upon the wall of the castle, and made particular enquiries concerning the strength of the castle, and the number of persons in it. On account of this conference, the Japanese was apprehended, and put to the torture, when, through excess of pain, they extorted a confession from him, that several of his countrymen intended to surprize the castle. A Portuguese was then seized upon and put to the torture, as was one Abel Price, a surgeon. The torturing of these, and the Japanese mentioned by the first person apprehended, continued four days, during which time not a suspicion was glanced at the English, who continued to go backward and forward to the castle upon their necessary avocations as usual. At length the Dutch sent for captain Towerson, and the rest of the English who were in town, to attend the governor in the castle. Here they were accused of being concerned with the natives of Japan, who resided at Amboyna, in a conspiracy to surprize the castle.

and forfeited the sacred hopes of salvation for the benefits accruing from trade. Let us conclude in the words of Our Blessed Redeemer: "For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? Whosoever, therefore, shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of

The manner in which another of the English, named John Clark, was tortured, is thus related. They drew his hands with cords to the top of a large door, and stretching them as wide from each other as possible, fastened both to iron staples. His feet were fastened in the same extended manner to the bottom of the door. A cloth being bound about his neck and face, they poured water slowly upon his head till the cloth was full up to the nose and nostrils, so that he could not draw breath without sucking in some of the water. As they continued pouring, he swelled till he was almost ready to burst, and at length swooned away. The Dutch then took him down, and rolled him about till he vomited up

Without being allowed to say a word in their defence, they were committed to close confinement, and the merchandizes belonging to the factory seized.

The English belonging to two of the other nearest factories were seized on the same day, and confined in a similar manner; and a short time after, those who lived in the two remaining factories were apprehended.

The English were now put to the most cruel tortures that that infernal imaginations could devise, in order to make them confess whatever the Dutch pleased, or to induce them to accuse each other. One of the prisoners named Collins, when they were about to torture him, protested his innocence in the most solemn manner, and then said, "I know you want me to confess things of which I am totally ignorant, and to speak to transactions that never happened. As the torture may compel me to say things I know nothing about, if you will tell me what you desire, I will save myself the pain and you the trouble of using the torture, by speaking whatever you please." This speech enraged the governor to such a degree that he ordered him to be severely tortured for mocking him, as he termed what Collins had said, when, by means of the excruciating torments, he said whatever they desired.

him also shall the Son of man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels."

the water, when they fastened him in the same manner, and made him again undergo the same kind of punishment. By these barbarities his body was swelled to an amazing bulk, his cheeks resembled bladders, and his eyes almost started from his head. He bore the whole for a long time with more constancy than several of the others, professing his entire innocence and total ignorance of what he was accused; which made some of the Dutch absurdly say that he could not possibly have borne with patience such exquisite torments, unless he was a devil or a magician. By which it appears they fancied the grand enemy of mankind could confer more fortitude than conscious innocence. The governor who had not yet exhausted his stock of inhumanity, ordered him to be hoisted up again, and then changed the punishment of water to that of Four lighted candles were placed under the soles of his feet fire. alternately, till the moisture which dropped from the pores extinguished the light. He was then burnt under the arm-pits, below the elbows, and in the palms of his hands. Finding nothing could extort a confession from him, the governor told him the tortures should cease, if he would only answer him in the affirmative to whatever he asked him: being overcome with pain, and his spirits greatly exhausted, he consented, in order to avoid being farther tormented. The governor then ran over a string of accusations, to every article of which he said, Yes, without hardly knowing what was asked him, as he could scarce breathe and was unable to stand.

Most of the English were tortured by similar means, and then committed, for several days, to filthy dungeons, where their wounds were suffered to putrefy for want of care. When captain Towerson, who was the principal person among the English, was brought to his examination, and shewed what confessions some of the English and Japanese had made, that is, what had been extorted from them; he in a most solemn manner,

CHAP. III.

Account of the Inquisition at Goa, with the Particulars of the Persecutions and Sufferings of Mr. Johnson.

THE Portuguese, not content with having an inquisition in the capital of their dominions, have extended such bloody tribunals to

Captain Towerson, as well as the rest, being deemed guilty, were sent to a dismal dungeon. In a few days the English, Japanese, and Portuguese were brought into the great hall of the castle, where they received sentence of death; and were soon after executed, submitting to the fatal stroke with great constancy, and declaring unanimously their innocence.

protested his innocence, and even explained the absurdity of the plot that he had been charged with, and which must have been of infinite disadvantage to the English general, and to himself in particular, instead of any benefit. Collins one of the Englishmen, was then sent for to accuse him, and told that unless he repeated again what had been extorted from him, he should be tortured more severely than before. The poor man began to repeat what he had said, but spoke in so inarticulate a manner, and trembled so much that they sent him back to his dungeon; and two more were brought to the examination chamber as accusers. The names of these were Griggs and Fardo, who were ordered to repeat their extorted confessions. Before they could speak, captain Towerson seriously charged them, as they would answer at the dreadful day of judgment, to speak nothing but the truth. This to much affected them, that they fell on their knees, and declared that all they had said was false, and only meant to avoid being tortured. The fiscal, or attendant officer, then ordered them to be put to the rack, which so terrified them that they begged he would countermand his order, and they would do as he pleased. The order being recalled, they again affirmed what they had before said. Being commanded to sign their confession, they did so; but one of them, at the same time, with tears in his eyes, said to the fiscal; "Reflect whose head this sin will lie heaviest on; you who compel us to accuse the innocent, and confess falsities, or we, who, through the dread of tortures, are constrained to act against our consciences."

their foreign dependencies, all their inquisitions being under the direction of the *great council of the inquisition*, the supreme ruler of which is the inquisitor-general. The inquisition at Goa, in the East Indies, is as severe as that at Lisbon, or any other inquisition in either the dominions of Spain or Portugal;* so that we may well exclaim with the poet:

Bigots will draw, wherever pop'ry reigns, The streaming blood from pious martyr's veins; Alike in Europe, or the Eastern parts, Their cruel tortures, and infernal arts, Alike in polish'd, or unpolish'd climes, Their superstition, prejudice, and crimes. The murders, Lisbon or Madrid can shew, Are match'd in Goa, and in Mexico; While Romish malice bears triumphant sway, To cloud the splendour of the Gospel day; While barb'rous men with truth and sense at strife,

The unhappy sufferers, who then fell sacrifices to the avarice, malice, and envy of the Dutch were as follow:

ENGLISH: Captain Gabriel Towerson, agent of the English at Amboyna, Samuel Colson, factor at Hitto, Emanuel Tomson, assistant at Amboyna, Timothy Johnson, ditto, John Whitheral, factor at Cambello, John Clark, assistant at Hitto, William Griggs, factor at Lorica, John Fardo, steward of the house, Abel Price, Surgeon and Robert Brown, taylor. JAPANESE: Kitteso, Tfiosa and Siasa born at Firando, Migiel, Congie and Corea, born at Nangasaki. Queondoyo, Isabinda and Zanchoo, natives of Coroets, Tsoucketgo and Fisien. The following four were acquitted upon examination: John Powl, Ephraim Rainsey, John Sadler and Thomas Ladbrook. The following four were first reprieved, and then pardoned after condemnation: John Beaumont, George Sharrock, Edward Collins and William Webber.

^{* [}CHCoG: Note that this is the same Portugal, and the same brutal Romish religion, which Southwell inexplicably praised in the previous two chapters.]

Deprive the just and innocent of life.

The pope, by bull, confirms all the inquisitors, they being first nominated by his most faithful majesty, the king of Portugal. The inquisitor of Goa is treated with greater reverence than the archbishop, and is more respected than the viceroy. Indeed he has not an uncontrolled power over either the viceroy, archbishop, or grand vicar, nor can he touch their persons without orders from the supreme council at Lisbon; but all other persons he may imprison at pleasure, and punish without distinction.

The inquisitors possess unbounded honours, unlimited power, and immense riches; *honours* from the superstition of the people, *power* from the nature of their employ, and *riches* from having the liberty of drawing upon the king's treasury (where all confiscations are deposited) for whatever sums of money they please, without accounting for the expenditure, any farther than stating it as *sums to supply inquisitorial exigencies*. They have likewise another great advantage, that is, the liberty of purchasing at their own price any curious or valuable articles, when a prisoner's effects are exposed to sale by auction; for none venture to bid against them, or dare buy what an inquisitor seems desirous of possessing.

The ordinary councils of the inquisition meet twice daily, viz; in the forenoon and afternoon. The sovereign tribunal meets only once in fourteen days, unless peculiar circumstances require their assembling more frequently. When causes are tried, the assistant deputies and dignified clergy have the privilege of being present. The prison, or rather dungeon, belonging to the inquisition of Goa, is a dreadful place; indeed, dismally dark, abominably stinking, and nauseously filthy. If a person that has been adjudged to merit death expires before the sentence can be executed, his bones are burnt at the next act of faith; but if sentence has not been passed, a hole is dug, and the body buried without ceremony in the prison, which encreases the unwholesomeness of the place. well as vermin

It was the misfortune of one Mr. Johnson to fall into the merciless hands of the inquisitors, and to be confined in this uncomfortable dungeon above two years. After being confined a day and a night, Mr. Johnson was ordered to be brought before the holy office, as it is called; "When (says he) they made me walk in fetters from the Aljouva to the inquisition, and the pain I felt from their weight is incredible. When I arrived at the inquisition, my irons were struck off, and I was conducted to a chamber hung with blue and yellow tapestry, adorned with a large crucifix, and called the table of the holy office. Upon an alcove, in the centre of the room, was a table near six yards in length, and more than one wide, with several seats, particularly two easy chairs for the inquisitors, and a chair for the secretary, who sat at the end of the The only inquisitor present, namely, Francisco Delgado table Matos, great inquisitor of the Indies, occupied one of the easy chairs, and I stood at the farther end of the table, exactly opposite to the secretary. On my first entering, I prostrated myself before my judge, in order to implore his mercy. He ordered me to rise, and disclose my name, business, and if I knew the cause of my imprisonment. Again prostrating myself before him, I answered him ingenuously, and told him I would confess all I knew. He replied, I might take time, there was no hurry, he had affairs of greater moment than mine that required more expedition. Then ringing a bell, he ordered me to be re-conducted to prison, and so we parted without farther ceremony.

Before I was locked up, my trunk and person were both searched, and every thing taken from me, except a few pieces of gold, which I had artfully concealed, and they fortunately overlooked. An exact inventory was taken of my things, and they promised I should have them returned upon my release; but that promise was never performed. I was then locked up in a dungeon, where a person brought me my supper, which I ate ravenously, as I had tasted nothing for a day and a night before.

The ensuing morning, asking for my books and combs, the turnkey, who brought my breakfast, immediately cut off my hair, telling me that was the way to prevent the want of combs; and as to books, they never suffered the prisoner to read any.

I frequently, with tears in my eyes, implored another audience, but was refused for a considerable time; at length the turnkey made me walk without shoes or stockings to the audience chamber. In the presence of my judge I prostrated myself as before, but was ordered to be seated at the lower end of the table. They made me swear on a mass-book to speak the truth before the officers and to keep all secrets concerning the inquisition.

Being asked whether I knew the cause of my imprisonment, I answered, that I imputed it to some words which I had spoken relative to image worship and baptism. The judge then demanded if I could recollect any thing besides? I replied, I could not. He said, I had done well to speak voluntarily, bade me recollect something else, rang the bell, and sent me back again to my dungeon.

The next time I had an audience, it was unsolicited on my part. The judge now exhorted me to add to my former confession, when I told him, that upon the most deliberate reflection and minutest self-examination, I could not recollect any other circumstance to accuse myself of. He then demanded my name, and those of my Father, Brothers, Grandfathers, Godfathers, Mother, Sisters, Grandmothers and Godmothers. After which he enquired by whom and where I was baptized, if I had ever received confirmation, and by what bishop I had been confirmed. After replying as far as my recollection would permit to every question demanded, I was ordered to kneel down, cross myself, repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, &c. and then again

exhorted to confess more crimes, errors, and transgressions, from my earliest infancy to the present time.

I had, ever since my confinement, bewailed my misfortune with incessant tears; but these continual importunities and exhortations, to confess either what I never knew, or could not recollect, drove me almost to distraction, and caused such a phrenzy in my mind, that I determined to starve myself.

This criminal resolution I attempted to execute by secreting my food (for the turnkeys compelled me to receive it) till, by hardly tasting a morsel for days together, I reduced my body to a most deplorable and emaciated state. During my miserable attempt upon myself, I reflected seriously on all my past follies, and took an impartial review of all the transactions of my life. When I reflected on the errors, which the frailty of nature, or my unruly passions had caused me to commit, I began to think that I felt the hand of heaven in my present afflictions, and that the Almighty had thought proper to chastise me sincerely on the account of former transgressions for the most salutary future purposes. Among other reflections I now, for the first time since my confinement, recollected that when I resided at a town of India called Daman, I made use of some severe expressions concerning the inquisition, and threw out some strictures on their iniquitous practices.

These things no sooner occurred to my mind, than I demanded an audience, in order fully and freely to confess them, and hoping to gain my discharge by my sincerity. On being admitted to an audience, I made an ample confession of every thing I had recollected. But how great was my disappointment, and how much was I astonished when the judge would not let the secretary write down what I had owned, and when he coolly told me it was something else he expected I should confess!

Exasperated at so unexpected a blow, tired of confinement, and borne down by affliction, I determined to put a speedy end to my misery. To starve myself I had tried in vain, for hunger would

overcome my resolution, and the craving calls of nature oblige me to eat contrary to my desperate design. I therefore determined to pretend illness, and desired to be let blood, in order afterwards to untie the bandage, and suffer myself to bleed to death. However, just as I had formed this design, a friar came to my dungeon to discourse with me, and spoke so forcibly against despair, and the heinous sin of distrusting Providence, that his conversation shook my resolution, and the gaolers, at the same time, putting another person in my dungeon, his company, in a great measure, dispelled my melancholy.

In about five months time they took my companion from me, which rendered me so low spirited, that I formed another design upon my life, which was this: I took a piece of the gold, which I had formerly concealed on being searched, and breaking it into two pieces, I sharpened one of them, and with it opened a vein in each arm. The loss of blood deprived me of my senses, and some of the keepers, on entering my dungeon, found me wallowing in my gore. They took considerable pains to recover me, but as soon as I was recovered, one of the inquisitors severely reprimanded me for what I had done, and ordered me to be handcuffed, and to have an iron collar put round my neck.

This usage so exasperated me, that I threw myself upon the ground, beat my head against the wall, and made the most dismal lamentations. Being convinced that rough means would be in vain to manage me, they began to treat me with greater gentleness, knocked off my irons, put me into a better dungeon, and once more gave me a companion. I did not, however, relish my new comrade, for he was a black by complexion, unsocial in temper, and a spy by employment. Heaven, however, removed the perturbation of my mind, restored me to tranquillity, and endued me with the grace to give over all designs upon my life.

When my mind was found to be easier, my companion was withdrawn, and I found, to my great comfort, that time had rendered affliction familiar, and custom had given me patience. At

the expiration of eighteen months imprisonment, I was again conducted to audience, and asked if I had any thing more to confess? I replied I had not, for, upon the maturest consideration, I could not recollect any single circumstance but what I had already told them.

Finding that I would not confess any more, the proctor of the inquisition was ordered to accuse me, which he did, by saying:

- 1. That I was a man of evil principles, and had entertained very sinister designs.
- 2. That I had spoken with contempt of the inquisition.
- 3. That I had traduced its ministers.
- 4. That I had mentioned the pope with disrespect.
- 5. That I had denied the pope's infallibility and authority.
- 6. That I was a fomenter of heresy.

He concluded by saying, for these things, and slighting the advice of the inquisitors, I deserved to have my effects confiscated, and my body burnt.

I denied, palliated, and excused myself from the imputation of all the charges as well as I could. As soon as I had signed what had been urged against me, and my replications, I was ordered to withdraw; and lucky it was that they dismissed me, for my passion at being so cruelly used, began to transport me to such a degree, that I could not long have preserved the bounds of decency.

I was examined three or four times more in the same month, and earnestly urged to confess all I had said against the pope; but I denied recollecting that ever I had used an expression against him, or his authority. They then, in the same ineffectual manner, exhorted me to own myself a promoter of sedition, and fomenter of heresy.

In general I could count the number of my fellow-prisoners, by hearing the dungeon doors open and shut; for a profound silence is preserved with respect to the human voice, till the months of November and December, when the prisoners are put to the question, ordinary and extraordinary.

At these dreadful times my ears were pierced with the doleful cries of the unhappy prisoners who suffer by the torture, many falling martyrs to the rack, and others being maimed during the rest of their lives. No regard is paid to age, sex, or rank, but all are indecently stripped, and indiscriminately punished.

From casual information I had been taught to think that the auto de fe would be solemnized in the commencement of December; but as that month passed without any such thing, I was terribly afraid that I should be kept another twelvemonth in this dreadful confinement. On the 11th of January, 1676, I offered my linen, as usual, to the turnkey, that it might be washed; but he refused to take it, and I was strangely puzzled at his refusal. At length, it occurred to me that the act of faith might perhaps be solemnized the ensuing day. In this opinion I was still more confirmed, when, at night, immediately after ringing the bell for vespers, the matin bell was rung, a circumstance which never before had happened since my confinement. A gleam of joy presented itself to my imagination, on the approaching decision of my fate. It was, however, eclipsed by the gloominess of the reflections which naturally arose on the uncertainty of my destiny.

In the middle of the night the alcaide entered my dungeon, which greatly startled me, as I was in a profound sleep. He lighted up a lamp, gave me some clean cloaths, bade me dress myself, and be ready at a moment's call, and then departed.

I was seized with trembling as soon as the alcaide left the place, but recovering myself, I fell prostrate to the ground, implored the assistance of Providence to support me with fortitude, and then began to dress myself. The cloaths, which were striped with black and white, consisted only of a pair of drawers that hung down to my heels, and a waistcoat that reached to my wrists.

About two o'clock in the morning, which was soon after I had dressed myself, the turnkeys came for me, and conducted me to a

large hall. Here I found a great number of fellow-prisoners, placed in a row against the wall, and I was ordered to place myself by them.

By order of the turnkeys, a gloomy and unsocial silence was preserved by the prisoners, who seemed like so many images. In number they were about two hundred, twelve only of whom were whites. The gallery in which we stood had so few lamps in it, and the light of them so very faint and weak, that this circumstance, added to the crowd of blacks and sorrowful objects, seemed to make the whole appear like a funeral. The women, who were cloathed in the same kind of linen as the men, were placed in an adjacent gallery where we could see them; but I observed that in a dormitory, not far from the place where we stood, there were also prisoners cloathed in a black suit, which descended very low, and who walked up and down from time to time.

I did not then know what this meant, but was informed a few hours after, that they were to be burnt, and were walking up and down with their confessors. As I was unacquainted with the formalities of the inquisition, how heartily soever I might formerly have wished to die, I then was under dreadful apprehensions, lest I should be one of those who were condemned to the flames. After being placed against the wall, a yellow taper was given to each of us, with outward garments made like tunicks, or large scapularies: they were of yellow cloath with red St. Andrew's crosses painted before and behind.

Such as are branded with these stigmas are those who have been guilty, or, at least, are supposed to have been guilty of crimes against the faith of Christ, whether they are Jews, Mahometans, or heretics. These large scapularies, with great St. Andrew's crosses, are called San Benitos. Those who were looked upon as convicts, and persisted in declaring their innocence, or had relapsed, wore another kind of scapulary, called Samarra, the ground of which is grey. The criminal is drawn thereon, both before and behind standing on firebrands, with flames mounting upwards, and devils around them. At the bottom of the portrait, the nature of the crime and the name of the prisoner are written. But such as accuse themselves after sentence has been pronounced upon them before their release, and have not relapsed, have flames pointed downwards, painted on their Samarras, and this is called Fogo Revolto, or reversed fire.

San Benitos were given to twenty blacks accused of magic, and to a Portuguese convicted of the same crime; and as they resolved not to revenge themselves by halves, but to insult me to the utmost, they forced me to put on a dress resembling that of wizards and heretics. My terror was encreased when I saw myself in this habit, because I thought that as there were not, among so great a number of criminals, but twenty-two persons who were dressed with these ignominious San Benitos, it was very possible that these only were not to be pardoned. After the San Benitos, five pasteboard caps were brought, shaped like a sugar-loaf, having devils and flames painted on them, with the word feiticero, that is, wizard, round them. These caps are called carrochas, and were put on the heads of five of the most guilty of the criminals, among those who were accused of magic; and as they stood pretty near me, I likewise expected one, but was happily mistaken. I then doubted no more but these miserable wretches were to be really burnt, and as they were no better acquainted than myself with the formalities of the inquisition, they have since told me they thought their ruin inevitable.

Every one being habited according to the imputed crime, we were all allowed to sit upon the ground till farther orders. About four in the morning several domestics, belonging to the prison, came after the turnkeys to give bread and figs to such as would eat; but, for my part, though I had not suffered before, I had so little appetite that I should not have taken any thing, had not one of the turnkeys came up to me and said, *Take the bread that is offered to you, and if you cannot eat it now, put it in your pocket, for depend upon it you will be hungry before you come back.* These words

gave me the highest consolation, and dispelled all my fears, since he talked of my returning back, which made me take his advice. At last, after having long waited, day began to break, when one might plainly behold in the faces of all the prisoners, the various impulses of shame, grief, and fear, as those different passions raged in their bosoms; but notwithstanding that, they were all flushed with joy when they found they were going to be delivered from their dreadful and insupportable captivity, though the uncertainty of their fates very much diminished their transports.

The largest bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sun-rise, to give notice to the people of the solemnization of the act of faith, which is, as it were, the triumph of the holy office. We at first marched out one by one, and I observed, in passing from the gallery into the great hall, that the inquisitor was sitting at the door, having a secretary near him; that the hall was crowded with many inhabitants of Goa, whose names were written in a list which the secretary held in his hand; and that when a prisoner was ordered out, he named one of those gentlemen who were in the hall, who immediately went up to the prisoner, and attended him, in order to stand godfather to him in the act of faith. These godfathers answer for the persons they attend upon and represent them when the festival is ended; and the inquisitors pretend it is a great honour for a person to be chosen godfather upon these occasions. The general of the Portuguese ships in India was my godfather, and therefore I came out with him, and being got into the street, I found that the procession began with the Dominicans, who enjoy this privilege, because St. Dominic their founder instituted the inquisition. Before them the standard of the holy office was carried, in which the image of the founder was wrought in very rich embroidery, holding a sword in one hand and an olive branch in the other, with this inscription:

Justitia et Misericordia. [Justice and Mercy]

After these friars follow the prisoners walking one after another, with each a godfather by his side, and a wax taper in his hand. The least guilty walked first, and as I was not looked upon to be very innocent, above an hundred prisoners walked before me; men and women went promiscuously together; for there was no other distinction but that of crimes. I, like the rest, was bareheaded and barefooted, and I suffered very much in the march, which lasted above an hour, because of the little flints with which the streets of Goa are filled, so that my feet were all bloody. We were carried through the principal streets, exposed to the sight of innumerable spectators, who came from many parts of India, and lined the way as we walked; care being taken to give notice of an act of faith in sermon time, in the most distant churches a long time before its solemnisation.

At last, oppressed with shame and confusion, and greatly fatigued by the march, we arrived at St. Francis's church, which was then appointed to prepare the celebration of the act of faith. The high altar was covered with black, and had on it six silver candlesticks, in which were six lighted white wax tapers. On each side of the altar two seats like thrones were raised, that to the right for the inquisitor and his council, and the other for the viceroy and his court. At the same distance from them, and opposite to the high altar, a little towards the door, another altar had been raised, on which the mass-books lay open. From thence to the church gate a gallery was built, about three feet wide, railed in on each side, near which forms were placed for the criminals to sit on with their respective godfathers, who sat down as they came into the church, so that those who first entered sat nearest to the altar.

Being seated in my place, I began to consider the order which those who came after me were made to observe. I found that such as wore the dreadful carroches before-mentioned walked last in the procession, immediately after a large crucifix that was carried, the face of which was turned to those who walked before it, and which was followed by two persons, and by four statues as big as life, and representing so many men, each of them fixed upon a pole, and accompanied by as many boxes, each carried upon the head of

a man; the boxes being filled with the bones of those whom the statues represented.

By the face of the crucifix turned towards those who preceded it, the mercy that had been shewn them is denoted by sparing their lives, though they had deserved to die; and by the said crucifix being turned behind to those who followed it, is denoted that those unhappy wretches are lost to all hope. Thus every thing that relates to the inquisition has a mysterious signification. The dress of these unhappy persons inspired equal horror and pity. The living criminals and the statues were cloathed in samarras made of grey linen, painted full of devils, flame, and fire-brands, on which the criminal's head was depicted both before and behind, with the sentence written below, containing, in few words, and in large letters, his name, that of his country, and the crime for which he was to suffer.

They also wore carroches, which, like the habit, were filled with flames and devils. The little trunks, in which the bones of those who died were laid, and who had been prosecuted before or after their decease, were also painted black, and covered with demons and flames. These unhappy wretches being entered in the gloomy manner above described, and seated in the places appointed them near the church door, the inquisitor came, attended by his officers, and went and seated himself on the bench that stood to the right of the altar, during which the viceroy, and his court, seated themselves on the left: the crucifix was placed on the altar betwixt the six candlesticks, when every one being seated in his place, and the church crowded with people, the provincial of the Austin friars went into the pulpit, and preached for half an hour. Notwithstanding my great anguish of heart, I was attentive to the discourse, and observed that the preacher compared the inquisition to Noah's ark; but, nevertheless, that he found this difference between them, viz. that, the beasts who entered the ark came from thence after the flood, with the very identical inclinations they had carried into it; but that the inquisition had the

admirable property to make to great a change with regard to those who were imprisoned in it, that many who were cruel as lions and tygers at their coming in, went out as meek and gentle as lambs. Sermon being ended, two readers went alternately into the pulpit, where they read in public the trials of the several prisoners, and also their respective sentences.

The prisoner whose sentence was reading, was, in the mean time, conducted by the alcaide to the middle of the gallery, where he was obliged to stand holding a wax taper till his sentence was finished.

As all the prisoners are supposed to have incurred the penalty of the greater excommunication, after the trial and sentence has been read, each is separately conducted to the foot of the high altar, on which the mass-books have been laid, and there being ordered to kneel, he puts his hands upon a book, and continues in that posture till every criminal has a mass-book before him: then the reader, laying aside the trials, repeats a confession of faith, having first briefly exhorted the prisoners to repeat it after him, with their hearts as well as mouths; and this being done, each prisoner returns back to his place, and the trials are again read.

I was called in my turn, when I found that my impeachment consisted of three heads, viz.

- 1. For having asserted the invalidity of baptism.
- 2. For having said that images are not to be worshipped, and for having blasphemed a crucifix, by saying that one of ivory was no more than a piece of ivory.
- 3. For having spoken with contempt of the inquisition, and its ministers; but above all, for the blackness of my intentions, when I affirmed these several things.

In consideration whereof I was declared:

- 1. Excommunicated.
- 2. So culpable that my goods and chattels were confiscated for the king's use.

3. I was banished from the Indies, and compelled to fulfil the other penances which should be particularly enjoined me by the inquisitors.

Of these punishments none was so grievous to me as being forced to leave the Indies, where I had made a resolution of travelling several years longer: however, this reflection was sweetened when I considered that I was going to be released out of the clutches of the inquisitors.

My confession of faith being read, I returned to my place, and took advantage of the advice my turnkey had given me, not to refuse the bread that was offered me; for as the ceremony lasted the whole day, none of the criminals ate any thing that day but in the church.

After the trials of those who were pardoned had been read, the inquisitor left his seat, in order to put on the albe and stole (or robes, &c.) when being accompanied by about twenty priests, each having a switch in his hand, he came into the middle of the church, where, after having said several prayers, we were absolved from the excommunication, (which it was pretended we had incurred) by virtue of a stroke on the back, which those priests gave to each of us with a switch.

I cannot here forbear relating a circumstance, to shew how grossly superstitious the Portuguese are, with regard to every thing that relates to the inquisition: it is, that during the procession, and all the time I continued in the church, my godfather would never answer me, for fear of being involved in the same censure with myself; but as soon as I was absolved he embraced me, gave me snuff, and told me he then looked upon me as his brother, since the church had loosed or given me absolution.

The ceremony being ended, and the inquisitor returned to his seat, the prisoners, whom it was resolved should be burnt, were ordered to advance forward. These were a man and woman, with the images of four men deceased, and the boxes in which their bones were laid. The man and woman were a black Indian and a Christian accused of magic, and condemned as relapsed; but, in reality, were no more wizards than those who condemned them.

Of the four images, two represented men convicted of magic; and the other two, new Christians accused of turning Jews.

One of these died in the inquisition, and the other in his own house, and had been buried many years before, at his own parish church. However, being accused, after his death, of embracing the Jewish principles, as he died very rich, the inquisitors had caused his body to be taken out of the grave, in order to burn his bones in the act of faith. The trials of these persons were read, which all ended with these words:

That it had not been in the power of the holy office to pardon them, because of their relapsing into their errors, or their impenitence, and being indispensably obliged to punish them with the utmost rigour of their laws, they therefore delivered them over to the flames.

While these last words were pronouncing, a serjeant from the secular power advanced forward, and took possession of those unfortunate persons, who before had been struck gently on the breast by the alcaide, to shew that they were abandoned by the inquisitors. In this manner the act of faith ended; and while the condemned criminals were carried to the river side, where the viceroy and his court were assembled, and where the piles on which they were to be burnt were prepared the day before, we were carried back to the prison, but without observing any order as we walked.

Though I did not see the execution, yet, as I had an account of it from several persons, I shall give a description thereof, in as concise a manner as possible.

When the condemned prisoners come to the place where the lay-judges are assembled, they are asked what religion they chuse to profess at leaving the world;* but no mention is made of their

^{*} As no religion is more superstitious than the Roman catholic, so none is more ridiculous. Their most solemn ceremonies are absurd, and the

trial, which is supposed to have been fair, and that they were very justly condemned, the inquisition being looked upon as infallible. Having answered this only question which is put to them, the executioner lays hold of and ties them to stakes, where they are first strangled in case they die catholics; but if they persist in professing judaism or heresy, they are burnt alive; however, this happens so rarely that there is scarce one instance of it in four acts of faith, though several persons generally suffer on these occasions.

The day after the act of faith, the pictures of the executed criminals are carried into the church of the dominicans. Their heads only are represented with firebrands under them, and their names, those of their parents, and their country, the crime for which they suffered, the day of the month, and the year of the execution.

If the criminal had relapsed into his former guilt, the following words are written beneath the picture:

Morreo queimado por heresie relapso; which signifies, He was burnt as a relapsed heretic.

If he persevered in his error, after having been accused but once, the words are:

Por heresie conumas; which implies, For continuance in heresy.

In fine, if, after having been accused by a sufficient number of witnesses, he persists in asserting his innocence, and dies in

questions of their priests, on these occasions, artful, and destructively designing.

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professing the Christian religion, the inscription under his picture is as follows:

Morreo queimnado por heresie convitto negativo. which may be thus translated He was burnt as an heretic convert, but did not confess.

Of the latter examples there are great numbers; for it is certain that out of an hundred who die as negatives, ninety-nine are not only innocent of the crime imputed to them, but chuse to die rather than falsely confess themselves guilty; for it is not natural to suppose, was a man sure to be pardoned in case he would confess, that he would persist in his innocence, and chuse rather to be burnt than to own a truth, the confession of which would save him.

These terrible portraits are hung up in the nave and over the gate of the church, as so many illustrious trophies sacred to the glory of the holy office.*

I was so wearied and dejected at my return from the act of faith, that I was almost as desirous of going back to my cell, as I had been a little before to come out of it. My godfather accompanied me to the hall, and the alcaide having carried me to the gallery, I went and shut myself up, whilst he was looking after the rest. When I got in I threw myself upon the bed till my supper was brought me, which consisted only of bread and figs, the hurry of the day not allowing the officers to get any thing else.

I slept, however, much better this night than I had done for a considerable time before; but the moment day appeared, I was impatient to know my fate. About six the alcaide bade me give him back the dress I had worn in the procession, which I willingly returned, and at the same time offered him the San Benito, but he would not receive it, as I was to wear it on all Sundays and festivals, till I had complied with the words of my sentence.

^{*} In the great church of the dominicans at Lisbon, which is not far from the inquisition, there are several hundreds of these melancholy paintings.

About seven, breakfast was brought me, and a little after I was ordered to pack up my cloaths, and to be in readiness against my being called out.

I observed this last order with all care and dispatch, when about nine, a turnkey opened the door, ordered me to take up my bundle upon my shoulders, and to follow him to the great hall, where the principal of the prisoners already were. Having staid some time there, I saw about twenty of my fellow-prisoners who had been sentenced to be whipped the day before, which had just then been executed upon them by the hands of the common hangman through the streets of the city.

Being thus assembled, the inquisitor came in when we all fell on our knees to receive his blessing, after having kissed the ground he walked upon. Orders were then given to such blacks as had few or no cloaths, to carry those of the whites; and such of the prisoners as were not Christians were immediately sent to the places to which they had been condemned, some of them into banishment, others to the gallies, or the house where powder is made, called Casade Colvera.

The Christians, whether blacks or whites, were carried to a house hired in the city, there to be instructed for some time. The blacks lay in the parlours and galleries, and the whites were put into a separate apartment. Here we were confined all night, but had liberty to range the whole house over in the day time, and to speak with any body. The whites and blacks were catechised separately every day, and mass was daily celebrated, at which we all assisted, as also at morning and evening prayer. During my stay in this house, I was visited by a religious dominican, my friend whom I had known in the city of Diman, where he was a prior.

This good father, who was oppressed with years and sickness, no sooner heard of my being set at liberty, but he immediately visited me in a sedan. He bewailed my ill fate with tears and embraces, telling me he had been in great terror for my sake; that he had frequently enquired into the state of my health, and my affairs, of the *father procurator* of the prisoners, his friend of the same order, but he could obtain no answer for a considerable time; and that at last, after many intreaties, all he could get out of him was that I was still alive. The sight of this good friar gave me great consolation, and the necessity I was under of leaving the Indies was a trouble to us both. He had the humanity to visit me several times, when he requested me to leave the Indies as soon as I should be set at liberty, and sent me provisions of various kinds for my voyage, which otherwise I could never have procured.

After living in this house for some time, we were again conducted into the hall of the inquisition, when each of us was called in his turn to the board of the holy office, there to receive from the hands of the inquisitor a paper containing the penances to which we were respectively sentenced.

I went thither in my turn, when laying my hands on the gospel, I was ordered to kneel down and promise not to reveal any of those particulars which had happened in the inquisition during my imprisonment.

To conclude, the judge afterwards gave me a paper signed by himself, and containing the following list of penances:

 During the first three years to come, he (meaning myself) shall confess and communicate; The first year - Every month.
 The two following were at Easter Whiteuntide Christman

The two following years at Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas and the Assumption of our Lady.

- 2. He shall assist at mass and sermons on Sundays and festivals, in case he has an opportunity of so doing.
- 3. During the said three years he shall daily repeat five times the Pater Noster, and Ave-Maria, in honour of the five wounds of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

- 4. He shall not engage in friendship with heretics, (or persons whose faith is in the least suspected) which may in any manner prejudice his salvation.
- 5. He shall keep inviolably secret all he has either seen, said, or heard, as also whatever has been transacted with himself, either at the board, or other places of the holy office.

The singularity of this gentleman's fate, who was released from a dreadful dungeon, the fears of death, and the power of a bloody tribunal, bring to our mind the following contrasted lines, which immediately apply to the purpose:

O Liberty! thou goddess, heav'nly bright, Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight; Eternal blessings in thy presence reign, And smiling plenty leads thy wanton train: Eas'd of its load, subjection grows more light: And poverty looks chearful in thy sight: Thou mak'st the beauteous face of nature gay, Giv'st splendour to the sun, and pleasure to the day.

These elegant lines are thus contrasted by a parody on them:

O Slav'ry! thou fiend of hell's recess, Profuse of woes, and pregnant with distress; Perpetual curses in thy presence reign, And frowning famine leads thy meagre train: Encreas'd in load, each evil seems more great, And poverty is felt with double weight; On nature's beauteous face you cast a gloom, Eclipse the sun, and prove gay pleasure's tomb.

Mr. Johnson lived to undergo his sentence, and published the foregoing narrative, which is given the first person as more

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striking, and in his own words, as nearly as some inaccuracies of language and uncouth phrases would admit.

* * * * * * * * * * *

It is necessary here to observe that the Christian faith was first planted in India by St. Thomas, and that apostle sealed the truth of the gospel which he had preached to these infidels with his blood. On the Coromandel coast it is, in some places, preserved, nearly in its original purity, to this day. Before the Portuguese discovered India, the Coromandalians had only the gospel of St. Matthew, and were greatly surprized, on having the other gospels communicated to them, to find that many great and polished nations had a greater insight into Christianity than themselves.

The Indians, however, abhorred the superstitious notions, and arbitrary proceedings of the Romish missionaries, and dreaded the diabolical severity of the inquisition. "Holy by name (as even a Roman catholic author says) but so terrible in its consequences, that it serves for nothing else than to alienate the infidels from the Christian church." "Though the Christians (says the same author) are not allowed the public exercise of their religion in the territories under the jurisdiction of the Mahometans, nevertheless they are not debarred from worshipping God in private. There are certain private convents: such a one the French have at Surat, but they are forbidden, under pain of death, to teach any thing to the Mahometans which may induce them to embrace the Christian faith; and if a Mahometan is suspected to have received the least tincture of Christianity, he is condemned to the flames, unless he chuses to save his life by a public profession of Mahometanism."

Dreaded indeed was the mode adopted by the Roman catholic missionaries to make proselytes, and their persecuting spirit frequently drew persecution upon themselves. The famous [jesuit] Francis Xavier frequently declared, *That the Roman catholic*

persuasion could never be solidly established among the heathens, except the auditors should be within musket shot.*

Another Roman catholic missionary says, viz. Oveido, the jesuit, in a letter to pope Paul V. "Is it a wonder that we should desire soldiers to support our mission (in India) since even in Portugal the prelates cannot exercise their functions without having recourse to the secular arm?"

So absurd have always been the tenets of the Portuguese missionaries, that they deem all the kingdoms of the east their property, by virtue of a bull of pope Alexander VI. and therefore they attempt to keep out from those countries all preachers of whatever denominations, whose missions were not signed at Lisbon.

Notwithstanding the Roman catholic missionaries in India join in persecuting the religions of all other persuasions, yet the missionaries of the different orders hate and persecute each other when they have none else to persecute. The different behaviour of the protestant missionaries, and the mode they use to establish Christianity in India, will be the subject of the following narrative.

An Account of the Missions in India of the celebrated Messieurs Ziegenbalg and Plutschall.

Messieurs Ziegenbalg and Plutschall were recommended by Dr. Franke, professor of divinity, in the university of Halle, to his Danish majesty, and by that monarch was sent, in the year 1705, to Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel. Their behaviour was judicious, their doctrines pure, and their conduct apostolical.

This famous mission met with great encouragement in England, for exclusive of a complete collection of types for printing, a great number of books, and many mathematical instruments, a prodigious sum of money was collected and sent to the missionaries in the year 1713. Three years after Mr.

^{* [}CHCoG: Yes, this is the 'mild christianity' that Xavier took to Japan.]

Ziegenbalg came to Europe, and when he visited England the reception he met with at court was the most respectable that could be imagined. The archbishops Tennison and Wake, promoted this mission, and the society for the propagation of Christian knowledge gave it great encouragement.

The two missionaries were properly calculated for their employ, being pious, learned, young, healthy, and zealous. Their memories were likewise peculiarly strong, and consequently well adapted to the study of foreign languages. They first applied to the Portuguese language, and having made themselves masters of it, began to study the Malabar tongue. In this they found some difficulty, as the Malabrians had neither a grammar nor dictionary. They had many other books, however, written on palm leaves, by means of which, and the assistance of a Malabrian schoolmaster, they, in time, acquired the language.

As soon as they had acquired the language of the natives, they began to preach in it, and to open both chapels and schools for the instruction of the heathens in Christianity, and to shew the absurdities of the idolatrous opinions of paganism. They were successful in their pious endeavours for a considerable time, but, at length, the king of the country gave them some trouble, by seizing the person who had first interpreted for them, and imprisoning him on account of an information being lodged against him, for having communicated to strangers (the Danish missionaries) the mysteries of the pagan religion. What became of the man is unknown, for he being a native of the country, the king had an entire power over him.

The missionaries, after preaching and praying for some time, in order to explain the Christian doctrines, distributed copies of the New Testament, and a short Catechism in the Portuguese language, to as many of the natives as were acquainted with it. They afterwards translated both into the Malabrian tongue, for the benefit of such as did not understand the Portuguese.

The mission, at length, becoming very flourishing, the Roman catholics in India began a most furious persecution against the protestants, and carried their rage to the greatest excess; till representations being made in Europe, his Danish majesty applied to the court of Lisbon, and by an order from the king of Portugal, the persecution ceased.

Soon after, Mr. Ziegenbalg and his colleague undertook different tasks; the first was to preach and teach in the Malabrian tongue, as being the most expert in it; and the latter, in the Portuguese. Spiritual songs were composed in both languages agreeable to the tunes used by the protestants in many European churches.

When the catechumens and pupils were properly instructed in the principles of Christianity, the missionaries baptized them, and then constantly catechized, instructed, and confirmed them. "The juvenile part of the natives (says an excellent author) were easily prevailed on, by the scriptures being explained to them, to embrace the Christian faith; but it was otherwise with the adult; these entertaining a strong prejudice against the Europeans in general, on account of their dissolute behaviour, and thence naturally imagining they had no religion at all."

The missionaries then thought proper to qualify a native of the country to become a catechist, which proved of singular service to the mission. The principal protestant church in Tranquebar being finished, was called *New Jerusalem*, where the missionaries preached, baptized, performed the nuptial ceremony, and expounded the catechism in both the Portuguese and Malabarian languages.

The protestants then set up some charity schools, were indefatigable in inculcating and promoting the solid principles of religion, and made great progress in spite of the popish enemies, who were unremitting in their endeavours to impede these great and useful works. The persecutions carried on against the protestants by the Roman catholic emissaries did not discourage our missionaries; and Mr. Ziegenbalg, in particular, declared that he resolved to end his days in a country into which he supposed God had sent him to carry the light of the gospel.

In the year 1708 Mr. Ziegenbalg undertook several journies along the Malabar coast, and took great pains to instruct the bramins, as well as the common people, in the principles of Christianity.

In the same year some of the Indian potentates persecuted the Roman catholics who were settled in their respective territories. Many thousands were butchered in the most cruel manner, and others fled from the dominions of their persecutors, and took refuge at Tranquebar, where they were kindly entertained by the Danish missionaries, and received into the protestant communion.

In the year 1709 Mr. Ziegenbalg began a version of the New Testament in the Malabar language. This work, which cost him great pains, and is executed with much judgment, was printed first in Europe, and afterwards at Tranquebar, and the copies distributed to proper objects.*

Mr. Ziegenbalg and his companion continued their apostolical labours with great assiduity, and the charities which they performed reduced them to great poverty; but the progress the Indians made in Christian knowledge, and their many converts, gave them the most solid consolation.

In the same year three new missionaries arrived from Europe, and brought with them from Germany, Denmark, &c. three matters of great comfort to the two former missionaries, viz.

1. A considerable sum of money.

^{*} Though the Romish Missionaries had been above two hundred years in this country, previous to the protestant missionaries, they had not introduced the gospel. Instead, they had published a few tracts in the Malabar language of the lives of saints, instructions for confessions, catechisms, and plays, whose plots were borrowed from scripture.

2. A great number of excellent books.

3. A large quantity of medicines.

The Roman catholic party were greatly chagrined at this timely and needful assistance, as it promised to make the protestant religion still more flourishing; and as they had lately expected the straits to which the protestant missionaries were driven, would oblige them to return to Europe. To add to the mortification of the Roman catholics, the king of Denmark had sent express orders to the governor of Tranquebar, to give the protestants all possible assistance.

Mr. Ziegenbalg, soon after, undertook a journey into the kingdom of Tanjore, to propagate the gospel there; and to execute his intentions with the greater facility, he wore an Indian dress, that the people might receive him with more cordiality than if he had appeared in the dress of his native country.

When he had advanced several leagues up the country, he met a company of bramins, or idolatrous priests of India, who, understanding his errand, strongly exhorted him to turn back, assuring him that if he proceeded, he would be murdered, without being of any service to the cause he came to propagate; concluding that they would not seize him, though, by the laws of the country they were empowered to do it; knowing that all he taught was good, and related to God; that the wise would take a delight in hearing and conversing with him; but the number of such was few, the world being very corrupt, and mankind bent on nothing but getting riches; for which reasons they conjured him to return to Tranquebar.

Mr. Ziegenbalg, after receiving some refreshments, thought proper to take their advice, and go back. The number of catechumens encreasing, various houses were taken to form them into seminaries, and not only the holy scriptures, but many pious treatises in the Malabar language, were dispersed over those parts of India, where that language was understood, with the greatest care. The jesuits of Tranquebar, not daring to touch the persons of the protestant missionaries, began to attack their characters, and persecute their reputations; but all the calumnies they could raise were only refuted by the facts adduced, and solid reasonings of the protestants.

In 1711, that indefatigable missionary, Mr. Ziegenbalg, paid a visit to Madras, and then passed through all the European settlements along the coast, preaching and propagating the gospel wherever he came. In those parts where Roman catholic missionaries resided, he observed that both clergy and laity were profoundly ignorant, not only of matters of religion, but of literature in general; for few, even of the priests, understood the Malabar language, or indeed the Latin tongue.

Our missionary not only took the most indefatigable pains to preach in several languages, but held a correspondence to various parts of India; and having distributed great numbers of pious books, particularly copies of the New Testament, he undertook the composition of a dictionary in the Malabarian language, which, when completed, contained about twenty thousand words. After the completion of this laborious work, Mr. Ziegenbalg set out on his return for Europe, (to promote the affairs of the mission) and acted as chaplain to the ship during the voyage. On the passage this pious divine translated great part of the Old Testament, and composed a grammar of the Malabar language. Landing in Denmark, he preached before his Danish majesty, of whom he had audience afterwards. At the audience he presented to the king a native of Malabar, a convert, who thanked his majesty, in the German language, for the kind indulgence and gracious protection which he had given to the protestant mission in India.

Mr. Ziegenbalg, being now married, came with his wife to England; and from hence they set out for Tranquebar, where they arrived in the year 1717. He now continued his labours, with the same zeal as formerly, till his death, which happened in the year 1720, he being then only thirty-six years of age. His death was that of a pious christian resignation to the will of heaven, and his demise was lamented not only by the protestants, but by the idolatrous Indians themselves, who respected his person, and venerated his character.*

^{* &}quot;How wide a difference (says an intelligent author) is there between the conduct of the protestant, and that of the Romish missionaries, in converting heathen nations! The proselytes of the latter are ignorant of Christianity, they knowing very little more than the Ave Maria and Pater Noster, and to cross themselves on all occasions; but our protestant missionaries employ no other methods in their conversions than that of the Apostles themselves, viz. persuasion, and convincing arguments, which display the corruption of human nature, and the necessity of a mediator." [CHCoG: Oddly, Southwell only rarely quotes his sources in a useful manner.]

BOOK XVI.

Containing an Account of the Persecutions against the Christians in ABYSSINIA, or ETHIOPIA.

TOWARDS the conclusion of the fifteenth century, and soon after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, some Portuguese missionaries made a voyage to Abyssinia, and were indefatigable in propagating the Roman catholic doctrine among the Abyssinians, who professed Christianity before the arrival of these missionaries.

The priests employed in this mission gained such influence at court that the emperor consented to abolish the established rites of the Ethiopian church, and to admit those of Rome. He soon after consented to receive a patriarch from Rome, and to acknowledge the pope's supremacy.

Many of the most powerful lords, and a majority of the people who professed the primitive Christianity, as first established in Abyssinia, opposed these innovations, and took up arms against the emperor. Thus, by the artifices of the court of Rome, and its emissaries, a most furious civil war was begun, and the whole empire thrown into commotion. This war was carried on through several reigns, its continuance being above an hundred years; and the court constantly siding with the Roman catholics, the primitive Christians of Abyssinia were severely persecuted, and multitudes perished by the most inhuman means.

During this time many provinces revolted from the emperors, notwithstanding which they persisted in their profession of the Romish religion, and obstinately supported that persuasion which was bringing on their ruin. "At last (says an intelligent writer on

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the subject) the jesuits, pursuant to their usual practice, undertook the management of temporal affairs in an arbitrary manner, and this almost exclusive of the emperor. Those artful fathers went so far as to erect forts, which they manned, and were going to send for European troops; but the emperor and nobility, waking from their lethargy, agreed to abolish the Romish religion, and to massacre the priests, who, accordingly, fell victims to the rage of the populace, the patriarch himself narrowly escaping with life."

After this revolution, the Abyssinian monarch grew more cautious of admitting strangers into his empire; and the French king, Louis XIV. exerted every endeavour to get missionaries again into Ethiopia. Whenever a Frank, or European, of any degree or profession whatever, arrived on the frontiers, he was strictly searched to see if he had any fire-arms, or suspicious merchandize; and these precautions are kept up to the present times, though not with that punctuality they formerly were.

Some years after the abovementioned revolution, some Abyssinians, who were arrived from Grand Cairo, gave, at their return from thence, so advantageous an account of a capuchin, whom they became acquainted with in that city, and particularly of his great skill in physic, that the then reigning emperor, who had been long ill, sent a messenger to the friar, that he should be welcome in his dominions. The friar accordingly prepared to wait on the emperor, when some Franciscans, who happened to be at Grand Cairo, thinking the message related as much to themselves as to the capuchin, determined to be before-hand with him, and set off with all possible expedition. When they arrived on the frontiers, notice was sent to court, and an order was dispatched from thence to bring them to the royal residence. The emperor, at first, received them with all imaginable civility; but when he found that the capuchin was not one of the number, he ordered them all to be put to death, which sentence was immediately executed with the utmost rigour.

The capuchin, however, afterwards arriving, paved the way for the introduction of some Portuguese missionaries, who began again to establish the Romish religion in Ethiopia. One of these, named father Pays, prevailed on the emperor to issue out a very unpopular proclamation. This step, and other ensuing ones equally impolitic, threw the whole empire again into commotion. The Egyptian abuna, or chief pontiff, joined with the people of Abyssinia; as did a son-in-law of the emperor, against the emperor, the court party, and the Romish missionaries. A general engagement ensued, which was fought with great obstinacy on both sides, till the abuna, and the emperor's son-in-law, were killed, and their forces defeated.

The emperor, and the missionary priests, with all who had embraced the Roman catholic persuasion, now began a furious persecution against all who professed contrary tenets. The primitive Christians of Ethiopia groaned under the most cruel oppressions, and dreadful was the havock made by the Roman catholic party, who destroyed thousands in the most barbarous manner, by Hanging, Drowning, Beheading, Torturing to death, &c.

Among the rest who were martyred on this occasion, were some men who lived the recluse life of hermits, and were famed throughout the whole empire, for their temperance, inoffensive lives, and sanctity of manners.

The emperor was soon after weak enough, on his knees, to acknowledge the pope's supremacy before the missionaries, and many of his own people; and then, by proclamation, commanded all his subjects, on pain of death, to acknowledge the Roman catholic persuasion. The clergy of the primitive Ethiopian church, and many of the people, refused to obey the innovation, when the soldiers were ordered to butcher them in a most cruel manner. "The monks (says a writer on this subject) and particularly the anchorets, sheltered themselves in lonely caves, or mountains, but were killed as soon as the murtherers discovered them. Whenever these could not approach near enough to the victims, they stifled them by filling their recesses with smoak."

If any one became a convert to the Romish principles, it was mere grimace, and to save his life. The court having recourse to the violent methods usually employed by the popes for converting the disobedient, and the cruelties exercised at this time, produced the effects which might be naturally expected from them; insurrections breaking out on every side. One of the greatest lords in Ethiopia, drawing his sword on account of these innovations, his soldiers were defeated, and himself being seized in a cave, where he had hid himself after his defeat, the emperor ordered him to be hanged on a tree, and to strike the greater terror, inflicted the like punishment upon a sister of his, on pretence of her having been an accomplice in the rebellion, which struck the whole court, and particularly the women, with terror.

The Portuguese patriarch, whose vile practices had caused all this bloodshed, still went on with his usual rancour, and encroached daily on the ancient jurisdiction of the empire, and even on that of the monarch. A famous pastor, who, during many years, had been the head of his order, dying without making an abjuration, was buried at the foot of the altar in a church, upon which the patriarch ordered the body to be dug up, and thrown into the fields. But this action highly exasperated the Abyssinians, who cried aloud that the Portuguese, not satisfied with making war on the living, extended their hatred to the dead, and persecuted even their carcases.

The patriarch intended, in all probability, to introduce the inquisition into Ethiopia, but other insurrections breaking forth, and the emperor marching in person against his discontented subjects, was present at a very moving scene. Five men, and four women, having retired to a solitude, to avoid the Portuguese troops, one of the women appeared on a rock, holding a book in her hand. She told the emperor's soldiers she looked upon them as Mahometans, and therefore bade them not to come nearer, for fear

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of polluting her. Saying this, she threw herself from the rock, still holding her book, and the mountain being very high, her body was dashed to pieces. The emperor was then persuaded to soften his rigour, whilst, on the other hand the patriarch endeavoured to inflame it. The troops of the two parties coming to an engagement, the emperor's army at length prevailed, eight thousand of his adversaries being killed, and the rest put to flight. This caused a great consternation in the empire, when some moderate courtiers wishing for peace, deputed one of their number to speak to the emperor. The delegate taking himself to the field of battle, addressed him in the following terms:

Behold the many thousands who are slain; they are neither mahometans nor heathens, but your vassals and our blood and relations. Whether you vanquish, or are overcome, you will thrust a dagger into your own bosom. Those who have taken up arms have nothing to object to your majesty, but they cannot be satisfied with the faith which you would force upon them. How much blood has been spilt on occasion of this change of religion? The Ethiopians do not like the Romish faith: leave them, therefore, in possession of that of their ancestors, otherwise you will lose your empire, and we our quiet.

Struck with remorse on hearing these words, for the blood spilt, and the cruelties committed, the emperor determined that the barbarities hitherto exercised should cease, and accordingly published a general proclamation, allowing a toleration in all matters of conscience.

This proclamation gave great satisfaction to all sensible and moderate people, though the jesuits did the utmost in their power to depreciate it. On this occasion many thousands of chaplets, mass-beads, images, and other Roman catholic relics were burnt

amidst the acclamations of many who professed the purer principles of Christianity. A spiritual song was likewise composed, alluding to the apostle who first propagated Christianity in Ethiopia; and to St. Cyril of Alexandria, who contributed greatly to extend the faith in that country. The following is a new translation of that curious piece:

Sweet freedom, triumph in thy conquest made, No more shall western wolves thy rights invade; Sweet freedom, triumph in thy blessings given, And let thy vot'ries pay their thanks to heav'n.

Snatch'd from the jaws of woe, thanksgivings bring, And sacred songs with hallelujahs sing; The bless'd apostle's name proclaim with praise, And chaunt St. Cyril in melodious lays.

To them a pure, a saving faith you owe, By them a God, and tender Saviour know; A God all great, and glorious in mind, A bless'd Redeemer, merciful and kind.

These occurrences greatly mortified the Roman catholics, and the popish patriarch had even the boldness to request the emperor to repeal his edict of toleration. This the emperor absolutely refused, but did not attempt to banish the Roman catholics from his dominions.

On the demise of this emperor, his son and successor, Basilides, acted in a much more spirited and becoming manner; and sent this message to the popish patriarch, "As you have turned your churches into fortresses, rather than places of religious worship, I insist upon your delivering up all your fire-arms, and retiring to Fremona, in the kingdom of Tigra." The patriarch replied to the emperor's message by a long letter, tending at once to submission and expostulation, and promised to quiet the minds of the Roman catholics, and terminate all disputes, if the emperor would permit him to remain where he was, and occupy his usual function.

The emperor remained inexorable, and again ordered the patriarch to depart; but the refractory prelate sent another message, informing the emperor that before he departed he should be happy in having an opportunity of disputing with the learned of Abyssinia before him, in order to prove the importance of his mission, and the truth of the faith that he had attempted to establish.

To this insolent answer the monarch made this very sensible return: You first attempted to establish your faith by violence and tyranny, and not by arguments; you shall not, therefore, use arguments at present, as you would not appeal to reason at first.

The patriarch, and his retinue, being obliged to depart for Fremona, set out on a very long and dismal journey, in the course of which they were robbed and plundered, and otherwise ill-used by a body of free-booters. On their arrival at Fremona, in a very poor condition, a new order arrived for them to embark for India: they accordingly were obliged to sail for Macua, and from thence to Saquem. At the latter place they were seized by the bassa, who treated them with great cruelty, and extorted from them very exorbitant ransoms.

From this period the Roman catholic affairs declined in Abyssinia, and the very name of papist is now held in the utmost abhorrence by the inhabitants of that extensive empire. No priest, nor any person of the Romish persuasion, is permitted to enter that country; and even strangers are looked upon with an eye of suspicion. A Roman catholic writer himself, though he affects to praise the patriarch, yet cannot help blaming his temerity in the following words: "It were to be wished that the Portuguese patriarch, who doubtless possessed many shining qualities, had not undertaken to much, nor so greatly enforced his authority, by acting in Abyssinia as he would have done in a country where the inquisition had been established. He made all the Abyssinians his enemies, and drew such an odium upon the Roman catholics, (particularly the jesuits) that the hatred in which they were then held continues to this day."

Such are the fatal effects of furious and mistaken zeal, blind bigotry, and cruel superstition.

O bigotry! in whose dark train The furies, with their horrors, reign; The basis of whose empire's built On streams of blood, and store's of guilt: In future may thy hands be bound, Thy croaking voice confin'd from sound, Till innocence no longer bleeds, Till soft humanity succeeds; Till far as distant winds can blow, Or surging waters ebb or flow; The great Redeemer's words are known, And all men gospel blessings own.



BOOK XVII.

Containing Accounts of the Persecutions against the Christians in TURKEY, GEORGIA, and MINGRELIA.

CHAP. I.

Account of the Persecutions of the Turks against the Christians in various Parts.

THE divine institution of Christianity can scarce be contrasted with any thing more strikingly absurd than the Mahometan faith; as the mildness and benevolence of the one, with its glorious spirituality, is a direct contradiction to the sanguinary principles and gross sensuality of the other.

Mahomet, (the impostor) in the infancy of his new religion, tolerated Christianity through a political motive, as he was sensible that even in those early times it had several powerful espousers among the princes, who were his contemporaries. As a proof that this was his sole view, as soon as he found his doctrine was established on a more permanent situation, he altered his forbearance to a system of the most rigid and barbarous diabolical plan persecution; which he has particularly recommended to his misguided followers, in that part of his Alcoran, intitled, The Chapter of the Sword; and as proofs of the blind zeal his followers have adopted from his infernal tenets, the many bloody battles of the Turks with the whole of the professors of Christ's gospel, and their cruel massacres of them at various periods, sufficiently evince.* But as the limits of this work will not permit us to particularize each of their sharp encounters, and barbarous butcheries, we shall select only such as we think most deserving our readers notice, observing only, in general terms, that the wars waged by the Turks against the Christians, for many ages, have been conducted on the most savage and cruel system, and as much repugnant to the rules of war, as to the laws of nations. As a capital instance we shall mention first some particulars of their treatment of the Christian inhabitants of the city of Constantinople, on taking it from them at that time, under the government of the emperor Constantine, the latter of that name.

Constantine was, in the year 1453, besieged by Mahomet the Second, with an army of three hundred thousand men, when, after a bloody siege of about six weeks, on the 29th of May, 1453, it fell into the hands of the Infidels, after being an Imperial Christian city for some centuries; and the Turks have, to this day, retained possession of it, as well as of the adjoining suburb of Pera.

On entering Constantinople, the Turks exercised on the wretched Christians the most unremitting barbarity, destroying them by every method the most hellish cruelty could invent, or the most unfeeling heart practise: some they roasted alive on spits; others they flayed alive, and in that horrid manner left to expire with hunger. Many were sawed asunder, and others torn to pieces by horses. For three days and nights the Turks were striving to exceed each other in the exercise of their shocking carnage and savage barbarity; murdering, without distinction of age or sex, all they met, and brutishly violating the chastity of women of every distinction and age.

Mahomet exceeded his subjects as much in cruelty as in his elevated situation, never rising from his impious debauches, without glutting his eyes with the murder of a great number of his

^{* [}CHCoG: Though the Turks were reported to be cruel in this conquest, it is noteworthy that many of their most violent encounters had been with the blood-thirsty Roman catholic Crusaders.]

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Christian captives; and to such excess did he carry his barbarity, that it is confidently asserted by all historians, that he put to cruel deaths no less than three hundred persons a day, for some time, in his presence; and when tired, but unsatisfied with blood, he consigned great numbers more to be butchered by his merciless followers; so that the city is said to have been almost floated with Christian blood, and had the appearance of shambles of human limbs, and Christian gore.

Among the number of slain was the emperor Constantine, whose body being found, Mahomet ordered his head to be severed, and fixed on a pole, and carried through the city, to be derided by the whole Turkish army; and it is observable, that as Constantine, the son of Helena, was the first Christian emperor of Constantinople, so a Constantine, the son of Helena, was the last.

It has been computed that the tyrant was so bloody disposed, as to have occasioned the deaths of eight hundred thousand men during his reign. But Divine Providence seems to have afterwards punished the Turkish inhabitants of this city in a tremendous manner; for in the year 1509, a most dreadful earthquake almost ruined the buildings of Constantinople, and buried many thousands of the Turks in the ruins; lasting, according to some authors, near the space of a month. This was succeeded by a shocking mortality, which swept away great numbers of the remaining inhabitants; and indeed, it is worthy of remarking, that, even to this day, the plague is in no country so frequent and prevalent as in the dominions of the Turks.

Elevated with their success in taking this city, the Turks next attempted the reduction of Bellgrade, but were repulsed so bravely by the Christians that they were forced to abandon their design with the loss of forty thousand men.

During this siege, a noble action of a Bohemian deserves commemoration, who, like another Quintius Curtius, nobly sacrificed his life voluntarily to promote the service of the besieged Christians. This truly brave man, observing a Turk

mount the wall and strive to plant a Turkish ensign on the rampart, to prevent what he thought would be very destructive to the city by encouraging the enemies of his religion, he threw himself with the Turk, off the wall, and his death was highly instrumental in preserving the safety of the city.

At the siege of the city of Chalice in Euboia, the Turks losing a great number of their troops, though in the end they obtained the victory, to revenge themselves on the Christians for their gallant defence, cruelly put to the sword every person above twenty years of age. In which bloody siege, the women, much to the honour of the female sex, observing their husbands to faint in the fierce encounter, gallantly sustained them, and by their personal bravery, withstood the fury of the Turks, till over-powered by numbers, they were compelled to submit to their barbarous conquerors.

Deplorable was the fate of about five hundred Christians, chiefly natives of Holland who being, by the misconduct of their general, a duke of Brandenburgh, taken prisoners by the Turks in Hungary in 1542, were carried captives into Turkey, where they were made victims of the most dreadful inhumanity; worse than death itself, being every one first thrust through the right arm with a red hot iron in so terrible a manner, as to render them, ever after, incapable of the purposes of labour or war; and being close shaven like monks, they had their privities so cruelly dismembered as to kill many of them on the spot; and those who survived were driven into all parts of their dominions, in that piteous plight, and suffering from their horrid treatment pains and tortures, that rendered their existence truly to be lamented.

One would naturally think that the sight of fellow-creatures, in so miserable a state, would move the compassion of the most obdurate heart; but the cruel usage experienced by these poor unhappy men from the Turks in their woeful peregrinations through the Turkish territories, sufficiently evinces the shocking and horrid depravity of human nature, when unenlightened by the

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sublime principles of the heavenly gospel of our Blessed Lord and Saviour.

During the year 1529, Solyman the First retook Buda from the Christians, and shewed the most horrible persecutions of the inhabitants; some had their eyes torn out, others their hands, ears, and noses cut off, and the children their privities, the virgins were deflowered, the matrons had their breasts cut off, and such that were pregnant had their wombs ripped open, and their unborn babes thrown into the flames.* Not content with this, he repeated these horrid examples all the way in his march to the city of Vienna, which he ineffectually besieged, during which, this diabolical barbarian, having made a body of Christians prisoners, he sent three of them into the city to relate the great strength of his army, and the rest he ordered to be torn limb from limb by wild horses in sight of their Christian brethren, who could only lament by their cries and tears their dreadful fate.

Among other instances of the base treachery of the Turks against the Christians, we shall preserve the following:

The Turks having taken and burnt the town of Soclofia in Hungary, the chief of the opulent sort of townsmen flew to the castle for shelter, and for a time bravely resisted the approaches of the besiegers; but unable any longer to resist their enemies, they surrendered on a promise of their lives and property being unmolested; but their conditions of surrender were totally reversed, for the Turks, finding them possessed of more riches than they at first imagined, slew every person of wealth, and took their property; nor did the lower sort escape, for the vassals and country

^{*} Among the captives, two cohorts of Christian soldiers having been made prisoners, the tyrant, after having released from the number several of the stoutest, ordered the residue to be inhumanly cut to pieces; of those he had reserved he set some as a mark to shoot at, others he appointed as objects on which his two sons were to try which excelled in barbarity, each striving who should cut them deepest, and he giving a diabolical preference to him that caused the greatest effusion of christian blood at one stroke with his sword.

peasants, notwithstanding they had kindly supplied the Turks constantly with provisions according to their orders, were commanded by the bloody Solyman to be assembled, and barbarously massacred at the head of his army, in defiance of the most solemn promises of protection and security which had been given them.

This sultan, Solyman the first, was one of the most bloody persecutors of Christians, and so very much addicted to murder, that he ordered his eldest son, against whom he had taken an undeserved prejudice, to be strangled before his eyes; which unnatural deed so affected his second son, that he stabbed himself in the presence of his father, on being informed of his brother's death: though the Christian world had reason to rejoice at the death of this young infidel, who had imbibed, from the tyrant his father, the most implacable hatred to the Christians.

An example of great chastity is further recorded of a young and beautiful virgin of the city of Chalcides, which being sacked by the Turks, this christian lady, who was daughter to the governor, was brought to the sultan to be the victim of his brutal desires; but she refusing to submit, was inhumanly butchered, rather chusing to forfeit her life than suffer her honour to be stained by this unchristian and barbarous infidel.

The princes of Rascia had both their eyes put out with red hot basons. At the taking of Lesbos numbers of young men were cruelly impaled on sharp stakes, and left to expire in all the agony of extreme torture.

At the taking of the city of Hyduntrim in Apulia, the most enormous barbarities were practised by the Mahometans, who, cutting in pieces all they found, or trampling them under their horses feet, extirpated the whole of the defenceless Christians in that place; particularly the good archbishop, whom they inhumanly sawed asunder with a ragged saw.

In many places the tender children were in the sight of their wretched parents torn to pieces by beasts, others dragged at horses

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heels, some famished with hunger, and others buried up to their necks in earth, and in that manner left to perish. In short, were we to relate the innumerable massacres and deplorable tragedies acted by the infidels, the particulars would at least make a volume of themselves, and from their horrid similarity be not only shocking, but disgusting to the reader.

However, we must on the whole observe that the Turkish persecutions of the Christians under twelve of their inhuman sultans, are generally allowed by the best historians, far to exceed either those of the pagan emperors on the one hand or the furious bigotry of the Roman catholic church on the other; and of the two latter it may on this head be not amiss to preserve [CHCoG: twist] the saying in the holy writ, that was applied to the comparative conquests of Saul and David, viz. That the latter two have murdered their thousands, but the former its tens of thousands; and indeed, if we on a retrospect find that as Christianity was propagated by the practise of meekness, forgiveness and clemency, and that Mahometanism was solely by the doctrine of the sword, we shall not be surprized to read such shocking barbarities being made use of by the professors of a doctrine so totally repugnant to the mild and holy principles of our divine legislator.* It would be almost impossible to point out whether this number of Christians massacred, or those miserably carried into captivity by the infidels has been greatest: suffice it to observe, that of the latter there is not a country in Europe (even not our own excepted) but has furnished amazing numbers of wretched victims to Turkish bondage and

^{* [}CHCoG: There are many modern writers that believe the victims of Roman Catholicism, including those that died in wars instigated by them, number in excess of **fifty million**, and most of these victims were people who professed Christ. It is doubtful that Muslims came close to this number of Christian victims, even including those condemned to slavery. See *Estimates of the Number Killed by the Papacy*, by David Plaisted for details. This does not include the many hundreds of millions enslaved within the Roman church and deprived of everlasting life because of the papacy's perverted doctrines.]

slavery. They have been composed of all ages and sexes; and the cruelties exercised on them have been of the most horrid and complicated nature.

In describing these we shall begin with the male sex. The aged of these are seldom reserved alive, by reason of their being of little value or utility to their savage masters, but are by one illtreatment or other shortly deprived of life. As to the young and more vigorous, they are sold in the public markets, as cattle to the best bidders; and some are consigned to various kinds of hard labour, and miserable servitude, even being forced to draw as horses in plows and carts, while others toil at the labouring oar in the gallies.

Some are taught the use of arms, and forced to fight against the very nations and religion they belonged to: these are generally incorporated (if taken when very young) with the Turkish forces called janissaries, who are mostly composed of the children of poor Christians, torn from their parents into a heathenish captivity, as the Turks take particular pains to make them, either by punishments or temptations, renounce their faith, and embrace Mahometanism; nay, to such a height do they carry this desire to make the Christians in their power converts to their blind superstition, that men, who in any degree speak against the Mahometan law, that have, at any time, through intoxication, rashly promised to turn Turks, or have had carnal knowledge of a Turkish woman, have only the alternative of becoming apostates, or martyrs.

There are few among the Turks who can afford to purchase a slave, but will procure one young enough to receive any impression, whom he may call his convert, and by adding one more to the number of the faithful, (as they call themselves) appear to have effected a meritorious action in the eye of his neighbours; and these Christian apostates can never quit their new religion on any other terms than forfeiting their lives, which occasions many, who have not grace or courage to retract their denial of their Saviour, to persist in their sin, from a dread of the punishments which they are sensible will naturally follow.

Another terrible practise of the Turks, on the unhappy Christian youths they obtain as slaves, is, that when they happen to be lads of personal beauty, they are first most barbarously castrated, and forced to submit to the unnatural and detestable desires of the filthy and horrid crime so common in their wicked feraglios; and when reduced to age, serve as eunuchs to wait on their women, or as scullions and drudges in their kitchens.

Neither are the females who are so unhappy as to fall into their hands better treated; for if young and beautiful, they are immured in their feraglios, and forced to prostitute their chastity to the libidinous and depraved desires of their polluted masters; and if rather plain, they are condemned to the most servile stations and menial employments, attended with perpetual slavery, which is aggravated by the most cruel usage.

Neither do they show greater respect to the inhabitants of those Christian provinces and cities, that are so unfortunate as to fall under their cruel tyranny, and despotic government: for, in the first place, they generally, on their gaining possession, murder the chief of the nobility and persons of note, spoiling the churches, or converting them into mosques, leaving the Christians only the use of some old decayed building, which if they repair for their convenience, they must pay a large sum. A Turk may utter with impunity the most horrid blasphemies against Christians; but if a Christian speaks the least disrespectfully of the Mahometan faith, he must directly undergo circumcision or death. If a Christian be on horseback, and chance to meet a Turkish priest, he must, with the most profound submission, alight, and lowly pay him reverence. And finally, they not only pay the Turks a fourth part of their income, but a poll-tax of a ducket per head for each of their family; which, if they are unable to do, they are compelled to sell their children as slaves, or else go in chains, begging from door to door, to make up the payment, to avoid perpetual imprisonment.

Thus have we shewn some of the chief of the many barbarous persecutions practised by the implacable Turks against our Christian brethren in all ages: they have ever exerted their utmost efforts to overturn a divine system, which is as much calculated to destroy sin, as to promote true piety and godliness. Let us, therefore, hope that the many examples of the severe persecutions against Christianity may serve to unite Christians of every denomination more strongly in the bands of brotherly love, and universal benevolence.

CHAP. II.

Of the Persecutions and Oppressions in GEORGIA and MINGRELIA.

GEORGIA is a very fine country of Asia, but being partly subject to the Turks, and partly to the Persians, the cruelties exercised by those two powers keep the people poor, and the oppressions they labour under render them desperate.

The Georgians are Christians, and being very handsome people, the Turks and Persians persecute them by the most cruel mode of taxation ever invented, viz. in lieu of money they compel them to deliver up their children for the following purposes.

The females to encrease the number of concubines in the feraglios; to serve as maids of honour to sultans, the ladies of bashaws, &c. and to be sold to merchants of different nations, by whom the price is proportioned to the beauty of the purchased fair one.

The males are used as mutes and eunuchs in the seraglio, as clerks in the offices of state, and as soldiers in the army.

What a cruel traffic! How dreadful for tender parents to part from their offspring, and sacrifice their progeny to an unknown fate, and everlasting separation! After having tenderly caressed, and paternally cherished an infant, to deliver it up in the bloom of juvenile beauty, and adorned with the sweet smiles of innocence, is a task too hard for human nature to sustain, without undergoing the most painful sensations! For whatever sentiments custom may cause, whatever thoughts fear may give, or whatever ideas the sense of the vanity of resistance may impose, still the parental breast, not devoid of all sensibility, must severely feel for the fate and absence of its offspring.

In Georgia, however, as in all other countries, depravity will harden the hearts of some so far as to make them forget the tender sensations of nature, the soft sentiments of pity, and the important offices of duty. Such parents not only freely part from their children, according to the mode of taxation, but voluntarily sell others, who exceed the number affected, alledging as a reason, that if they remain in their own country, they can only remain miserably poor free people, or despicable slaves; whereas, when with the Turks and Persians, they may, on account of their beauty and talents, rise to preferment, or become opulent and respected. Such parents call to our mind the following elegant lines, founded on some verses in the Canticles:

Can the fond mother from herself depart? Can she forget the darling of her heart? The little darling, whom she bore and bred, Nurs'd on her knees, and at her bosom fed? To whom she seem'd her every thought to give, And in whose life alone she seem'd to live?

Yes, the fond mother from herself may part, She may forget the darling of her heart; The little darling, whom she bore and bred, Nurs'd on her knees, and at her bosom fed, To whom she seem'd her ev'ry thought to give, And in whose life alone she seems to live.

Can the stern mother, than the brutes more wild, From her disnatur'd breast tear her young child? Flesh of her flesh, and of her bone the bone, And dash the smiling babe against a stone?

Yes, the stern mother than the brutes more wild, From her disnatur'd breast may tear her child; Flesh of her flesh, and of her bone the bone, And dash the smiling babe against a stone. The beauty of these people is thus described by Sir John Chardin, "The Georgians (says he) are robust, valiant, and of a social temper, great lovers of wine, and very trusty and faithful; endowed with good natural parts, but for want of education vicious. The women and children are so fair and comely, that the wives and concubines of the king of Persia and his court are, for the most part, Georgian women. Nature has adorned them with graces no where else to be met with. It is impossible to see them without loving them; they are of a good size, clean limbed, and well shaped."

Georgia is so fertile and beautiful a country that the ingenious Monsieur Tournefort says it was the terrestrial paradise, where Adam and Eve first received being. His words are, "It cannot be doubted, but that Paradise must have been in the way between Erzeron and Teslis, if it be allowed to take the Phasis for Pison, and Araxes for Gihon; and then not to remove Paradise too far from the heads of those rivers, it must of necessity be placed in the beautiful vales of Georgia: and if we may suppose the terrestrial paradise to have been a place of considerable extent, and to have retained some of its beauties, notwithstanding the alterations made in the earth at the flood, and since that time, I do not know a finer spot to which to assign this wonderful place."

The ingenious Charles Theodore Middleton, Esq. in his *New* and Complete System of Geography, says, "Prince Heraclius, who is supposed to reign in Georgia at present, is a Christian, and we have been informed has attempted to throw off both the Turkish and Persian yoke, and to prevent the inhabitants from selling their progeny as slaves: how far his laudable endeavours have been successful, we cannot pretend to say, but hope, from the Turks having been engaged lately in an important war with the Russians, and from the prevailing distractions in Persia, that he has been able entirely to render himself independent of the infidels.

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To the west of Georgia is Mingrelia, a country likewise inhabited by Christians, who are persecuted and oppressed in the same manner as the Georgians by the Turks and Persians, their children being extorted from them, or they murdered for refusing to consent to the sale. Many, however, like similar parents among the Georgians, are avaricious, and base enough to sell their children, and make an unnatural traffic of the offspring of their bodies: this they sometimes excuse by profanely pretending to a knowledge of divination, and ridiculously predicting the child's future grandeur, all the transactions of his life, and even the time and manner of his death.

This brings to our remembrance the following beautiful passage written by the great and good Mr. Addison. In speaking of fears respecting future events, he says, "I know but of one way of fortifying my soul against these gloomy presages and terrors of mind, and that is by securing to myself the protection and friendship of that being who disposes of events and governs futurity. He sees at one view the whole thread of my existence: not only that part of which I have already passed through, but that which runs forward into all the depths of eternity. When I lay me down to sleep, I recommend myself to his cares; when I awake, I give myself up to his directions. Amidst all the evils that threaten me, I will look up to him for help, and question not but that he will either avert or turn them to my advantage. Though I know neither time nor the manner of the death I am to die, I am not at all solicitous about it, because I am sure that he knows them both, and that he will not fail to comfort and support me under them."

Let guilt alone to superstition bend, And innocence defy the blackest fiend, Supported by the great Almighty pow'r, Pass in security the midnight hour. Leave to the wicked ev'ry bigot fear, The soul suspicion, and the coward care: The good, to godliness inclin'd, Will always sleep serene in mind.



BOOK XVIII.

Persecutions in the States of BARBARY.

THERE is not a part of the world where the Christians are more severely persecuted than in Africa, particularly in the Barbary states: the inhabitants of those countries having a most implacable hatred against Christians of all denominations, and joining to the profoundest ignorance and stupid bigotry, the most sordid avarice. For gold they will sacrifice every thing that is good and sacred; so that if a Christian happens to have money, he is doubly persecuted, viz. on account of his religion, and on account of his gold.

Insidious bane, that makes destruction smooth, The foe to virtue, liberty, and truth; Whose arts the fate of monarchies decide, Who gild'st deceit, the darling child of pride. How oft, allur'd by thy persuasive charms, Have earth's contending pow'rs appear'd in arms? What nations brib'd have own'd thy pow'rful reign? For thee what millions plough'd the stormy main? Travell'd from pole to pole with ceaseless toil, And felt their blood alternate freeze and boil?

In order to induce the Christians to become Mahometans, they promise them every sensual enjoyment in their power to give; but if they refuse, the most horrid prospects are held out to their view.

In Algiers the Christians are treated with particular severity; as the Algerines are some of the most perfidious, as well as the most cruel of all the inhabitants of Barbary. By paying a most exorbitant fine, some Christians are allowed the title of *Free Christians*; and these are permitted to dress in the fashion of their

respective countries; but the Christian slaves are obliged to wear a coarse grey suit, and a seaman's cap.

The punishments among the Algerines are various, viz.

- 1. If they join any of the natives in open rebellion, they are strangled with a bow-string, or hanged on an iron hook.
- 2. If they speak against Mahomet, they must either turn Mahometans, or be impaled alive.
- 3. If they turn Christians again, after having changed to the Mahometan persuasion, they are roasted alive, or thrown from the city walls, and caught upon large sharp hooks, where they hang in a miserable manner several days, and expire in the most exquisite tortures.
- 4. If they kill a Turk, they are burnt.
- 5. Those Christians who attempt to escape from slavery, and are re-taken, suffer death in the following manner, which is equally singular and brutal: the criminal is hung naked on a high gallows, by two hooks, the one fastened quite through the palm of one hand and the other through the sole of the opposite foot, where he is left till death relieves him from his cruel sufferings.

Other punishments, for trifling crimes committed by the Christians, are left to the discretion of the respective judges, who being usually of malicious and vindictive dispositions, and particularly prejudiced against the Christians, decree them in the following manner:

1. Cutting off the fingers, and stringing them about the neck.

2. Cutting off the hands, and fastening them to the neck.

Those Christian slaves in Algiers, who are of mean families, and in poor circumstances, must expect nothing better than incessant labour, and perpetual slavery, till death presents its kindly relief; exclusive of which, if they commit what may be deemed faults, they are subjected to the beforementioned, as well as other tortures and punishments. Those Christian slaves who are of good families, and in opulent circumstances, are seldom put to death, but used with the most barbarous severity, in order to make them send continually to their friends, to urge the remittance of a capital sum, as a ransom to purchase their redemption. The avarice of the Algerines, in such cases, is sometimes so exorbitant that the richest families cannot come up to their unreasonable demands.

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TRIPOLI, another Barbary state, contains inhabitants of rather a milder nature than those of Algiers: they, indeed, oppress rich Christian captives in order to obtain a considerable ransom. The poorer sort are seldom put to death without having committed some capital crime against the state, or the persons who have purchased them. They are, however, doomed to continual slavery, which, to a liberal mind, is perhaps worse than death. Well may an individual, brought up to the blessings of freedom, exclaim,

During the time of life allotted me, Grant me, good God, my health and liberty; I beg no more, if more thou'rt pleas'd to give, I'll thankfully the overplus receive.

If a Christian changes to the Mahometan persuasion, he is more respected than even a native. A French nobleman, in speaking of the capital of this country, says, "This city is far less considerable than Algiers, and not comparable to Tunis. The government is the same with that of the rest of the cities of Africa. The Moors are in as little credit here as at Algiers. The Christian renegadoes (or those who have turned Mahometans) enjoy the greatest share of authority of any sect of people in the country, and fill the chief employments. Indeed, there is a vast number of renegadoes here, and I have conversed with many of them; they all appeared to be as ignorant of the religion they had embraced, as of that quitted by them. Most of the persons in question had been so poorly educated that they were scarcely acquainted with the rudiments of their belief; and indeed, they assign the most trifling reasons possible for their quitting their religion; whereas, in other countries, slaves are prompted, from the ill treatment they meet with from their patrons, to turn Mahometans: they here, on the contrary, are brought over by milder means."

Poor slaves, who have no hopes of relief in this world, usually console themselves by anticipating the joys of the next, and expecting an everlasting reward, to compensate for their temporary troubles.

Religion prompts us to a future state, The last appeal from fortune and from fate; When God's all-righteous ways shall be declar'd, The bad meet punishment, the good reward.

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TUNIS is a petty state of Barbary, and contains many Christian captives. Every artifice is used to persuade them to change their religion, and turn Mahometans, and renegadoes are preferred to the higher offices in the state. When any ship arrives at Tunis from a Christian country, the slaves are all chained down to the floor of their dungeons, or closely confined, on account of a particular law, which stipulates, that if a Christian slave makes his escape, and gets on board an European vessel, his master, or even the bey, cannot recover him.

If a Christian slave is caught in attempting to escape, his limbs are all broken; and if he murders his master, he is fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged about the streets till he expires. The Tunisians have two dreadful punishments for renegadoes who turn Christians, viz.

1. They wrap them up in cloths dipped in pitch, and burn them.

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2. They pile stones, mud, mortar, &c. all round them, and having walled in all but the head, rub that with honey, which attracts wasps, and other insects, who torment the poor wretch with their stings till he expires in the most excruciating torments, which sometimes does not happen for the space of several days.

A merchant-ship having been wrecked on the coast of Tunis, the crew, by swimming, saved themselves from a watery grave; but they were only saved from immediate death, to undergo the horrors of slavery.

Being seized by some Tunisian fishermen, they were sold to different masters, who treated them with the accustomed severity. and did their utmost endeavours to make them renounce the faith in which they were brought up. One of the captives, named Russel, who communicated these circumstances, says, "They attempted first, by the mildest means, to decoy him into the Mahometan persuasion. These failing, stripes were used, which, joined to the most contemptuous behaviour, almost drove him to despair. God, however, gave him strength and spirits to sustain the barbarities he was doomed to suffer. Finding their preceding endeavours to make Mr. Russel a proselvte ineffectual, they determined to try another method, which was that of starving him into a compliance. They accordingly fed him in so scanty a manner, that his body soon became emaciated, and he appeared such a meer skeleton that his persecutors began to fear, instead of a convert to Mahometanism, they should soon have a corpse for the grave. They now began to feed and treat him better, till he regained his health and flesh; soon after which he happily made his escape, and got on board an English ship, which brought him safe to his native country, where, having informed the owners of the ship he was wrecked in of the fate of his companions, they generously redeemed them.

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MOROCCO and FEZ conjointly form an empire, and are together the most considerable of the Barbary states. In this empire Christian slaves are treated with the greatest cruelty: the rich have exorbitant ransoms fixed upon them; the poor are hard worked, and half starved, and sometimes murdered by the emperor, or their masters, for meer amusement.

A Mahometan inhabitant of Morocco seldom mentions a Christian without tacking a curse to his name, and is so prejudiced against Christians in general that he will not eat, drink, or converse with them, unless to abuse or treat them with contempt.

The emperor of Morocco being one of the most despotic monarchs on earth, compels his subjects to fit out the corsairs or piratical vessels, which they employ to make depredations on the Christians; and though he is at no part of the expence, he has a tenth part of the profits arising from all captures, and the exclusive privileges of purchasing as many as he pleases of the remaining captives (after deducting his own share) at the cheap rate of fifty crowns. This brings him in an immense profit, as he makes them all either pay a large ransom or work hard, unless they consent to change their religion, when they are released from slavery, but not suffered to revisit their native country.

What's wealth? what honour from a foreign hand? Give me, O Providence, my native land; Give me to breathe the air which first I drew, And all the scenes of younger years renew. With retrospective eye view pleasures past, And with the present like the former cast, Till nature sinking yields to rev'rend age, And time shall drive me from the worldly stage.

The Christians in Morocco, for real or imputed misdemeanors, are put to death by the following, among other methods: Hanging, Impaling, Drowning and Starving.

To the honour of several European potentates it is to be observed that many poor Christian captives who were unable to pay their own ransoms have been redeemed by royal munificence. Among the crowned heads who have distinguished themselves by such benevolent acts of humanity, none have shone more conspicuously than his late majesty king George II. whose bounty procured many captives the blessings of liberty, and relieved them from the horrors of despair and slavery.

The reason of the enmity which the Moors entertain for the Christians, and their prejudice against Christianity, may arise, in a great measure, from the cruelties exercised by the Spaniards on the Moriscoes, and their expulsion of that people from Spain. The persecution of the Moriscoes was begun by Ferdinand the Catholic, who on their account, principally instituted that execrable tribunal, the inquisition [in Spain]; innumerable were the Moriscoes sacrificed by this bloody office. At length, the king determined to trust the care of converting the Moriscoes to the Roman catholic persuasion, entirely to the famous cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, a man of great power, and a bigoted Roman catholic.

Ximenes began at first to gain over proselytes, by presents and promises; and when these failed, he proceeded to threats, menaces and imprisonment. If neither hard words, hard living, or confinement, produced the intended effect, recourse was had to the severest methods. The Moriscoes houses were plundered, their effects confiscated, their books burnt, and themselves put to the rack and otherwise tormented; till they gave their consent to become Roman catholics, or expired under their afflictions; and many of them suffered death by the most cruel methods.

These proceedings fired the Moriscoes of Grenada with indignation, so that they flew to arms, and attacked the palace where cardinal Ximenes resided. The cardinal gave them smooth words, and fair promises, till the governor of Grenada, with a considerable body of troops, came to his assistance. As soon as he

perceived the succour brought him, his tone changed, his expressions were harsh, his promises forgotten, and he urged the troops to attack the Moriscoes. The soldiers were obedient to the archbishop, the Moriscoes were attacked and defeated; and judges being appointed to try them, they were indiscriminately condemned, and then offered their lives on condition of turning Roman catholics. To save their lives, many made an outward appearance of changing their religion; and Ximenes, by his violent proceeding, made fifty thousand converts, or at least supposed converts, on the occasion.

The Moriscoes in other parts, being informed of these circumstances, retired to the mountains, and there fortified themselves. Gonzalo Ferdinando, a celebrated officer, marching against them at the head of a chosen body of veteran troops, made himself master of their principal town, named Huyar, and put all the inhabitants to the sword; women and children as well as those who bore arms, thinking by that excess of barbarity to intimidate others from the thoughts of resisting.

His cruelty, however, produced the contrary effect; for the other Moriscoes, who had taken up arms on account of indignation, or precaution, now strongly fortified themselves through despair. Growing stronger daily, they determined not only to stand on the defensive, but to act offensively: they accordingly put a considerable army into motion, and compelled Gonzalo Ferdinando to retreat from the mountains. This so much alarmed the king that he marched against them in person, at the head of a considerable army, and soon reduced Sanaiarra, Almeria, Bacca, Guadie, and most of the other Moriscoe towns of any note; giving the inhabitants the alternative either of turning Roman catholics, or being put to death.

After these violent and inhuman proceedings, the king issued a proclamation, purporting *that as many Moriscoes were in those parts of the mountains inaccessible to the troops, he commanded*

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all such to retire from thence into the kingdom of Castile, where lands were allotted, and dwellings provided for them.

Some of the principal Moriscoes, thinking this a stratagem to decoy them from their fastnesses, sent for answer, *That they did not wish to settle in Spain, but would pay his majesty ten dollars per head, if he would permit them to retire to Barbary.* The king at this time being very poor, accepted the proposals, and numbers accordingly embarked. Thus the monarch's pocket was filled with money, and the country drained of subjects.

Great were the numbers, however, of those who did not possess ten dollars, and consequently could not pay for their These being deserted by the chief people, were embarkation. obliged to submit, and compelled to change their religion. On this occasion, the king and the archbishop made an incredible number of converts. As it is well known that few if any of these were Roman catholics in their hearts, the inquisitors were ordered to proceed with the most rigid severity against any who should recant from the faith they had embraced, and return again to that in which they had been brought up. These orders were so strictly observed, that in the space of forty years near one hundred thousand persons, living and dead, present and absent, were condemned for apostacy by the inquisition of Seville; out of which number four thousand were actually burnt, and thirty thousand were again reconciled to the church of Rome

These transactions all happened during the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, who dying, was succeeded by his son Charles, celebrated throughout the world by the title of the emperor Charles V. This monarch published several severe edicts against the Moriscoes, particularly the following:

1. That the court of inquisition should be removed from Jaen, where it had been established, to the city of Grenada, where the most considerable Moriscoes resided, that it might be a standing terror to them.

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- 2. That all offences committed before the year 1527 should be forgiven, but after that period rigorously punished by the inquisition.
- 3. That the Moriscoes should no longer speak Moorish or Arabic, but Spanish; and that all contracts should be in that language.
- 4. That all the Moriscoes should wear the Spanish dress.
- 5. That all the Moriscoes houses should be built in the Spanish taste.
- 6. That no taylor should dare to make cloaths, or mason to build houses, after the Moriscoe fashion.
- 7. That when any Moriscoe woman was in labour, some Spanish women should be immediately called in order to be present, that no ceremonies but such as belonged to the church of Rome might be performed.
- 8. That three colleges should be built for instructing the Moriscoe children in the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome.

The Moriscoes naturally deemed these edicts cruelly severe, and presented memorials to the emperor, but in vain! They at length found means in some little measure to soften the emperor, by presenting him with eighty thousand ducats at a time, when he was in great want of money. He was so much mollified by this, that he granted them two favours, viz.

- 1. That when any of them were imprisoned, the inquisitors could not confiscate their effects.
- 2. That they might, if they thought proper, wear their cloaths according to the old Moriscoe fashion.

The priests, however, continued to preach against, and the inquisitors to burn, the Moriscoes during the remainder of the reign of the emperor Charles V. Philip, the son of that monarch, was severer than his father, and by his cruelties drove the Moriscoes to arms, who being assisted by a body of eight thousand

Turks, a bloody war commenced, which lasted two years, when the Moriscoes were compelled to submit, but not till the lives of twenty thousand Spaniards were lost in their reduction.

The Moriscoes continued greatly oppressed during several subsequent reigns, in one of which pope Clement IV. thus writes to the Spanish monarch concerning them, "Consider, son, consider how dangerous it is to permit Saracens to live in your kingdom, for though they for a time may conceal their malice, merely through fear, yet, whenever an opportunity shall offer, they will discover it with fury; so that, by permitting these obstinate infidels to continue in your dominions, you nourish a serpent in your bosom, and fire in your lap."

After labouring under various difficulties, and being severely persecuted for a long series of years, the total expulsion of the Moriscoes was determined on; and in the year 1610, orders were published in different parts of Spain accordingly, and near one million of men, women, and children were cruelly driven from the places of their nativity, to distant countries! The effect of this depopulation were, however, soon after severely felt in Spain; so that a committee, appointed to enquire into the state of the kingdom, have, in one of their memorials to the king, these words: "The want of people in Spain is now much more evident than ever was known in the reigns of any of your majesty's predecessors; it being so great at this time that if God does not provide such a remedy for us as we may naturally expect from your majesty's piety and wisdom, your kingdom will be totally destroyed."



BOOK XIX.

Containing an Account of the SPANISH Cruelties and Persecutions in AMERICA.

THE bloody tenets of the Roman catholic persuasion, and the cruel dispositions of the votaries of that church, cannot be more amply displayed, or truly depicted, than by giving an authentic and simple narrative of the horrid barbarities exercised by the Spaniards on the innocent and unoffending natives of America. Indeed, the barbarities were such that they would scarce seem credible from their enormity, and the victims so many, that they would startle belief by their numbers, if the facts were not indisputably ascertained, and the circumstances admitted even by their own writers, some of whom have even gloried in their inhumanity, and as Roman catholics, deemed those atrocious actions meritorious, which would make a protestant shudder to relate:

As if in cruelties for fame they stand And snatch the palm from bloody Nero's hand.

The Spanish historians in general, and most of the theological writers admit that the Spaniards were guilty of the barbarities of which they are accused. Indeed the whole is amply displayed by a writer who had the most authentic authority for all he asserts, and was an eye witness of many of the cruelties he describes. The person alluded to is the celebrated Bartholomeo de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, a town and province of Mexico, or New Spain. A portrait of this famous prelate is thus drawn by an able French writer: "The celebrated Bartholomeo de las Casas was a virtuous ecclesiastic, whom the desire of converting infidels had invited

into America. He possessed most of the talents which form the truly apostolic man: a strong zeal, an ardent charity, a perfect disinterestedness, an irreproachable purity of manners, and a robust constitution, which enabled him to undergo the greatest fatigues. His enemies could reproach him with nothing but a too great vivacity of temper; but then his virtue, his understanding, and the singular talents by which he won the confidence of the Americans, made him a very respectable character." From this prelate's writings, who was a Roman catholic, and consequently cannot be supposed to speak with prejudice against those of his own persuasion, and some other authentic materials, we shall select the ensuing particulars.

The West-Indies, and the vast continent of America, were discovered by that celebrated navigator Christopher Columbus, in 1492. This distinguished commander landed first in the large island of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, which was at that time exceedingly populous; but this population was of very little consequence, the inoffensive inhabitants being murdered by multitudes, as soon as the Spaniards gained a permanent footing in the island. Blind superstition, bloody bigotry, and craving avarice, rendered that, in the course of years, a dismal desert, which, at the arrival of the Spaniards, seemed to appear as an earthly Paradise; so that at present there is scarce a remnant of the ancient natives remaining.

In justice, however, to the great commander who conducted the expedition, it is necessary to observe that historians admit, "When Christopher Columbus set out upon his discovery, under Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, he was exhorted to behave with all possible humanity towards such nations as he might arrive among; and that he complied exactly with those instructions, but was ill seconded by his companions. Most of these were men, who being voluntary exiles from their native country, hoped thereby to escape the punishments justly due to their crimes, and who, at the hazard of dying an honourable death, thirsted after the riches of the New World."

Columbus first landed in a place, to which he thought proper to give the appellation of Port Royal. The neighbourhood, or district, to which this spot ascertained, or belonged, was governed by a powerful *Cacique*, or chief, called Guacanaric. This prince appeared serene in his air, affable in his manner, and mild in his disposition; and his subjects, though greatly surprized at the first appearance of the Spaniards, soon contracted a great familiarity with them, and gave them ample demonstrations of their hospitable tempers.

The avarice of the Spaniards soon becoming conspicuous, and their thirst after gold appearing to the natives, they readily parted from their golden trinkets, bracelets, &c. to the Spaniards, in exchange for a few glass beads, or brass bells, or some other inconsiderable baubles.

The opinion entertained by the Hispaniolans of the Spaniards who visited them was rather romantic; for they looked upon them to be descended from heaven, and to have a command of the elements. This exalted idea of their new guests occasioned them to imitate all their actions, and to copy every ceremony they saw the Spaniards perform, without having the least conception of its meaning.

While this good correspondence lasted, Columbus's ship foundered in a storm, and consequently himself and his crew were at the mercy of the Hispaniolans. The friendly cacique, however, administered every consolation in his power, sent canoes to succour the ship, and attended in person, that his subjects might not plunder it. He built warehouses by the sea-side to secure the goods, was so much affected that he shed tears at the Spaniards loss, and even offered Columbus his whole possessions, if he would remain in that country.

A caraval, or galley, having escaped the storm, Columbus determined to venture in that to Spain, in order to give an account

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of his discovery. He therefore thanked the cacique, told him he must return to Spain, but that he would leave part of his countrymen with him.

On this intimation the cacique built a commodious house for the residence of the guests, and with the wrecks of the ship, raised them a kind of fort, which he farther secured by sinking a ditch round it. In this fort Columbus, at his departure for Spain, left behind him forty men, a gunner, a carpenter, a surgeon, a few field-pieces, and a quantity of ammunition.

The command was given to Diego Doranna, and strict orders left to behave well to the natives.

Columbus, however, was no sooner departed, than the Spaniards left behind totally changed their conduct, and became at once robbers and libertines, plundering the natives of their wealth upon every occasion, debauching their wives and daughters, and acting with such an excess of barbarous rapacity, that they soon changed those sincerest of friends into the bitterest of enemies. Guacanaric, that tender and humane cacique, expostulated in vain with the Spaniards, on the impropriety and cruelty of their practices: they laughed at his remonstrances, rejected his advice, and still continued their depredations.

At length they became so bold that a party of the Spaniards went armed from the fort, attacked a neighbouring district, carrying off a great deal of plunder, and among other things, several women. This outrage, however, did not go unpunished, for the cacique of the country so ravaged, whole name was Caunabo, inspired with indignation at their behaviour, attacked them in their retreat, recovered the women and spoils, and cut the invaders to pieces.

Flushed with this success, Caunabo proceeded immediately to the fort, which was only defended by a few Spaniards. He invested it with the soldiers under his command, but the Spaniards defended themselves with such bravery that the natives were repulsed. This determined Caunabo to act by stratagem; he

accordingly withdrew his army in the day-time, and sent a chosen detached body in the night, who, swimming across the ditch, set fire to the fort, which was entirely consumed, together with the Spaniards. It is here requisite to mention that a few days before the fort was burnt, the cacique, Guacanaric, still friendly to the Spaniards, attempted to relieve the place; but Caunabo, having a superior army, engaged and defeated him. Soon after these transactions, Columbus returned from Spain with a strong force and a powerful fleet. With prudent management things might have been happily adjusted, but this fleet was manned by the refuse of all the prisons in Spain, by wretches without principles, feelings, or humanity, and officered by persons of a most mercenary disposition; so that Columbus could not act agreeable to the dictates of his own heart, without hazarding a mutiny.

Under pretence of revenging the deaths of those Spaniards who had been killed during the absence of Columbus, the new comers began to ravage and plunder the country, concealing their avarice and cruelty under the pretended mask of generous resentment.

Thus, by their artifices, hiding shame, And under vices, stealing virtue's name.

A desperate war was kindled, and carried on with the most bloody barbarity, for the space of three years without intermission. The natives had numbers and courage: the Spaniards, though inferior in numbers, had equal courage, greater discipline, and the invincible assistance of firearms. Urged by avarice and prompted by cruelty, they spared neither age or sex.

Six caciques, or sovereign princes, brought their forces into the field to oppose these invaders. Their endeavours were, however, in vain; the skill, discipline, and fire-arms of the Spaniards still prevailed, and the Hispaniolian caciques were glad to agree to a cessation of hostilities, which was chiefly brought about by the good offices of Guacanaric, who still continued firm in his attachment to the Spaniards, and had accompanied them in all their expeditions.

Notwithstanding the truce, the Spaniards continued their rapacious depredations as before, and put to death the natives wherever they met them. The repeated murders of the poor natives, and the endless persecutions and violence of the Spaniards, at length determined the caciques, and principal people, not to suffer any more maize, or Indian corn, and manioc, a root of which bread is made, to be planted, thinking thus to starve out their tyrants, while they retired to the woods and mountains.

The Spaniards, however, had corn of their own to sow, and were well supplied with provisions from Europe, so that they felt but little inconvenience from this resolution of the natives, whom they pursued to their recesses, and penetrated into places before judged inaccessible: till being harassed from mountain to mountain, and wood to wood, more perished by fatigue and hunger than by the sword and fire-arms. In this lamentable situation the remnant thought proper to submit, and were treated with the most inhuman rigour.

Ferdinand, king of Spain, indeed, sent orders to treat the natives with all possible humanity, and to make converts of them by the mildest means; but these orders were neglected, through the avaricious barbarity of his subjects; and even in his own council some bigoted papists proposed to enslave the people entirely, and to divide them among the Spaniards, who should employ them to work in the mines, or otherwise, as they might think proper.

The pretence of endeavouring to establish the Romish religion made the groundwork of this project; the promoters of it insinuating that the natives would never be prevailed upon to become good catholics, so long as they should be permitted to exercise their [Roman] superstitions, and escape a salutary violence. At the same time it was urged that it would be of the highest advantage in a political view, as the natives, by being thus shackled, would be no longer able to rebel. This matter was argued at the court of Spain, and at length it was inhumanly agreed upon that the natives of Hispaniola should be divided among the conquerors, and become their slaves.

At the time of the division of the natives, those unhappy people were reduced to the number of sixty thousand and these being ruled with a rod of iron, and barbarously persecuted by their inhuman masters, were, in the space of only five years, diminished to fourteen thousand; so that allowing one thousand for natural deaths during that time, forty-five [thousand] fell martyrs to the cruelty of others, and their own anguish.

The inhumanity of these transactions raised at once the indignation, and excited the compassion, of that elegant writer, and humane prelate, the celebrated Bartholomeo de las Casas, who, full of horror at what he had seen, took a ship for Europe, and repaired to the court of Spain, where he made a just and candid representation of the whole affair, and pleaded strongly in favour of the poor natives of Hispaniola.

This worthy gentleman was opposed at the Spanish court by some of those mercenary wretches who were partly proprietors of the conquered lands, and consequently of the enslaved natives on them. He, however, continued assiduous in his endeavours, and indefatigable in his labours to effect his point. Urged by a most benevolent spirit, he passed several times backwards and forwards, from Europe to America, and from America to Europe. In both places, however, he met with strong opposition; in Europe, from the king's council; and in Hispaniola from a council called the Council of the Indies.

These impediments determined the worthy prelate, Las Casas, to lay the whole matter before prince Charles, (afterwards the renowned emperor Charles V.) and who, at this time, was, in right of the queen his mother, governor of the new-discovered countries. The bishop of Darien, or *Spanish Terra Firma*, was employed by the enslavers of the poor natives, (a practice at that time general

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throughout all the West-Indies) to oppose Las Casas. As the bishop of Darien was a man of a disposition totally contrary to that worthy and humane prelate, he did all he could to prevent his success. The prince, however, determined to hear both parties, and named a day for the matter to be solemnly argued before him.

At the time appointed, the prince being seated on a kind of throne, and the proper attendants and officers present, the bishop of Darien was ordered to deliver his sentiments, and explain his motives for wishing to continue the slavery of the native Americans; when this dissembling, artful, and inhuman prelate, addressed himself thus to the prince:

MOST AUGUST PRINCE,

IT is very extraordinary that a point should still be argued, which has been so frequently decided in the councils of the Catholic kings, your august ancestors. Doubtless, the sole reason why the Americans have been at last treated with so much severity, is from a mature reflection on their dispositions and manners. Need I set before you the treacheries and rebellions of the worthless Hispaniolans? Was there a possibility of ever reducing them except by violent methods? Have they not set every engine to work to destroy their masters, in hopes thereby to free them from their new government? If we allow freedom to these barbarians, it will be giving up the conquest of America, and all the advantages to be expected from it. But wherefore should any one find fault with their being made slaves? Do not those who conquer barbarous nations reduce them to a state of captivity? And is not this the privilege of the victors? Did not the Greeks and Romans often treat thus the rude people whom they subdued by force of arms? If ever any nation merited harsh treatment, it must be these Americans, who

resemble brutes more than rational creatures? How shocking are their crimes, at which nature herself blushes? Do we discover the least traces of reason in them? Do they follow any other laws than those of their brutal passions? But it will be objected, that their insensibility and savage disposition prevent their embracing our religion; but what do we lose by this? We want to make Christians of those who are scarce human creatures Let our missionaries declare what fruit they have reaped by their labours, and how many of these people are sincere proselytes. But here it will be objected, that the Hispaniolans are souls for whom our blessed Saviour died on the cross: I grant it, and God forbid that I should desire to have them abandoned. Eternally be praised the zeal of our pious monarch, for winning over these infidels to Christ. But then I affirm, that the most effectual way of doing his will be by enslaving them; and I add, that this is the only method that can be employed.

Being so ignorant, stupid, and vicious, will it ever be possible to instil into their minds the necessary knowledge, except by keeping them in perpetual bondage? Equally desirous of renouncing the Christian religion, as of embracing it, they often, a moment after their baptism, return to their native superstitions.

The bishop of Darien having concluded his sophistical and fallacious harangue, Bartholomeo de Las Casas rose and made the following reply:

ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

I was one of the first who went to America, when it was discovered under the reign of the invincible

monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, your majesty's predecessors. Neither curiosity nor interest prompted me to undertake so long and dangerous a voyage, the saving of the souls of heathens being my sole object. Why was I not allowed to labour as assiduously as the ample harvest required? Why was I not permitted, even at the expence of my blood, to ransom so many thousand souls, who fell unhappy victims to avarice or Some would persuade us that barbarous lust? executions were necessary, in order to punish or check the rebellion of the Americans: but let us enquire to whom they are owing. Did not these nations receive the Spaniards who came among them with gentleness and humanity? Did they not shew more joy in proportion in lavishing treasures upon them, than the Spaniards did greediness in receiving them? But our avarice was not yet satiated; though they gave up to us their lands, their settlements, and their riches, we also would tear them from their wives, their children, and their liberties. Could we imagine them so miserable as not to shew any resentment, though we hanged and burnt them?

To blacken these unhappy people, their enemies assert that they are scarce human creatures; but it is we ought to blush for having been less men, and more barbarous than they. What have they done? Only defended themselves when attacked, and repulsed injuries and violence by force of arms. Despair always furnishes those who are drove to the last extremity with weapons; but the Romans are instanced to give a sanction to our enslaving these nations.

The person who speaks thus is a Christian, and a bishop. Is this gospel? What right have we to enslave a people who were born free, and whom we disturbed,

though they never offended us? If they must be our vassals, even let them be so; the law of the conqueror indeed authorizes thus; but then what have they done to deserve slavery? He adds that they are stupid, brutal, and addicted to vices of every kind; but is this to be wondered at? Can better things be expected of a nation deprived of gospel light? Let us pity, but not oppress them; let us endeavour to instruct, enlighten, and reform them; let us discipline, but not plunge them into despair. All this time religion is used as a cloak to cover such crying acts of injustice! How shall chains be the first fruits which these people reap from the gospel? But will it be possible for us to inspire them with a love for its dictates, now they are so invenomed by hatred, and exasperated at their being dispossessed of that invaluable blessing of LIBERTY?

Did the apostles employ such methods in their conversion of the Gentiles? They themselves submitted to chains, but loaded no man with them; Christ came to free, not to enslave us; submission to the faith he left us ought to be a voluntary act, and should be propagated by persuasion, gentleness and reason; violence and force will make hypocrites only, but never true worshippers.

Permit me now to ask the bishop, whether the Americans, since their being enslaved, have discovered a stronger desire to become Christians? Whether their several masters have endeavoured to dispel their ignorance, by pouring instruction into their minds? And what advantage have either religion, or the state reaped, from this distribution of the slaves? At my first arrival in Hispaniola it contained millions of inhabitants, and there now remain scarce an hundredth part of them.

Thousands have perished by want, fatigue, merciless punishments, cruelty, and barbarity. These men are murdered in sport; they are dragged into dreadful caverns, and there denied the light of the skies, and that of the gospel. If the blood unjustly shed of one man only calls loudly for vengeance, how strong must be the cry of that of so many unhappy creatures, which is shedding daily?

I therefore humbly implore your highness's clemency for subjects so unjustly oppressed, and take the liberty to declare that if you do not afford them the relief in your power, heaven will, one day, call you to an account for the numberless acts of cruelty which you might have prevented.

Prince Charles highly applauded the good bishop's zeal, and promised to redress the grievances complained of. His promise, however, appeared to be that of a courtier, rather than of a generous prince: for he totally forgot to perform it; so that the poor Hispaniolans dwindled away beneath oppression or barbarity, or if they fled to the woods and mountains, were hunted and destroyed like wild beasts.

While the poor people of Hispaniola were thus oppressed, the Spaniards revelled in luxuries, and lived in the utmost splendor, till the mines were drained of their treasures, and most of the natives were worn out by working them, or had fallen martyrs to the cruelty of their tyrants.

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The natives of **Guatemala**, a country of America, were used with similar barbarity. As these people were exceedingly numerous, viz. at the rate of a thousand to one with respect to the Spaniards who settled there, the latter, for fear they should grow too powerful, refused them the use of any weapons, more

particularly their bows and arrows, in the use of which they were very expert.

The natives were formerly active and valiant, but from ill usage and oppression grew slothful, and so dispirited that they not only trembled at the sight of fire-arms, but even at the very looks of a Spaniard. Some were so plunged in despair that after returning home from labouring hard for their cruel task-masters, and receiving only contemptuous language and stripes for their pains, they have sunk down in their cabins, with a full resolution to prefer death to such slavery; and in the bitterness of their anguish, have refused all sustenance till they perished.

If an American attempted to run away, he was brought, if caught, to the next market-place, and there scourged almost to death; but if an American made a complaint against a Spaniard, it was not attended to in the least.

In every respect the Spaniards treated these miserable sons of bondage with the greatest barbarity. Many of the Spanish writers confess that their tyrannical countrymen were frequently mean enough to steal the tools and implements of the poor natives, in order to deduct half their week's scanty allowance of provisions for restoring them. Some let them out to work to other masters, who never failed to make them earn what they paid for their hire. Others were let out to travellers, who harassed them in long journies, and through rugged ways, with heavy burthens on their backs, till they frequently fainted, and sometimes expired on the road; for the life of the native was not in the least considered, if the person who hired him made satisfaction to the master.

Many were compelled to carry burthens of an enormous weight for three days together: the load was fastened to their head and shoulders by means of a leather strap, which crossed the forehead, the pressure of which frequently made the blood to gush from the eyes and nostrils, and leave a frightful scar in the forehead. With such loads they travelled barefooted through all kinds of roads, and in all seasons.

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By repeated barbarities, and the most execrable cruelties, the vindictive and merciless Spaniards not only depopulated Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Cuba, Jamaica, and the Bahama islands, but destroyed above twelve millions of souls upon the continent of America in the space of forty years.

The cruel methods by which they massacred and butchered the poor natives were innumerable, and of the most diabolical nature.

Incredible as the following circumstances may appear, they are as well authenticated as any facts that ever were delivered by the pen of history, and are even attested by many of the Roman catholic missionaries themselves, as well as by the beforementioned Bartholomeo de las Casas, viz.

- 1. The Spaniards stripped a large and very populous town of its inhabitants, whom they drove to the mines, leaving all the children behind them, without the least idea of providing for their subsistence, by which inhuman proceeding six thousand helpless infants perished.
- 2. As the Spaniards were marching towards a large town, the inhabitants came out to meet them with refreshments, notwithstanding which they fell upon these defenceless people, and put them all indiscriminately to the sword.
- 3. A Spanish officer, having three hundred Americans allotted to him as slaves, he, in only three months, killed two hundred and sixty of them, by excessive labour, and hard living, in the mines.
- 4. A Spanish commander, in 1514, destroyed all the inhabitants of a track of land of above five hundred miles in length.
- 5. An officer, under the above commander, murdered above two thousand persons in one expedition.

Whenever the people of any town had the reputation of being rich, an order was immediately sent, that every person in it should turn Roman catholics. If this was not directly complied with, the town was instantly plundered, and the inhabitants murdered; and if it was complied with, a pretence was soon after made to strip the inhabitants of their wealth.

One of the Spanish governors seized upon a very worthy and amiable Indian prince, and in order to extort from him where his treasures were concealed, caused his feet to be burnt till the marrow dropped from his bones, and he expired through the extremity of the torments he underwent.

In the interval, between the years 1514 and 1522, the governor of Terra Firma put to death, and destroyed eight hundred thousand of the inhabitants of that country.

Between the year 1523 and 1533, five hundred thousand natives of Nicaragua were transported to Peru, where they all perished by incessant labour in the mines.

In the space of twelve years, from the first landing of Cortez on the continent of America, to the entire reduction of the populous empire of Mexico, the amazing number of four millions of Mexicans perished, through the unparalleled barbarity of the Spaniards. To come to particulars, the city of Cholula consisted of thirty thousand houses, by which its great population may be imagined. The Spaniards seized on all the inhabitants, who refusing to turn Roman catholics, as they did not know the meaning of the religion they were ordered to embrace, the Spaniards put them all to death, cutting to pieces the lower sort of people, and burning those of distinction.

Pedro de Alvarado, one of the officers under the command of Cortez, laid waste a whole province, and committed innumerable murders and barbarities on the poor defenceless natives.

In the province of Honduras near two millions of the natives perished, the Spaniards setting fire to the towns, and burning the inhabitants in their houses. Sometimes the Spaniards spared the handsomest American women, not through motives of humanity, but merely to gratify their lust, or make them domestic drudges. Exasperated at the cruelties exercised on them, some of the Mexicans dug pits across the public roads, in which they set sharp sticks, and then covered them slightly over so artfully, that the danger could not be perceived. A few of the Spanish horse falling into these holes, the Spaniards were so enraged that they seized a great number of the natives, filled the pits with them, and buried them alive.

One of the Spanish commanders, in a few years, destroyed eight thousand Mexicans, by half starving them, and making them work hard, to build him a superb palace, and lay out elegant gardens to it.

Twenty thousand of the natives being employed to carry the baggage of the Spaniards upon an expedition, all except two hundred were harassed to death by their cruel masters, before the return of the troops.

The governor of Jucatan, in 1526, not finding any gold in that province, seized upon a great number of the inhabitants, and sold them for slaves, to make amends for his disappointment. To account for these cruelties, the Spaniards absurdly alledged, "That the inhuman butcheries formerly committed by the Americans, in sacrificing so many rational creatures to their wicked idols, was a sufficient warrant to justify those who should divest them of their country," "But, (says an intelligent writer) the same argument might, with much greater reason, be urged against the Spaniards themselves, who sacrificed so many millions of Indians to their darling idol, gold."

The Spanish officers, upon their first entering into any country, or province, began their operations by summoning the people to submit to the pope, and the king of Spain, and to turn Roman catholics. The people, not knowing who the pope and the king of Spain were, nor understanding what was meant by the Roman catholic persuasion, very naturally refused. The refusal was immediately made a handle of by the Spaniards, who thereupon seized their persons, plundered the houses, ransacked the temples, murdered many of the inhabitants, and enslaved the rest.

Romish missionaries have been continually sent to America, not so much (in reality) to propagate religion, as to aggrandize the papal power; for, on the first discovery of America, the *pope* invested the kings of Spain with the sovereignty of it, under the title of the *Royal Patrimony*, upon condition that the Catholic monarchs should maintain a multitude of priests, friars, jesuits, &c. in America, to fascinate the people, and advance the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs.

Multitudes of secular priests, in South America, live with all the splendor of men of the greatest opulence. In some towns they have had such power as frequently to reverse the sentence of the civil magistrate, whether it related to fines, imprisonment, whipping, or death; and if the civil magistrates appeared in the least refractory, these ecclesiastical tyrants would imprison them for contempt of the church.

Spanish America is, at present, divided into various spiritual jurisdictions, belonging to the several religious orders, and their provincials and dependants on the court of Rome, to which they are obliged to send an account of their transactions, at stated periods, and to inform the pope what additional clergy are wanted in the several provinces.

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To encrease the power of the church of Rome, awe the poor natives of the several Spanish provinces, and frighten the ignorant and fearful into the Roman catholic persuasion, that bloody tribunal, the INQUISITION, was established in South America, and divided into several offices, which are finally dependent on the grand inquisition in Old Spain.

As a specimen of their atrocious and cruel proceedings, we shall present our readers with the singular case of Mr. Louis Ramé,

1554

who was confined a considerable time in the inquisition of Mexico in New Spain.

To speak in his own words, Mr. Ramé says, "The first time of my being brought before the tribunal was the third of February, 1679, for which purpose I was taken out of a prison in the lowermost court, where I had been put on my arrival from Vera Cruz. They made me swear to tell truth, and afterwards lay my hand upon a silver cross, and then asked me a great number of questions, all of which, together with my answers, were minutely set down by the secretary.

[Here Mr. Rams recites the whole of the examination, which was exceeding long and tedious, and many of the questions very trifling; such as his name, where he was born, his age, what religion he professed, what relations he had, and their names, whether married, and to whom, what family he had, &c. &c. &c.]

"He who took my declaration," says Mr. Ramé, "was called Don Martin de Soffo y Gusman. He told me I should abjure my religion; but I answered him, I neither could nor would. He said, you shall then stay in this country; I answered him, I believe not; upon which he grew very angry, and said he would have me burnt."

Mr. Ramé was then sent back to the private prison, where he remained six months, being visited every Saturday by the fiscal, who did his endeavours to bring him over to the Romish persuasion. A person attended twice a day, with his dinner and supper, and always, on his entering the dungeon, said, *Praised be the holy sacrament of the altar*. To which Mr. Ramé usually answered, *Praised be our Lord Jesus Christ*, or *Praised be God*. The food they gave him was, however, of so unwholesome and heating a nature, that it filled his body with a complication of disorders, and affected his brain so much as to render him lightheaded the principal part of the time.

At length, the fiscal produced the accusations against him, and he replied to each article respectively, during five or six days examination. The accusations were as follow:

1. That he had been originally of the Roman catholic persuasion; but, by going to England and Holland was induced to change his religion.

This he denied, and averred that he had always been a protestant.

2. That he had been guilty of many enormous crimes.

He denied any, but such as proceed from the common frailties of nature.

3. That he had a psalm-book in the vulgar tongue, which was forbidden by the church of Rome.

He replied that his religion admitted of reading the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, agreeable to the apostles advice, who says, *Enquire diligently into the scriptures*, &c.

4. That a book was found upon him, entitled, The Life of Ruyter, whom the accusation terms a heretic.

He owned he had perused that book as a matter of curiosity.

5. Being reading one day in a Spanish book, containing prayers to God and to the Virgin Mary, Mr. Ramé was asked if he approved of them; when he replied that he approved of the prayers to God, but his religion did not admit of the rest.

He confessed the whole of this accusation.

6. That being asked by a priest why he did not go to mass, he replied, I do not eat masses.

The accusation acknowledged.

7. *Being desired to wear beads, he said,* I do not pray to God by tale.

Admitted that he said so.

8. That when the Romish sacrament passed by he had not paid the usual homage to it.

Allowed that he had not, because he deemed such homage idolatry.

9. That he had denied the validity of the honours given to the pope of Rome.

Admitted, because he did not acknowledge him as the vicar of Jesus Christ.

10. That being asked why he had no images, he replied, because it was idolatry to pray to them.

He allowed this to be true.

After answering these accusations, the fiscal had done with him; he was sent back to his dungeon, and for three months longer, visited every Saturday by the chief inquisitor; till losing his senses again by the badness of the provisions, he did not know who attended, or visited him, for a twelvemonth more.

Being recovered from his insanity, he was again brought before the tribunal, and warmly attacked on the subject of religion by some jesuits, to whom he replied to the best of his abilities, and continued firm in his own belief in spight of their sophistry. One in particular said, "That the protestant religion was the invention of one Calvin, who was a very bad man, and had been publicly whipped." To which Mr. Ramé answered, "I know not of any such religion as that of Calvin; for what I profess is that of Jesus Christ."

The officers of the inquisition pointed to four attornies, and bade Mr. Ramé to chuse one, in order to defend his cause. He fixed upon one, who, instead of defending him, began to revile him, and endeavour to make a convert of him to the Romish persuasion.

Finding their attempts fruitless, he was again remanded to his dungeon, where the chief inquisitor, in one of his visits, having asked if he wanted any thing, Mr. Ramé replied, "Yes, I want the patience of Job, the virtue of Joseph, the wisdom of Solomon, the resolution of Tobit, the repentance of David, justice from your tribunal, and an expeditious conclusion." To this the inquisitor only said that as soon as the verification was made, he should have justice done. In the latter end of the fourth year of his imprisonment, Mr. Ramé was carried again before the tribunal, when this sentence was read to him: "We have found that we ought to condemn, and we do by this actually condemn, Louis Ramé to be banished out of this kingdom of New Spain; and to that effect he shall be delivered into the officer of war's hands, and put into the royal prison."

Mr. Ramé was then compelled to swear not to divulge the secrets of the inquisition, after which he was hurried to his new place of confinement, where he was heavily fettered, badly fed, and worse used. He remained here three months, as if they had forgot him; at which time an Englishman took it into his head to turn Roman catholic, when he was ordered to give an account of his conversion to the inquisition. Mr Ramé seized this opportunity of writing to the chief inquisitor to complain of his usage, and not being banished according to his sentence. The Englishman delivered the letter, and the following answer was, in a short time, returned: "I have seen Mr. Louis Ramé's letter, by which I find that he is in the manufacture (part of the prison being so called.) I understood that he was on his way for Spain, but as it is not so, he must present a petition to Don Jacinio de Valgue y Camposana, president of the criminal affairs."

He presented the petition accordingly, but was kept six months longer in confinement. At length he was placed upon a mule, to be conducted to Vera Cruz: he had two guards to attend him, and fetters upon his legs, that weighed twenty-five pounds.

After being detained in confinement a considerable time at Vera Cruz, he was conducted back to Mexico again, the guides making him travel at the rate of twenty-four miles a day. This was only because some particular forms, relative to his discharge had been omitted. He was soon allowed to return to Vera Cruz, from whence he embarked for the Havannah. The ship arrived in sight of the harbour in the space of twenty-two days, but a storm arising, they were near being lost in sight of land. As soon as the tempest abated, and they got safe moored, the Spaniards immediately landed, and went barefooted, wet, and fatigued as they were, to a chapel, called the *Sancto Christo of Good Voyages*, to hear a mass, carrying with them the money, which they had promised in their fright during the storm, to appropriate to that purpose.

At the Havannah Mr. Ramé was kept in close confinement, and very ill treated six months longer, till the flota arrived there to join some register ships from St. Domingo, Carthagena, Campeachy, &c.

Mr. Ramé was taken from his prison, and carried on board one of the Spanish ships; but the fleet not happening to sail that day, he was put in the stocks all night; "which (says he) was the last favour I received from the Spaniards in America."

After a voyage of ten weeks, the flota arrived in the bay of Cadiz, when Mr. Ramé expected to be set at liberty; but he was mistaken; for the captain kept him closely confined on board the ship, till an order came for him to be landed. He was accordingly sent on shore, heavily fettered, and then conducted to Seville, where he was thrown into prison, and almost starved, for six weeks.

During this time Mr. Ramé continued to present petitions to the judges, desiring either to be set at liberty, or to know the reason of his detention. He, however, could not obtain any answer, which determined him to write to the marquis de Feuquiere, the French ambassador to the court of Madrid, who presented a petition to the supreme council, by which two letters from the king were procured to Mr. Bertrand de Soto, consul of the French nation, and orders were given to the judges to expedite his affair.

The judges still remained very dilatory, notwithstanding the order from their sovereign, and would fain have condemned Mr. Ramé to perpetual labour, contrary to the sentence pronounced against him. At length he was sent again to Cadiz, where, after another month's imprisonment, by the continual importunity of his friends, he was ordered to be turned out of the prison into the street; which order, to his great satisfaction, was immediately put

into execution. Having borrowed some money of a friend, he embarked on board the Loyalty, of London, commanded by captain Clark, and arrived in the Downs in twenty-eight days. As his wife was upon business in London, he immediately, after landing, set off for that city, where he arrived on the 18th of August, 1687.

BOOK XX.

Various Conclusions

Examples of the just Judgments of GOD on Persecutors, &c.

THOUGH the Omnipotent, through his mercy and justice, does not always punish in this world, those who have, in the most flagrant manner, offended his holy ordinances; but reserves to himself their punishment in a future state; yet the numerous instances that might be brought, where it has, even in this life, pleased his divine will to shew us his terrible judgments on such offenders, may serve to deter us, by these dreadful examples of his Almighty displeasure from such actions, as our consciences tell us must certainly offend his holy laws.

In scarce any instances has this been more remarkably conspicuous than the punishments he has thought proper to inflict on those who have been the persecutors of his children in holiness and truth. Many examples may be produced from history, both sacred and prophane, of all ages, some of the most distinguished of which we shall lay before our readers.

The examples of this kind to be deduced from the holy scriptures, as of Pharaoh, Saul, Jezabel, with many others in the Old Testament, and of Herod, Judas, Pilate, &c. in the New, are, we trust, so generally known in this Christian country, as not to need particularizing.

Waving, therefore, a further mention of the sacred histories, we shall examine the prophane. In the Roman History, what can be more striking on this subject than the miserable end of the emperor Nero, that bitter persecutor of Christianity, whose agonies were so great, from the shocking barbarity with which he was treated, even by his own subjects, that he, in vain, implored to be

eased by death from his sufferings; and when he could find neither friend or enemy to grant even this request, he added the crime of suicide to his enormous vices, and unlamented, perished by his own hand.

The two emperors, Diocletian and Maximinian, rigid enemies to the Christian faith, after abdicating, through vexatious circumstances, their thrones, both died unhappily: the latter, in particular, in his attempting to restore himself, unnaturally falling by the means of his own son, Maxentius, who likewise came to as untimely an end as his parent, being drowned in the prime of his life, and the very meridian of his sins and impieties.

The example of the emperor Maximinus, another persecutor of Christ's church, deserves recital. Soon after his setting forth his impious decrees against the unoffending Christians, which were engraved in brass, he was, by the just judgments of the Most High, afflicted with a dreadful and unnatural disease, having lice, and other shocking vermin, crawling from his very entrails, in so terrible a manner, as to render abortive every method to afford him relief; and attended with so horrid a putrescent stench, that for several days before his death no person would hazard their lives to give him the least assistance.

To leave the Roman history, and turn our eyes on transactions nearer the present period, let us take notice of the hand of God on Sigismund, emperor of Germany, for his unjustifiable treatment of John Huss, and Jerom of Prague. After the martyrdoms of those eminent lights of the reformation by his orders, nothing he took in hand succeeded, but a series of the most unhappy events attended him and his family, which, in one generation, became extinct. He, in his wars, was ever the loser; and his empress Barbara turned out so infamously lewd, as to be a lasting infamy to her family, and disgrace to her sex.

In the reign of Henry II. of France, the chancellor Oliver, who, at the instigation of cardinal Lorrain, brother to that implacable enemy of the gospel, the duke of Guise, had stretched the authority

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of the laws to bring many worthy persons to utter destruction for their adherence to the truth. This unjust judge, being struck with great remorse and self-conviction of his misdeeds, fell sick, and so great were the horrors of his tormented conscience for his cruel decrees against the righteous, that he could not rest day or night, for the torture of his wounded mind, but shortly expired, horridly shrieking out with a loud cry, in his last moments, *Oh! Cardinal, thou wilt make us all to be damned*, with which words he gave up the ghost.

Neither did the cardinal himself, nor his brother the duke of Guise, long triumph in the success of their bloody machinations, as the former shortly after died, and the latter fell a sacrifice to the daggers of his exasperated countrymen.

Hoimeister, an arch-Papist, and a chief pillar of the pope's anti-Christian doctrine, as he was proceeding on his journey to Ratisbon, to be present at a council held there, and to defend the Romish superstitions against the defenders of Christ's gospel, was prevented from executing his impious purpose, being suddenly seized in his progress near the city of Ulmes, with an extreme illness, of which he almost instantly expired, in great agonies, crying out in the most horrid manner.

The following tragedy, which happened in the university of Louvaine, will likewise exemplify our subject: a learned person in the above seminary, who was reader of divinity to the monks of St. Gertrude, and had violently maintained the corrupt errors of popery, at length, falling extremely ill, and perceiving no hopes of recovery, he regretted, with the greatest perturbation of mind, his manifold sins, but more particularly his having so warmly espoused the cause of idolatry, &c. in opposition to the divine truths of the gospel; an offence, he said, of so heinous a nature, as to be too great to expect God's pardon. Continually repeating this terrible expression, he expired in all the horrors of desperation.

Jacob Latomus, who was president of a college at Louvaine, is another instance of the dreadful judgments of God on persons

offending against his most holy word. Latomus went to Brussels, to make a long oration against the reformed religion, and to vindicate popery, which he did before the emperor; but so little to the purpose, as to verify the common observation, that a bad advocate does much more harm than good to any cause. The Romish clergy, and indeed the whole court, seem to have been of this opinion, as he returned to Louvaine despised and ridiculed by those who plainly saw he had vainly attempted to defend a train of absurdities, which required the utmost sophistry to vindicate; and whether it might proceed from the mortification he felt at the indifferent reception his falsehoods met with at Brussels, or whether his own conscience plainly pointed out to him his impious conduct (the latter, indeed, seems to be more probably the case) he, very soon after his return, fell into an open fury of madness, at the very instant he was giving his public lectures, and was forced to be conveyed, raving with lunacy, to a close room, and fastened down therein, and from that period to his latest breath, his whole cry was that he was damned, and rejected of God, and that there was no hope of salvation for him, because he had, against the positive conviction of his own conscience, opposed the truth of God, and Christ's holy word; and thus shortly ended his wretched life, with all the violence of the most furious insanity.

A Dominican friar of Munster, as he was inveighing in the pulpit against the protestant religion, which was then springing up, was suddenly struck with a flash of lightning, which immediately deprived him of life.

A popish gentleman in Germany, hearing one of the reformed sing, "Our only hold or fortress is our God," immediately answered, "I will help to shoot against thy stay, or fortress, or else I will not live;" and within three days he expired, without the least signs of repentance.

Ponchet, archbishop of Tours, made application to have a court erected, called *Chamber Ardent*, wherein to condemn the protestants to the flames; but soon after obtaining permission to

execute his cruel intentions, he was struck with a disease called the Fire of God, which began at his feet, and ascended upwards with so tormenting a burning, that he was obliged to have one member cut off after another, and thus miserably ended his days.

The legate and chancellor du Pratt, who was the first that opened to the parliament of Paris the knowledge of heresies, and gave out the first commissions to put the faithful to death, soon after died at his house at Natoillet, swearing, and horridly blaspheming God. After his death his stomach was found to be pierced and knawn asunder with worms.

In the history of Switzerland is a memorable incident of the divine justice on popish perfidy, and unjust barbarity. A consul of that republic, and inveterate enemy to the reformed, being a man of immense fortune, purposing to erect a magnificent edifice, to convey the dignity of his family to posterity, was assiduously diligent to procure the most ingenious artificers in every department to conduce thereunto. Among others, being informed that at the city of Trent resided a most singular excellent carver, named John, he was very desirous of procuring the assistance of his ingenuity, to the decoration of his intended mansion. But an obstacle occurred that seemed, for a time, to prevent his purposed intention. John was a man, who, to his other excellent qualities, added the most sincere and immoveable attachment to the purity of the gospel, and truly commendable abhorrence of popish idolatry; and well knowing the character of the consul to be that of one of the blindest bigots to his superstition, very prudently, for a time, refused to put his personal safety in the hands of those whose religion adopts the infamous maxim, to hold no faith with those they chuse to denominate heretics; and honestly and ingenuously declaring that as he could not behold the impious idolatry which the people of the consul's city were so addicted to but with contempt, and as any token of that contempt might be the utter destruction of him, he rather chose to decline the advantageous offers made him than to accept of them at the hazard of his life.

These motives, for a time, induced him to resist the tempting proffers to engage in this business; but at length, overcome by the deluding offers, and solemn promises of unlimited protection made him, as to his faith, this unhappy victim of papal treachery consented to give his assistance on this occasion, and accordingly repaired to the consul's house, to exert his ingenuity in the embellishment thereof.

But what indignation must it create in the mind of every good man, to reflect on the barbarous return made to this worthy sufferer for the truth, who, after having finished his performance with the greatest skill and ingenuity, instead of receiving the recompence due to his great merit and industry, was, by this infamous consul, accused of having spoken irreverently of the Romish faith, and under that pretext, by him cruelly condemned to be beheaded, which barbarous sentence was accordingly executed, but not till the much-injured martyr, naturally shocked at the inhumanity and treachery of the villainous consul, had, with a most affecting and solemn delivery, made a noble speech, reciting the treacherous conduct of his detestable betrayer, and concluding with citing him to appear, within three days, at the tribunal of the Most High, to answer for the unjust murder he was about to commit. The consul, though at that time in perfect health, and in the bloom of youth, suddenly dropped dead on the third day after this pious martyr had, by his wickedness, been thus barbarously sacrificed. A detestable proof of the little regard to be paid by protestants to the faithless asseverations of catholics in general, who never scruple violating the most solemn engagements to promote, what they term, the service of the holy mother-church.

Thus having presented our readers with some remarkable instances of supernatural justice, and divine retaliation, in foreign nations, we shall next proceed to lay before them such examples of a similar nature, that have occurred, at different periods, in the history of our own country.

The furious destroyer of God's children in purity, the bigoted Mary found but little comfort during the short space she disgraced the British throne, by embruing her merciless hands in the blood of so many of her truly protestant subjects, as the people of this realm had great reason to rejoice at the conclusion of a reign diametrically the contrary of what is always wished to attend the reigns of good princes, viz. to be long and happy, hers being equally unsuccessful, and of short duration. Disappointed of almost every purpose, and mortified with a train of events, the most contrary to her expectations, she at length fell a sacrifice to pining grief and vexation; and even owned herself, that she died of that corrosive and mental torture, a broken heart. And perhaps there is not a more contrasting parallel, either in the British, or any other history, than the glorious and long continued reign of that noble vindicator of the reformed religion, the ever to be honoured queen Elizabeth, and the unauspicious tyranny of her sanguinary sister; as the one will be handed down to posterity with immortal honour, while the other will ever be reflected on with abhorrence!

The wretched end of that arch-persecutor, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, almost immediately on his closing his bloody proceedings, with the sacrificing of those two eminent martyrs, Ridlev and Latimer, has something in it remarkably striking.

The fatal day on which these martyrs suffered at Oxford, the old duke of Norfolk paid a visit to bishop Gardiner, at his house in London, in consequence of his being invited to dine with him at that time. But so eager was this bloody prelate to glut his ears with the news of the absolute destruction of these two pious sufferers that he postponed his usual time of dining, saying, he would not eat till he received positive assurance of the execution of the barbarous sentence he knew was to be put in practice that day at Oxford.

Accordingly, as soon as the messenger arrived, which was not till four' o'clock, and had given him the assurance of his cruel wishes being completed, he ordered dinner to be ushered in and

setting down to it with great apparent satisfaction, said, "Now, my lord duke, we can set down to refresh ourselves with pleasure." But observe the hand of God on this impious priest: no sooner had he swallowed a few morsels, but he was suddenly seized with so violent a fit of illness that he was obliged to be taken from table, and from that moment to the last of his life, never was free from the greatest misery and torture; for fifteen days and nights did he languish, never being able; either by urine, or any other means, to evacuate; which caused such a terrible inflammation in his body, as if he were, in a manner, burning alive. By the raging fire in his intestines his body was miserably swollen and black; his tongue thrust at last out of his mouth: he expired a shocking spectacle, and with a most nauseous and undurable effluvia: a proper end to so inhuman a persecutor of the righteous.

Dr. Dunning, the bloody chancellor of Norwich; Berry, ecclesiastical commissary in Norfolk; and Thornton, bishop of Dover, all rigid persecutors, suddenly fell down dead within a little space of one another; and the next that succeeded Thornton in the bishopric of Dover, broke his neck down stairs at Greenwich, just after receiving the blessing of cardinal Pole.

One Grimwood, of Hitcham, in Suffolk, falsely swore that an honest protestant called Cooper, a carpenter, of Warsam, in the said connty, had spoken treason against queen Mary; in consequence of which this innocent man was hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his effects being seized on by the sheriffs, his poor wife and nine children were turned out of doors, to seek maintenance from the casual benevolence of the well-disposed. But the hand of Providence was plainly visible on this worthless wretch, for the very next harvest, as he was reaping in the field, his belly bursting, his bowels fell out on a sudden, and he thus dreadfully expired.

That the foregoing examples may conduce to occasion the proper inferences to be drawn by our readers, has been the ultimate purpose of the Editor, which should they in the least effect, will fully recompence his endeavours to promote their true interest.

Though cruel arts may innocence assail, And popish bigots for a time prevail; Tho' bloody superstition has its day, And barbarous zealots on the virtuous prey, Yet there's an awful, an important hour, When they must answer heaven's avenging power: Then persecutors smart beneath the rod Of an omnipotent, offended God: While pious martyrs heav'nly bliss enjoy, And all their time in holy songs employ. To their bless'd Maker willing voices raise, And chaunt with cherubims celestial praise; Then popish tyrants shall repent in mind, "They shut the gates of mercy on mankind:" And while on earth their hearts, tho' form'd of steel, The hand of Providence severely feel; Imagination shall present to view The future scenes they're fated to go thro'; Sighs that from pain, but not repentance, flow A long—and sad eternity of woe.

A short Display of some of the Errors of the Romish Church, with a few of their dreadful Tenets, Maxims, &c.

TO point out the whole of the various absurdities belonging to the Roman catholic religion, would afford little entertainment, or be of any real benefit to our readers. We shall therefore only select those which are most material, and shew their improprieties by contrasts taken from the sacred scripture. But previous to this it will not be improper to take notice of the great superiority of the protestant over that of the Roman catholic religion.

The religion professed by the protestants teaches that the Son of God, when he left this world to go to his Father, promised to send down the spirit of truth, by which he would be for ever present with his church, that is, all that are saved by Christ, the whole body of sincere believers, who are all made partakers of that one spirit: and that this is not a promise to the clergy, exclusive of the laity; but that all, both laity and clergy, have an equal right to the promise of their Saviour to send unto them that "*spirit of truth, he will guide you into all truth,*"* [John xvi.13] and their part in that prayer he made to his Father, John xvii.20, not for his disciples only of those days, and the men of that generation, "*but for all them as should hereafter believe on him through their word*;" the promise being made, "to them that were nigh, and to them that were afar off, to us, and to our children, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." [Acts 2:39]

That the invitation made by Christ is without distinction to every one, "*seek, and you shall find, ask, and you shall receive,*" [Matthew 7:7] the holy Spirit which their heavenly Father will give them that ask him. So that having the word of God in the scripture for their outward rule, and the spirit of God enlightening their hearts for their inner rule, they have every one the means of salvation nigh unto them.

^{* [}CHCoG: In truth, the congregation of God does not have clergy and laity. This was changed by Christ, and **all** who follow him will become priests with Him (Revelation 1:6, 5:10 & 20:6). And the true scope of the errors of Rome, and her daughters are revealed in this: Daniel 7:25 "*And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time."* Thus both their false laws and bogus holy days (times), even including their first-day sabbath, Christmas and Easter are all signs that they are servants of Satan.]

But the word is nigh unto us, even in our mouths, and in our hearts: so nigh, that the captive in the dungeon, and the forlorn one in retirement, may know it as well as the prince, or the most learned of the earth; and it is necessary it should be so, since all souls are equally precious, being bought with the same price, and every man must give an account of himself to God, and shall be saved by his own faith, and not by that of another.

In these respects the protestants are upon a better foundation than the papists, and tread in a more even and steady path: whereas the papists, going off from scripture, and taking in tradition as a substitute for the scripture, are upon a most uncertain and unsteady foundation, resting themselves upon human testimony, human authority, and human fallibility.

As their faith is built upon a doubtful bottom, so the hopes of their salvation is no less unsure: while they are taught to rely upon other helps for mercy, besides the faith of Christ, and the unfeigned fruits of it in righteousness and true holiness, they may weary themselves with pilgrimages and penances, works of supererogation, and exhaust their purses in purchasing indulgencies, relics, and masses.

What then can such a numerous train of mediators minister, but destruction instead of comfort to the supplicant? Certain then it is, notwithstanding all prejudices to the contrary, that the protestants are on the surer side in this particular, in that they have the scriptures to assure them of this: "My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and that he is the propitiation for their sins;" [I John ii.1] nor need they seek a better patron than this: ["Grace be unto you, and peace, from . . . Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, and the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth. Unto him Jthat loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, [and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his

Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.]" Revelation i.4 to 6.*

Of Reading the Scriptures.

The Roman catholics assert that the scriptures ought not to be read publicly in the vulgar tongue, nor read indifferently by every one. To allow the people in general, they say, to read them, is to give that which is holy unto dogs, and to cast pearls before swine.

In answer to these strange and absurd arguments, we shall quote from the holy scriptures the following passage: "And that from a child thou hast known the sacred writings which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. [Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness. That the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work.]" II Timothy 3:15-17.

[Though reading Scripture is not banned today, Roman catholics are taught that it is a dangerous book, and only trained clergy are able to correctly interpret it, thus discouraging them from actually reading it.]

Of Traditions.

The Roman catholics embrace ecclesiastical traditions and the observances and constitutions of their own church, even when they contradict God's commands in the Bible.

Our Lord Jesus Christ says, "Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your traditions?. . . [This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do

^{* [}CHCoG: All text within square brackets in this section have been added by us.]

worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.]" Matthew. xv. 3, 8&9.

Transubstantiation

They profess that the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, are truly, really, and substantially in the most holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and that the whole substance of the bread is turned into the body; and the whole substance of the wine is turned into the blood at the command of a priest; which change they call transubstantiation.

In answer to this we shall quote the following passages from the holy scriptures:

The Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, "*Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins, do this in remembrance of me,*" After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, "*This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew forth the Lord's death till he come.*" I Corinthians xi. 23 to 25.

[We have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every priest indeed standeth day by day ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins: but he, when he had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God. Hebrews 10:10-12. Christ's body is now in Heaven, His sacrifice is already complete, and the Levitical priesthood has been disbanded. Jesus will not come to earth and be re-sacrificed at the command of a papal priest who refuses to keep His laws.]

The New Book of Martyrs *Auricular Confession*.

[Roman catholics are taught that to have their sins forgiven, they must be confessed to a priest, who has the power to forgive or retain the sins given to him by Christ, and set penances which must be performed to achieve that forgiveness.

The Bible teaches this: "If we walk in the light as He is in the light, we have fellowship with one another, and the blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanses us from all sin. If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. I John 1:7 to 9. Only Jesus is mentioned in this passage; clearly it is to Him that we are to confess our sins.

The sins we confess to each other are only those that have been sinned against each other: "Confess therefore your sins one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The supplication of a righteous man availeth much in its working." James 5:16. "If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Matthew 5:23&24. The New Covenant **never** tells us to confess to a priest, nor are we to seek forgiveness from a priest.]

Priests Not Allowed to Marry.

[The Roman church does not allow their priests, monks and nuns to marry, following the practices of some pagan religions.

The scriptures say: "The elder therefore must be without reproach, the husband of one wife, temperate, sober-minded, orderly, given to hospitality, apt to teach;" I Timothy 3:2. "He who has one wife, and leads his children and his house well may be a Servant." I Timothy 3:12 "But the Spirit saith expressly, that in later times some shall fall away from the faith, giving heed to

seducing spirits and doctrines of demons, through the hypocrisy of men that speak lies, branded in their own conscience as with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God created to be received with thanksgiving by them that believe and know the truth. "I Timothy 4:1 to 3]

Purgatory.

They believe that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained therein are helped by the prayers of the faithful, indulgences and having a Mass said for them. This they say is a certain place, in which, as in a prison after death, those souls are purged which in this life were not fully cleansed; so that being at length purified, they may be able to enter into heaven.

[Jesus says, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Matthew 11:28] And other scriptures: "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness."; I John i.9. "And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." Revelation xiv.13. ["And I saw the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne; and books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of the things which were written in the books, according to their works. . . And if any was not found written in the book of life, he was cast into the lake of fire." Revelation 20:12 &15. We are judged according to what we have done in our life here. The decision is either Life or death. There is NO intermediate place. Purgatory is merely an invention used to control and rob the papacy's hapless victims.]

Prayers and Services to be said in Latin.

They hold this to be good, and no ways prejudicial to the people.

It is contrary to the rule laid down by the apostle Paul, who says, "For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. [What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.

Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.

I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all: Yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." I Corinthians xiv.14 to 19. Though they no longer insist on using Latin, that has only changed in 1964, due to centuries of ridicule and pressure from Protestants.]

Pardons and Indulgencies.

They affirm that the power of indulgencies was left in the church by Christ; and that they are useful to all Christians.

Notwithstanding, the scriptures say, "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Romans v.1. [And you who have died through your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, He has given you life with Him, and has forgiven us all of our sins, and He has, by His authority, wiped out the record of our debts that was against us. And He took it from our midst, and He nailed it to His stake. Colossians 2:14 &15 (CHCoG Trans.). Christ has forgiven our sins, and given us life. Pardons make a mockery of what Jesus has already done for us. But remember that He has also given us His Holy Spirit at baptism, and now expects us to walk in righteousness (I John 2:29 to 3:10).] They assert that images of the Virgin Mary and other saints are to be retained; and that due honour and veneration is to be paid to them, including bowing before them.

[Whereas our God says, "I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them; for I Jehovah thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me, and showing lovingkindness unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments." Exodus xx.3 to 6.]

Worshipping Saints, Angels, and Relics.

They believe that the saints are to be honoured and prayed to and that their relics are to be held in sacred veneration.

The holy scriptures confute these absurd notions in various parts, particularly in Matthew. iv.10, it is said, "*Thou shalt worship Jehovah thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.*" "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." I Timothy ii.5. ["And I John saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things. Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: Worship God." Revelation 22:8&9. And this also shows that we should not bow to the pope, either.]

The New Book of Martyrs Infallibility of the Pope

[Though Romanists have claimed the pope is infallible for many centuries, it was not until 1870 that the First Vatican Council formally declared that the pope is infallible when he speaks from his papal throne on matters of faith and morals. Ironically, it was also in 1870 that the papacy lost control of its last physical kingdom, the Papal State, which included the city of Rome.

The Bible has a different view: "God forbid: yea, let God be true, but every man a liar; as it is written." Romans 3:4. "But now the righteousness of God. . . is revealed . . . through faith in Jesus Christ, to all and on all who believe. For there is no difference; for all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God." Romans 3:21 to 23. As this entire section has shown, the popes often lie when speaking on matters of faith and morals, and they even frequently contradict each other. They cannot be infallible.]

Infant Baptism

[Roman catholics must baptise their infants soon after birth. If they die before baptism, they cannot be buried in a catholic cemetery.

Jesus tells us otherwise: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Matthew 28:19&20. His order is clear: Teach them the basics first, then baptise them, then continue to teach them. So they must be mature enough to understand they are sinners, choose to repent and to follow Christ before they can be baptised. And note Jesus's own example: he was baptised as an adult, and in a river so he could be fully immersed (John 1:28 to 34).]

The New Book of Martyrs Church Hierarchy

[The Roman church has a hierarchy of control modelled on the Babylonian Mystery religion, and the higher in the hierarchy, the grater is their dominion and wealth.

But Jesus says this of His church: "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and those who exercise authority over them are called 'benefactors.' But not so among you; on the contrary, he who is greatest among you, let him be as the younger, and he who governs as he who serves. For who is greater, he who sits at the table, or he who serves? Is it not he who sits at the table? Yet I am among you as the One who serves." Luke 22:25 to 27. And Peter writes: "Shepherd the flock of God which is among you, serving as overseers, not by compulsion but willingly, not for dishonest gain but eagerly; nor as being lords over those entrusted to you, but being examples to the flock; and when the Chief Shepherd appears, you will receive the crown of glory that does not fade away." I Peter 5:2 to 4]

Strange and inhuman Maxims held by the Papists.

- 1. Heretics (for so they call the protestants) may not be termed either children or kindred.
- 2. By the heresy of the father, the child is freed from all obligations of natural obedience.
- 3. As soon as a Christian king becomes an heretic, his subjects are forthwith freed from their allegiance.
- 4. It is not lawful for christians to tolerate any king who draweth his subjects into heresy. But subjects ought to endeavour to set up another in his place. They ought to expel him from the kingdom as the enemy of Christ. This is the undoubted judgment of the most learned, and agreeable to Apostolic truth.
- 5. Faith is not to be kept with heretics.

[And how does the Bible command us to treat evil persons, even heretics? "Now we exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men. See that none render evil for evil unto any man; but ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves, and to all men." I Thessalonians 5:14&15. "A man that is an heretick after the first and second admonition reject; knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself." Titus 3:10&11. "Thou shalt not kill." Exodus 20:13. Jesus also addresses this in the Parable of the wheat and tares in Matthew 13:24 to 30 and 36 to 43. He makes is clear that we are not to destroy the tares (the wicked ones), that will be the job of His angels. Unrepentant heretics are to be put out of the congregation and ostracised; but there is no command to torture and/or murder them. And if they are left alive, and then truly repent, they can be received back into the congregation, as shown in I Corinthians 5:1 to 13 and II Corinthians 2:5 to 9. And as for using violence, Jesus says this: "You have heard that it was said, 'An eve for an eve and a tooth for a tooth.' But I tell you not to resist an evil person. But whoever slaps you on your right cheek, turn the other to him also. If anyone wants to sue you and take away your tunic, let him have your cloak also. And whoever compels you to go one mile, go with him two. . . But I say to you, love your enemies, bless those who curse you, do good to those who hate you, and pray for those who spitefully use you and persecute you, that you may be sons of your Father in heaven." Matthew 5:38 to 45]

The beforementioned maxims ought to be particularly attended to by all protestant princes, to guard them against entrusting Roman catholics in any office under a protestant government. A reverend author has lately published an excellent letter on this subject, wherein he has given the most substantial and clear reasons that can be assigned, why Roman catholics should not be tolerated; which being pertinent to the subject, we shall take from it a short extract.

"Nothing, says he, can be more plain, than that the members of the church of Rome can give no reasonable security to any government of their allegiance or peaceable behaviour. Therefore, they ought not to be tolerated by any government, Protestant, Mahometan, or Pagan. [And yet Southwell laments that the Roman catholics were tossed out by the Chinese and Japanese governments in Book XV. Chapters I and II, which is precisely what this says they should have done.]

"You may say, "Nay, but they will take an *oath* of allegiance." True, even five hundred oaths; but the maxim, "*No faith is to be kept with heretics*," sweeps them all away as a spider's web.

"Those who acknowledge the spiritual power of the pope can give no security for their allegiance; since they believe the pope can pardon rebellions, high treason, and all other sins whatsoever.

"Oaths and promises are nothing: they are light as air, a dispensation makes them all null and void. "Nay, not only the pope, but *even a priest, has power to pardon sins!*—This is an essential doctrine of the church of Rome. But they that acknowledge this cannot possibly give any security for their allegiance to any government. Oaths are no security at all, for the priest can pardon both perjury and high treason.

"It is plain, therefore, that upon principles of reason, no government ought to tolerate men who cannot give any security to that government, for their allegiance and peaceable behaviour. But this no Romanist can do, not only while he holds, that "*No faith is* to be kept with heretics," but so long as he acknowledges either priestly absolution, or the spiritual power of the pope."

[The Bible says this: "But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by the heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath: but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; that ye fall not under judgment." James 5:12] As an instance what danger might arise from power being invested in Roman catholics, the same writer says, "some time since; a Romish priest came to a woman I knew; and after talking with her largely, broke out, "You are no heretic! You have the experience of a real Christian!" "And would you, she asked, burn me alive?" He said, "God forbid!—unless it were for the good of the church!" Now what security could she have had for her life, if it had depended on that man? *The good of the church* would have burst all the ties of truth, justice, and mercy; especially when seconded by the absolution of a priest, or (if need were) a papal pardon."

Though the beforementioned instances are but a few out of the many that might be given, to shew on what an unchristian basis the Roman catholic religion stands, yet we hope they will be sufficient to convince our readers that the protestant religion is the true religion of Christ, and that they will ever be on their guard to avoid being ensnared in the traps of their professed enemies, the implacable and bigoted papists.

The most incontrovertible arguments are given in the sacred writings to destroy every precept adopted by the Roman catholics, and to display the maxims and tenets on which their religion is founded, in all its melancholy gloom.

We shall, therefore, as the most infallible security to all protestants, here quote the words of our Blessed Redeemer:

SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES.

In these they will find the grand shield of defence to the true gospel of their Lord and Saviour. In these, likewise, will they find those precious jewels, which by a proper attention, will produce comfort to them in this life, and eternal felicity in that which is to come.

CONCLUSION.

The Work is finish'd, tracing thro' each stage The bloody bigotry of ev'ry age; And with truth's pencil, painting to mankind, How superstition clouds the human mind; While popish errors mount on reason's throne, And war with all opinions but their own; Then common sense, and charity and truth, Without regard to sex, to age, or youth, Are sacrificed at prejudice's shrine, While pamper'd priests on cruelties refine. What instruments by bigot zeal are us'd! How grossly human nature is abused. The Rack exhausted patience to control, The ensanguin'd Dagger, and the poison'd Bowl; The bloody Sword, bestain'd with pious gore; The Ax, with martyrs crimson cover'd o'er; The boiling Cauldron, where the just expir'd; The flaming Pile, by popish malice fir'd; The bending Gibbet, innocence to bear; The red hot Pincers, harmless flesh to tear; The Precipice, from whence the victim's thrown; The famin'd Death, immur'd in walls of stone; Fierce Bulls, to toss the object into air; Sharp Dogs to worry, and Wild Beasts to tear; The dreadful Pits, where dang'rous Serpents lurk, To finish inhumanity's great work; The melted Draughts of Lead, the Thorny Crown; The Stones to bruise, the rapid Stream to drown; The Slings to dislocate, the bloody Knife, That by incision drains the sap of life;

Slow Fires to broil, and dry Pans to destroy; With other arts that Popish fiends employ: All, all the Romish bigotry disclose, And bid you such a bloody faith oppose; A faith vindictive, holding endless strife With Liberty, Compassion, Truth and Life.

FINIS.

[The Index has been removed, as it is easy to search these digital editions.]

N.B. The Binder is PARTICULARLY desired to beat the Work before he places the Cuts, in order to prevent the Letter-Press from setting off on the Engravings.

[This is followed by a long list of Subscribers who pre-ordered this work.]

The Publisher of this Work returns his grateful Acknowledgements to the subscribers for their Encouragement, and solicits a Continuance of their Favours to some of his other Publications, (a List of which may be seen in the Catalogue,) assuring them that nothing shall be wanting to render the Works in which he shall be engaged deserving the Public Patronage.

Notwithstanding the Publisher gave two printed Notices for the Subscribers to send in their Names, and the Publication of the latter Numbers was delayed several Weeks, in order to give those who live at a great Distance the Opportunity of having their Names appear in this List, he has not been able to procure the Names of near one half of the Subscribers. He hopes that those whose Names are omitted will not be offended; and begs that he may not be blamed if any are found wrong spelt, as he has taken great Care

to have them printed literally as they were delivered by the Booksellers, Stationers, Newsmen, &c.



EDITOR'S APPENDIX: FROM REFORMATION TO RESTORATION: BACK TO BIBLICAL CHRISTIANITY

Though Henry Southwell has done a good job of recording the martyrdoms of many mainstream protestants, the reformation he documents was incomplete, as they did not fully place their faith on the teachings of the Bible. In this he followed a similar path to Martin Luther and many other Protestant reformers. As you will see below, the corruptions that they retained were Rome's earlier and deeper ones, which had become so ingrained as to be almost unquestionable. This partial return to the teachings of the Bible is highly dangerous, as it makes it possible for these protestants to be slowly drawn back into the Roman church. A full restoration of the faith of Jesus and His apostles is required.

Keith Greene demonstrates in his "*Catholic Chronicles*" that the papacy has not changed any of its basic doctrines and policies since the eighteenth century. Indeed, the Inquisition in Spain was only finally suspended in 1834, and then only because the Spanish government would no longer tolerate it. Do not be deceived. The papacy has NEVER nullified their laws saying that 'heretics' are to be destroyed, and that by killing a heretic, a Catholic can earn remission of all their sins.* Nor has the *Holy Office of the*

^{*} For proof, see *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, by Charles Chiniquy, who was a Catholic Priest for 25 years and documents their laws.

Inquisition truly been shut down. It has merely been renamed as the innocuous sounding *Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith*. As soon as the papacy finds a ruler that will permit it, and they think they can get away with it, the persecutions and Inquisition, with all their horrors, will be back, as prophesied in Revelation 17:1 to 19:3.

Sadly, it is quite easy to demonstrate that over the last two centuries, most protestant churches have joined the ecumenical movement, and now believe that the Roman church is actually their mother-church and are endeavouring to reunite with it, thus revealing themselves as her daughters. If you are in the Catholic Church, or in one of her daughter "Protestant" churches which still embrace many of her abominations,* get out now and become a truly Biblical Christian before this curse falls on you:

"Come out from within her, My people, lest you share in her sins, that you do not receive of her plagues. Revelation 18:4

Let us look at the additional steps that are required to return us to the faith of Jeshua's apostles and free us from the corruptions of Rome.

God's Name

Jehovah, הָוָה God's Hebrew Name, was known by many, perhaps most, of the martyrs Southwell lists, even though it was only translated rarely in the Tyndal and King James Versions of the Bible. Indeed, the complete American Standard Version, which retains God's name of Jehovah 5,822 times, was not published

^{*} These were all prophesied in Daniel 7:25: *"He will speak great words against the Most High, will persecute the saints of the Most High, and will intend to change the appointed times (God's Holy Days) and law."* And the popes have done all of this.

until 1885. Yet even today, many are not aware of this translation, nor of the fact that our Lord Jehovah choose to use his Name so many times the Hebrew Old Covenant. His Name is clearly extremely important to Him, but why is this so important? Because knowing God's actual name is critical to knowing WHO we worship and obey. As the Roman Catholic hierarchy do NOT worship the God of the Bible, they removed his Name from their Vulgate Bible in 404 A.D., and formally banned any use of Jehovah in 2008, and even anything that sounds like God's Name. To better understand this, please read *God's Name* and the CHCoG *Holy Bible* on our website.

Young Earth

Though usually accepted in the times that Southwell wrote of, during his lifetime a battle began between those who believe the Bible's timeline, which indicates that the earth was about six thousand years old, and the geologists and naturalists, such as James Hutton, who were undermining that timeline and replacing it with one that was expanding into millions of years. This battle has only become more fierce since, as science is now discrediting uniformitarianism and macro-evolution even while the truthfulness and reliability of the Bible are being openly criticised by atheists who seem blind to the absurdity of most of their own arguments. The Roman church has, like many Protestant churches, continued to abandon the Bible and adopt a compromised old-earth, theistic evolution position. These issues are dealt with in <u>The Irrational Atheist</u> and our <u>Books of Moses: Fact or Fiction</u> series, the <u>Center</u> for Scientific Creation, etc.

Eternal Death

Southwell and the martyrs often refer to eternal damnation, sometimes in reference to cursing by the Roman church. However, endless suffering in fire is a pagan myth endorsed by the

papacy to control their laity and their most gullible clergy. In contrast, the Bible teaches that everlasting life is God's Gift to the faithful, while unrepentant sinners will be utterly destroyed, never to exist again (John 10:28, Mal 3:18 to 4:3). Only Satan and his corrupt angels will suffer ongoing punishment in the Lake of Fire, and only those who obey Jesus will be given everlasting life (Rev 19:20 & 20:10-15, 1 John 2:25 & 3:15). For the rest, the Lake of Fire is the second death, where even their souls are destroyed (Mat 10:28) and from which there can be no resurrection (Rev 20:6). Their wailing and gnashing of teeth lasts from the moment they realise they will be cast into the Lake of Fire until they actually die in it. The worms will not die and the Fire will not be extinguished until their work is fully finished. The horror of endless torture as the consequence for a few decades of sin is an obscene invention of pagans which was quickly adopted and utilised by the corrupted Roman church. Our God, Jehovah, is a loving and merciful God, not the sadistic monster of the papists. Remember, Jehovah only promises eternal life to those who turn to Him and keep His Instructions. For more detail on this, see Everlasting Life is God's Gift and The Origin and History of the Doctrine of Endless Punishment.

Our Triune God

After discarding Jehovah, the Catholic church brought in their Babylonian pagan trinity to replace him, a change championed by Athanasius. The Bible teaches that we are made in God's image, and like Him, we are each triune: we are one being composed of three parts: our body, soul and spirit (Compare 1Thes 5:23 & Heb 4:12 with Gen 6:3, Lev 26:11 & Dan 7:9). The Bible teaching of the triune One True God, and His only begotten son Jeshua (Jesus), was turned inside-out and replaced with their confusing and nonbiblical trinity of three beings as one being. To support the Roman Catholic trinity, they changed 1 John 5:7&8 from "*And the Spirit*

bears witness because the Spirit is Truth. And the three of them bear witness: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and the three of them are as one." into this: "For there are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one." This forgery was first inserted in their Old Latin Bibles in the fifth century, then in their Vulgate in the seventh century, and finally made its way into some copies of the Greek manuscripts in the fifteenth century. Contrary to the papacy's co-equal, co-eternal trinity, the Bible teaches that Jesus's Father is greater than His Son, because only He has always existed, and Jeshua (Jesus) only exists because his Father begot him (John 14:28, 1Cor 11:3 & 1Cor 15:20-28, Hab 1:12, Col 1:13 to 19, Rev 3:14, &c.). These topics are explored in <u>Jeshua: Son of God or Part of a Trinity</u>, Spirit, Soul and Body and The Two Babylons.

Seventh-Day Sabbath

The Biblical Seventh-day Sabbath has been a pivotal issue since Jehovah God and His Son Jeshua created the universe, established the Sabbath and embedded it in His Ten Commandments (Gen 2:2-3, Exo 20:8 to 11). Few are aware that the Roman Catholic church sits at the center of the Sabbath-Sunday controversy. Cardinal Gibbons, in his <u>Rome's Challenge:</u> <u>Why do Protestants Observe Sunday</u>, explains how the Bible ONLY teaches a seventh-day Sabbath, and that it was indeed the Roman 'church' that changed the Sabbath observance from Saturday to Sunday. They then declare that when Protestants observe Sunday, they are thus showing that they do not follow the principle of "Scripture Alone," but are acknowledging that they instead follow the traditions of Rome.

This was the topic which swayed the Roman Catholic Council of Trent in 1562 to confirm their commitment to both 'scripture and tradition'. The seventh-day Sabbath was kept by Jesus and his

disciples, even after His resurrection, it was often observed by the pre-reformation Waldensian Christians, and even by many Puritans. The Bible clearly teaches that this 'different horn' (the pope) will attempt to change God's times and laws (Daniel 7:24 & 25).

It is difficult to understand why many of the reformers, who said they wanted to do only what was scriptural, kept observing the Roman Church's Sunday instead of glorifying Jehovah God's seventh-day Sabbath. You can learn more about this in <u>The</u> <u>Sabbath in Scripture</u>.

However, the reformers did work hard to expose many of the Roman church's other attempts to overthrow and replace God's laws, instructions and holy days with their own.

Jehovah's Annual Holy Days

Just as the 'different horn' changed the time of God's weekly Sabbath, it also tried to change the times of all of God's annual Holy Days, which reveal His Plan of Salvation.

Central to this, the timing of Jeshua's (Jesus') Passover impalement and resurrection were changed. God's Calendar shows that Jeshua died on Wednesday afternoon, 23 April, 31 CE,* was buried at dusk that day and rose at dusk as the Saturday Sabbath was ending, thereby exactly fulfilling the required three days and nights in the heart of the earth (Mat 12:40). But the Roman Catholic calendar moves the impalement to Friday and has him resurrected Sunday morning, which is a mere day and a half in the grave, thus denying that Jeshua kept the Sign of Jonah. It took Rome centuries to force Easter, their fake Passover, onto other churches, recorded as the Quartodeciman Controversy, and many in the real congregations of God always observed the true Passover, as shown in <u>A History of the True Church</u>.

^{*} On the proleptic Gregorian calendar; the Julian date was Wed, 25 April.

The only other one of God's Annual Holy Days that Rome even pretends to observe is Pentecost (Whitsunday), which is often kept on the wrong week due to the corrupt Catholic calendar. The rest of the Biblical Holy Days (see Leviticus chapter 23) are discarded, and with them a true understanding of God's Plan of Salvation. They are replaced with recycled pagan Holy Days such as Christmas—the renamed pagan Day of the Invincible Sun—and Lent, All Saints Day, etc, etc.

Though these things are less well known than the mutilation of God's weekly Sabbath, they are openly taught in the Bible, and it is also clear that Jeshua's disciples continued to observe them all, even after his resurrection. In contrast, the Bible commands us to NEVER observe the pagan 'holy days' including those endorsed by Roman Catholicism (Deut 12:30-32).

You can learn more about these things in <u>God's Calendar and</u> the Sign of Jonah and <u>God's Holy Days for Christians</u>.

Appendix by the Central Highlands Congregation of God

Some Other Resources Available from <u>https://chcpublications.net/</u> Publications

- The Holy Bible CHCoG Version This translation from the original Hebrew and Aramaic is accurate and readable, giving you a clear understanding of how the New and Old Covenants are interlocked and God's message to you.
- **Everlasting Life is God's Gift** Does the Bible teach that you have everlasting life? If not, how can you receive God's gift of immortality as His child?
- **Books of Moses Fact or Fiction Series** Are the miracles recorded in Genesis and Exodus our true history? Do the facts support Special Creation or the Big Bang & Evolution scenarios? What about the Flood, Babel and the Exodus?
- **Spirit, Soul and Body** What does the Bible teach about the nature of human beings? Do we have a soul? What is our spirit? What happens when we die?
- **Eastern Meditation and Jeshua the Messiah** Recounts the experiences of a CHCoG member who became a Christian while practising Eastern Meditation.
- Fifty Years in the Church of Rome Charles Chiniquy's classic exposure of the corruptions of the Roman church, and how he found God's Gift of Salvation.
- **The Ten Commandments** What are God's Ten Commandments? How do they guide us in our relationships with God, our family and our neighbours? Shows how obedience to Jehovah's Instructions would result in true civilization.
- The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional Charles Chiniquy's indepth exposé of the Roman Church's corrupt Auricular Confessional system, which destroys the priests, their penitents and their families.
- What is God's Name? How can we know what God's Name is and how to Pronounce it? Does the Bible teach us to use God's Name?
- **God's Calendar and the Sign of Jonah** Shows how God's Calendar reveals that Jeshua truly kept the Sign of Jonah, His ultimate proof that He is the Messiah.
- **The Sabbath in Scripture** Has God's Seventh-day Sabbath been 'done away with'? What does the Sabbath mean, and does God want us to keep it?
- **Rome's Challenge: Why do Protestants Keep Sunday?** This Roman Catholic article proves there is no scriptural basis for changing the seventh-day Sabbath to Sunday, and shows that the Roman Catholic church made the change.
- Sex, God and Families Article exposing the dangers of sexual immorality and outlining the benefits of following God's sexual principles.
- **The Catholic Chronicles -** Keith Green explores the meanings of the Roman Catholic Mass, transubstantiation, their concept of forgiveness of sin and salvation and what—if anything—Vatican II changed.
- **Free to Obey God** God's Son Jeshua sets us free! But what does he set us free from, and how does He expect us to live our new life?
- Jeshua the Messiah: Is He the Son of God or Part of a Trinity? Explores the relationships between God the Father, our Lord Jeshua, the Holy Spirit and us. Software
- **Calculated Biblical Calendar** Calculates dates of Annual Holy Days, Crucifixion, Flood, Creation: allows you to test the new moon visibility locally.