

J. GODWIN. R. D. LENTON.

THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION.

SECRET READING OF WICKLIFFE'S TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.


LADIES OF THE REFORMATION
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LADIES

OF

THE REFORMATION.

MEMOIRS OF

DISTINGUISHED FEMALE CHARACTERS,

BELONGING TO THE PERIOD OF

THE REFORMATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THE

REV. JAMES ANDERSON,

AUTHOR OF "THE LADIES OF THE COVENANT," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED BY J. GODWIN, J. W. ARCHER, &c

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND THE NETHERLANDS.



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PREFACE.

No revolution, since the age of Christ and his apostles, can be compared in magnitude and beneficial results with that of the Reformation in Europe in the 16th century. By elevating the authority of the Sacred Scriptures above human authority, and asserting the right of every man to judge of their contents for himself, it released the human mind from the fetters of Popish implicit faith, and restored it to the free exercise of its powers. It was thus to the mind of man like a resurrection from the dead; and from the terrible shock it gave to the Papacy, wherever established, entirely overthrowing that system in some countries, together with its powerful influence in advancing civil liberty, commerce, science, and literature, it forms the commencement of a new era in the history of Europe. From recent events in England, particularly from the progress of Oxford Tractarianism, and the Papal aggressions, the study of this great revolution has become anew important, that, under a deeper impression of the blessings we have derived from it, our gratitude may be quickened, first to the Great Ruler of the church and the world, to

whom, as the efficient cause, it is to be attributed, and next to those distinguished individuals who, under Him, were the instruments in achieving it.

The new claims which, from these circumstances, the history of the Reformation has upon our attention, suggested to the author the composition of the present work. A series of biographical memoirs of distinguished females in the principal countries of Europe, who supported or contributed to this great revolution by sympathy, action, or heroic suffering, when adherence to the principles of the Reformation exposed them to peril, and even to death, had not hitherto been written, though the lives of particular individuals had engaged the pen of the biographer, and such a work seemed to offer an opportunity of presenting various of the leading facts in the history of the Reformation in a somewhat new connection, as well as of introducing notices of the characteristics of the period, and episodes in real life, altogether omitted, or only slightly touched upon, in general history, though partaking sometimes even of a romantic interest.

The amount of materials for such an undertaking varies as to the different lives. In some it is scanty and fragmentary; in others it is so voluminous that a single life might easily have been extended to a volume. In the composition of the lives the materials for which are most abundant, the author has endeavoured to select the most interesting portions; and, while compressing his matter within as narrow limits as possible, to give, at the same time, a degree of fulness to the narrative. The authorities from which he has derived his facts will be seen in the course of the biographies. Whenever

practicable he has consulted the original sources of information, the great importance of which must be obvious to all conversant with historical inquiry.

These memoirs being in a great measure historical, it seemed necessary to their being the more clearly understood, that the reader should have placed before him the contemporaneous events and characters with which the subjects of the memoirs were connected. This information the author has endeavoured to supply, sometimes in the course of the lives themselves, and, as this was not always practicable without too great a digression from the point in hand, at other times in the general introductions prefixed to the biographies under each country, which embrace, for the most part, a general view of the history of the Reformation in the respective countries to which they relate. This, it is hoped, will leave the reader at no loss as to the general course of the events of the period, in so far as connected with the ladies brought under review.

Had the author's limits permitted, he would have included under the English portion notices of some of the female martyrs who suffered during the reign of Queen Mary, and under the Netherlands portion notices of several other females who underwent martyrdom in that country. Multitudes of the tender sex in these, as well as in other parts of Europe, thus signalized themselves for God; and church martyrology has preserved the memorials of the martyrdom of various of them, though even the names of by far the greater number have not been transmitted to posterity, and are to be found recorded only in the registers of the Lamb under the altar. The author's object has not been to write a martyrology;

but many illustrations of the intolerant spirit of Popery are adduced in this work. In answer to these, Romanists and a certain class of professed liberal writers will quote the instances of Protestant intolerance of the same period, in proof that Protestants were then no better in this respect than Romanists—intolerance, as they allege, being a characteristic of the age, not peculiar to one ecclesiastical party or religious system. But this is to draw a conclusion for which the facts of the case, when fully and impartially stated, afford no warrant. For, first, all the instances of Protestant intolerance, when put together, dwindle into insignificance when compared with the dreadful details of the cruelties of the Papacy, and the vast multitudes whose lives it has sacrificed, amounting, as has been estimated, since its first rise, to upwards of 50,000,000 of persons.[1] Secondly, while persecution in no party is to be screened from merited censure and opprobrium, it is to be remembered that Protestants had come out of a persecuting church, and that the intolerance of which they were in some instances guilty, being traceable to the lessons they had received from Rome, she is fairly responsible for it. And, thirdly, what the reader should specially notice, intolerance is at variance with one of the fundamental principles of Protestantism—the principle that every man has a right to judge for himself in matters of religion; whereas intolerance is in entire harmony with Romanism, which, in its standard books—the decrees of its councils, and the bulls of its popes—denies the right of private judgment, and unequivocally sanctions the principles of persecution; so that the persecutions which it has carried on have not arisen

[1] Bruce's *Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery*, p. 127.

simply from the depraved impulses of man's nature, from temporary fitful outbursts of popular fury, or from the violence of certain atrocious individuals, but from the teachings of the Popish religious system. The principles of Protestantism, when acted upon, inevitably lead to toleration; those of Popery, when acted upon, as inevitably lead to persecution.

The characters whose lives are here narrated, the author presents to the public rather as the representatives of the great leading principles of the Reformation against Popery, than as the supporters of any particular denomination of Protestantism, for they belonged to Protestants of different shades of opinions. In the programme of the ecclesiastical condition of Christendom during the reign of Antichrist, given in the Apocalypse, the Spirit of God takes no note of the differences and divisions among the Reformers, describing only two parties—Antichrist, and those ranked on the Lamb's side in opposition to Antichrist—by which he seems to teach us that earnest, intelligent, and faithful witnesses against this the great enemy of Christ, would be found among the various parties of the Reformed Church, though these parties should not all be reformed to the same extent. By this principle the author has been guided in selecting and narrating the lives of these ladies. Differing as they necessarily did in intellectual powers, in opportunities of religious improvement, in diligent inquiry, and in the circumstances in which they were placed, they were not equally enlightened in their views of divine truth, and they held different sentiments on some religious points. But they were united on many great important truths revealed in God's Word, which are denied or corrupted by Popery; and they

all sympathized with, or promoted, by suffering or action, the great religious movement of the 16th century. In these respects they occupy the same position, and are entitled to the grateful remembrance of Protestants of every name.

The author has only to add, that he intends to continue these biographical sketches in another volume, embracing Lives of Ladies of the Reformation in Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France, and Spain.

EDINBURGH, *November* 14, 1854.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE first of the subjects of the biographical sketches included in this division of our work carries us back to the times of John Wickliffe. The others lived in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. We shall therefore, in introducing them to the reader, touch upon the instrumentality of Wickliffe in the advancement of Divine truth, and then advert to some of the prominent features of the reigns of these sovereigns, considered particularly in their relation to the struggles of the Reformation in England, with the history of which the lives of these ladies are more or less connected, and a cause which all of them had embraced or supported from conviction, though not with equal zeal and intelligence, nor with the same spirit of self-sacrifice.

The Reformation in England in the sixteenth century was not an outburst for which there had been no previous preparation. Revolutions generally seem to the superficial observer to happen abruptly, but they are always the effect of causes which, though hidden and unnoticed, have been previously in operation, preparing the way for the great catastrophe. These causes, like those in operation in the physical world, may work slowly and by insensible degrees, and there

may, from our ignorance of the counteracting influences which may spring up in the course of events, be much uncertainty, even to the mind which sees their operation, whether they will issue in the catastrophe to which they naturally tend. But when the catastrophe does take place, and when we philosophically trace back and investigate the causes, it will be found that the remote and general causes have had such influence, that without them the direct and immediate causes could not have produced the result. In looking at the immediate causes, there will often appear such a disproportion between them and the effects produced, as to excite our surprise that so great events should be brought to pass by so small causes, but when we examine the subject more minutely, we will discover that the immediate causes have been indebted for their efficacy to a long chain of preceding causes. It was so in regard to the Reformation in England as well as in Germany.

To go no farther back than the fourteenth century in tracing the influences set at work by Providence in preparing the way for the Reformation which signalized the reign of Henry VIII., a brief glance at the labours of John Wickliffe, will show that they were intended by Providence to have something like the same relation to the Reformation as the seed-time to the harvest. Before he came into public view, his predecessors in the same cause, Fitzralph, Bradwardine, and others, had gone to their rest. Into their labours he entered. The work they had left he took up with increased energy and success. From the theological chair, when professor of divinity at Oxford, and from the pulpit, on his becoming rector of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, he boldly denounced the arrogant pretensions of the Pope and the Papal priesthood, attacked the doctrines of Popery, and proclaimed the pure doctrines of the gospel. He did the same thing by his numerous writings, of which the most important was his translation of the entire Scriptures, which he executed from the Vulgate, being ignorant of Hebrew and Greek. To disseminate the sacred volume in English among the people, his object in this undertaking, was quite a novel idea, and

was in itself an important step in the cause of the Reformation. Many portions of the Bible had been translated into English before his time, but to translate them for general circulation appears never to have been contemplated by the translators, and the translations were generally buried in the library of some man of wealth, or in some monastery. It was Wickliffe who first took down the Bible from the shelf, and shook off the dust with which it had been covered for ages, that it might become common property. Was it not Heaven's great gift to the whole human family? Why then should it be sealed up in an unknown tongue? Why should it not be translated into English, that his countrymen might be able to read in their own language the wonderful works of God? To do this would be doing something worth living for, something for his generation, and something for posterity. Such were the thoughts which filled his mind, and he diligently set himself to the task, which, after the labour of many years, he completed about 1380. These combined labours produced great effects. His opinions infected not a few of the parochial clergy, the University of Oxford, many of the aristocracy, and multitudes of the common people. So numerous were his converts, even in his own day, that, according to the testimony of a popish contemporary, "starting like saplings from the root of a tree, they were multiplied, and filled every place within the compass of the land." After his death his doctrines continued to spread throughout England, notwithstanding the efforts of the adversaries to suppress them. His various writings, and especially his translation of the Scriptures, both the whole of it and copies of particular parts, were multiplied by transcription, as they had been during his lifetime, the expenses being defrayed by persons of rank and wealth, and they were the means of making many converts. A single copy of the Scriptures, or detached portions, would serve the inquirers of a whole district, who in times of persecution would assemble in some friendly house where the manuscript was secreted, and where, drawn from its place of concealment, it was read by one of their number to the company, who listened with eager and devout attention. This continued even

down to the reign of Henry VIII., when the disciples of Wickliffe were so widely diffused throughout the country, that Sir Thomas More, mainly, it would appear, upon this ground, predicted the speedy ascendency of heresy in England.[1] Thus did the humble rector of Lutterworth mightily contribute—more perhaps than any other individual—to prepare the way for the great revolution which shook and overthrew the Papal system in England in the sixteenth century. He was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord." He was "the morning star of the Reformation." Had circumstances been as favourable in England in the fourteenth century as they were in Germany in the beginning of the sixteenth, this great man would have achieved for the former country what Luther did for the latter.

That step by which Henry VIII. separated England from the Papal jurisdiction, is, from its important influence on the Reformation in England, deserving of special attention, though we can only glance at some of the leading facts connected with it.

In the beginning of the year 1527, if not at an earlier period, Henry began seriously to contemplate a divorce from his queen, Katharine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, on the alleged ground of scruples of conscience as to the lawfulness of a marriage contracted with a sister-in-law; but his real motives, it was generally believed, were his decayed affection for Katharine, in consequence of her faded beauty and declining health, and his passionate desire to have a son to succeed him, a felicity he could not expect without a new marriage, as he was hopeless of more issue by his present queen. The idea of the divorce originated with Cardinal Wolsey. This is agreed upon by all contemporary writers. Katharine uniformly ascribed it to him, never to her husband, and affirmed, probably with truth, that his motives were to be revenged on her because she had censured his profligate life, and on her nephew Charles V., because he had not raised him to the Pontifical chair. Wolsey himself confessed that

[1] See Vaughan's *Life of Wickliffe*, passim.

he was the author of the project to the French ambassador, Bellay, at a time (October, 1528) when he was not likely to have made the declaration, had it not been true, for then the subject had become so embarrassing as to occasion serious regret to all concerned that it had ever been stirred. The suggestion was made to Henry in the year 1526; and to strengthen him against Charles V., by allying him to Francis I. of France, Wolsey's plan was that his master should marry Margaret of Valois, sister of Francis, and at that time widow of the Duke of Alençon. In March, that year, we find him directing the attention of Henry to this princess, and he also procured her portrait for the inspection of the amorous monarch.[1]

When the question was first presented to the attention of Pope Clement VII., in 1527, during his imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo by the imperial army, which had taken Rome by storm, resting his hopes of being restored to freedom upon the sovereigns of England and France, he professed the most cordial desire to gratify Henry's inclinations.[2] But after Charles, with the view of engaging him to thwart Henry in his wished-for divorce, had determined to restore him to liberty, circumstances being changed, new motives operated on his mind, and entirely revolutionized his sentiments in regard to the divorce. Perceiving that the emperor was full of resentment at Henry's proposal of degrading Katharine of Aragon, his aunt, and would on no account consent to the divorce, he dreaded having any hand in a transaction which might bring upon him anew the wrath of the emperor, whose unscrupulous power he had so recently experienced.[3] He besides became afterwards bound to Charles by the very advantageous treaty into which he entered at Barcelona,

[1] Turner's *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., pp. 139–149.

[2] Robertson's *History of Charles V.*, book v.

[3] That such were the feelings of the Pope, appears from the following passage of a letter from his secretary, Sanga, to Campeggio, dated Viterbo, 2d September, 1528, when Campeggio was preparing to go to England as the Pope's legate about the affair of the divorce, and the triumph just gained by the arms of Charles V., in Italy, over Francis I. of France, would give additional intensity to these feelings:—"Our lord the Pope, esteeming himself, as your most reverend lordship knows, most deeply obliged

in June, 1529, with that sovereign, who, as some atonement for his ignominious treatment of the Pontiff, granted him highly favourable terms. Had it not been for the terror of Charles, and for the advantages to be derived by preserving his friendship, the Pope would certainly have yielded at once all that Henry prayed for; but thrown into the perplexing dilemma of breaking either with Charles or Henry, neither of whose favour he was willing to sacrifice, he hesitated, would come to no decision on the question of the divorce, and having recourse to a procrastinating and duping policy, alternately encouraged Henry by promises, and discouraged him by retracting them, seemed at times to grant him all when he intended to do nothing, being resolved to hold the divorce in suspense, convinced that the moment he issued a sentence agreeable to the one sovereign, the other would become his irreconcilable enemy.

Irritated at the tergiversation and delays of the Pope, Henry, setting the papal authority at defiance, settled for himself the long agitated question, by marrying Anne Boleyn in the beginning of the year 1533. On the 23d of May, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a court held at Dunstable, pronounced not a divorce, but a sentence on the former marriage, to the effect, that having been contracted contrary to the law of God, which forbids marriage with a deceased brother's widow, it was null, and had been so from the beginning, and on the 28th of the same month he judicially confirmed at Lambeth Henry's union with Anne Boleyn.

Indignant at Cranmer for presumptuously encroaching on his prerogative, by pronouncing Katharine's marriage with Henry to be, and to have ever been void, his holiness issued a bull annulling Cranmer's judgment; and on the 11th of July, braving the displeasure of the

to that most serene king, there is nothing of such magnitude that he would not willingly do to gratify him; but still there is need that his holiness, seeing that the Emperor is victorious, and having reason, therefore, to expect to find him not averse to peace, should not rashly give the Emperor cause for a new rupture, which would for ever obliterate all hope of peace; besides, that his holiness would undoubtedly bring down ruin and destruction upon his whole estate."—Ranke's *History of the Popes*, book i., chap. iii.

monarch, he published a decree, which was affixed on the public places at Dunkirk, threatening to excommunicate him unless he separated from Anne Boleyn, and restored all things to their former state before September following. Henry instantly appealed from the Pope to a general council lawfully called;[1] and Cranmer, foreseeing the storm which was gathering around his own head, made a similar appeal, by the king's advice. Both appeals were transmitted to Edmund Bonner, afterwards Bishop of London, who had been sent as his majesty's envoy to the Pope, to co-operate with Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who had previously been despatched to protect his majesty's interests. In November Bonner obtained an audience of the Pope, and on reading Henry's appeal, his holiness, to use the words of Bonner, "fell in a marvellous great choler and rage, not only declaring the same by his gesture and manner, but also by words. He was continually folding up and unwinding his handkerchief, which he never doth but when he is tickled to the very heart with great choler." He requested that the words might again be read to him, upon which, "not a little chafing with himself, he asked what I had more." Two days after, Bonner returned to the Pontiff, to receive an answer as to his majesty's appeal. He had to wait two hours, during which his holiness was engaged in the very laudable and edifying occupation of "blessing beads, and suffering ladies and nobles to kiss his foot," and then he received an answer expressed in a tone of civility, but yet in a manner indicating suppressed resentment. "My mind towards his highness," said he, "always hath been to minister justice, and do pleasure unto him, although it hath not been so taken. I never unjustly grieved his grace that I know, nor intend hereafter to do; but as there is a constitution of Pope Pius, my predecessor, that doth condemn all such appeals, I therefore do reject his grace's appeal as frivolous, forbidden, and unlawful."[2] Bonner had an addi-

[1] His appeal is dated 30th July, 1533. It is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv., p. 476.

[2] Burnet's *History of the Reformation in England*, Oxford, 1816, vol. vi., pp. 54, 58.

tional ungracious task to perform, that of submitting Cranmer's appeal[1] to his holiness. By this appeal, combined perhaps with the peremptory and arrogant manner which formed a part of Bonner's character, his holiness was so exasperated, as to threaten to throw him into a caldron of melted lead, or to burn him alive. "Bonner," says Turner, "having himself no taste for the agonies of fire, to which he afterwards doomed so many without pity, was glad to make a precipitate escape."[2]

In his irritation at the Pope, Henry, even while negotiations for effecting a reconciliation between them were going on, assembled his Parliament in January, 1534, and got it to pass various bills destructive of the papal authority in England. It was, for example, enacted, that hereafter no appeals should be made to the court of Rome, but that all causes ecclesiastical should be judged by the prelates within the realm; that first-fruits, annates or St. Peter's pence, should be no longer paid to the See of Rome; nor palls, bulls, nor dispensations of any kind procured from thence; that monasteries should be subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone; that it was no heresy to call in question the Pope's authority; that Campeggio, Bishop of Salisbury, and Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, two Italians, should be deprived of their bishoprics, as being foreigners and non-resident. In the same Parliament the marriage of the king with Katharine of Aragon was declared to be void, Cranmer's sentence annulling it ratified, the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn confirmed, the succession to the crown settled on the issue of this marriage, and an oath in favour of this succession was to be enforced under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and the forfeiture of goods. On the 30th of March the Parliament adjourned to the 3d

1 It is dated 22d November, and is printed in Burnet's *Reform*, vol. vi., p. 61.

2 Turner's *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., pp. 340-345. At this time, however, as Fuller quaintly observes, "Bonner was not Bonner, being as yet meek and merciful. . . . . Bonner began to Bonner it—to display the colours of his cruelty—in 1540, after being made Bishop of London."—*Worthies of England*, vol. ii., p. 468; and his *History*, vol. ii., p. 99.

of November, and, what was ominous of the times, during the whole session a bishop had preached at St. Paul's cross in condemnation of the Pope's authority in England.[1]

The variance between Henry and the Pope was, however, not yet desperate. Some prospect of a speedy amicable adjustment still presented itself. By the interposition of Francis I., in an interview with the Pope at Marseilles, in October 1533, his holiness promised to pronounce the desired sentence of divorce, if Henry sent a proxy to Rome, and submitted his cause to the Roman See. Cardinal John de Bellay, Bishop of Paris, being immediately despatched by Francis to London with the communication, succeeded in obtaining from Henry a promise of submission, provided the cardinals of the emperor's faction were excluded from the Roman consistory. Bellay hurried to Rome to lay Henry's terms before the Pope, who expressed his readiness to accept them, but required that they should be drawn out in writing and subscribed by Henry, and fixed a certain day for the return of the messenger with the signed agreement. Thus a peaceful conclusion to this long and serious difference seemed to be at hand. But mark how great revolutions often turn on some slender circumstance! The messenger having been detained, did not arrive with the document at the appointed day; and certain reports had in the meantime reached the Vatican, "that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the Pope and cardinals." This roused the fury of these ecclesiastical dignitaries, and yet the Pope from timidity was reluctant to proceed to extremity, but yielding to his cardinals, he pronounced in conclave, March 23, 1534, twenty-two cardinals being present, a final sentence, that Henry's marriage with Katharine of Aragon was valid and canonical; that he was bound to cohabit with her as his wife; that he should be compelled to do so; that all molestations against this marriage were unlawful; and that he should be for ever

[1] Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*, London, 1649, fol., pp. 371, 372.

silent on the subject.[1] This sentence, in the circumstances so rashly pronounced, irrevocably sealed the doom of the papacy in England. Two days after, the messenger arrived with Henry's promise of submission, and the Pope now bitterly repented the precipitate step into which he had been hurried, and sat up all night perplexing his brains in the attempt to devise a remedy. Common sense might have suggested the recalling of the sentence; but he could not do this without in the very act knocking his arrogated infallibility on the head. He survived his fatuous decision only about six months, having died on the 25th September, 1534; but before his death he had the mortification to see his ecclesiastical domination at an end in England.[2] The effect of his sentence, on the tidings reaching London, was most exasperating. Books immediately issued from the press, to prove that the ecclesiastical supremacy claimed by the Pope is a usurpation. Even the monarch himself girded on the harness, and entered the field as a polemic.[3] And when Parliament met in November, the decisive blow was struck, by abolishing the papal supremacy in England, and enacting that the king "shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only and supreme head on earth of the church" within his own dominions.[4] Thus was the chain broken which bound England to the foot of the papal throne.[5] In the same Parliament it was enacted, that after the 1st of February, 1535, it would be treason for any person to call the king an heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper.

It is interesting and instructive to mark the agency of a gracious

[1] On the 8th of January the Pope had been vehemently urged by Charles to pronounce this sentence, but hesitated, and delayed till this meeting.

[2] Turner's *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., pp. 347, 348.

[3] Strype's *Memorials Ecclesiastical*, Oxford, 1822, vol. i., part i., p. 230.

[4] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 816.—Lord Herbert's *Henry VIII.*, p. 380.

[5] Yet about the same time, at the instigation of the clergy, Henry issued a proclamation against the importation and reading of the New Testament and other books in English. These books had been for the most part printed abroad, and being imported by stealth into England, had been dispersed by the secret promoters of the Reformation.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., p. 247.

Providence in overruling the wayward passions and actings of men for striking off from England the fetters of papal despotism, and for bringing about a revolution so beneficial to her, whether religiously, politically, or socially considered. With this great revolution, reason, conscience, religion, wise and liberal views, had nothing to do. It was not the effect of the teaching and labours of ecclesiastical reformers, or of the power of truth and patriotism on the mind of the English monarch, though he has been eulogized as a "godly and learned king," as "a Moses who delivered his people from the bondage of Pharaoh." It proceeded solely from the violence of his proud, ungovernable temper, which would brook no restraint, driving him to this course, because obstructed in the gratification of his amatory passions by the Pope. It was what none of the actors on the stage at first contemplated or desired. "Assuredly," as has been well observed, "had the tiara deigned to nod to the regal solicitor, then had the 'Defender of the Faith' only given to the world another edition of his book against Luther."[1] Even for several years after the Pope refused to grant him a divorce, Henry never seriously thought of shaking England loose from the papal jurisdiction; for he had no desire of effecting a reformation, and no desire to encourage a spirit of religious innovation. It was not till the Pope refused or shifted his demands for a divorce, denounced his marriage with Anne Boleyn as null, and threatened to excommunicate him unless he separated from her, that Henry was driven, after a marvellous exercise of patience, considering the impetuosity of his disposition, into the bold measure of abolishing the papal supremacy in England. Wolsey, who injected into Henry's mind doubts as to the lawfulness of his marriage with Katharine, and first suggested the idea of the divorce from hatred to her, and to her nephew Charles V., dreamed of no such catastrophe, else doubtless so zealous a supporter of the Roman See, to which he was not yet without hopes of being elevated, would never have made the suggestion. Gardiner and Bonner, who were

[1] D'Israeli's *Amenities of Literature*, vol ii., p. 138.

employed as Henry's ambassadors in negotiating with the Pope, desired nothing less than the deposition of his holiness from his supremacy over England. Yet, contrary to the intentions and wishes of all the actors, such was the issue under the overruling providence of Him who maketh the wrath of man to praise him.

The reasons of the Pope's refusal to accede to Henry's wishes are also deserving of notice, as other links in the chain of causes which Providence mercifully made use of in accomplishing this revolution in England. Divorces had frequently been granted by papal authority upon grounds less specious than those produced by Henry; and had the holy father granted the divorce sued for, he would have preserved his power and jurisdiction over England unimpaired, and England at this day would in all probability have still been in connection with the Roman See. But the dread of incurring the resentment of Charles V. prevented him, and led him to adopt a policy of consummate duplicity towards Henry, whom he cheated at every step, the result of which was, that the Pope was found to be the only loser in the game he had been playing. He was *minus* England, and bitterly did he lament, as his successors have ever since done, the loss of this rich jewel in the papal tiara.

Thus Wolsey, Henry VIII., Clement VII., and Charles V., each governed by different motives, but none of these motives higher than human passions and worldly interests, were all instruments, unwilling instruments, in the hand of Providence, in emancipating England from papal despotism.

Having thrown off the papal authority, and assumed to himself the supreme jurisdiction over the English church, Henry ruthlessly persecuted such, both ecclesiastics and laymen, as refused to acknowledge his new title as head of the church. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, both strenuous maintainers of the papal supremacy, perished on the block for refusing to acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry. When the oath of succession was tendered to them, they expressed their willingness to swear to the act itself, but not to the preamble, which asserts Henry's new claim.

The news of the execution of Fisher and More caused indescribable horror and indignation at the Vatican; and on the 30th of August, 1535, Paul III., who had succeeded Clement VII., issued a furious bull of excommunication against the English monarch. The bull decreed that Henry should be deprived of all his dominions, and that he and his abettors had incurred the highest penalties, and should be deprived of Christian burial. It laid all places where he or his partizans should come under an interdict, and prohibited the performance of any divine service or ceremonies in any church, monastery, or place under his subjection. It pronounced his offspring by Anne Boleyn, and the children of all his supporters, born, or to be born, infamous, and deprived them of all possessions, liberties, and privileges, honours, offices, or property. It absolved his subjects from their allegiance. It forbade all trading and intercourse with him, or with the cities and districts that acknowledged his authority, and dissolved all contracts with them. It enjoined all ecclesiastics to leave his kingdom, and commanded the nobility of England to rise up in arms against him. It disannulled all treaties with him, and called upon the sovereigns and princes of Europe to make war against him and his supporters. And it ordered the prelates to excommunicate him in their churches. The bull was posted up in Flanders, France, and Scotland.[1] Though suspended in its operation for the present, it rendered if possible a reconciliation between Henry and the Vatican still more hopeless. Papal bulls were not now the same terrible things they had been a century or half-a-century before; and the attempt of his holiness, three years after, to give effect to this bull, by sending Cardinal Pole from Rome to foment commotions in England, entirely failed.

Henry's abolition of the papal supremacy within his dominions was the *first* great act in his reign, by which he rendered most important service to the cause of the Reformation in England. A *second* was by his suppressing the monasteries, and seizing upon their pro-

[1] Strype's *Mem Eccl.*, vol. i, part i., pp. 511, 512.—Turner's *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 464.

perty—their movables and territorial possessions—which he partly appropriated to himself, and partly distributed among his courtiers. This gave a terrible blow to the ancient superstition, on the one hand by the overthrow of institutions which contributed so much to uphold it, and on the other by binding a very powerful class to the new order of things by the ties of self-interest. The *third* was by his sanctioning the printing and circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, which prepared the middle classes, who alone at that time could generally read, for the reception of the reformed doctrines, by enabling them to see that these doctrines were agreeable to the Scriptures, while the errors of Popery were contrary to them.

A contemporary, writing in the year 1542, gives a very gratifying account of the great change to the better which had taken place in England within the course of a few years, and though it would be incorrect to say that this change was entirely owing to these acts of Henry, yet each of them, and particularly the last, had an important agency in producing it. "I think," says Thomas Becon, "there is no realm throughout Christendom that hath so many urgent and necessary causes to give thanks to God as we Englishmen have at this present. What ignorance and blindness was in this realm concerning the true and Christian knowledge! How many [meaning how few] savoured Christ aright? . . . . How many believed Christ to be the alone Saviour? . . . . How many felt the efficacy and power of the true and Christian faith? But now Christ's death is believed to be a sufficient sacrifice for them that are sanctified. The most sacred Bible is freely permitted to be read of every man in the English tongue. Many savour Christ aright, and daily the number increaseth; thanks be to God! Christ is believed to be the alone Saviour. Christ is believed to be our sufficient Mediator and Advocate. The true and Christian faith, which worketh by charity, and is plenteous in good works, is now received to justify."[1]

[1] *Right Pathway unto Prayer*, published by Becon under the fictitious name of Theodore Basille, and reprinted by the Parker Society in his works.

But nothing was farther from Henry's intention than to promote ecclesiastical reformation. As his first great step proceeded from the ungovernableness of his temper, the other two were taken from principles not more reputable—to gratify an all-grasping rapacity, to strengthen his authority for maintaining the position he had taken up, or from mere wayward impulse. By the plunder of the monasteries he supplied himself with money; and by dividing a large proportion of it among the nobility and gentry, he secured, by the bonds of gratitude and self-interest, their loyalty, thus fortifying himself against the popish continental states which might be disposed to make war against him for throwing off his allegiance to the Pope. And his having sanctioned the dissemination of the Scriptures in the mother tongue, was very much owing to caprice, or to the influence acquired over his mind by Cranmer, who had greatly assisted him in obtaining his divorce from Katharine of Aragon. He besides granted this as a boon, which, as flowing from his royal prerogative, he might revoke whenever he pleased. He afterwards restricted the reading of the Scriptures in English to a few persons, and to particular occasions, enjoining that "no women, except noblewomen and gentlewomen, no artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men, husbandmen, or labourers, were to read them to themselves or to any other, privately or openly, on pain of one month's imprisonment."[1] And shortly before his death, he absolutely prohibited the possession of Tyndale's or Coverdale's version of the New Testament to all classes of persons.[2] Having, in consequence of his breach with the Pope, become the head of a party opposed to the papal jurisdiction, he was led by the influence of some of that party who were in his confidence, and who contemplated a much farther departure from Rome than he ever did, to contribute in various ways to the advancement of the Reformation. But he was no Reformer, in the proper sense of the term. To speak of him as such, is altogether to mistake his real character. He was simply a schismatic, a separatist. While he denounced the papal

[1] Act of Parl. in 1543.

[2] See *Life of Duchess of Suffolk.*

supremacy, and transferred it to himself, he still continued a Romanist in heart,[1] and maintained the popish articles of faith as ferociously as he had assailed the supremacy of the Pope. He was not less intolerant towards Protestants for denying the popish doctrines, especially the doctrine of transubstantiation, than towards Roman Catholics for maintaining, in opposition to his new claims, that the Pope was head of the universal church. Both were equally persecuted; they were confined in the same cells, and drawn upon the same hurdle to Smithfield. The former were burned as heretics, and the latter hanged as traitors. Pointing to Bilney, Bayfield, and others, whom Henry cast into prison, and committed to the flames, D'Aubigné justly exclaims, "He was not 'the father of the Reformation in England,' as some have so falsely asserted; he was its executioner." Yet it is never to be forgotten that various of this monarch's political measures had a powerful influence in promoting the Reformation. This is to be remembered, not as putting any honour upon him, but to the praise of the Governor among the nations, who, in his infinite wisdom and mercy, renders, by his controlling agency, the passions of men subservient to the accomplishment of his own great purposes.

During the reign of Edward VI., "the English Josiah," as the Reformers both in this country and on the continent delighted to call him, the Reformation was vigorously prosecuted under the direction of Archbishop Cranmer, aided with the advice of distin-

[1] Luther correctly formed this estimate of the ecclesiastical character of Henry, of whose opposition to the Pope he speaks with the utmost contempt, though Henry gave a deadlier blow to the papacy than the great German reformer is willing to allow. "Henry VIII., king of England," says he, "is now also an enemy to the Pope's person, but not to his essence and substance; he would only kill the body of the Pope, but suffer his soul, that is, his false doctrine, to live. The Pope can well endure such an enemy; he hopes, within the space of twenty years, to recover his rule and government again. But I fall upon the Pope's soul, his doctrine, with God's word, not regarding his body, that is, his wicked person and life. I not only pluck out his feathers, as the King of England and Prince George of Saxony do, but I set the knife to his throat, and cut his windpipe asunder. We put the goose on the spit; did we but pluck her, the feathers would soon grow again. Therefore is Satan so bitter an enemy unto us, because we cut the Pope's throat, as does also the King of Denmark, who aims at the essence of Popery."—Luther's *Table Talk*, p. 205.

guished foreign Protestants; and had the life of this youthful sovereign, who was only in the tenth year of his age at his accession, been spared, and the same ecclesiastical policy been persevered in, the reformed church, as established in England, would have approximated nearer than it now does to the reformed Church of Scotland, in its worship, discipline, and government, even as its articles of faith harmonize with the confession of that church. But his death, which took place on the 6th of July, 1553, when he was aged only fifteen years, eight months, and twenty days, after he had reigned not quite six years and a half, arrested the work of reformation, and was followed by the overthrow of that work, accompanied by a sanguinary persecution.

After a brief struggle, caused by the usurpation of Lady Jane Grey, his sister Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VIII. by Katharine of Aragon, ascended the throne.

Mary was undoubtedly a sincere believer in the Roman Catholic religion, in which she had been strictly educated by her mother; and the validity of her mother's marriage, and consequently her own legitimacy and right of succession to the English throne, being bound up with the Church of Rome, personal interests as well as filial piety, combined with inward conviction to attach her strongly to that church. That revolution in England which threw off the papal yoke, having also, by pronouncing and dissolving as illegal the marriage between her father and mother, labelled and pilloried her mother as her father's mistress, and herself as a bastard in the eyes of all Europe, the Reformation was contemplated by her as responsible for this affront—this stigma, this outrageous wrong, as she believed it to be—though the great body of the Reformers had nothing to do in the matter. The Pope, on the other hand, having stood forth as the defender of the lawfulness of her mother's marriage and of her own legitimacy, the papacy became endeared to her by the ties of gratitude, as it was venerated by her from blinded superstition. Thus her eager zeal as a Romanist, uniting with the rancorous hatred produced in a mind naturally sullen by a sense of wrong, made her the stern implacable enemy of the Reformation.

Upon the death of her brother, she was enthusiastically supported by the great body of the people, as being the rightful heir to the crown, in opposition to a noble lady of high character and accomplishments, and none were more zealous in her cause than the Protestants, who expected, as she promised them, to enjoy toleration in the profession of their faith; a promise which, in the true spirit of Popery, she perfidiously belied. No sooner was she securely seated on the throne, than she gave distinct indications of the persecuting policy she had purposed to adopt. Her appointment of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, to be chancellor and her chief adviser, and her restoration of Edmund Bonner to the bishopric of London, two of the most virulent persecutors of the reformers during the reign of her father, were signs of ominous import, and awakened painful apprehensions in the minds of many of the reformers. Their worst forebodings were too truly realized. She proceeded to repeal all the acts of her brother's reign in favour of the reformed religion, to re-establish Popery, to enact persecuting laws against heresy, to restore the Pope to that supremacy of which her father had deprived him; and during the last years of her reign a horrible scene, which must render her memory inglorious and hateful to all coming ages, opened, delighting the Roman Catholic priesthood, but inspiring the great mass of the people with terror—a scene of barbarous persecution against the Protestants, which, though shorter than many persecutions which have raged, has hardly been surpassed in ferocity since the bloody reign of Dioclesian. Burning was the common mode of putting heretics to death; and, according to one account, there were consumed in the flames five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants, one of which springing from its mother's womb as she was burning at the stake, was immediately snatched up, and inhumanly flung into the fire.[1] Besides these many perished in

[1] Speed's *History*, p. 852.—This account makes the number committed to the flames

prisons, by starvation, impurity of the atmosphere, and barbarous treatment, while hundreds fled the kingdom, to seek safety on foreign shores. The sanguinary character of this terrible reign is fully detailed in the pages of Foxe, whom, like many others, Mary forced into exile, and thus gave him leisure for writing his *Martyrology*—for telling posterity the tale of her cruelties; and harrowing as is the record, it is well that it is preserved to keep fresh in the memory of England the deeds of atrocity which give an infernal character to this reign, and exhibit a type of the true spirit of Romanism in all ages, whenever it has had the power. Little to be envied is the man who can read the history of the cold-blooded murders then perpetrated in England, without feeling his soul swell with indignation, and the thought simultaneously rising up in his mind, Woe to Britain when popish bigotry shall wield its destinies!

During somewhat more than a year and a half after Mary's accession to the throne, no Protestant blood was shed, though many Protestants were imprisoned. This comparative lenity was not, however, owing to her. Had her fervent wishes, which were the extermination of heretics, been gratified, she would, immediately on her accession, have enacted the terrible scenes of persecution which darkened the close of her reign. What prevented her from doing so was not her humanity, nor even present expediency, but the restraints imposed

under this persecution 277. Different writers vary slightly as to the number, some raising it to 300. These various relations, "sufficiently different to assure us that the relators were independent witnesses, who did not borrow from each other, are yet sufficiently near to attest the general accuracy of their statements."—*Sir James Mackintosh.* According to Lord Burleigh, an authority of great weight on this point, who gives the number in each county and under each year, with the places of execution, the number burnt in 1555, beginning in February, was seventy-one, in 1556 eighty-nine, in 1557 eighty-eight, and from February, 1558 to September, forty; amounting in all to 288, and giving an average of seventy-two for each year.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part ii., pp. 554-556. From this table it appears that the persecution proceeded at about an equal pace during the whole of that period. Towards the close, when it was conducted under Cardinal Pole, who has so often been commended, but undeservedly, for his moderation, there was no relaxation, and no symptoms of relaxation. Had Mary's life been prolonged, the persecution, there is every reason to believe, would have been carried on with the same unmitigated rigour.

upon her by her privy council, a strong party of which, on various grounds, particularly from hostility to Gardiner, the chancellor, opposed themselves to blood-thirsty measures. This is evident from the letters of Simon Renard, Charles the Fifth's ambassador at the English court, to his master; and it is to be observed, as giving the stronger weight to his testimony, that all his leanings were in favour of the Queen. From one of these letters, dated 28th April, 1554, we learn that Mary's cruelty required to be held in check, even by this callous Spaniard, who, in recommending moderation, acted from no higher motive than state policy. "Sire,—The Queen has more maturely weighed what I represented to her within these few days, (as contained in my last letters to your majesty), the troubles, namely, which might arise from the divisions in the council, of what great consequence it was to bring the Parliament to a close, and *to proceed gently* in the reformation of religion, *to avoid giving the people any ground for a new rebellion*, and to provide a strong force for the safe passage and entry of his highness into the kingdom."[1] In another letter, dated 1st May, 1554, he writes: "The Queen holds Paget in great suspicion for two reasons, which she gave me. The first, that when it was proposed in the Parliament to make it high treason for any one to take arms against his highness, Paget spoke more violently against it than any one; although, before this, to the Queen herself he had declared it quite right: the other, that when a bill was brought in *for the punishment of heretics*, he used all his influence with the lords to oppose it, and *to give no room for punishment of death*."[2] In a subsequent letter he says: "This morning *the Queen sent me word* by Basset, that the Parliament finished yesterday, much to the contentment of the estates, *the reputation of her majesty*, and the satisfaction of all, *that the ancient penalties against heretics were assented to by all the peers*."[3] Again, in a letter dated 13th May, 1554, he writes: "Sire,—Paget, stung with remorse, has lately presented himself to the Queen

[1] Tytler's *Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. ii., p. 378.
[2] *Ibid*, vol. ii., p. 335. [3] *Ibid*, vol. ii., p. 388.

after her mass, and *asked her mercy* for his intrigues in the late Parliament *against the act for the punishment of heretics*, and the statute which made it capital to take arms against his highness; . . . . protesting that for the future he would serve her majesty with faith and loyalty. After some remonstrances, the Queen pardoned him, *recommending him to behave better in time to come.*"[1]

Some Protestant writers have affirmed that, abstracted from her erroneous notions as to the power of sovereigns and of laws over

[1] *Ibid*, vol. ii., p. 392. Miss Strickland, the accomplished biographer of the *Queens of England*, attempts to whitewash Mary of the guilt of the Protestant blood shed during her reign, by throwing the blame upon her ministers. Speaking of her during her severe illness at the close of her life, she says: "So much ridicule has been cast on the mistake made in the Queen's situation [the mistake of her disease for pregnancy] that no person has asked the obvious question, Who governed England during the time which embraced the commencement of the Protestant persecution and her violent illness?" She again asks, "Who can believe that a woman in this state of mortal suffering was capable of governing a kingdom, or that she was accountable for anything done in it?"—Vol. v., p. 405. In answer to this it is to be observed, 1st, that Mary distinctly knew of these barbarities. "That they were transacted by her bishops without her knowledge," says Ballard, "will seem very strange to any one who duly considers the vicinity of St. James's to the place where very many of them were put in execution. It seems impossible that Smithfield should be kept in flames for so long a period, and Queen Mary know little or nothing of it."—*Learned Ladies*, p. 134. That she knew all about it appears from many passages in the despatches of Noailles, the French ambassador at the English court. 2dly, These barbarities were committed by her orders, or with her approbation. This also is manifest from the despatches of the same ambassador. Gardiner was her prime minister during the first stages of the persecution, and Cardinal Pole during the last three years of it. With these ministers she was in constant communication during their respective periods of power, and they enjoyed her entire confidence, because they fulfilled her wishes more perfectly than she believed any others would have done. Had she been averse to the shedding of blood, Pole, who aimed chiefly at pleasing her, would perhaps have acted with less severity. 3dly, The enacting of these cruelties was just the carrying out of the policy which, as the above extracts from Renard's correspondence abundantly show, she contemplated at the commencement of her reign. Let it further be observed, that in the directions which she gave in writing to her council, with respect to the reformation of the church, just before the persecution commenced, she expressly says: "Touching the punishment of heretics, we thinketh it *ought* to be *done* without rashness, not *leaving* in the meanwhile to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple. Especially in London, I would wish none *to be burnt* without some of the council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time."—Collier's *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 372.—Burnet, vol. iv., p. 402.

religious opinions, which made her a persecutor from principle, she was of a compassionate and humane disposition.[1] This estimate of her character is unhappily not borne out by facts, which prove her to have been morose, gloomy, vindictive, unrelenting. It may suffice to advert only to her cruel punishment of such as had been concerned in Wyatt's rebellion, caused by the unpopularity of her projected marriage with Philip of Spain. This rebellion not being Protestant, it could not be a misguided conscience, but the ruthlessness of her temper which impelled her to severity. So inexorable was she, that her councillors, as we learn from Renard's correspondence with Charles V., had some difficulty in prevailing with her to put a stop to these cruelties. Writing to Charles, 22d March, 1553–4, on this subject, Renard says: "On Sunday last the councillors (moved by the premeditated intrigues of the heretics) came to a resolution that, as it was a day of devotion, the Queen should be *entreated* to exercise clemency, and not to shed the noble blood of England; that already the justice inflicted on the rebels amounted to cruelty; that the people ought to be forgiven; and that she ought not to follow the opinion of bloody men, meaning the chancellor [Gardiner]. On the instant they determined to set off to find her majesty, and remonstrate on this subject; and they employed Paget, who is banded with them (as much I believe from hatred to the chancellor as for his religious opinions, which are suspected to be heretical), to carry the request to the Queen. From this neither Petre nor the comptroller [Sir Robert Rochester] dared to dissent. They found the Queen in her oratory after vespers; and not only took her by surprise, having given her no warning, but talked in such a way that, *against her wishes and good-will*, she pardoned six gentlemen, who had been sent to Kent for execution, and who had sided with Wyatt in his rebellion. The worst is that Paget told the Queen that they had already squandered

[1] "Princeps apud omnes ob mores sanctissimos, pietatem in pauperes, liberalitatem innobiles, atque ecclesiasticos nunquam satis laudata."—Camden in *Apparat.*, p. 23. "Mulier sane pia, clemens, moribusque catissimis, et utquequaque laudanda, si religionis errorem non spectes."—Godwin, p. 123.

the blood of the house of Suffolk, that he *might work on her fears, and induce her to be merciful* to the brothers of the duke, who had been condemned."[1] In another letter to the Emperor, written 22d April, 1554, speaking of the trial of the celebrated Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, he says: "It is six days since the trial of a rebel named Throckmorton. He was acquitted by twelve jurymen, who had been chosen and empannelled, and who were all heretics; there being no doubt that in spite of the verdict he deserved to be condemned. And when they carried him back to the Tower, after his acquittal, the people with great joy raised shouts, and threw their caps in the air; *which has so displeased the Queen, that she has been ill for three days, and has not yet got quite the better of it.*"[2]

The measures had recourse to by Mary in order to exterminate the reformers produced the very contrary result. The blameless and holy lives of the Protestant martyrs, their pious fortitude and forgiving spirit displayed in death, awakened public sympathy, excited to inquiry, and made new converts to the cause which it was intended to crush. Even had her life been prolonged, it may be doubted whether she would have succeeded in effecting the consummation she so devoutly wished. It was only after a persecution persevered in with unmitigated violence for several generations, that the government of the neighbouring kingdom of France succeeded in well nigh extinguishing the Reformation in that interesting country, and it would probably have been as difficult to extinguish the Reformation in England, in which its principles had been not less widely disseminated, and had fixed their roots not less deeply. But from her obstinacy, bigotry, and fanaticism, had her life been prolonged, additional years of misery must have rolled over England, to which a termination could only be hoped for at her death, unless perchance the natural indignation against her tyranny had become so general and overwhelming as to create a revolution.

[1] Tytler's *Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. ii., p. 343.
[2] *Ibid*, vol. ii., p. 373.

Mary's closing days, as the native fruit of her severe temper and misgovernment, were very unhappy. The neglect of her husband, whom she adored; the knowledge that by her cruelties she had become odious to her subjects, and that the Princess Elizabeth, the heir apparent to the throne, who was looked to as the destined restorer of the Protestant religion, was the favourite of the nation; her distrust of all her privy councillors, with the exception of Cardinal Pole, suspecting many of them of courting the friendship of Elizabeth; the dissatisfaction caused by her having forced the nation into a fruitless and expensive war with France in support of Spain; the capture of Calais by the French, a fortress of great importance, from the easy access it afforded into the kingdom of France; an exhausted and burdened treasury; these were fruitful sources of painful reflections, which preyed upon her mind and soured her temper, adding mental agony to bodily sufferings.[1] She died of a violent fever, at St. James's Palace, on the 17th of November, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age, having reigned only five years, four months, and eleven days, reckoning her accession to the throne from the death of Edward VI., 6th July, 1553. Of the reigns of all the sovereigns who have swayed the English sceptre, hers was the bloodiest; and of all of them since the Conquest, hers was the shortest, with the exception of that of the tyrant Richard III. She was buried on the north side of King Henry the Seventh's chapel, in St. Peter's church at Westminister. No monument was erected to her memory.[2]

[1] Noailles, in a despatch dated 22d May, 1556, says: "She knows herself to be neglected, and she finds little certainty in the promises of her husband." In another, dated 31st October, 1556, he says, "Most of her council are suspected. A large part is thought to be inclined to have some secret intelligence with Elizabeth. She has told Pole that there is now no one in her council in whom she has perfect confidence but himself."—Quoted in Turner's *Modern History of England*, vol. iii., pp. 490, 491. Caricature prints were circulated, representing a withered, wrinkled queen, with Spaniards at her breasts, to intimate that they had reduced her to skin and bone, with legends noting the rings, jewels, and money she had privately given to Philip. At this she was greatly incensed, and ascribed it to some of her own council, who only could have known of these secret presents.—Carte's *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 331.

[2] *Memoirs of Queen Mary's Days*, printed in 1681, and reprinted in the Harleian *Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 209, 210.

Whatever opinion may be formed of the religious and ecclesiastical character of Elizabeth, who succeeded to the English throne upon the death of her sister Mary, and however blameable she was in her treatment of the Puritans, her accession was a merciful providence to the Reformation in England and throughout Europe. In England, it put an end to a sanguinary persecution, and rescued the kingdom once more from the papal jurisdiction, under which, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts of the papacy, it has never since been brought. Had the abominable policy of Mary and her rulers securely established itself, pure Christianity and liberty of thought would have been strangled in our country; and, bound hand and foot, it would have been hopelessly surrendered to a two-fold tyranny, that of the priest and that of the civil ruler, which would have sunk it to the same despicable condition to which Spain and Portugal have sunk among the nations of the world. But that policy was defeated when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, and established Protestantism as the religion of the nation. Then England recommenced that career of improvement which had been arrested by Mary, and which has rendered her the freest, the most Christian, the most enlightened, the wealthiest, and the most powerful kingdom on the face of the earth—the stronghold of liberty and of Christianity—the patron of science, art, and literature—unequalled for industry and commercial enterprise; and, by the rapid multiplication of her race, planting in the most distant regions of the globe her colonies, which, carrying with them her faith, her liberty, and her literature, lay the foundations of mighty empires. The United States of America, in their pure Christianity, their freedom, their intelligence, their prosperity, their greatness, are the fruit of the Reformation on the soil of Britain, and exhibit to the world the power of its principles, in other words, the power of the religion of Jesus Christ, as unfolded in the New Testament, to make a nation great and its people happy.

Elizabeth's accession to the throne was also a merciful providence to the Reformation throughout Europe. She was regarded by the Reformers of other countries as their protectress, and in the critical

circumstances in which they were then placed, she seemed as if specially raised up by Providence for their support. She did not indeed afford them in their emergencies all the aid which she might and ought to have yielded; but what she did yield was yet of essential service. The Reformers in Scotland, in their struggles with the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, backed by the power of France—the Reformers in the Netherlands, in their struggles against Philip II. of Spain, who was so formidable from his vast resources and inveterate bigotry—the Reformers of France, in their struggles against a succession of their sovereigns and of their nobility, who to fiend-like cruelty added fiend-like perfidy—were all deeply indebted to her both for actual assistance and for the check which her well-known sympathy for them imposed upon their adversaries. During her reign, too, as during that of her brother Edward, England became an asylum to the persecuted Protestants of every country, and there were in it German, French, Italian, and Spanish Protestant congregations. Had she united with the courts of Spain and France in a league to exterminate everywhere the Reformers, then the three greatest powers at that time in Europe would have been embarked in this infernal enterprise, and what the disastrous results might have been it is difficult to say. Elizabeth's legitimacy, and consequently her right of succession to the throne, depended upon her supporting the Reformation, as we shall see in her Life; and here again it becomes us gratefully to acknowledge the goodness of Providence in making it the interest of this queen, who became so powerful, to support the Reformation at a period when two of the mightiest nations of the world had conpired to crush it.

One fact which particularly strikes the student of the history of the English Reformation, is the paramount agency of the Bible translated into the vernacular tongue in originating and promoting that great revolution. In other countries of Europe this agency was most important, but less, pre-eminently so, than in England.[1] At an early

[1] See this fully brought out in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, passim.

period of the struggle, Tyndale's English version of the Scriptures, which had been printed on the Continent, and secretly imported, was extensively circulated and read by his countrymen, notwithstanding the forcible measures adopted to suppress it, and it had been silently and unremittingly working for good even at times when the living voice of no preacher was lifted up against error and ignorance; so that at the period when Henry VIII. threw off the papal authority, though much darkness still prevailed, yet so many had abandoned the popish creed for the pure doctrines of the gospel, or had lost their veneration for the old religion, that the steps he took against the papacy met with no considerable opposition. During the reign of Edward, the printing presses teemed with numerous editions of various translations of the Scriptures, which were eagerly purchased and read by the people. This contributed immensely, above all other means, to the triumph and establishment of the Reformed principles in England, and it accounts for Queen Mary's inability to eradicate them even by a relentless persecution. The interested supporters of the papacy in England foresaw from the first that the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue would be the most formidable antagonist of the established faith. They therefore opposed to the utmost their importation and circulation. They got royal proclamations issued for their suppression, and they bought up or called in whole editions of them, which they committed to the flames—an old persecuting fashion, as old at least as the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, who commanded the books of the Jewish law to be torn in pieces and burnt (1 *Mac.* i). But no efforts were effectual in putting a stop to the circulation of the Scriptures in the mother tongue, even when the sovereign assumed an hostile attitude; and when he favoured this great cause, the number of copies printed and purchased excites our astonishment.

It is farther observable, that the state exercised a more immediate and effectual control over the movements of the Reformation in England, and left its impress more visibly on the ecclesiastical framework set up, than did any other government of Europe over the move-

ments of the Reformation within its dominions. This in part arose from no great and powerful character having appeared among the Reformers in England at that period, to awaken among the people, by stirring appeals from the pulpit and the press, such a wide-spread and burning zeal for the truth as would communicate its impulse even to the government. It was different in other countries. Zwingle in Switzerland, Luther in Germany, Calvin in Geneva, and Knox in Scotland, were all master-spirits, who by power of intellect, fervour of eloquence, and force of character, moulded their age, and left the impress of their minds on the religious institutions of their country. Each of these Reformers had more influence in settling the religious creed and ecclesiastical polity of their respective countries than had their civil rulers, none of whom arrogated the position of lawgiver in matters of faith, and who, if favourable to the Reformation, proceeded in a great measure upon the principle of sanctioning and ratifying, as the religion of the state, the system of doctrine and the form of polity drawn up from the Word of God by their respective Reformers. In England matters were conducted in a less accommodating spirit. Though some of the leading Reformers were consulted as to the faith to be established, and had influence upon the sovereign, especially in the reign of Edward VI., yet, in consequence of the assumption of ecclesiastical supremacy by Henry VIII. and his successors, which implied their right to choose a religion for their subjects, the sovereign, or the state, to the injury both of religion and of liberty, acted as ecclesiastical dictator, prescribed to ministers and people the doctrines to be believed, the rites and ceremonies to be observed, and the form of discipline by which the church was to be governed. In Scotland the Reformers would concede no such power to their sovereigns, maintaining, and rightly, as we believe, that Christ is the alone head of his church, and that no earthly sovereign can warrantably claim that title, or the power which it involves. [1] As to the English Parliament of that age, such

[1] The opposition made by the Scottish Presbyterians to James VI. and Charles I. arose from the assumption of supremacy over the church by these kings, and the true

was their subserviency to the crown, that they unscrupulously approved and sanctioned whatever ecclesiastical system pleased the reigning sovereign. This their unprincipled subserviency, is graphically described by Schiller, who, in his tragedy of *Mary Queen of Scots.* introduces that queen as making the following sarcastic reply to the argument of Lord Burleigh, that as her judges were the chief nobility of England, no tribunal could be more impartial :—

"Yes, truly; were these Lords as you describe them,
I must be mute; my cause beyond all hope
Were lost, if such a Court pronounce me guilty.
But, Sir, these names, which you are pleased to praise,
These very men, whose weight you think will crush me,
I see performing in the history
Of these dominions very different parts:
I see this high nobility of England,
This grave majestic Senate of the realm,
Like to an eastern monarch's vilest slaves,
Flatter my uncle Henry's sultan fancies:
I see this noble rev'rend House of Lords,
Venal alike with the corrupted Commons,
Make statutes and annul them, ratify
A marriage, and dissolve it, as the voice
Of power commands: to-day it disinherits,
And brands the royal daughters of the realm
With the vile name of bastards, and to-morrow
Crowns them as queens, and leads them to the throne.
I see them in four reigns, with pliant conscience,
Four times abjure their faith; renounce the Pope
With Henry, yet retain the old belief;
Reform themselves with Edward; hear the mass
Again with Mary; with Elizabeth,
Who governs now, reform themselves again."

But whatever may have been the disadvantages caused to the English Reformation by the undue interference and control of the

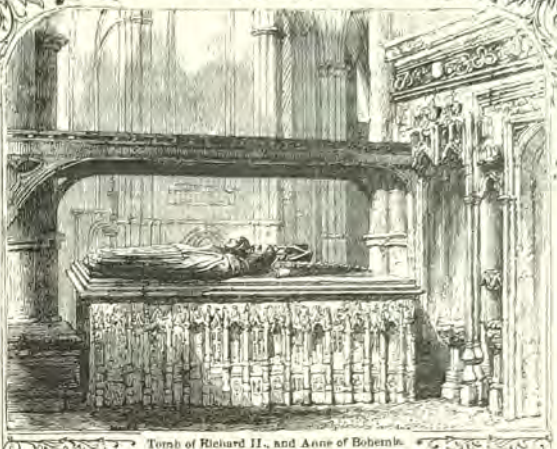
cause of the sufferings of the martyrs under the reigns of Charles II. and James VII., was their refusing to submit to the ecclesiastical supremacy claimed by the crown. The supremacy of Christ over his own church, to the exclusion of civil rulers, and all creatures, is a doctrine which has taken such hold upon the Scottish mind, that no sovereign, we are convinced, could, even at the present day, enforce a claim to ecclesiastical supremacy in Scotland, save at the expense of reviving the persecuting scenes of the seventeenth century.

sovereign, whose nod the Parliament of course obeyed, England has much reason to remember with the deepest gratitude the history of her Reformation. It is the most memorable portion of her annals. It abounds in varied and stirring scenes, and is replete with lessons of profound instruction. It discovers much of human wickedness, but at every step it also discloses the singular interposition of a beneficent Providence, and nowhere do we meet with brighter examples of Christian heroism than in the English martyrs. For no kingdom has the Reformation done more than for England; and after having reaped its blessings for three centuries, is she now, forgetting all the lessons of the past, to fall back into popish superstition and idolatry, from which, by a train of such marvellous events, she was emancipated—is she again to exhibit herself, as before the Reformation, squatting blindfolded, ragged, and squalid, amidst the accumulated offal of the middle ages? A party within the pale of her Established Church would gladly see this consummation; and the Vatican, which, since the time it lost England, has never ceased to look upon her with a covetous eye, has of late been strongly cherishing the hope of seeing her, within the course of a few years, abandon the Reformation, and return to the bosom of the infallible church. Into this belief the papal court has been led by the progress of Oxford Tractarianism in England, and by the representations of the Oxford converts to Popery. But we will not believe that a nation which has so long shone transcendent above all the nations of the earth for its love of liberty, civil and religious, will submit to be again enthralled by the papal supremacy, the most terrible despotism—not to speak of the character of the papacy as a system of religion—which the world ever saw. Notwithstanding the treachery of some in the Protestant Established Church of England, and notwithstanding the aggressive efforts hitherto made and still making by the papacy, we will not despair of the cause of Protestantism in this enlightened and free country. We will cherish the hope expressed by one of the noblest of its martyrs, even when the night of darkness and desolation was at its blackest: "Be of good courage, Mr. Ridley, and play the

man," said the venerable and intrepid Latimer, when both were bound to the stake, and about to be consumed to ashes, in the reign of the bloody Mary, "we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as, I trust, shall never be put out."




LET US HOLD FAST THE PROFESSION OF OUR FAITH



Tomb of Richard II., and Anne of Bohemia.

ANNE OF BOHEMIA,

QUEEN OF RICHARD II.

ANNE OF BOHEMIA, queen of Richard II., flourished in the age of Wickliffe. Her life, therefore, does not belong to the history of the Reformation proper, which only began early in the sixteenth century; but though the field embraced in these biographies is mainly confined to the period of the Reformation, yet, as this excellent queen lived at an era when great preparations were making for that memorable revolution, and as she was known to have been the friend and protector of Wickliffe and his followers, who were its harbingers in England, as well as in other countries, it may not

be out of place to collect together the brief notices of her religious and ecclesiastical history. "To Anne of Bohemia," says an elegant biographer, "is attributed the honour of being the *first* of that illustrious band of princesses who were the nursing-mothers of the Reformation. The Protestant Church inscribes her name at the commencement of the illustrious list, in which are seen those of Anne Boleyn, Katharine Parr, Lady Jane Grey, and Queen Elizabeth."[1]

ANNE OF BOHEMIA was the eldest daughter of the Emperor Charles IV., of the house of Luxembourg, by his fourth wife Elizabeth, daughter of Boleslaus, Duke of Pomerania, and grand-daughter to Cassimir the Great, King of Poland. She was sister to Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia and Emperor of Germany. She was born at Prague, in Bohemia, about the year 1367.

Anne is believed to have been imbued with piety, and to have had more enlightened views of Christian truth than was common in that age, before her coming to England. This may be accounted for from the state of religion in Bohemia at that period. There were especially three Reformers who flourished in Bohemia during the childhood and youth of this princess; and from their celebrity, as well as from the close connection of one of them with her own family, she must have been familiar with their names and their opinions. These Reformers were John Melice, Conrad Strickna, and Matthias Janovius. Melice was a native of Prague, and of noble descent. He was a popular preacher, and by his addresses made a powerful impression on the multitudes who flocked to hear him. He vindicated the communion in both kinds, and loudly complained of the spiritual death and desolation, the glaring abuses and corruptions, which everywhere prevailed. He died in 1374. Strickna, a man of acknowledged erudition and eloquence, had been his coadjutor, but died five years before him. Janovius, also a native of Prague, maintained the cause of Divine truth with still greater effect. He was confessor to Charles IV., Anne's father. In the ardour of their zeal, he and some other learned

[1] Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. ii., p. 371.

men, entreated Charles to call a general council for the reformation of the church; and, though the king pleaded that it belonged to the Pope and not to him to call a general council, he laid the proposition before his holiness, and recommended it as a step much to be desired. But his holiness, who thought differently, alarmed and exasperated, demanded the punishment of these daring heretics. In superstitious veneration for the Papal authority, Charles banished Janovius from the kingdom. Communion in both kinds was then abolished. Recusants could celebrate the sacrament of the supper after their accustomed manner only in private houses, in woods and caves, at the hazard of their lives. They were plundered, beaten, drowned in rivers, and according to a proclamation issued 18th September, 1376, were committed to the flames. Janovius subsequently returned to Bohemia, where, however, he now lived in privacy. He died 30th November, 1394, predicting, with his dying breath, the coming redemption of the church. "The rage of the enemies of truth," said he, "has now prevailed against us, but this shall not always last; for an obscure people shall arise, without sword or power, over whom they shall not be able to prevail." [1]

Thus, before Anne came to this country, the Popish doctrines had been contested in Bohemia, and successful efforts made to enlighten the piety of her countrymen. This state of matters had a very favourable influence upon her mind. She became a thoughtful inquirer; and though, from living in an age when only some rays of light had dawned upon the human mind, her views of Divine truth were in many respects obscure and imperfect, they were yet more enlightened than was common among persons of her rank, or indeed, among persons of any condition of life in that age of darkness. As in primitive times there were saints in Cæsar's household, so in her father's palace there were individuals friendly to the truth, from whom she derived important advantages.

Richard II., to whom Anne was afterwards united in marriage,

[1] Vaughan's *Life of Wickliffe*, vol. ii., pp. 158-163.

was the son of Edward, Prince of Wales, who was usually styled the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour, by his wife Joan, [1] daughter and heir of his uncle Edmund, Earl of Kent. He was born at Bourdeaux in 1367. He lost his father 8th June, 1376; and on the death of his grandfather Edward III., in June the following year, he succeeded to the throne, being then a boy of ten years of age.

The fame of Anne having reached England, Richard, when only about thirteen years of age, began to think of her as his future partner on the throne, and, in the year 1380, she was sought for him by the council of regency which conducted the government during his minority. But it was not till some time after, when, having reached her fifteenth year, she was judged capable of choosing for herself, that the marriage was determined upon. She is said to have been induced to become the consort of Richard, not only from the prospect of being elevated to the English throne, but from the reports which had reached Bohemia of a revival of religion in England under John Wickliffe, whose name and some of whose writings were known in that country. All arrangements for her marriage with Richard having been made, she was nobly escorted from Prague on her way to England. On her arrival at Calais, the news having reached the Parliament, which was then sitting, it was prorogued till after Christmas, and divers of the nobility were sent to meet her and attend her in crossing over to Dover. Having safely landed at Dover, she rested there for two days, and then made a grand entry into London, to the great delight of the people, who were proud that their sovereign was to obtain for his wife "Cæsar's sister."[2]

It is worthy of notice, that the natives of her own country chosen to accompany her to England on the occasion of her marriage, and to occupy situations in her household establishment, had adopted the Reformed opinions. If her own wishes were consulted in this choice this would argue that she was of corresponding sentiments.

[1] She had been previously married to Sir Thomas Holland, by whom she had several children.

[2] Stowe's *Annals, or General Chronicle of England,* edit. London, 1615, p. 294.

Immediately upon her arrival, and before the marriage had taken place, she gave an interesting proof of her considerate, humane, and amiable disposition. In that year an insurrection had broken out in England. The tyranny and oppression of the haughty nobility and gentry had excited a spirit of strong dissatisfaction among the people, and this spirit was inflamed by a mob orator, John Ball, a priest, who perambulated the country promulgating the equality of mankind, as being sprung from the same original stock, proclaiming that there were no gentry *jure divino*, and denouncing all the distinctions of rank in a strain very like that of the levellers in modern times. In an address to many thousands of the people assembled at Blackheath, he began with these lines—

> "When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?"

making them the text for an insurrectionary declamation, which roused the people to a high pitch of resentment against the government.[1] It was then that this couplet became as a household word among the masses of the people. The train being thus laid for an outbreak, the rigour with which the unpopular tax of three groats per head was levied by the tax-gatherers, to whom it had been farmed out, caused the explosion. The people took up arms, and in June they mustered 100,000 men. But by the prudent and prompt management of Richard, who displayed on this occasion an address and presence of mind which raised expectation as to his capacity, not afterwards realized, the insurrection was quelled. Tranquillity therefore prevailed when the queen landed in England; yet many were trembling for their lives. The penalties of rebellion and treason hung over the heads of thousands. This was a painful thought to the young princess. The condition of the people excited her commiseration; she felt that they had well-founded causes of complaint, and that their sufferings had driven them to insurrection. She pleaded with Richard and his counsellors that a general pardon

[1] Stowe's *Annals, or General Chronicle of England*, edit. London, 1615, p. 294.

should be extended to the insurgents and other culprits throughout the kingdom. Her entreaties, as might be expected from the circumstances, were not made in vain. A proclamation was issued, granting a general pardon to culprits of all sorts—with, however, a considerable number of exceptions at first — upon their making application either personally or by writing, and paying the fee of the great seal. The king's letters to the sheriffs throughout England, dated 13th December, 1381, commanding them to cause the pardon to be proclaimed in the towns and places under their jurisdiction, begin with stating that his majesty had been moved to this exercise of royal clemency, "from the fear of God, and at the special request of the most serene lady, the Lady Anne, about to become, by the will of God, our consort."[1]

Anne was married to Richard with much pomp and ceremony on the 14th of January, 1382, in the Chapel-Royal of Westminster Palace. Among other demonstrations of joy on the occasion were the representation of plays, and the exhibition of magnificent pageants, with which it was customary at that time to give *éclat* to the marriage of princes. From the favourable reports Richard had heard of the accomplishments and good qualities of this princess, he thought himself so fortunate in gaining her for his bride, that instead of receiving a dowry with her, he gladly gave her brother the Emperor Wenceslaus ten thousand merks for the alliance, besides defraying all the expenses connected with her journey to England. The daughter of Barnabe, Duke of Milan, had been offered to him with a large sum of gold. But he had fixed his heart upon Anne of Bohemia, and was bent upon having her at any price.[2]

The happy pair were greatly charmed with each other. Richard, though his character, when afterwards more fully developed, betrayed serious defects, was the goodliest personage of all the kings who had been since the Conquest, tall of stature, of a handsome person, of a

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. iii., pars iii. et iv., p. 131.
[2] Stowe's *Annals of England*, p. 294.

fair and amiable countenance; and being of warm affections, he was fitted in many respects for domestic happiness. Anne's "beauty," says Miss Strickland, "must have been limited to stature and complexion, for the features of her statue are homely and undignified. A narrow high-pointed forehead, a long upper lip, cheeks whose fulness increased towards the lower part of the face, can scarcely entitle her to claim a reputation for beauty." But in the eyes of Richard, no woman was so lovely as his own blooming Bohemian bride. "The head-dress she wore must have neutralized the defects of her face in some degree, by giving an appearance of breadth to her narrow forehead."[1]



Court Costumes, time of Richard II.

At this period there were two rival popes. Gregory XI. having died in 1378, the cardinals assembled at Rome to elect a successor.

[1] "In this queen's days noble women used high attire on their heads, piked horns [*i. e.* horned caps], with long trained gowns, and rode on side-saddles, after the example of the queen, who first brought that fashion into this land, for before women were used to ride astride, like men."—Stowe's *Annals*, p. 295. But "the side-saddle of Anne of

and three-fourths of them being Frenchmen, they intended to fill up the vacancy by one of their own countrymen. The Roman populace suspecting their intention, and fearing that if a foreigner were chosen, he would, like Gregory, reside at Avignon instead of Rome, which they were determined should be the seat of the Roman Pontiff, assembled tumultuously around the place of meeting, and pouring forth terrible menaces if an Italian was not chosen, compelled the cardinals, who were in terror for their lives, to give their suffrages for a Neapolitan, who on his election assumed the name of Urban VI. A number of the leading cardinals, however, dissatisfied with what had been done, fled from Rome to Fondi, a city of Naples, and maintaining, that as the election of Urban was the result of intimidation, it was invalid, chose a French prelate, Robert, son of the Count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. France and her allies, including Scotland, Spain, Sicily, and Cyprus, declared for Clement; England and the rest of Europe for Urban. The former fixed his residence at Avignon, the latter at Rome. The distractions caused by these conflicting competitors for the Papal tiara, diverted the attention of the clergy to a great extent from Wickliffe, and contributed to preserve him from their vengeance. From the violence of the contending popes, who launched out dire anathemas, the one against the other, he exultingly anticipated much advantage to his efforts as a reformer. "Christ," said he, "has begun already to help us graciously, in that he hath clove the head of Antichrist, and made the two parts fight against each other."[1]

After Anne's marriage with Richard and her coronation, letters were sent by his majesty to Urban, with intelligence of these auspici-

Bohemia was different from those used at present, which were invented, or first adopted, by Catharine de Medicis, Queen of France. It was like a bench with a hanging step, where both feet were placed. This mode of riding required a footman or squire at the bridle-rein of a lady's palfrey, and was chiefly used in processions."—Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. ii., p. 369. In this queen's days was also introduced the use of piked shoes, that is, shoes turning up several inches at the toes, and fastened to the knees with chains of silver and gold.—Stowe, *ut supra.*

[1] Vaughan's *Life of Wickliffe*, vol. ii., pp. 1-5.

ous events. His holiness sent the following congratulatory letter to Richard in reply:—"Urban, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our dearest, &c., Health and apostolical benediction. The letters of your serene highness, conveying the tidings of the coronation, and of the solemnization of the marriage contracted between you and our dearest daughter in Christ, the illustrious Anne, Queen of England, we have favourably and very gladly received, and are filled with great joy at the news, confidently hoping that He who confers favours and bestows rewards, and by whose will you and the same queen, in the flower of most grateful youth, have been united in the marriage covenant, will from the same marriage grant you a noble progeny, and after a long life, accompanied with the enjoyment of peace, and passing smoothly down into a good old age, will bestow upon both of you the kingdom of everlasting blessedness. Of our good intention towards you and the queen, dearly beloved son, we have fully instructed Walter Skirlawe, deacon of St. Martin's church, London, and the nobleman, Nicholas Dagworth, your ambassadors, the bearers of the present letters, in whom, as to what communications we have to make to your highness, we wish you to place full confidence.—Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, the 11th of the kalends of May, in the fifth year of our pontificate."—Addressed "To our Dearest Son in Christ, the Illustrious Richard, King of England."[1]

Queen Anne is styled by the Pope "our dearest daughter in Christ," and she never formally separated from the Romish Church. There was indeed, in her days, no formal separation in England from Antichrist. Matters were not yet ripe for such a step. But there was a distinct renunciation of a great part of what was erroneous, superstitious, and idolatrous in the Popish creed, and a reverting to the doctrines and precepts of Christianity as primitively taught by Christ and his apostles. And Anne, whatever may have been the imperfection of her acquaintance with Divine truth, exemplified, in her veneration for the Sacred Writings, that spirit in which the

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. iii., pars iii., p. 153.

Reformation originated. That book, which Rome hated with a deadly hatred, and from which the characters and sentiments of the confessors and martyrs were formed, was the subject of her diligent study. This is saying much for her at a period when the great fountain of Divine truth was sealed up from mankind, and salvation was sought in forms and ceremonies, in superstitious observances and mortifications, instead of through faith in the perfect righteousness of the only and all-sufficient Saviour as revealed in the Word. Religious advantages at that time were scanty compared with what we now enjoy. Few were in possession of the entire Scriptures. A copy of one or more of the gospels, or of one or more of the epistles, was accounted an invaluable treasure. This queen had in her possession the gospels in three languages, Bohemian, English, and Latin. This English version, however, seems not to have been the English spoken after the conquest of William of Normandy, but the Anglo-Saxonic; for John Huss thus quotes the words of Wickliffe, "The noble Queen of England has the gospels written in three languages, the Bohemian, Teutonic, and Latin."[1] To the reading of the gospels and commentaries written upon them by learned men, she devoted a portion of every day, exploring them like one who had discovered a mine of gold, yea, accounting them infinitely more precious than all the mines of gold within the bowels of the earth, and deriving from them that wisdom whose price is above rubies.

That Anne was devoted to the study of the Divine Word was well known to Romanists in high places in church and state. In her conversation with Arundel, then Archbishop of York, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, she spoke freely and in high terms of this heavenly treasure, and told him of the delight she took in reading its sacred pages. She also showed him her translations of the gospels, and her commentaries upon them.[2] Arundel, like all thorough Romanists, hated the Bible as the most formidable enemy of the Romish Church, and dreaded its dissemination among the people in

[1] Lewis's *English Biblical Translations*, p. 6.
[2] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Townsend's edition, vol. iii., p. 202.

the vernacular tongue. He was alarmed even at the circulation of English copies of a single gospel, or of a single epistle; for he well knew that these, if circulated, would be like inserting the thin end of a wedge, which, driven home, would cleave the church in pieces. But the wily prelate, so far from objecting to her sentiments and practice, eulogized her piety and diligence. A humbler individual, if known to be guilty of reading the Scriptures, would have been at once suspected of Lollardism, and pounced upon as an enemy of the church. But her exalted station protected her. To attack or disturb her for her pious readings would have been dangerous; and the singular gentleness and benevolence of her nature, which gained upon all hearts, had their own influence in extorting reluctant praise from the prelate.

Wickliffe, who lived only about three years after her arrival in this country, was not ignorant of her course of Scripture reading. To him she seemed like Mary, the sister of Lazarus, who "sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word," captivated by its attractions, and subdued by its power. He pleaded her example in reading an English version of the gospels in defence of his English translation of the Sacred Volume, and inquired "whether to hereticate her on account of this practice would not be Luciferian folly?"[1]

The diligence of this queen in reading the gospels was not without its fruits. She imbibed the spirit of Jesus, whose life and character she studied—a spirit of benevolence and charity. Misery and distress, wherever she found them, excited her commiseration. And, though it cannot be said that to comfort and relieve the poor and the afflicted, the widow and the orphan, she sacrificed the embellishments of her palace, the luxury of her table, the splendour of her equipage, or the decorations of her person, yet, like an almoner of Divine Providence, she scattered around her princely benefactions for the relief of the suffering and the sorrowful. Six thousand persons were daily entertained at the royal table, the most of whom were "*the indigent poor*."

[1] Vaughan's *Life of Wickliffe*, vol. ii., p. 158.

This statement is made by Walsingham as part of a severe censure which he pronounces on the prodigality of Richard in the expenditure of his household establishment, at a time when famine and its attendant pestilence were raging in England. But such uncommon generosity towards the poor, which was mainly owing to the beneficence of the queen, takes off the edge from this writer's censure, and excites our admiration, not our blame, of the generous heart of her who devised such liberal things. She would remember how Jesus, whose inspired life she took so much pleasure in reading, had compassion on the multitude, numbering four thousand persons, because they had nothing to eat, and wrought a miracle that they might eat and be filled. By this charity and kindness she won the affections of the people, by whom, during life as well as after her death, she was familiarly known as "the good Queen Anne."

Anne, having imbibed the opinions of Wickliffe, extended her protection to the Reformer to the close of his life. She was a main instrument in saving him from the vengeance levelled against him by his incensed enemy, Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was thirsting for his blood. The law was indeed not yet in existence by which he could have been condemned to perish at the stake; but still ways and means might have been found for compassing his destruction. In interposing in his behalf, Anne, who was distinguished for the mildness of her disposition, pleaded with Richard in her own delicate, quiet, and gentle way. Hers was the still small voice. She would select some striking passages from the gospels, which recommended kindness to the ministers and people of Christ, and condemned the persecution of them, as one of the works of darkness, as an effect of the malice of the wicked world against Christ himself; and she would read them to Richard in her own touching and delightful manner. They would be such as these:— "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little

ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily, I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward." "Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them ye shall scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar." "Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea."[1] In the whole bearing and deportment of Anne there was an unaffected yet dignified benignity, a winning grace and suavity, the power of which none could resist; and on the mind of Richard, who adored her, and to whom everything she said or did had an indescribable charm, her persuasions, backed by an appeal to her favourite gospels, though, intrinsically considered, they might make little impression on his mind, yet, as coming from her, had a fascinating power, and they swayed him to the side of moderation.

Anne found her hands strengthened in this good work by Joan, her mother-in-law, who was a great admirer of Wickliffe, and a convert to his doctrines. Joan, who was more impassioned and resolute than her daughter-in-law, interfered in his behalf with all the ardour of a sincere and generous admiration, and with a courage not easily to be overawed and defeated. When he appeared before the ecclesiastical Synod at Lambeth, early in the year 1378,[2] four years before Anne came to England, Joan's zeal combined with that of the people in thwarting the plans of the ecclesiastics to punish him, and to suppress the tenets he had been teaching. His doctrines had by this time gained upon the convictions and hearts

[1] Matt. x. 41, 42, and xxiii. 34, 35. Mark ix. 42.

[2] Miss Strickland, in her *Queens of England*, vol. ii., p. 372, incorrectly says 1382, a mistake which affects the accuracy of some of her statements respecting Anne.

of the people, and, to protect him from danger, many of them surrounded the church of St. Paul's, the place of meeting, forced their way into the midst of the assembled conclave, and proclaimed their determination to stand between him and harm. Whilst this uproar filled the judges with alarm for their personal safety, Sir Lewis Clifford to their increased dismay, entered the court, and in the name of the queen-mother, boldly forbade their proceeding to pronounce a condemnatory sentence upon the doctrines and conduct of the great Reformer. Thus was the courage of the judges "shaken as a reed with the wind," as Walsingham observes, and they were afraid to proceed.[1] The mandate of Joan, at the time when it was given, was a proof of no ordinary fortitude and energy. It was setting herself in opposition to the Pope, who had just sent letters to the King of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the University of Oxford, requiring the immediate suppression of Wickliffe's opinions, and the arrest of his person, and of all who were tainted with his heresies. The Pope said, "This arch heretic has gone to such a pitch of detestable folly, that he fears not to teach and publicly preach, or rather to vomit out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, erroneous and false propositions and conclusions, savouring of heretical pravity. We therefore strictly charge and command you, the King of England, and you the Archbishop of Canterbury, and you the Bishop of London, and you the University of Oxford, to cause the said John Wickliffe, and all who may be infected with these errors, if they obstinately persist in them, to be apprehended and cast into prison." In the face of this high authority, thus repeatedly and emphatically expressed, the queen-mother said, "No, John Wickliffe is not the detestable heretic which the Pope represents him to be, and if I can prevent it, he shall not be arrested and imprisoned." And what were the doctrines with which the man over whom she thus threw the shield of her protection stood charged? Some of them were these—that the holy

[1] Vaughan's *Life of Wickliffe*, vol. i., p. 360.

eucharist, after consecration, is not the very body of Christ, but is so only figuratively; that the Church of Rome is no more the head of all other churches, than any other church is, and that Peter had no more power given him by Christ, than any other apostle had; that the Pope of Rome has no more the keys of the church, than any other individual within the order of the priesthood has; that lords temporal may lawfully and meritoriously deprive churchmen offending habitually of their temporalities; that the gospel is of itself a rule sufficient to govern the life of every Christian, without any other rule; and that neither the Pope, nor any other prelate of the church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors.[1] Such were some of Wickliffe's doctrines, which the Pope in his consistory, assisted by the advice of twenty-three cardinals, condemned as heretical, and for which he commanded that Wickliffe should be arrested and consigned to a dungeon, but in maintaining and propagating which the Reformer was defended and encouraged by the queen-mother.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, one of Richard's uncles, "the political father of the Lollards," as he has been styled, and other persons of rank, co-operated with Anne and Joan in protecting Wickliffe. The circumstances of the times rendered their protection the more effectual. The antagonistic popes, from their mutual contests, had no time to look after heretics; and the factions by which England was distracted, so engrossed the attention of the parties, that the clergy could not obtain the support they desired in proceeding against the rector of Lutterworth. Whether these protectors would or would not have been able, had Providence spared him for a longer period, to have preserved his liberty and life, it is impossible to determine. We know that in his closing years he was living in the anticipation of martyrdom. "To live," says he, "and to be silent is, with me, impossible; the guilt of such treason against the Lord of heaven is more to be dreaded than many deaths. Let

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii., pp. 3-6.

the blow therefore fall. Enough I know of the men whom I oppose, of the times on which I am thrown, and of the mysterious providence which relates to our sinful race, to expect that the stroke will ere long descend. But my purpose is unalterable. I wait its coming!"[1] The malice of his enemies was implacable, and he might fear that Richard, as he needed the support of the clergy, might by their influence be swayed, notwithstanding the intercessions of his mother and his queen, to kindle against him the fire of persecution. He was not, however, called upon to undergo the fiery trial. While administering the bread of the eucharist in the chancel of his church of Lutterworth, on the 29th of December, 1384, he was suddenly seized with paralysis, which threw him on the pave-



Lutterworth Church, Leicestershire.

ment, and on the 31st he peacefully resigned his pious spirit to God. He was interred in the chancel. His church is still standing.

Had Anne lived some years longer, there is reason to believe

[1] Vaughan's *Life of Wickliffe*, vol. ii., p. 257.

that by her influence much of the severe persecution which befell the Lollards would have been prevented. Richard was stayed from actual violence so long as she lived; and, even after her death, though he lent himself by the solicitations of the clergy to persecute in various forms, none of the Lollards were put to death during his reign.

Anne continued to retain the affections of Richard undiminished to the last, and he never dishonoured her by giving his heart to a rival. Yet from the time of her coming to England to her death, she had, from the confusion of the times, her own distresses, caused partly by the folly of Richard in the government of the kingdom, and partly by the cabals formed by his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester against him. That nobleman, who was ambitious of engrossing the whole authority of the state, finding that the sovereign, as he grew older, was not to be retained in that subjection in which he had been hitherto held by his uncles, and that he yielded himself to the ascendency of strangers, rather than to his advice, formed a strong party against him, and having both the House of Commons and the House of Peers at his devotion, wrested the government from his hands, and transferred it to a commission composed entirely of his own faction. Richard's great weaknesses lay in mistaking flatterers for friends; in associating with unworthy favourites, by whom he suffered himself to be almost wholly governed; in an extreme irritability of temper over which he had no control; and in an unbounded passion for show and extravagance, which injured his popularity by increasing the public burdens. These defects gave great advantage to Gloucester, and, during the time of his triumph, several of Richard's counsellors and favourites were put to death, among whom was Sir Simon Burley, a gentleman who, for his personal merits, had been appointed governor to Richard by Richard's father and grandfather, and by whom the prince, from his tender infancy, had up to the present time been attended and served with devoted attachment.[1] These executions took place in the year 1388.

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. iii., pars iii., pp. 135--144.

During these turbulent and bloody scenes, when justice and humanity were alike disregarded, Anne displayed her usual tenderness of heart. Sir Simon Burley had been sent by Richard to Germany and Bohemia, to bring her over to England at the time of her marriage. From the date of her first acquaintance with this accomplished man, she had formed a very high opinion of his talents and engaging manners, and he ever afterwards retained her good graces. He equally retained the esteem and friendship of the king, who felt something like filial respect towards the guide of his youth, and conferred upon him various marks of royal favour.[1] Both she and Richard were much interested in his safety, and interposed, but in vain, to save his life. "The queen," says Hume, "remained three hours on her knees before the Duke of Gloucester, pleading for that gentleman's life; but though she was become extremely popular by her amiable qualities, which had acquired her the appellation of 'the good Queen Anne,' her petition was sternly rejected by the inexorable tyrant."[2]

Queen Anne died, June 7, 1394, at Shene in Surrey, at the early age of twenty-seven, to the inexpressible grief of her husband, who in her lost a wise counsellor, and his best friend. She had lived with him upwards of twelve years. Froissart thus notices her death:—"At this period the Lady Anne, Queen of England, fell sick,

[1] Walsingham, who is followed by Stowe, stigmatizes Burley as intolerably proud, an oppressor of the poor, a hater of the church, and profligate (*Historia*, p. 366); but this Popish writer is too partial and malicious to be implicitly followed in his estimate of the characters he describes. Froissart, who personally knew Burley, says, "In my youth I had found him a gentle knight, and, according to my understanding, of great good sense."—(See his *Chronicle of England*, &c., translated by Thomas Johnes, vol. iii., p. 475). "And the choice made of this gentleman," says Hume, "by Edward III. and the Black Prince, for the education of Richard, makes the character given him by Froissart much more probable." The grounds of his condemnation have been preserved, but the evidence adduced in support of the charges and his own vindication are lost. We are therefore without the means of being able to pronounce a correct judgment in the case. The accusations of his enemies, who were bent on his destruction, are, it is obvious, not to be implicitly trusted.

[2] *History of England*, chap. xvii.

to the great distress of the king and her household. Her disorder increased so rapidly that she departed this life on the feast of Whitsuntide, in the year of grace 1394. The king and all who loved her were greatly afflicted at her death. He was inconsolable for her loss, as they mutually loved each other, having been married young. This queen left no issue, for she had never born children."[1]

She was interred with great state in St. Edward's chapel, Westminster Abbey, on the 3d of August following, all the nobility of England, male and female, joining in the funeral procession, as we learn from the letters of invitation to her funeral in name of the king.[2] "Her obsequies," says Froissart, "were performed at leisure, for the king would have them magnificently done. Abundance of wax was sent for from Flanders to make flambeaux and torches, and the illumination was so great on the day of ceremony, that nothing was ever seen like it before; not at the burial of the good Queen Philippa, nor of any other. The king would have it so, because she was daughter to the King of Bohemia, Emperor of Rome and Germany."[3]

Her funeral oration was delivered by Arundel, Archbishop of York. In this oration, the prelate pronounced a high encomium upon her many virtues, and especially upon her piety, as shown in constantly studying the Word of God. "Her four English translations of the gospels," said he, "she sent to me for my inspection, and I found them to be true and faithful. I was much surprised on finding that, though a foreigner, she daily studied these English versions. It appears to me a marvellous instance of godliness, that so illustrious a princess condescended devoutly to study these excellent works, and several commentators written upon them.

[1] Froissart's *Chronicle of England, &c.*, vol. iv., p. 405.

[2] Two of these letters, written in French, are preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera* (tom. iii., pars iv., p. 98), the one dated 10th June, 1394, and the other, the 14th of the same month.

[3] Froissart's *Chronicle, &c.*, vol. iv., p. 405.

A lady of such extraordinary piety it was never my happiness to know." And as a rebuke to the clergy for their negligence and ignorance, he added, "In the study of the Scriptures, and in the reading of godly books, she was more diligent than even the prelates themselves, whose office and duty it is to make themselves acquainted with these heavenly treasures."[1]

From the sentiments thus expressed, it might be concluded, did we not know more of the man, that Arundel was favourable to the Lollards, and that he would stand up and fight nobly for the dissemination of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. But he was acting a part. In eulogizing Anne for reading the Scriptures and lamenting her loss, he was speaking "with feigned words," his object being simply to please Richard, who was so devotedly attached to the deceased queen; and in twitting the prelates with their ignorance of the Scriptures compared with the queen, he would gratify his own personal feeling against some of his clerical brethren. So far from being favourable to the Wickliffites, and to the circulation of the Scriptures among the people, he bent all his endeavours, after the death of Anne, to the extirpation of the one and the suppression of the other. He branded the Lollards as the tail of the black horse described in the Apocalypse (chap. vi. 5), and stigmatized heresy as more enormous than treason, since it was a revolt from the King of kings. He interdicted the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, and stirred up the king to harass, throughout the whole kingdom, whoever should dare to read and study in their native language the revelation of God's will, which was intended for all. Two years after the death of the queen he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and this promotion increased both his ecclesiastical and political power. He subsequently became a traitor to Richard, and took an active part in the deposition of that monarch in 1399, as well as supported the usurpation of Henry IV., son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Wickliffe's patron. To gratify

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii, p. 202.

Arundel, who had placed the crown upon his brow, and the rest of the clergy, who had aided him in acquiring his usurped authority, and who might still powerfully aid him in supporting it, Henry passed a statute authorizing the burning of heretics, the first penal enactment in England against heresy—an enactment under which many were subsequently consigned to the flames, particularly in the reigns of Henry VIII. and his daughter, the bloody Mary. By this statute it was ordained that none should preach, or teach in schools, or write in opposition to the Catholic faith; that none should favour such as were guilty of doing so; that within forty days all heretical books should be delivered up; and that if any person, who was convicted of offending in these particulars, should refuse to abjure, or who, after having once abjured, should be found to have relapsed, should "be burned in an eminent place before the people, to the intent that this kind of punishment may strike a terror on the minds of others."[1]

After the death of Anne, many members of her household having returned to Bohemia, carried with them the opinions and the writings of the English Reformer, and were the means of scattering the seeds of the Reformed faith among their countrymen. By the writings of Wickliffe, conveyed into Bohemia by her servants or train, and by some Bohemian students attending the university of Oxford, an impulse was there given to the movement for the reformation of the doctrine and discipline of the church. It was from this source that John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the honoured successors of Melice, Strickna, and Janovius, imbibed the opinions which they disseminated, and for which they suffered.[2] Thus the coming of Anne to England seems to have been an important link in the chain by which Divine Providence connected England and Bohemia at that period in the struggle for church reform—by which it paved the way for rendering the labours of Wickliffe instrumental in propagating Divine truth in the latter country.

[1] See this statute in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii., p. 239.
[2] Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, vol. i., p. 58.

In the agony of his grief for Anne, Richard caused the buildings of the palace where she died to be thrown down.[1] Some, from a melancholy pleasure in nursing their sorrow, love to dwell in the abode where death has smitten down the dear objects of their affection; but to Richard it seemed that to do this would awaken in his mind associations and remembrances too painful and keen to be endured. In Rymer's *Fœdera* there is a contract betwixt Richard and two architects, citizens of London, for the erection of a tomb of fine marble in Westminster for himself and Anne, dated 1st April, 1395. In the same work there is another contract betwixt him and two copper-smiths, citizens of London, for statues and other furniture for the tomb, dated 24th April, same year. Both these contracts are written in French.[2] The tomb was to be ornamented with numerous effigies, among which were to be two of gilded bronze, the one representing Richard himself, and the other Queen Anne, both reposing and crowned, having their right hands clasped in each other, while they held sceptres in their left hands. The idea of giving the two effigies this peculiar position, strongly expressed the tenderness of Richard's affection for Anne. A ball with a cross was to be placed between the effigies. The feet of the king were to rest on two lions, those of the queen on an eagle and leopard; all of which animals are now lost. A table of the like metal gilded, on which the images should be laid, was also to be made, and it was to be ornamented with fretwork of *fleurs-de-lis*, lions, eagles, and leopards, emblematical of the ancestral honours of both the king and the queen; the *fleurs-de-lis* representing France, the lions Bohemia, the eagles the empire, and the leopards England. What is almost peculiar to this sepulchral monument, the devices impressed both upon the effigies and the table are made entirely by fine punctures, without any engraved lines.[3] Among their other engagements, the contractors were to engrave on the

[1] Stowe's *Annals*, p. 308.—Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 154.
[2] Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. iii., pars iv., pp. 105, 106.
[3] *Archæologia*, vol. xxix., pp. 32-59.

monument suitable inscriptions, to be supplied them. The inscriptions were in Latin. The first part, in particular, is remarkable for the touching tenderness and sympathy with which it describes Anne's personal attractions, mental virtues, and beneficent life. Hence it may perhaps be concluded that it was written either by Richard himself, or by one who knew her well, and appreciated her worth. Of the first part we hazard the following translation:—

EPITAPH ON ANNE, WIFE OF RICHARD II., KING OF ENGLAND.

"The dust of Anne, the second Richard's queen,
Lies now entombed beneath this spacious stone;
Her lovely form enchained wherever seen,
Her face with meek and radiant beauty shone.
Dear was her Saviour to her loving heart;
Her love and gentleness to all she showed;
In healing strifes she ever did her part;
With peaceful thoughts her heavenly bosom glowed.
To her the poor, with want and care oppressed,
Could look with hope for pity and relief;
With heart and hand she succoured the distressed,
Nor grudged the cost of want and pain and grief.
The lonely widow's tears she wiped away,
And to the sick the healing draught she brought:
Whoever suffered found in her a stay;
To live for others—this she daily sought." [1]

Richard was subsequently married to Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. of France, a princess only seven or eight years of age. He was indifferent about a second marriage, and formed this alliance to consolidate a peace with France. After his death she was sent home,[2] and became the wife of Charles, son and heir of the Duke of Orleans. He survived Anne only five years, having shortly after his deposition been starved to death by the usurpèr, Henry of Lancaster. He was

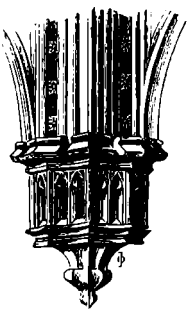
[1] The next two lines, which we omit, simply state that she died on the 7th of July, 1394; but there is here a mistake as to the month, for, from some of her funeral letters, still preserved, we learn that she died on the 7th of June.—Crull's *Antiquities of St. Peter's*, or the *Abbey Church of Westminster*, pp. 175-177.

[2] Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 154.

privately buried at Langley,[1] in the chapel of the Dominican friars, none of the nobility nor of the gentlemen commoners being present. He lay there till the year 1414, when his remains were removed thence by King Henry V., and honourably entombed in St. Edward's chapel, Westminster Abbey, in the same spot where Anne was buried. A Latin epitaph to his memory, expressing partly the graces of his person, and partly the qualities of his mind, was inscribed on the tomb.[2]

[1] King's Langley, in Hertfordshire, was formerly a royal mansion. Here was born, and from the place was named, Edmund de Langley, one of the sons of Edward III., and Duke of York, and here was a little house of friar preachers.—Camden's *Britannia*, edit. London, 1789, vol. i., p. 339.

[2] Holinshed's *Chronicles*, edit. London, 1808, vol. iii., pp. 14, 15. Crull incorrectly represents the tomb of Anne and Richard as erected by Henry V. It was erected, as we have seen, by Richard himself.





Hever Castle, Kent.

ANNE BOLEYN,

SECOND QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HER BIRTH TO HER MARRIAGE WITH HENRY VIII.

THE life of Anne Boleyn forms an interesting episode in the history of the English Reformation. Without intending it, she became the occasion of the ecclesiastical separation of England from the Papal supremacy. Conquered by her engaging qualities, Henry VIII., in order to gain her for his wife, persisted in demanding from the Pope a divorce from his former queen, Katharine of Aragon, until —his patience being exhausted by the refusal of his holiness, who, by this demand, was thrown into the dilemma of displeasing either Henry or Charles V., or placed "between the hammer and the

forge," as his holiness expressed it—he indignantly threw off the Papal yoke, claiming to himself ecclesiastical supremacy within his own dominions. Anne having been thus the occasion of the loss of so rich a prize as England to the Papal see, her memory has been assailed with the most indecent and virulent abuse by Popish writers. They cannot mention her name without losing all temper, and pouring forth a torrent of foaming, defamatory invective. This, though natural, is unreasonable enough. It is to make it a crime for a lady to be loved because she is lovely. It amounts to saying that Anne, "like the forgotten abbess of Coldingham, when Danish pirates were prowling around, should have mutilated her countenance in order to make it ugly." Like every other personage in the field of history, her character and conduct are to be examined impartially and without prejudice. If historical justice requires that her imperfections and faults should not be concealed, it also requires that she should receive credit for whatever good qualities she possessed, and whatever good actions she performed. In the sketch of her life now proposed, it is not our wish to exalt her above her merits. In respect of deep ardent piety, high Christian character, accurate and enlarged acquaintance with evangelical truth, and moral intrepidity in maintaining it, we do not place her on a level with Queen Katharine Parr-Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, or Jane, Queen of Navarre. But neither do we admit her to have been the Jezebel, the Messalina, the depraved monster which foul-mouthed Popish slanderers pitilessly delight to describe her. It is, happily, not necessary for the defence of the English Reformation that we should lavish upon her unmerited encomiums. That great revolution did not originate with her. It had been commenced by other instruments, for a variety of instrumentality was employed by Providence in producing it. It was steadily advancing previous to her elevation to royal honour and power, and by her downfall, though thereby it suffered the loss of a protectress, its progress was not to be arrested. New influences and new agents were brought into operation for leavening England with the doctrines of the Reformation, and for its more complete emancipation from the

thraldom of the Papacy. But during the short period of her elevation Anne had not surrendered herself to neutrality or indifference to the new ecclesiastical movement. She had shown a zeal in encouraging it, shown by none in high places before her time. She was the patroness of Cranmer, Latimer, Tyndale, and others; and had her life been prolonged, there was the prospect of her rendering still more important services to the infant cause. This affords an additional explanation of the inveterate hatred cherished against her by the partizans of Popery. Perhaps no other personage in England was regarded with more rancorous feelings at the Vatican; and Rome in due time got a terrible revenge. Its emissaries were unceasingly spreading snares for her, and her destruction at last, there is reason to believe, was the result of a Popish conspiracy, combined with the alienated affections and jealousy of Henry. On these grounds we have given her a place in our sketches.

ANNE BOLEYN was the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, by his wife, Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk. The usual residence of her parents was at Rochford Hall, in Essex, but they also sometimes resided at Blickling, near Aylsham, in Norfolk, and at this latter place she was born.[1] The exact date of her birth is uncertain. Camden, an accurate antiquary, whose authority is of great weight, and who lived not very remote from her own times, places it in the year 1507;[2] and he is followed by Bayle and Burnet. But if the statement made by Lord Herbert, that she was twenty years of age at her return from France in 1521, be correct, and various circumstances tend to confirm it, she must have been born about the year 1501. The family of the Boleyns is supposed to be of French origin; and Anne's father, though only a knight, was nobly descended. His

[1] The erection of the present mansion of Blickling Hall was commenced by Sir Henry Hobart, Bart., during the reign of James I., but not finished until the year 1628. It is one of the most perfect examples of architecture of that monarch's time remaining.—*Baronial Halls of England*, London, Chapman, 1848, vol. ii.

[2] Apparatus to his *Annals, Rerum Anglicarum*, &c, p. 2.

grandfather, Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, who had been Lord Mayor of London, was married to one of the daughters and heirs of Lord Hastings; and his mother was one of the daughters and heirs of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.[1] Sir Thomas was a man of learning and ability, as well as a generous patron of learned men. Erasmus, whom he admired and patronized, thus writes from personal knowledge concerning him, in a letter to Damianus à Goes: "He is a man whom all unite in praising, almost the only learned man among the nobility, and manifestly of a philosophic mind." The same great scholar applauds him for having the greatness of mind not to pride himself upon a noble ancestry and honourable rank, but to seek the distinction arising from the honoured studies of philosophy. Sir Thomas, being a man of letters and of refined manners, had acquired a high place in the esteem of Henry VIII., all whose favourites, it must be allowed, were men of superior capacity and attainments, whatever they might be in other respects; and such was his reputation for talents and discretion, that he was early and frequently sent on important embassies to foreign courts. He appears to have been habituated to serious thought; and coming in contact, in the discharge of his diplomatic duties, with men of liberal views in Germany and other countries on the Continent, he embraced the new opinions. Erasmus applauds him as more illustrious for the cultivation of piety, than for the ornament of fortune. And in a letter to him he commends his diligence in the study of the sacred volume: "I do the more congratulate you, when I observe that the sacred Scriptures are so precious to a man such as you, so powerful, a layman and a courtier, and that you are actuated by a desire to possess that pearl of price." To Sir Thomas the world was indebted for some of the labours which proceeded from the prolific pen of Erasmus. At his request, that distinguished scholar wrote three treatises, one an Exposition of the Twenty-third Psalm, another an Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, and the third, Directions how to Prepare for Death.[2]

[1] Burnet's *Reformation*, edit. Oxford, 1816, vol. i., p. 79.

[2] Strype's *Cranmer*, pp. 4, 5.—Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii., pp. 42–49.

His desiring Erasmus to favour him and the world with his thoughts on these important subjects, bears testimony to the pious temper of his mind.

Few memorials respecting Anne's early education have been preserved. In the early period of her life, the education of English ladies was less complete than some years later, when Sir Thomas More, by his enthusiastic diligence in instructing his daughters in solid learning, set an example which was zealously followed by Henry VIII. and by the English nobility, in the tuition of their daughters. Greater attention, however, appears to have been bestowed upon the education of Anne than was common at that time, even in regard to ladies of her own rank; a circumstance probably owing to her father's taste for letters. She studied with assiduity and success the French language under a French governess, called Simonette, and in that language, as well as in her own, she frequently corresponded with her father during his absence at court. She also received lessons in Latin, though it may be doubted whether the same pains had been taken to make her a proficient in that tongue as in the French. She was carefully instructed in music, singing, and dancing, as also in the use of the needle, then reckoned an essential accomplishment of ladies of the first rank, since much of their leisure time in mature years was employed in tapestry work, an occupation which, by ladies in our day, would perhaps be considered somewhat monotonous and irksome. Her father, it would appear, proud of the promising mental capacity, beauty, and loveliness of his daughter, while desirous that she should be good, was ambitious to give her every elegant accomplishment fitted to make her shine in courts. Hence his avidity in embracing an early opportunity of sending her to France, where, it was then thought, the most polished manners were to be acquired.

In the autumn of the year 1514, when in the fourteenth year of her age, she was honoured by being appointed one of the attendants of Henry the Eighth's sister, the Princess Mary, who, having been affianced to Louis XII., went to France with a considerable retinue to

have the marriage consummated.[1] On receiving from her father a letter informing her of his hope of obtaining for her this honourable appointment, intimating his desire that she should appear at court in a manner creditable to herself and him, and pressing upon her the importance of a pious and exemplary deportment, she, in her reply, written in French, expresses her delight at the prospect of being introduced into the society of the princess, as what would contribute greatly to improve her both in speaking and writing good French; tells him that her governess, Simonette, had left the composition of this letter entirely to herself, that nobody might know what she was writing to him; and assures him of her resolution to lead as holy a life as he could desire.[2] From the knowledge this letter displays, and from the excellence of its composition, it is evident that she must have been older than Camden's date of her birth would make her. A child of seven years of age could not have written such a letter. Besides, her father, it is probable, would not have sought for her, nor would he have obtained for her at so early an age, an appointment as attendant on the Princess Mary.

Mary and her suite having proceeded to France, she was married to Louis on the 9th of October, 1514, in the church of St. Denis, with becoming splendour and ceremony. Louis having died on the 1st of January, 1515, his widow soon after married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and returned to England. But Anne, instead of returning with her, remained in France at the desire of her father, or of some others of her friends, and was preferred, probably upon the recommendation of Mary the Queen-Dowager, her former mistress, to an honourable situation in the court of Claude, daughter of Louis XII., and queen-consort of Francis I., a young princess of retired habits, of uncorrupted virtue, sincerely pious, though her piety was tinged with superstition, and who, in order to preserve the moral purity of her court, maintained in it those salutary restraints

[1] Her name appears in the list of the Princess Mary's retinue, signed by Louis XII. —Ellis's *Original Letters*, first series, vol. i., p. 116.

[2] Ellis's *Original Letters*, second series, vol. ii., p. 10.

which had been introduced by her mother, Anne of Bretagne. To the young ladies of the nobility who were her attendants, her palace was a school of virtue and instruction. Their hours of leisure were employed in embroidery or in similar useful occupations, and their intercourse with the other sex was only permitted under such restrictions as might tend to preserve decorum and purity of manners.

During her residence in the French court, Anne enjoyed the benefit of the society of the beloved sister of Francis I., Margaret of Valois, then Duchess of Alençon, and afterwards Queen of Navarre, a lady not less distinguished for her virtues than for her talents, the patroness of letters, scholars, poets, and philosophers, and a nursing mother to the Reformed Church in France in its infancy. She had also the advantage of the society of those learned and liberal-minded men whom this enlightened and accomplished princess brought to the palace for the intellectual improvement of herself and of others in the court. Anne being of a lively and gay humour, the society of Margaret of Valois, in whom the lively and the grave were happily blended, would relieve the sombre monotony felt by a young person of vivacity in the society of Claude, whose sedate retiring manners were partly owing to ill-health, and partly to natural disposition. She had the pleasure, too, of often seeing her father, whom official duties frequently brought to Paris.

Henry VIII. having proclaimed war against France in 1522, Anne returned to England, to the deep regret of the French monarch, and especially of Queen Claude, who, with much reluctance, allowed her to depart. Her father, who was then ambassador at the French court, being recalled, is said by some historians[1] to have brought her

[1] As Lord Herbert, who is followed by Burnet and Rapin. Miss Berger says, that "a formal requisition was made to Francis for her restoration, and that Anne in consequence returned to England, under whose protection is not specified by any historian."—*Life of Anne Boleyn*, vol. i., p. 197. Camden, Sir Roger Twysden, and several other writers, seem to have been ignorant of the fact, which is now fully established, that she returned to England in 1522, for they make no mention of it, saying that she continued in the French court till the death of Claude, which took place in July, 1524, after which, not being yet wearied of France, she was received into an honour-

over with him to England. On his return, from his favour with Henry, he had little difficulty in obtaining for her an appointment as one of Queen Katharine's maids of honour. She is said to have been the most admired star in the French court, and she returned with all the advantages which French *politesse* could add to an English beauty. Gay, sprightly, witty, graceful in her carriage, affable in her behaviour, tasteful in her dress, singing with a voice melodious, sweet, touching, like that of the nightingale; mingling in the dance with the ease and skill of a perfect mistress in the art—possessing such a choice assemblage of charms, she was an object likely to be admired and caressed in the English court. Nor was she without a share of coquetry; and with her fine bright eyes she knew how to conquer; for,

> "Much as her form seduc'd the sight,
> Her eyes could even more surely woo;
> And when, and how to shoot their light
> Into men's hearts, full well she knew.
> For, sometimes, in repose, she hid
> Their rays beneath a downcast lid;
> And then, again, with wakening air,
> Would send their sunny glances out,
> Like heralds of delight, to bear
> Her heart's sweet messages about."[1]

It is, however, only justice to add, that at this period her manners, even according to the testimony of her greatest enemies, were marked by exemplary modesty.

After her introduction to the court, a romantic attachment sprung up between Anne and Lord Percy, the son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland. But their affectionate intimacy was broken up by the king, who, smitten by her engaging qualities, was uneasy at the thought that another should possess her heart; and disclosing his feelings to Cardinal Wolsey, employed the prelate to put an end to

able situation in the household of Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon.—Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, edited by Singer, vol. i., pp. 55–58.

[1] Metrical *Histoire d'Anne Boleyn*, quoted and translated in *Edinburgh Review* for March, 1827, p. 323.

the correspondence between her and that young nobleman. The Cardinal, ready to gratify Henry's wishes, never dreaming that she would rise higher than a royal mistress, severely reprimanded Percy for making love to "a foolish girl," beneath him in rank, without asking his father's and the king's consent; and with the aid of the father, the Earl of Northumberland, he succeeded in terminating the courtship, for which he was afterwards regarded with no friendly feelings by either of the lovers. It may indeed be doubted whether Anne, though she suppressed her resentment, and even afterwards professed the warmest friendship towards him when she thought him willing and able to advance her schemes of ambition, ever fully forgave him for the part he acted on this occasion. She was sent away from the court to her father's house of Hever Castle, in Kent,[1] while Lord Percy, though permitted to remain at court, was forced to marry Lady Mary Talbot, daughter to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, which turned out a most unhappy union.[2] His marriage with that lady was solemnized in the autumn of the year 1523, as appears from a letter written by Anne's cousin, the Earl of Surrey, dated September 12, that year, in which he says, "The marriage of my Lord Percy shall be with my lord steward's (Shrewsbury's) daughter, whereof I am glad. The chief baron is with my Lord of Northumberland to conclude the marriage."[3] This letter fixes 1523 as the year in which Anne was thus crossed, in what appears to have been her first love.

Some time after Henry unexpectedly paid her a visit at Hever Castle, but knowing or suspecting his errand, she determined not to encourage his love advances, and, under pretence of indisposition, took to her chamber, which she did not again quit till after his departure.[4] To ingratiate himself in her favour, he created her father Viscount Rochford, on June 18, 1525; and, to bring the whole family to the court, he appointed him treasurer of the royal household, and William

[1] This castle is still in good repair. It is at present in possession of the Medleys.
[2] Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i., pp. 57-69.
[3] Lingard's *History of England*, vol. vi., p. 112.
[4] Lingard.

Carey, her sister Mary's husband, a gentleman of the privy chamber. But her high spirit did not easily forget the affront put upon her by her dismissal from court, and the loss of her beloved Percy, whose countess, as Lord Herbert perhaps rightly observes, she would rather have been, than Henry's queen. Such was her continued chagrin, that she would not appear at court. Henry thus saw that her heart was not to be moulded to his wishes like wax; and when he first avowed his passion for her, she gave him distinctly to understand that she was not to stoop to dishonour. "Most noble king!" she replied, falling on her knees, "I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which shall be the greatest and the best part of the dowry that I shall bring my husband." By this honourable repulse Henry



Part of the Gallery in Hever Castle.

was not to be discouraged, and conscious of the splendid advantages he possessed, he declared that he would not abandon hope. Her answer was becoming a woman of virtue and self-respect: "I understand not, most mighty king! how you should retain any such hope. Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness, and

also because you have a queen already, and your mistress I will not be."[1] Even Sanders and Cardinal Pole, who have so fiercely defamed her, admit that she had declared it to the monarch to be her resolution to devote her virtue to her husband, and to no one else. But not allowing her to have possessed a single good quality, the interpretation they put upon this is, that she was ambitious of becoming queen-consort; a dignity to which she would have had little chance of being raised had she been willing to be Henry's mistress.[2] But so improbable at that time was the prospect of her attaining such an elevation, that nothing, save the most inveterate prejudice, would ascribe the expression of her virtuous determination to a speculation of the contingency of her becoming queen. How does the case stand? The question of Henry's divorce from Katharine of Aragon had not then been moved. Were we, however, to grant that there had been some secret motions respecting it, its ever taking place was far from certain. It would be unpopular in England. It would meet with the most strenuous opposition from Charles V. That the Pope would grant it was extremely doubtful. And even should it be obtained, that a high-minded monarch should set aside the considerations of state policy, which were repugnant to his marrying a subject, and condescend to wed one of Anne's comparatively humble rank, who was the servant of his own queen, was what she could hardly have

[1] These particulars are taken from the Sloane MS., *Life of Henry VIII.*, from his falling in love with Anne Boleyn to the death of Queen Katharine, in the British Museum, No. 249. This MS. was written in the 16th century, and as it takes the Papal side, its testimony in her favour is the more valuable.

[2] Sanders, *De Schism. Angl.*, p. 26.—*Pol. ad Reg. Scotl.*, p. 176. Turner, in his *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.* (vol. ii., p. 191), speaking of Sanders's libels against Anne and her family, says, "More wilful calumnies, I believe, never issued either from the pen or the press. He has a command of Latin style, but a most bitter mind against the English Reformation. The very next sentence after his defamation of Anne, shows us why he inserted it: 'She was addicted to the Lutheran heresy.'" —*De Schism.*, p. 25. Pole, in his work *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*, a work submitted to the revisal of the Roman pontiff, and the first edition of which was printed at Rome, heaps upon her the vilest slanders, and never mentions her name without applying to her some deeply defamatory *sobriquet*, as "meretricula," p. 390; "adulterinam," p. 266; "meretricio amore," p. 336; "scortum," p. 280; "nova Jezebel," p. 399, &c.

dreamed of, even in the enchanting moments when fancy most gorgeously painted the future. Can her becoming answers to the king be then justly represented as intended to cloak over ambitious designs with the semblance of virtue, as the cool and crafty calculation of the chances of dispossessing Katharine of Aragon, and succeeding her as Henry's wife and queen? It is more natural, as well as more just, to regard them as the unsophisticated utterances of a heart which trembled at the thought of sullied virtue and a dishonoured name.

In his endeavours to induce her to return to the court, Henry continued unremitting, and wrote her several entreating letters, breathing professions of the most ardent affection. But still she could not be prevailed upon to revisit the spot where her dearest and earliest hopes lay buried. After remaining for some time in her father's house, sorrowfully ruminating on her blighted prospects, she is supposed by Bishop Burnet to have gone again to France, and entered the service of her old friend and patroness, Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon. This journey, if it took place, would be about the beginning of the year 1526, when Francis I. had been released from his captivity in Spain, to the great joy of France, and especially of his sister, the Duchess of Alençon. Anne is supposed by the same historian to have returned to England with her father in 1527, when he was recalled from France, whither he had been sent that year, along with Sir Anthony Brown, to take the oath of the French king to a solemn league not long before concluded betwixt the crowns of England and France.[1]

The cause of Anne's final return from France to England may have been the marriage of her mistress, Margaret, with Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre, in the beginning of the year 1527. That event having rendered it necessary for Margaret to leave France for the family residence of the kings of Navarre, in Gascogne or Bearn, Sir Thomas Boleyn, naturally preferring that his daughter should return

[1] Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, edit. London, 1561, p. 86.

to England and to the English court, rather than retire to that secluded residence among the Pyrenees, brought her home to England.

By some Roman Catholic writers, as Sanders and Cardinal Pole, Anne is represented as having sunk, when in France, to the lowest depth of hackneyed and shameless profligacy. So extravagantly gross are their scandalous accusations, that to extract them would be to pollute our pages; but this extravagant grossness is in itself a sufficient proof that they are malignant slanders.[1] The court of France during the period of Anne's residence in it was a school of virtue, and not that hotbed of licentiousness which it became during the later years of the reign of Francis I.; and this her father knew, for his diplomatic engagements had given him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with its manners and habits. Had she been so notoriously abandoned as to become a bye-word and a proverb among all classes of Paris, as these Popish writers would have us to believe, a queen of the strict virtue of Claude would not have continued to retain her around her person. Besides, it is incredible, upon such a supposition, that her father, who must have known what every body in Paris knew, would have permitted her to remain in a situation where her virtue had been lost and her character ruined. Nor, in the case supposed, would Katharine, queen of Henry VIII., a woman of unimpeachable moral purity, though superstitious, have consented to receive her as one of her maids of honour. Henry, who through Wolsey and his ambassadors was minutely acquainted with every court of Europe, must have known it well, had she been the infamous character described by these scandalmongers. And yet Henry, after his marriage, speaks to the Pope of "her approved and excellent virtues; that is to say, the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness

[1] Not content with defaming Anne, they are equally zealous in assailing the reputation of her mother and sister.—See these slanders combated in Burnet's *Reformation*, vol. i., pp. 74-78; and in Turner's *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., pp. 191, 430. Miss Wood, on the strength of an old MS., vindicates the mother, but surrenders the defence of the daughter Mary.—*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol ii., p, 193.

her chasteness, her meekness, her wisdom."[1] "This," says Turner, "is the king's own portrait of her, after six years acquaintance, and amid all the enmity that attacked her."[2] Even Cavendish, the gentleman-usher of Cardinal Wolsey, who knew her well, and who was the reverse of prepossessed in her favour, speaks of her at the time of her return to England, and when she first became the object of Henry's affections, as a lady of unblemished reputation. In his *Metrical Versions* he introduces her as saying to Henry,

"At home with my father a maiden he found me."[3]

The residence of Anne in the royal family of France was well calculated to enlarge and liberalize her mind in matters of religion. The social circle in which she there moved, if it did not go the length of throwing off the Papal yoke, and branding his holiness as the Antichrist and the Man of Sin foretold in Scripture, was yet fully alive to the corruptions of the Popish Church, in so far as related to the lives of the clergy. It freely canvassed and sharply censured the character of the Papal hierarchy, from the Pope downwards, their ambition, avarice, idleness, libertinism. Louis XII. had been engaged in war with that restless and domineering pontiff Julius II., and setting at defiance the anathemas of the Vatican, had contemplated the deposition of his holiness, and the introduction of great ecclesiastical changes in France; and this had the effect of weakening the power of superstition over the minds of the French courtiers, and of impregnating them, so far, with liberal views.[4] Francis I. threatened to wrench the Church of France from its connection with the Papal throne, should an ecclesiastic whom he disliked be chosen to the primacy. His mother Louise lets us see, by some passages in her journal, how her mind had been emancipated from a blind abject devotion to the Papacy. In December, 1522, she makes this entry:

[1] Burnet's *Reformation*, vol. vi., p. 84.
[2] *Reign of Henry VIII.*, p. 202.
[3] *Life of Wolsey*, vol. ii., p. 41.
[4] Turner's *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. i., p. 98.

"My son and I, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, begin to know the hypocrites, white, black, gray, smoky, of all colours—from whom may Heaven, of its clemency and infinite goodness, defend us; for if Jesus Christ did not speak falsely, there is not a more dangerous rival in all human nature."[1] Margaret of Valois, the most intellectual personage of the court, and a woman whose winning manners, combined with her talents, gave her great influence over others, had equally little veneration for the Roman pontiff and the shavelings of the Papal hierarchy. Cardinal Wolsey, when ambassador in France in 1521, says in one of his despatches, "I devised with the king's sister, and she showed me many things of the Pope's act, which, if it be as she saith, his deeds be as little to his honour as may be."[2] And when the light of the Reformation broke in upon France, bringing into view the pure doctrines of the gospel, which had been for ages obscured and overlaid by the impieties, superstitions, and absurdities of Popery, this illustrious lady was attracted by the simplicity and beauty of divine truth. She became devoted to the reading and study of the sacred Scriptures, and earnestly inculcated the reading and study of them upon others. She was the friend and patroness of such men as Briçonnet, Lefevre of Etaples, Farel, Vatable, Arnold and Gerard Roussel, and other ardent apostles of reform. She delighted in conversing with them on the great doctrines of the gospel, and listened with the deepest attention and interest to their interpretations of God's Word, as well as encouraged them in boldly proclaiming the truth in Paris. Such was the society in which Anne Boleyn was daily and hourly mingling, and such were the exciting topics which occupied no inconsiderable share of its attention and conversation. We have, indeed, no definite information as to its influence in the formation of her religious sentiments; but from what we know of them afterwards, it may fairly be concluded that the exposures of the Popish Church she heard in the French court,

[1] P. 434.

[2] MS. letter, dated 2d August, quoted in Turner's *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. i. p. 270.

had the effect of impairing, if not of destroying, her veneration for the Popedom, and that listening to the exposition of the pure doctrines of the gospel, pouring like honey from the honeycomb from the persuasive lips of Margaret of Valois, or of her protégés, she perceived their reasonableness and their truth. English and French historians of the best authority, agree in admitting that it was from her residence and intercourse with Margaret of Valois that she received the first grounds of the Protestant religion, and that to this source is to be traced the value which, as was afterwards shown, she attached to the Sacred Volume, and the protection she extended to such as were active in its circulation.

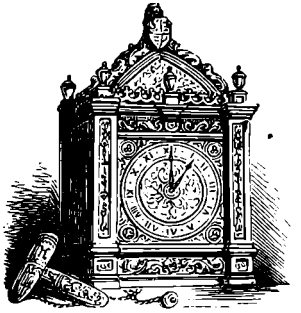
Whether Burnet's supposition as to Anne's return to France be correct or not, it is certain that she did not again appear at the English court till after an absence of four years, namely, in 1527, when Henry's contemplated divorce from his queen, Katharine of Aragon, had become generally known,[1] and formed the all-engrossing conversational topic of the day.

On the return of Anne from France, Henry was as deeply enamoured with her as ever, and she was reappointed one of Queen Katharine's maids of honour. Hitherto, delicacy and respect for Katharine, her mistress, together with the shock given, by the loss of Lord Percy, to her affections, which she could not easily transfer to Henry, made her discourage his tender aspirations. "She stood still upon her guard," says an old memorialist, "and was not easily carried away with all this appearance of happiness; first, on account of the love she bare ever to the queen, whom she served, a personage of great virtue; and secondly, she imagined that there would be less freedom in her union with her lord and king, than with one still more suitable to her estate."[2] This was true of her feelings and conduct

[1] The news "by secret ways and means" had reached Margaret, governess of Flanders, in August, 1527.—Letter of Wolsey to Henry VIII., dated Amyns, 11th August [1527], in *State Papers*, vol. i, p. 254. And about the same time they had reached Charles V.—Letter of Wolsey to Henry VIII., dated Compeigne, 5th September [1527], in *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 257.

[2] *The Life of the Virtuous, Christian, and Renowned Queen Anne Boleyn*, by George

for some years after her dismissal from the court; and after her return to it in 1527, she was deaf to his passionate addresses for more than a year.[1] To gain her heart he loaded her with presents, and, among other tokens of affection, he is said to have presented her with a horologe. At last, the united importunities of Henry,



Horologe presented by Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

Wyatt, written at the close of the 16th century, in Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. ii The author was grandson of the poet, George Wyatt, Esq., and sixth son and heir of Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, who was beheaded for rebellion in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary. He derived his information, as he tells us, from Miss Anne Gainsford, who attended on Anne both before and after she was queen, and from another lady of noble birth, a relative of his own.

[1] This appears from the love-letters Henry wrote to her after her return from France. If a letter in Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 14, translated from Leti's Italian *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, said to be from Anne Boleyn to Henry, be genuine, the fact would be quite the reverse. From internal evidence it must refer —for it is without date—to the time of her appointment to be maid of honour to Queen Katharine in 1527, and it expresses the most idolatrous affection for Henry, and a readiness to do or become whatever he should please. But this is so contrary to the whole tenor of Henry's unquestionably *authentic* love-letters to her at this period, which show that she acted with great reserve, that we cannot believe in its authenticity. Leti, indeed, too often draws upon his imagination to be an authority of much weight. Most of these love-letters of Henry to her are in French. The originals are in the Vatican at Rome, forming part of the *Codices Vaticani*, No. 3731. They were obtained, it has been supposed, "by some secret management, probably by Wolsey's aid, and sent to Rome by Cardinal Campeggio. . . . . They have been published, incorrectly in some parts, in the third volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, pp. 52–62, and elsewhere. Mr. Gun has given the most complete edition of them, being seventeen, in the *Pamphleteer*, Nos. 42 and 43, correctly copied from autographs in

her father, and others of her friends, who assured her that the king's marriage with Katharine was contrary to the divine law, and that the divorce was what must take place, prevailed, and she not only encouraged his advances, but became dazzled by the gilded splendours of royalty. The expectation of being one day the queen of the greatest monarch in Europe, became the pivot upon which her thoughts began and continued to turn. Still, perhaps, every now and then she wavered, partly from compunctions of conscience at the thought of inflicting wrong upon Katharine, and partly from the apprehension of finding the situation of queen-consort in the circumstances far from enviable; and it was not till Campeggio came to the English court, in October, 1529, with the professed design of granting the divorce, but with the real intention of doing nothing, that, seeing the highest authorities in the church, and her greatest enemies to all appearance favouring her advancement, she ceased to hesitate.[1]

Wolsey, though not ignorant of Henry's vehement affection for Anne, probably never dreamed of its going farther than making her his mistress; or he imagined that if the monarch, in the fever of passion, had resolved upon making her his wife and queen, he would gradually cool and alter his intention.[2] It may be doubted whether Henry himself, till the last half of the year 1527, had decidedly and irrevocably formed such a resolution. Between July and October that year Wolsey was in France, negotiating a matrimonial alliance between his master and Renée, daughter of Louis XII., afterwards Duchess of Ferrara. This looks as if Henry's mind had not been altogether made up as to whom he should marry upon the divorce of his present queen. But his passion for Anne mightily increased

the Vatican palace, with a valuable introduction, and some fac-similies of the writing and notes."—Turner's *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 227. Turner has given the most of them in that work. "Their respectful language," he justly observes, "is an irresistible attestation of Anne Boleyn's virtue, and of the impression it had made upon her royal admirer." Our limits prevent us from giving an abstract of these effusions of royal affection.

[1] This is proved from Henry's love-letters to her.—See D'Aubigné's *Reformation in England*, book xx., chap. iii.

[2] Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i., p. 67.

during Wolsey's absence, and obstacles being thrown in the way of his obtaining Renée, probably by the King of France, he recalled the cardinal, and disclosed to him his intention of making Anne his wife. Astounded at the announcement, and disapproving of the match, the prelate fell at the feet of the monarch, imploring him for several hours, with the greatest earnestness, to reconsider his resolution. The monarch was inflexible. His purpose he was determined to accomplish, cost what it might. Wolsey behoved to yield his political and personal motives to the will of his master.[1]

The liberal views acquired by Anne in the court of Claude, Queen of France, and in the court of Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre, prepared her for reading, without prepossession, heretical books. Among other books of this kind she read with much interest Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*—a bold performance, in which the author vindicates the diffusion of the Scriptures in the mother tongue, unfolds the duties of men in their different relations and conditions of life, exposes the false power claimed by the Pope, and condemns the Popish doctrines of penance, confession, satisfactions, absolution, miracles, the worshipping of saints, and other Popish dogmas.

The history of a book, could it be told, would often be as remarkable and instructive as that of an individual. Anne's copy of Tyndale's work caused some striking incidents about the year 1529. It converted one of her household to Protestantism; it had well-nigh brought down upon his head the penalties of heresy; and it ultimately fell into the hands of Henry, who read it with advantage. She had lent it to a beautiful young lady, one of her attendants, Miss Gainsford; or, according to another account, this lady, finding it lying in a window where her mistress had left it, took it up to

[1] Anne, in one letter addressed to the cardinal, expresses the warmest gratitude for his efforts to obtain for her the crown matrimonial of England. In another, written to him after he had "abandoned her interests to embrace those of the queen," she is full of indignation. She cannot comprehend how, after "having allured her and Henry, by so many fine promises about divorce," he had endeavoured "to hinder the consummation of it."—Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. ii., pp 46, 48.

read it. But in whatever way it fell into her hands, she was employed in reading it when a young gentleman, also in Anne's service, of comely person and great suavity of disposition, named George Zouch, who was courting her, and to whom she was afterwards married, paid her one of his visits. Zouch, wishing to have some tender and agreeable talk with his fair Geraldine, was annoyed at the apparently exclusive attention she was bestowing upon the book; and he snatched it from her hands in frolic. At this moment, being



Miss Gainsford and Zouch, her lover.

called to attend on her mistress, she left him; and as she did not return for a considerable time, he went away, carrying with him the book, thinking it was her own. Retiring to his own apartment, he began to read it; his attention was instantly rivetted by its contents; it opened up to him new views, and awakened in him new thoughts. "The Spirit of God," says the old annalist quoted by Strype, "spake

now in the heart of the reader as at first it did in the heart of the author of the book, so that he was never well but when he was reading it." Miss Gainsford, afraid of offending her mistress, entreated him with tears to deliver it up. So deeply had it impressed him, and so earnest was he to master its doctrines, that "he was as ready to weep" at the thought of parting with it, and he still kept it. He even carried it with him when he attended the chapel royal; and at the very time when the music, chantings, kneelings, crossings, and mutterings in an unknown tongue were going on, he stood poring over it, heedless of the superstitious services performing before him. Dr. Sampson, dean of the chapel, who usually officiated, observing his attention wholly absorbed in reading some book, the curiosity of the dean was excited, and calling the young gentleman up to him, he rudely took the book out of his hands, and perceiving from the title-page its heretical character, demanded, in an impertinent and snappish tone, as if little doubting that he had encountered a real heretic, "What is your name, and in whose service are you?" The dean afterwards delivered the book to Cardinal Wolsey, who had enjoined the clergy, and especially Dr. Sampson, to exercise the strictest vigilance in order to prevent heretical books from obtaining circulation, or getting into the hands of the king, lest they should corrupt his Roman Catholic principles, and make him an enemy of the church. Zouch being sent for by the cardinal, was fully examined concerning the book, and he would have been brought into trouble, had it not been found that he was in the service of a lady so beloved by the king as was Anne Boleyn, which made the cardinal think it would be better to delay proceeding farther till he had first consulted his majesty. Meanwhile Zouch, having explained the whole affair to Miss Gainsford, the young lady, in dread of having involved both herself and her mistress in danger, fell on her knees before Anne, and telling her all the facts of the case, implored forgiveness. Anne heard all without expressing the least dissatisfaction, either with the lady or with her lover; but knowing that for any person to have such a book in his possession was enough to convict him of heresy,

and, consequently, to bring him to the stake, and convinced that Dr. Sampson and Wolsey, had it been in their power, would have made this circumstance the means of ruining her attendants, and ultimately herself, her anger kindling against these men, she said, "Well, it shall be the dearest book that ever the dean or the cardinal took away." Without delay she went to the king, and falling down on her knees before him, imparted to him the whole matter, informed him that the book was hers, prayed him to cause it to be restored, and tenderly besought him to read it for himself, as it was not so detestable a production as Dr. Sampson and Wolsey would have him to believe, telling him that she had noted various passages with the nail of her finger as being, in her judgment, especially worthy of the attention of his majesty.

After she had withdrawn from the royal presence, Wolsey entered with the book in his hand, to point out such of its heresies as he thought would rouse the indignation of the monarch, and to complain of the favourers of such books in general, and particularly of women, with the design, as may be supposed, of proceeding more directly to attack Anne, had he found the king favourably disposed. But Henry, who before this had become cold towards the cardinal, took the book into his hand, and opening it, observed the passages marked by Anne with her nail, at which he hastily glanced, remarking that they seemed very good. He examined the book more carefully in his closet, and was so delighted with its denunciations of Papal usurpations, and its vindication of regal and magistratical authority, that he afterwards said to Anne, "This book is for me and for all kings to read."[1]

[1] The authorities for the preceding narrative as to Anne's copy of Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*, are Strype, who derives his account from Foxe's MSS. (*Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., pp. 171-173); and Wyatt, in his *Life of Anne Boleyn*, (printed in Cavendish's *Wolsey*, vol. ii., pp. 200-205), who got his information from Miss Gainsford herself. The latter authority records the anecdote less circumstantially than the former, and with some slight variations. In the text we have combined all the particulars supplied by the two annalists. Dr. D'Aubigné, in his *History of the Reformation in England*, book xx., chap. x., has extended the narrative to much greater length, interweaving various extracts from Tyndale's book, and throwing them into a

According to the chronicler from whom Strype derives his narrative, the reading of Tyndale's work had a powerful influence in opening Henry's eyes to the truth, and in causing him to pursue the course by which England was emancipated from Papal domination. "In a little time," says he, "by the help of this virtuous lady, by the means aforesaid, the king had his eyes opened to the truth, to advance God's religion and glory, to abhor the Pope's doctrine, his lies, his pomp and pride, to deliver his subjects out of Egyptian darkness, the Babylonian bonds that the Pope had brought his subjects under. And so contemning the threats of all the world, rebellions of his subjects at home, and the raging of so many and mighty potentates abroad, he set forward a reformation in religion, beginning with the triple-crowned head[1] at first, and so came down to the members, bishops, abbots, priests, and such like." To the eulogium pronounced in the first part of this extract Henry is certainly not entitled. His eyes were never opened to the truth; his aim never was to advance God's religion and glory; he never abhorred the Pope's doctrine and lies. And perhaps also, in the latter part of the extract, fully too much is attributed to the incident of the monarch's reading *The Obedience of a Christian Man.* For some years after he had no intention of throwing off the Pope's authority, a step to which at last, contrary to his wishes, he was impelled by his violent and impetuous temper, in consequence of the Pope's refusal to grant him the much-wished-for divorce. Tyndale's work, however, having been brought under his notice at a time when he was quite in a



The Tiara.

dramatic form;—as an example of the manner in which this gifted and popular author sometimes dramatizes his historical compositions.

[1] "The first pope who caused himself to be crowned was Damasus II., in the year 1048; which ceremony has since been observed by all his successors. Urban V., by others reckoned VI., was the first who used the triple crown, commonly called the *tiara*, which he did to show that the pretended vicar of Christ is possessed of a threefold power, the pontifical, imperial, and royal. For the same reason Peter was wont to be painted, as may be seen still in the palace of the Vatican, holding three keys in his right hand,"—Bruce's *Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery*, p. 38.

temper for reading a powerfully-written book, in vindication of the authority of kings and rulers, in opposition to the encroachments of a usurping priesthood, may have contributed not inconsiderably to weaken his veneration for the Roman see; and the commendation he pronounced upon it may therefore have been sincere, and not merely the flattering compliment of a wooer, intended to gain the good graces of the lady who had recommended it to him for his perusal.

At last having obtained an opinion favourable to his wishes from the majority of foreign universities, which, at the suggestion of Thomas Cranmer, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, he had consulted, Henry, indignant at the dissimulation and delays of the Pope, from whom he was now hopeless of obtaining a divorce, cut for himself the Gordian knot by marrying Anne Boleyn about the 25th of January, 1533. This is the date assigned by Stow in his *Annals*, who states that the ceremony was performed by Dr. Rowland Lee, afterwards Bishop of Chester. Cranmer says, "It was much about St. Paul's day," that is, the 25th of January.[1] It was reported throughout a great part of the kingdom that Cranmer had performed the ceremony; but he denies the truth of this report, and affirms that he "knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done."[2] Whether the marriage was preceded by the private divorce of Henry from Katharine of Aragon, though this is asserted by various contemporary authorities,[3] is doubtful. If no divorce preceded it, he would satisfy himself by resting its validity on the ground that his first marriage, being contrary to the law of God, was void from the beginning.

[1] Hall and Holinshed, perhaps erroneously, give an earlier date, namely, St. Erkenwald's day, 14th November, 1532, the very day on which Henry and Anne arrived at Dover, from their interview with Francis I. of France, at Calais and Boulogne.

[2] Ellis's *Original Letters*, first series, vol. ii., pp. 33–40.

[3] These authorities are quoted by Turner in his *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 333.

CHAPTER II.

INDIGNATION OF POPISH PRIESTS AT HER MARRIAGE WITH HENRY VIII., AND HER PATRONAGE OF THE REFORMERS AND OF LEARNING.

A VIOLENT outcry was raised against Henry's marriage with Anne by the Popish priests, all of whom, with the exception of such as had been infected with heresy, were in favour of Queen Katharine and of the legality of her marriage. One of them, Friar Peto, of the order of the Observants of Greenwich monastery, and Queen Katharine's confessor, openly denounced the monarch in a sermon preached before his majesty, in the royal chapel at Greenwich, on the 1st of May. The subject of the friar's homily was the latter part of the story of Ahab, which he boldly applied to the king, saying, "Where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, even there shall the dogs lick thy blood also, O king;" and after telling him that he had been deceived by lying prophets, added, pretending a divine commission, "I am that Micheas whom thou wilt hate, because I must tell thee truly that this marriage is unlawful; and I know I shall eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water of sorrow, yet because our Lord hath put it into my mouth, I must speak of it." Under this outburst of vituperation the king betrayed no symptoms of impatience or displeasure; but, to prevent its repetition, he provided that on the following Sabbath the pulpit of the royal chapel should be occupied by a more friendly preacher, Dr. Curwen, one of the royal chaplains. Curwen vindicated the king's marriage, branded Peto as a dog, slanderer, base beggarly friar, close man, rebel, and traitor; and in the close, after calling upon him in vain to appear in self-defence, stigmatized him as a coward. This roused the indignation of another Observant friar of Greenwich monastery, named Elstow, who vociferated from the gallery that Peto was necessarily absent at a provincial council at Canterbury, but would return to-morrow, adding, "I am here, as another Micheas, and will lay down my life

to prove all these things true which he hath taught out of the Holy Scripture: and to this combat I challenge thee before God and all equal judges; even unto thee, Curwen, I say, which art one of the four hundred prophets into whom the spirit of lying is entered, and seekest by adultery to establish succession, betraying the king unto endless perdition, more for thy own vain glory and hope of promotion, than for discharge of thy clogged conscience and the king's salvation." Elstow's vehemence, like the gathering force of a torrent, increased as he proceeded, and he could not be got to stop until the king bade him hold his peace, and gave orders that he and Peto should be brought before the privy council. This was done on the following day, and they were rebuked for their temerity, a slender punishment for such a tyrant as Henry to inflict for so grave an offence. Upon their escaping so easily, the Earl of Essex told them that they deserved to be put into a sack and cast into the Thames. With a sarcastic smile, and as if thirsting for martyrdom, Elstow rejoined, "Threaten these things to rich and dainty folk, which are clothed in purple, fare deliciously, and have their chiefest hope in this world; for we esteem them not, but are joyful that for the discharge of our duties we are driven hence: and, with thanks to God, we know the way to heaven to be as ready by water as by land, and therefore we care not which way we go."[1] These professions of austere sanctity and of a high sense of duty will be suspected by such as know the real state of the English monasteries at that period. The monastery of Greenwich was soon after suppressed, and its friars banished the kingdom.[2]

Other Popish priests were equally violent in expressing their opposition to the new marriage. A parish priest of Kettering was summoned before the privy council for saying it was a pity the king had not been buried in his swaddling-clothes, and that whoever

[1] Stow's *Annals*, p. 562.

[2] Peto subsequently returned and became confessor to Queen Mary, as he had been to her mother Katharine. His zeal was at length rewarded by a cardinal's hat. But in that character he never set foot on English ground—one cardinal, Reginald Pole, being deemed sufficient for England, even in the reign of the bloody Mary.

should venture to call the Lady Anne Boleyn *queen* at Bugden should have his head knocked to a post.[1]

But the priest who filled the chair of St. Peter at Rome was, if possible, filled with still deeper indignation, and impelled partly by Charles V., partly by his cardinals, and partly by resentment at the disregard of his authority, proceeded, as we have seen in the Introduction, to extreme measures against Henry, the result of which was that the English sovereign, with the assistance of his parliament, cast off the Papal supremacy, and adopted a variety of measures fatal to the Popish system in England.

Anne, both from judgment and from interest, heartily concurred in these formidable innovations. To confirm her anti-Papal sentiments, learned and pious persons who had access to her, presented her after her marriage with various books relating to the controversies then agitated touching religion; and especially touching the authority of the Pope and his clergy, and their evil practices against kings and commonwealths.[2]

To the struggling cause of infant Protestantism in England, the new queen rendered important services, for which she is entitled to the grateful remembrance of posterity. She encouraged and advanced learned and worthy men, who promised to be useful in the church. She protected the Reformers from the machinations and violence of their enemies. She promoted the printing and circulation of the sacred Scriptures; and she maintained promising young men at the universities.

Among the individuals of the reformed party indebted to her patronage for advancement, was Nicholas Shaxton, a man who, though some years after he turned out a persecutor of the reformed faith, was at that time its ardent advocate; and whose burning zeal had as early as 1530 so provoked the wrath of Richard Nix, the old Bishop of Norwich, an implacable enemy of the new learning, that

[1] *State Paper Office Miscell. Letters,* quoted in Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies,* vol. ii., p. 205.

[2] Wyatt.

Nix, on consigning the martyr Thomas Bilney to the flames, expressed his fears "that he had slain Abel and saved Cain alive." In May, 1534, Shaxton was appointed the queen's almoner. On the 21st of February following, he was promoted to the see of Salisbury, in the room of Cardinal Campeggio, an Italian ecclesiastic, who had been deprived of that bishopric on the ground of his being a foreigner and non-resident; and on the 28th of that month he was preaching before the queen.[1]

Another eminent man, specially favoured by Anne, was Hugh Latimer, the noblest character at that time in England. Cranmer, by whom he had probably been first introduced to her, being well assured of her powerful protection, licensed him, about the close of the year 1534, to preach throughout the entire limits of the archbishopric of Canterbury. In a letter dated 9th January, 1535, he says that for doing this he had already "suffered great obloquy;" while Latimer, besides being similarly treated, had "lately been endangered." But disregarding the wrath of Stokesly, Bishop of London, Gardiner, and others of the same stamp, he continued to patronize Latimer, honouring his piety and judgment so highly that, "at his instance and request," he "licensed divers to preach within the province of Canterbury," a degree of boldness which, considering Cranmer's timidity and caution, could have proceeded only from his enjoying the encouraging support of the queen. With the authority of the king and queen, he also summoned Latimer to London to preach before their majesties on all the Wednesdays in Lent, that is, from the 10th of February to the 24th of March. Being extremely solicitous that his friend should gain acceptance with his royal auditors, he advised him through his secretary, with characteristic caution, "to be very circumspect, to overpass and omit all manner of speech, either apertly or suspiciously sounding against any special man's facts, acts, manners, or sayings;" and "in any condition, to stand no longer in the pulpit than an hour, or an hour and a half" at the most—

[1] Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., pp. 441, 442.

for Latimer, it would appear, was a long preacher, which is further confirmed from the length of his printed sermons—"lest the king and the queen wax weary at the beginning," or "have small delight to continue throughout with you to the end." Of these sermons no specimens now remain, and as to their subject-matter we have no definite information. We only know in general that Latimer boldly and faithfully spoke the truth before their majesties, which they were seldom accustomed to hear; and such was the favourable impression he produced on their minds, especially on the mind of Anne, that in September that same year he was appointed Bishop of Worcester, on the deprivation of Cardinal Jerome de Ghinuccii, an Italian.[1] So highly respected was he by the queen, and such was her confidence in his wisdom, that she entreated him to point out what was amiss in her conduct, that she might correct it. "She had procured to her chaplains" (Shaxton and Latimer), says Wyatt, "men of great learning, and of no less honest conversing, whom she with hers heard much, and privately she heard them willingly and gladly to admonish her, and she exhorted and encouraged them so to do."

In 1533 or 1534 she promoted Matthew Parker, a Reformer, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to be her chaplain, upon the death of Mr. Betts, "a good man and zealous and so remained" (as Foxe describes him), who held that situation.[2] William Barlow, afterwards Bishop of St. David's in the time of Henry VIII., of Bath and Wells in the time of Edward VI., and of Chichester in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was indebted to Anne for various preferments in the church. And in a letter to Archbishop Cranmer, in reference to a benefice she solicited for Barlow, she adds, in a postscript, "My Lord, I beseech your grace to

[1] Jerome de Ghinuccii was at one time auditor of the apostolic chamber. He was the person who in 1518 summoned Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days. He was afterwards made Bishop of Worcester, of which dignity he was deprived in 1534, on the ground of his being a foreigner and non-resident. He had, in fact, never seen England.—Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., pp. 249, 441, 442, 487.

[2] Strype's *Life of Parker*, Oxford, 1821, vol. i., p. 14.

remember the parson of Honey Lane for my sake shortly."[1] This was Thomas Garret or Gerard, curate of All Hallows, in Honey Lane, London, who, as early as 1526, being then curate of All Hallows, was charged with having in his custody, and with distributing the writings of Luther and of other heretics, and who though, from the dread of being burned, he abjured at the close of that year, was never truly gained over by the Romanists. He at last suffered at the stake with great constancy, for denying the real presence, on the 30th of June, 1540.[2]

Among other excellent men in whose advancement she interested herself was Dr. Crome, incumbent of St. Anthony's, a man of acknowledged learning and piety, and a preacher of the true gospel; though, being deficient in intrepid resolution, the dread of the stake, of which he was in danger at different times, extorted from him concessions condemned by his better judgment.[3] By her influence he was promoted to the rectorship of St. Mary's, Aldermary. But having for some time, from causes not explained, resisted, or caused the delay of his formal and legal admission into that benefice, the queen sent him a letter, expressing it as her pleasure that he should no longer throw obstacles in the way of his speedy instalment.[4]

Anne had read with entire approbation the powerful arguments in defence of the circulation of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, contained in Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man;* and acting upon these enlightened views, she threw her broad shield over the disseminators of the sacred volume. An interesting instance of this we find in the protection she extended to a man who was among

[1] Strype's *Annals of the Reformation under Elizabeth*, vol. i, part ii., pp. 266, 578.

[2] Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., pp. 92, 93.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 259; and his *Cranmer*, pp. 116, 246, 664.

[3] James Bainham, who was committed to the flames for heresy in 1532, declared on his examination that "he knew no man to have preached the word of God, sincerely and purely, and after the vein of Scripture, except Master Crome and Master Latimer." —Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., p. 332. For various notices of Crome, see Index to Strype's Works.

[4] See this letter in Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. ii., p. 189.

the first to engage in importing Tyndale's English version of the New Testament into England, namely, Richard Harman, a citizen of Antwerp, and merchant in the English house of that city. Harman's zeal had involved him in persecution, and even endangered his life. It roused the fury of Cardinal Wolsey; and, in 1528, the cardinal, by means of the English ambassador Hackett, resident in the Netherlands, requested Princess Margaret,[1] then regent of that country, to seize Harman, with the view of his being immediately sent into England. Margaret and her council agreed to apprehend him, and on condition of his being found guilty, either to send him into England or to punish him according to his deserts. In July that year he and his wife, who was not less obnoxious for heresy than himself, were taken prisoners at Antwerp, and an inventory was made of all their goods for behoof of the emperor. This, however, did not satisfy the intolerant Hackett, who, afraid that Harman might be permitted by the Netherlands government to escape with impunity, urged Wolsey with great earnestness to call upon that government to deliver him up as guilty not only of *heresy* but of *treason*. "In this manner," says he, "we may have two strings to our bow: for I doubt greatly, after the statutes of these countries, that, revoking his heresies, for the first time he will escape with a slender punishment; but for *treason* to the king, they cannot pardon him in these parts, after the statutes of our intercourse, dated the year 1505."[2] Acting upon this suggestion, Wolsey transmitted to Hackett royal letters, warranting him to seize Harman as a traitor. But Margaret interposed her veto, wishing, before delivering up Harman, to be

[1] Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and aunt of Charles V. She died in December, 1530, having governed the Netherlands eighteen years. Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, vol. i., p. 59.

[2] The allusion here is to the treaty in the reign of Henry VII., 1505, in which "there was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either prince by the other; purporting, that if any such rebel should be required by the prince, whose rebel he was, of the prince confederate, that forthwith the prince confederate should by proclamation command him to avoid the country: which, if he did not, within fifteen days, the rebel was to stand proscribed, and be put out of protection."—Bacon's *Henry VII.*

informed of what particular acts of treason he had committed. Harman and his wife, after lying in prison upwards of seven months, were set at liberty; and such was the altered state of matters in England only a few years subsequent, that we find him in London in 1534, seeking redress for the injury and losses he had sustained by his imprisonment, and by his excision from the privileges connected with the English house at Antwerp, through the persecuting fury of Hackett and Wolsey. And "every one acquainted with the history of the Hanse towns knows how much had been involved in the for-



The English House, Antwerp.

feiture of his privileges as a merchant adventurer. The 'English house,' like all these towns, exercised a judicial superintendence over its members, and punished them by a species of commercial excommunication. Mr. Harman had evidently been suffering under this for years."[7] Audley was now Lord Chancellor; Cromwell chief Secretary of State; and Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury; all favourable to the Reformation; but Harman applied to the queen, not to any of them. His application was successful. Sympathizing

[7] Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., p. 411.

with a man who had imported the Sacred Volume, and done so at great worldly sacrifices, she wrote a letter to Cromwell in his behalf, the original of which is still in existence.

"ANNE THE QUEEN.

"TRUSTY and right well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we be credibly informed that the bearer hereof, Richard Harman, merchant and citizen of Antwerp, in Brabant, was, in the time of the late Lord Cardinal, put and expelled from his freedom and fellowship of and in the English house there, for nothing else (as he affirmeth) but only for that he still, like a good Christian man,[1] did, both with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hindrance in this world, help to the setting forth of the New Testament in English: we therefore desire and instantly pray you, that with all speed and favour convenient, ye will cause this good and honest merchant, being my lord's true, faithful, and loving subject, to be restored to his pristine freedom, liberty, and fellowship aforesaid, and the sooner at this our request, and at your good leisure to hear him on such things as he hath to make further relation unto you in this behalf.—Given under our signet, at my lord's manor of Greenwich, the 14th day of May.

"To our trusty and right well-beloved, Thomas Cromwell, squire,
Chief Secretary unto my Lord the King's Highness." [2]

This letter, though the date of the year is not given, was probably written in 1534; and if so, Cromwell had been made chief secretary of state only a week before, and the act of justice to Harman here requested, must have been one of his earliest acts in his new office.

To do full justice to Anne Boleyn for her gracious interposition in behalf of Harman, it is necessary to take into consideration the

[1] In the original, the pen has been drawn across the words "still like a good Christian man." Hence Strype has omitted them altogether, and Sir Henry Ellis has placed them in a note at the bottom of the page. But there is reason to think that some hostile person has perpetrated this erasure. The words are in harmony with the whole spirit of the letter, and there is no conceivable reason why, having once written them, she should thus obliterate them.

[2] Ellis's *Original Letters*, first series, vol. ii., pp. 45, 46.

violent hostility of those in high places, at that period, to the dissemination of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. In March, 1526, Henry had condemned Tyndale's translation of the New Testament into English to be burned, and "sharp correction and punishment" to be inflicted on "the keepers and readers of the same," under the pretext that it contained "many corruptions of the sacred text, as also certain prefaces and other pestilent glosses in the margins, for the advancement and setting forth of his [Luther's] abominable heresies." In the same year Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London, had, for similar reasons, denounced it, both the copies with "glosses" and those without them, and charged his archdeacons to warn all within their archdeaconries to bring in and deliver up such copies as they possessed to his vicar-general, within the space of thirty days. In 1527, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, had purchased all the copies of Tyndale's New Testament he could meet with, that they might be destroyed, expending in such purchases a sum equivalent to not less than £1000 of our present money; and in the following year, the readers and importers of the same book were seized and punished. In 1529 Tonstal had purchased all the copies of Tyndale's New Testament which he could find in Antwerp; and in May, 1530, he made a bonfire of them, and of other heretical books, in St. Paul's church-yard, London. In 1532 Sir Thomas More condemned to the stake such as affirmed that it is lawful for every man and woman to have God's word in their mother tongue.[1] Such were the times in which Anne Boleyn lived, and such was the character of the most of those by whom she was surrounded; for though Wolsey and Warham were now in their graves, and Sir Thomas More in the Tower, the courtiers, with few exceptions, were not less hostile to the diffusion of the Scriptures in the English tongue than these men had been. In such circumstances, to vindicate Harman as acting the part of "a good Christian man," in his zealous exertions to disseminate the Scriptures, and to interpose for his restoration to the

[1] Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., pp. 112, 113, 158, 262, 333.

rights and privileges of which on that account he had been unjustly deprived, was no small proof of her enlightened understanding, her moral courage, and her Christian humanity. Being still the object of Henry's idolatrous affection, she could bend his will in this instance to the side of justice; and neither Tonstal, Gardiner, Stokesly, nor her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, much as they hated the Scriptures and their circulation among the people, dared to express their dissent, lest by opposing the queen they should excite the displeasure of the monarch.

The queen's friendly interference in behalf of Harman, and her favourable sentiments as to the diffusion of the Word of God in the mother tongue, was soon made known to Tyndale, who was now at Antwerp, about to print in that city a new and improved edition of his New Testament, and the tidings were felt by him as a great encouragement. Surrounded by numerous and powerful enemies, who were thirsting for his blood, and who to open hostility added base and artful treachery, it cheered him to know that a woman of Anne's influence appreciated his labours, and sympathized with the sufferings of himself and of others engaged in the same cause. Not one in high places in England had ventured, like her, to plead the cause of Bible circulation, and to give the sanction of their name to his translation. He had received this intelligence probably from Harman himself, before he had begun to print his new and improved edition of the New Testament, and in expression of his gratitude to the queen, when the work was passing through the press,[1] he ordered a copy to be beautifully printed on vellum with illuminations, intended as a present to her, and he got it bound in blue morocco, with these words upon the gilding of the leaves, in large red letters, "ANNA REGINA ANGLIÆ."[2]

[1] The printing of this edition was finished in the month of November, 1534.

[2] After passing through various hands, this elegant copy came into the possession of the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, who bequeathed it, with his large and valuable library, to the British Museum, into which it was brought after his death, in April, 1799, and where it is now preserved.

Anne's favour for the Reformation and the Reformers was well known to the Popish party in England, and it disconcerted them exceedingly. So fully were they convinced of her leanings on this side, that when, with Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, at their head, they had formed a plan for the destruction of Tyndale, which was by sending a hired agent from England into the Netherlands to make every effort to induce the government of that country, according to the persecuting laws then in force, to apprehend and burn Tyndale as an heretic, the plot was carefully concealed from Henry. No good reason can be assigned for this but their fears lest Anne, had she been apprised of their intentions, should have effectually defeated them, by her powerful intercessions with the king in behalf of Tyndale.[1]

There is even ground for believing that Anne had actively promoted the printing of the first edition of the New Testament printed in England; which was Tyndale's English translation. The previous editions had been issued from the press at Antwerp. This edition was printed in London, by his majesty's printer, in folio, with the valuable prologues of that Reformer prefixed to each of the inspired books, and with his long-proscribed name exhibited on the title-page. It was published in the year 1536, though in all probability the printing of it had commenced in the close of the year 1535. The name of the printer, who was Thomas Berthelet, does not indeed

[1] Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., p. 417. The plot was successful. In the beginning of the year 1535 Tyndale was arrested at Antwerp, and carried to the castle of Vilvorde, a distance of twenty-three and a half miles. After being imprisoned nearly two years in that castle, he was condemned to the flames. On being bound to the stake, he uttered aloud, with great fervour, the prayer, "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England." He was first strangled by the hangman, and then consumed by the flames. This took place on the morning of Friday, 6th October, 1536, shortly before the printing of his New Testament by the king's printer, as mentioned in the next paragraph in the text. England must ever revere the memory of Tyndale, the first who translated the Scriptures from their *inspired originals* into the English tongue, and the father and founder of our authorized version of the Bible. He translated the whole of the New Testament, and the historical books of the Old, from Genesis to the end of the Second Book of Chronicles, when martyrdom put an end to his labours.

appear on the title-page, but the most competent judges, as Ames, Herbert, and Dibdin, maintain that it must have proceeded from his press; and the type, as well as the ornamental title of the boys in triumph, peculiar to his press, place this beyond dispute. The history of the printing of this edition is involved in mystery; but the expensive style of its execution, and its issuing from the press of the king's printer, bespeak it as undertaken under high authority. Berthelet himself was indifferent about the Word of God. In 1530 he had officially printed a royal proclamation prohibiting any from having copies of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongues, English, French and Dutch, that is, German;[1] and he was not the man to print so obnoxious and heretical a book as Tyndale's New Testament, had he thereby been exposed to danger. He must therefore have been employed by such as had both the ability and the will to protect him in doing so, as well as to pay the expenses. Would he have deemed himself secure under any other patronage save that of royalty? If not, under whose auspices but those of Anne could he have engaged in this undertaking? Such a supposition is certainly in harmony with her expressed approbation of Tyndale's version, and her earnest intercession in behalf of Harman, its most active disseminator. In the *Manual of Devotions*, said to have been presented by her to her maids of honour, the following striking passage occurs, expressing gratitude to God for the approbation the king had given to the publication of the Scriptures in the English tongue:—"Grant us, most merciful Father, this one of the greatest gifts that ever thou gavest to mankind, the knowledge of thy holy will and glad tidings of our salvation; this great while oppressed with the tyranny of thy adversary of Rome, and his fautors, and kept close under his Latin letters; and now at length promulgated, published, and set at liberty, by the grace poured into the heart of thy supreme power, our prince, as all kings' hearts be in thy hand, as in the old law [thou] didst use like mercy to thy people of Israel by thy high

[1] Many years after this, namely, in 1546, he printed the proclamation which denounced Tyndale's New Testament, and all his writings.

instrument the good king Josias, who restored the temple decayed to its former beauty, abolished all worshipping of images and idolatry, and set abroad the law by the space of many hundred years before clean out of remembrance."[1] This evidently expresses her own sentiments; and as to the change now wrought upon the king in favour of the circulation of the Scriptures in the mother tongue, by whose influence was it more likely to have been produced than by that of Anne? This edition of Tyndale's New Testament, it would seem, was one of the fruits of that change.

To studious youths in narrow circumstances, particularly such as favoured the Reformation, Anne was also a generous patroness. John Aylmer, afterwards tutor to the celebrated Lady Jane Grey, was indebted to her liberality for the ability to continue the prosecution



Ruins of St. Mary's Abbey, York.

of his studies at Cambridge. He had been a candidate for the situation of abbot in St. Mary's Abbey, York, but was unsuccessful,

[1] Lewis's *History of English Translations of the Holy Bible*, vol. i., p. 97.

one William Thornton having gained the election, March 2, 1530, and received the temporalities, April 10. Anne, however, from the highly favourable accounts she had received of his character and capacity, made provision for his continuing to prosecute his studies. And Thornton having, in violation of an express agreement at the time of his election, removed Aylmer from the university, and brought him to St. Mary's Abbey, in which he employed him in certain menial offices, Anne, upon the complaint of Aylmer or of some of his friends, immediately ordered Thornton to allow Aylmer to return to the university of Cambridge.[1]

Strype, in his Historical Collections, has recorded the names of other ingenious young men, converts to the new opinions, and afterwards celebrated in their day, who were supported by her at the university. "She was very nobly charitable, and expended largely in all manner of acts of liberality, according to her high quality. And among the rest of her ways of showing this Christian virtue, she being a favourer of learning, together with her father, the Lord Wiltshire, and the Lord Rochford, her brother, maintained divers ingenious men at the universities. Among the rest were these men of note: Dr. Hethe, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor; Dr. Thirlby, afterwards Bishop of Ely; and Mr. Paget, afterwards Lord Paget, and Secretary of State: all whom in her time were favourers of the gospel, though afterwards they relapsed. Of Paget one hath observed that he was a most earnest Protestant, and being in Cambridge, gave unto one Reynold West Luther's book, and other books of the Germans, as *Franciscus Lambertus de Sectis*, and that at that time he read Melancthon's *Rhetoric* openly in Trinity Hall, and was a maintainer of Dr. Barnes, and all the Protestants then in Cambridge, and helped many religious persons out of their cowls."[2] Dr. Bill, master of St. John's College Cambridge, Dean of Westminster, almoner to Queen Elizabeth, and a

[1] See her letter to Thornton to this effect, in Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. ii., p. 191.

[2] *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., p 430.

man who bore a conspicuous part in the ecclesiastical and literary history of his time, also shared her liberality when a poor student at Cambridge University.[1]

An imputation on the memory of Anne by her enemies is, that her days were spent in idle frivolity, and her nights in song and dance. For some time after her marriage some ground for such an imputation may have existed; but she gradually became thoughtful, and sought her happiness in devotion and in works of benevolence. Her selecting for her attendants honourable ladies of virtuous reputation, was one proof of at least a sound judgment and a commendable prudence. The spare hours of herself and of her ladies were occupied in tapestry work, and she employed her maids and others in making garments for the poor. From her own privy purse she relieved the wants of the needy with a princely liberality, planned the institution of manufactures to supply them with permanent employment, and established bursaries in the universities for the education of promising youths. "Also," says Wyatt, "at the first she had in court drawn about her, to be attending on her, ladies[2] of great honour, and yet more choice for reputation of virtue, undoubted witnesses of her spousal integrity, whom she trained up with all the recommendations of well-ordered government, though yet, above all, by her own example, she shined above them all as a torch, that all might take light of, being itself still more bright.

[1] Strype's *Life of Sir John Clerke*, Oxford, 1821, pp. 8, 9.

[2] "To every one of these," says Singer, "she gave a little book of devotions neatly written on vellum, and bound in covers of solid gold enamelled, with a ring to each cover, to hang it at their girdles, for their constant use and meditation. One of these little volumes, traditionally said to have been given by the queen when on the scaffold to her attendant, one of the Wyatt family, and preserved by them through several generations, was described by Vertue as being seen by him in the possession of Mr. George Wyatt, of Charterhouse Square, in 1721.—*Vide* Walpole's *Miscellaneous Antiquities*, printed at Strawberry Hill, 1772, No. ii., p. 13. It was a diminutive volume, consisting of one hundred and four leaves of vellum, one and seven-eights of an inch long, by one and five-eights of an inch broad; containing a metrical version of parts of thirteen psalms; and bound in pure gold, richly chased, with a ring to append it to the neck-chain or girdle. It was in Mr. Triphook's possession in the year 1817."

Such as have seen at Hampton Court the rich and exquisite works, for the greater part wrought by her own hand and needle, and also those wrought by her ladies, esteem them the most precious furniture, and amongst the most sumptuous that any prince may be possessed of. And yet far more rich and precious were those works in the sight of God, which she caused her maids and those about her daily to work in shirts and smocks for the poor. But not staying here her eye of charity, her hand of bounty passed through the whole land; each place felt that heavenly flame burning in her; all times will remember it, no room being left for vain flames, no time for idle thoughts. Her ordinary amounted to fifteen hundred pounds at the least yearly, to be bestowed on the poor. Her provisions of stock for the poor in sundry needy parishes was very great. Out of her privy purse went not a little to like purposes; to scholars in exhibition very much: so that in three quarters of a year her alms were estimated at fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds."

CHAPTER III.

FROM HENRY'S ALIENATION FROM HER AND THE PLOTS OF HER ENEMIES, TO THE ATTEMPTED EXTORTION OF EVIDENCE AGAINST HER FROM HER ALLEGED ACCOMPLICES.

IT has been justly remarked that Providence often punishes us by fulfilling our desires, and favours us by thwarting them. Had circumstances interposed to prevent Anne's advancement to be Queen of England, of which she was so passionately desirous, this, though adverse to her wishes, would, had she been able to penetrate the future, have been a mercy, calling forth her deepest gratitude.

Her situation was extremely perilous, though she was not aware to the full extent of its perils. In the first place, Henry being one of the most capricious of beings, to have any connection with him

was to stand on the brink of a precipice. The man or the woman whom he honoured to-day, he might, from mere change of humour, bring to the scaffold to-morrow. Anne, by her beauty, her wit, and her accomplished manners, had subdued his heart. She seemed necessary to his happiness. With her was associated in his mind all that was lovable and lovely in the world. To gain her he had perilled the peace of his kingdom. In the hey-day of his passion he had lavished upon her honours and caresses. He had waited for six years to obtain her in wedlock, and this, in ordinary circumstances, would have been good security for a permanent affection. But Henry was not to be judged by ordinary rules. His fancy, now when he possessed her, might soon be attracted by the blooming charms of another, and in that event he would not hesitate to cast her off.

In the second place, she was surrounded by malicious Popish enemies, both male and female, in the court and elsewhere, who were thirsting for her ruin. Her removal, it was thought, would pave the way for the restoration of England to the Papal jurisdiction; and some of these leading personages were eagerly watching for an opportunity to accomplish her downfall. Her uncle, "the Duke of Norfolk," says Burnet, "at court, and Gardiner beyond sea [then in France], thought there might easily be found a means to accommodate the king both with the emperor and even Paul III., *if* the queen were once out of the way, for then he might freely marry any one he pleased, and that marriage, with the male issue of it, could not be disputed; whereas, so long as the queen lived, her marriage, as being judged null from the beginning, could never be allowed by the court of Rome."

Vain indeed would have been all the machinations of her enemies had the king continued constant in his affection. For some time after the marriage he was in this respect all that could be desired; but his fickle heart having at length gone astray after another paragon of beauty, in the person of Jane Seymour, one of Anne's maids of honour, it was gradually withdrawn from Anne. He

began to look upon her with altered countenance, and to speak to her in an altered tone. His former admiration and tenderness gave place to indifference, which at last settled into inveterate hatred. Such was his state of feeling towards her when she was near the period of her second confinement. On the 29th of January, 1536, she was prematurely delivered of a dead son, and her life was believed to be in danger. Some have attributed this premature birth to grief caused by the king's decayed affection and unkindness, for she had observed his rising passion for Jane Seymour, and this had occasioned some disagreeable words between her and his majesty. Others have ascribed it to alarm, excited by the intelligence that he had been thrown from his horse while hunting. But whether it was owing to the one or the other of these causes, or to both combined, the king, it is certain, so far from cherishing and comforting his sorrowful wife in her afflicted circumstances, treated her harshly. He is even said to have inhumanly reproached her with the loss of his child, telling her that he would have no more boys by her.[1] These cruel, outrageous words, so different from what she had been once accustomed to hear from his lips—these words of fatal augury, the signal of the coming storm, and the sullen tone in which they were spoken—sent pangs of agony to her wounded heart. But though she could not fail to see the total revolution his affections had undergone, she did not and could not now anticipate all that was to follow.

Her enemies, on the watch for her overthrow, had observed his growing coldness towards her, which they now laboured with malignant industry to increase, by filling his ears with reports injurious to her conjugal fidelity; and her open frank disposition, which made her of easy access, and led her to allow her domestics a freedom in conversing with her not consonant to the restraints of royal etiquette, afforded these liers in wait an opportunity of representing her as being on terms of unlawful familiarity with some of her at-

[1] Wyatt.

tendants. Jane Parker,[1] a wicked and profligate woman, to whom Lord Rochford, Anne's brother, was unhappily married, and who mortally hated Anne, was the most zealously active of these tale-bearers. She had told the king, with every aggravating circumstance malice could invent, the story of an alleged declaration made by Lady Wingfield upon oath on her death-bed, prejudicial to Anne's chastity;[2] which is said to have made a deep impression on the mind of Henry, for he was naturally jealous, and jealousy is always credulous. His eager desire to be released from the nuptial ties, that he might exalt another, to whom he had now transferred his heart, to his bed and throne, would give strength to his credulity. These various passions combined, under the strong, irresistible, overmastering influence of which men will harden themselves against every feeling of compassion, and commit crimes of the blackest dye, easily account for his haste in adopting measures against Anne, and for his unrelenting cruelty in at length bringing her to that dreadful end which has imparted such a tragic interest to her history.

Before the queen had fully recovered from the sorrow of mind and feebleness of frame caused by her premature confinement and the loss of her boy, investigations into her conduct had been set on foot, with the sanction of Henry. On the 24th of April, a secret commission was formally appointed, consisting of certain peers and judges, expressly for this purpose; but previous to the formal appointment of this commission, scandalous matter against her must have been collected, and various deliberations must have taken place in regard to it, and its consequences as to her honour, station, and

[1] The daughter of Sir Henry Parker, Lord Morley. She was a blinded devotee of Popery, which may partly account for her hatred of the queen, whose principles she held in detestation.

[2] Lady Wingfield was Anne's intimate friend; but who the person was to whom she made this solemn dying declaration, and what was her state of mind when she made it, if she made it at all, is not known. "The safest sort of forgery," says Burnet, "to one whose conscience can swallow it, is to lay a thing on a dead person's name, where there is no fear of discovery before the great day."—*History of the Reformation*, vol. i., p. 360.

even life. The men selected for this commission were the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; the Earls of Oxford and Westmoreland, Wiltshire and Sussex; Lord Sands; Sirs William Fitz-james, William Paulet, John Fitz-james, John Baldwin, Richard Lyster, John Porte, John Spelman, Walter Luke, Anthony Fitz-herbert, Thomas Inglefield, and William Shelly, with Audley as Lord Chancellor, and Secretary Cromwell. But what was the character of these men? This is an important question, as it will serve to assist us in determining the amount of justice and impartiality to be expected from such judges. All of them were slaves to the will of Henry, and, with one or two exceptions, the determined supporters of Popery. "Here was *Howard*, Duke of Norfolk, who, though her maternal uncle, hated the queen as cordially as he did 'the new learning;' *Charles Brandon*, Duke of Suffolk, Henry's brother-in-law and special favourite, so ready to gratify him in all his humours; *John de Vere*, Earl of Oxford, who supported all the measures of the court; *Robert Radcliff*, who had been restored to honour by Henry as Lord Fitz-walter, in 1525, and since then created Earl of Sussex; *William Sands*, the Lord Chamberlain of the king's household, who had been made a baron, and got the Buckingham estates. Here we have eleven knights, eight of whom were compliant judges; and as for another, *William Paulett*, the Comptroller of the king's house, he was a man of the most convenient politics, who, when asked, at the end of a long life, how he preserved himself through so many changes? answered, 'By being a willow and not an oak.' *Audley* was always obsequious to his royal master; and as to Cromwell, the share he took in this business must speak for itself, in connection with his future career. But with regard to the Earl of Wiltshire, the *father* of the queen and of Lord Rochford, *his* name being inserted, was a stroke of hand quite worthy of Henry's barbarity, and must have been done to save appearances. His name never occurs afterwards, and it is certain that he did not preside at the mock trial."[1]

[1] Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., p. 462. Burnet at first inserted Anne's father's name, but he had not then seen, as he afterwards saw, a record of the

Coming distressing events often cast back their shadows to the present, and the mind, from causes difficult to be explained, is haunted with forebodings of some inevitable calamity. Henry IV. of France, long before Ravaillac armed himself with the deadly weapon, often thought he heard the tread of the assassin's foot, and felt in his breast as it were the assassin's knife, and the fearful impression would startle him both in his waking and sleeping hours. Anne, too, had presentiments, warning her, like prophetic voices, of something terrible looming in the distance. Notwithstanding the affirmation of most historians to the contrary, she was, it appears, not altogether ignorant of the conspiracy formed for her ruin; and she seems, from her knowledge of Henry's alienation from her, and from rumours communicated to her, to have foreboded but too truly the fatal issue. About a day or two after the appointment of a special commission to inquire into her conduct, she had a long and serious interview with her chaplain, Matthew Parker, to whom she expressed great anxiety about her daughter Elizabeth, of whose religious education she with solemn earnestness besought him to take the charge.[1] To this scene Parker refers in a letter to one of Queen Elizabeth's councillors, in which, while declining the archbishopric of Canterbury, he says, "Yet I would fain serve my sovereign lady in more respects than my allegiance, since I cannot forget what words her grace's mother said to me not six days before her apprehension."[2]

On the first day of May, called May-day, the court being then at Greenwich, the king had a splendid tilting match or mock fight; and on that day he gave the first public demonstration of his evil intentions against the queen. Though a secret commission was at that very time sitting to collect evidence against her, and the whole plan for the destruction of herself and of her alleged accomplices

trial, now lost, from which he was convinced that the earl was not present. He therefore expunged the name from the subsequent edition of his history.

[1] Lingard.

[2] Burnet's *Reformation*, vol. iv., p. 492.

had been settled,[1] two of them, her brother Lord Rochfield, and Sir Henry Norris, were the principal actors in the amusements of the tilt-yard, the one being the chief challenger, and the other the defendant, while she sat by the side of the king witnessing the



Anne charging Matthew Parker to take charge of the education of her daughter.

spectacle. In his present state of morbid jealousy he was probably more intent upon discovering, from the conduct of his wife, something confirmatory of her guilty intimacy with the combatants, than

[1] Of this there can be no doubt. On the 14th of April, 1536, Henry dissolved a Parliament which had sat for six years. On the 27th of that month writs were issued for a new Parliament to meet on the 8th of June. And that the conspiracy against Anne had been matured *when these writs were issued*, that is, four days before the May-day scene, is evident from Sir Thomas Audley, the Lord Chancellor's address at the opening of the new Parliament; in which he tells them that his majesty's objects in assembling them so early after the dissolution of last Parliament, were, 1, "To settle an heir-apparent to the crown, in case he should die without children lawfully begotten; and 2, to repeal an act of the former Parliament as to the succession of the crown, to the issue of the king by Queen Anne Boleyn." These objects, it thus appears, were full in view on the 27th of April.

upon deriving amusement from their feats of arms. The interest she would naturally evince, and the gratification she would naturally express, on witnessing the achievements of an accomplished and beloved brother, and of a gallant knight of her acquaintance, anxious to win her approbation, would almost inevitably rouse the suspicions of Henry. The particular incident upon which he first openly expressed his displeasure is not known with certainty. It is said to have been upon the queen's having dropped a handkerchief to one of the combatants, heated in the course, to wipe his face, a use to which he instantly applied it.[1] This, if true, either excited Henry's jealousy, or afforded him, as he thought, a plausible pretext for giving vent to his pent-up hatred against her, and suddenly rising from his seat, he withdrew from the balcony in great wrath. Extremely alarmed, she immediately hurried after him to inquire the cause; which, however, from rumours previously conveyed to her, she probably conjectured. The king, who had renounced all idea of being ever again reconciled to her, that she might not see him again, which she never did, had mounted his horse for Westminster with only six attendants, one of whom was Sir Henry Norris, leaving orders that she should not quit her apartments. On the way he minutely examined Norris, putting to him a thousand questions with great earnestness, and promising him his freedom provided he would make disclosures; but Norris on no consideration would criminate the queen. He was therefore committed to the Tower next day, being the 2d of May, and on the same day, Sir Francis Weston, with Lord Rochford, were also imprisoned in the Tower. Anne had resolved to proceed in the afternoon of that day to Westminster, to meet with the king, and endeavour to allay his irritation. But she had not proceeded far up the river on her way, when her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, who, throughout the whole of the proceedings against her, acted a very

[1] Sanders is the sole authority, and he is certainly not one of the best, for her dropping the handkerchief.



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ARREST OF ANNE BOLEYN.

unfeeling and unnatural part, and several other members of council came on board, and produced an order for her arrest.[1] "It is his majesty's pleasure," said Norfolk, "that you should go to the Tower." At the announcement she blanched and was unnerved for a moment; but, regaining her self-possession, she replied, "If it is his majesty's pleasure, I am ready to obey." On arriving about five o'clock in the



Anne Boleyn a Prisoner at the Gate of the Tower.

afternoon at the gate of the Tower—that Tower which had once been her palace—falling down upon her knees, she uttered with great emotion the prayer, "O Lord, help me, as I am guiltless of this whereof I am accused."[2] With a shudder of horror, she asked Sir William Kingston, lieutenant of the Tower, "Mr. Kingston, do I go into a dungeon?" Kingston, who was a man of a stern unfeeling character, but who affected great courtesy towards prisoners of dis-

[1] According to others they produced their order to her before she left Greenwich.
[2] Herbert's *Henry VIII.*, p. 194.

tinction,[1] replied softly, as if he had been her guardian angel, "No, Madam, you shall go into your lodging, that you lay in at your coronation." This was indeed true, for instead of being shut up in a cell, she was allowed to occupy the royal apartments in the Tower, usually appropriated to the queens of England, a portion of which was called the Marten Tower.[2] But the answer awakened painful recollections. The thought that within the building where the crown of England had been placed upon her brow, she was now to be imprisoned, the contrast of the imposing splendour of her coronation day, when she felt as if the happiest of human beings, with her present wretched condition, almost overwhelmed her, and she cried out, "It is too good for me—Jesus have mercy on me." She then kneeled down, weeping bitterly, and in the midst of this sorrow fell into a fit of laughing, as she frequently did afterwards—the laughter of anguish, and not the effect merely of strong nervous agitation. Anguish venting itself in laughter is indeed the most terrible of all. It is anguish, in the delirium of agony or despair, betaking itself to opposites, when its natural forms of expression by tears and cries are felt to be inadequate. She desired Kingston to petition his majesty "that she might have the sacrament in the closet by her chamber, that she might pray for mercy; for," she added, "I am as clear from

[1] Cardinal Wolsey well knew the character of this cold-hearted but smooth-tongued jailer. Upon Wolsey's fall, when the Earl of Northumberland—Anne's old lover—had received orders to arrest him for high treason, and to bring him to London, to undergo his trial, Cavendish, the cardinal's gentleman-usher, having told his master that Mr. Kingston and twenty-four of the guards had been sent to conduct him to his majesty, "Mr. Kingston!" replied the cardinal, repeating the name several times, and then clasping his hand on his thigh, he gave a deep sigh. And when Kingston treated him with all the marks of respect which had been paid to him in the pride of his glory, and to revive his dejected spirits, reminded him of the generosity of his noble-hearted master, Wolsey, in whose ears all this sounded very like mockery, knowing that he had fallen, never to rise again, simply said, "Mr. Kingston, all the comfortable words ye have spoken to me, be spoken but for a purpose to bring me into a fool's paradise: I *know* what is provided for me."—Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*.

[2] The autograph of her name is still to be seen in the wall of the Marten Tower. The part where it appears is now a lobby, and represented in the annexed engraving.—See a facsimile of the autograph, on the last page of this life.

the company of men, as for sin, as I am clear from you, and am the king's true wedded wife." She expressed much anxiety about her brother, and also evinced the tenderest solicitude about her mother-in-law, with whom she was on terms of endeared affection, exclaiming, "O my mother, thou wilt die for sorrow." [1]



Part of the Morten Tower as now existing.

The fullest accounts of the last days of her life, from her imprisonment in the Tower to her death, is contained in a series of letters written by Sir William Kingston to Cromwell.[2] From these letters

[1] Her own mother died in 1512

[2] These letters of Kingston, which are preserved in MS., Cotton, Otho, c x, fol. 225, British Museum, were in part mutilated by the ravages of the fire of 1731. They are printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, first series, vol. ii., pp. 52 65; and in vol. ii. of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, edited by Singer, who has filled up the blanks from Strype, who had seen the letters before their being damaged by fire.

we learn that female attendants, in whom she had no confidence, and of whom she bitterly complained, Lady Boleyn[1] and Mrs. Cosyns, attended her by day and by night, sleeping on the pallet at the foot of her bed; that these heartless and faithless women triumphed over her misfortunes, insulted her by their unfeeling remarks, were on the watch to catch and report every word she uttered, in the wild frenzy of grief; and that, with the view of extorting from her own lips a confession of criminality, they artfully questioned and cross-questioned her, but that she persevered to the last in avowing her innocence. Kingston and his wife slept at the outside of her chamber door. Two other ladies, who, it would appear, were truly friendly to her, one of whom Miss Strickland supposes was Mary Wyatt, sister of her early and devoted friend, Sir Thomas Wyatt, were permitted to attend her, though under such restrictions, that they were not allowed to have any communication with her except in the presence of Kingston and his wife; and they slept in an adjoining apartment. During her imprisonment, she sometimes thought that Henry was only trying her; at other times she believed that her doom was sealed. But she gradually disciplined her mind to submission, whatever might happen.

Cranmer had not been made privy to what had been secretly going on against the queen; yet as his official services would be afterwards needed in some of the measures contemplated, he was summoned by Cromwell, in obedience to the king's orders, from the country, where he was then residing, to Lambeth. Only a week before the May-day scene, namely, on the 22d of April, he was residing at Knole, in Kent, as appears from the date of a letter which he then wrote to Cromwell, and he was probably still there when he received Cromwell's letters requiring him to return to Lambeth, but forbidding him to come into the royal presence until he should receive further orders; a prohibition which, on the part of the king, looked very like the shrinking of a self-condemned

[1] This lady was the wife of Anne's uncle, Sir Edward Boleyn.

wrong-doer from meeting with a man whose office it was to condemn injustice and cruelty. But still the king, not being ignorant of Cranmer's pliancy of disposition, had no fears that the prelate would traverse his designs, and believed that it would be easy to convert him into an instrument for carrying into execution that part of the plot requiring his assistance. Cranmer arrived at Lambeth on the 2d of May, the day on which Anne was sent to the Tower. He was now in great perplexity. Two different kinds of feelings were struggling in his breast, a desire to vindicate the queen, whom gratitude as well as justice bound him to protect if innocent, and a desire to please the monarch, to whom he was too often criminally obsequious. These two sorts of feelings will explain the peculiar character of his letter to the king, written on the following day, a letter which has been very oppositely described by different historians. Influenced by the one class of feelings, he pleads in behalf of Anne, of whose character he affirms he had always entertained a very high opinion; impelled by the other class, he seems willing to gratify the monarch's thirst for vengeance. Speaking of the reports as to the queen's grace, he thus writes:—"I am in such a perplexity that my mind is clean amazed: for I never had better opinion of woman than I had of her, which maketh me think that she should not be culpable." And again, "I think that your highness would not have gone so far except she had been surely culpable. Now I think that your grace best knoweth that, next unto your grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace to suffer me in that which both God's law, nature, and also her kindness bindeth me unto; that is, that I may, with your grace's favour, wish and pray for her, that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, considering your grace's goodness towards her, and from what condition your grace, of your only mere goodness, took her, and set a crown upon her head, I repute him not your grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not desire the offence without mercy to be punished to the example of

others. And as I loved her not a little for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and his gospel; so if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his gospel that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they favour the gospel, the more they will hate her; for then there was never creature in our time that so much slandered the gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed his gospel in her mouth, and not in heart and deed. . . . . From Lambeth, the 3d day of May."

This letter, so far from being serviceable, must have been deeply injurious to the cause of Anne. Cranmer, indeed, expresses the high opinion he had always formed of her character, and speaks in laudatory terms of the encouragement she had given to the Reformation; but the verbosity and emphasis with which he dwells upon the severe punishment deserved by her *if guilty*, tended, as coming from one in whose judgment Henry placed as much confidence as a monarch so ungovernable and self-willed could repose in any man, to justify to his own mind his murderous purpose. It was giving prominence to that side of the question on which the thoughts of Henry most dwelt, and in his present state of mind would rather slacken the reins than restrain him in the course he was so furiously driving. Why did not Cranmer introduce and dwell with equal force on another supposition—the fearful guilt the monarch would incur should he condemn the queen *if she was innocent?* This, as he well knew, would have been ungrateful to the royal ears; but the life of an unprotected lady was at stake, and the whole truth should have been plainly told at all hazards. Fain would Cranmer have bridled the monarch's fury, and claimed even-handed justice for the accused queen; but his cautious timorous disposition unqualified him to be the firm and fearless defender of the innocent and the oppressed against the ruthless power of a royal oppressor. This letter betrays the leading defect in his character—the want of decision, so especially necessary in those stormy times to thorough integrity of conduct, and a facility of disposition which made him too easily led

astray by others, contrary to his own better judgment and feelings —a defect regretted by his warmest friends, and sneeringly blazoned by the enemies of the Reformation, who can never forgive his zealous services in its behalf.

After having finished this letter, he was sent for to the star chamber by some of the king's ministers. On his arrival they recounted to him the tale of her alleged guilt, and succeeded in getting him to believe in her criminality. This we learn from the postscript added to the letter: "After I had written this letter," says he, "unto your grace, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord of Oxford, my Lord of Sussex, and [Sands] my Lord Chamberlain of your grace's house, sent for me to come unto the star chamber, and there declared unto me such things as your grace's pleasure was they should make me privy to, for the which I am most bounden unto your grace. And what communications we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report thereof unto your grace. I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved against the queen, as I heard of *their* relation, but I am, and ever shall be your faithful subject." This portscript, even more than the letter, tended to confirm Henry in his fatal purpose. Cranmer, we see, now believed the queen to be guilty, and gives up her defence, upon the simple authority of the story told him by these lords. Thus to condemn her without proof, was equally uncharitable and unjust. Had he expressed his resolute determination not to condemn her till her guilt was established—had he made the most earnest intercessions in her behalf—there is no reason to think that he could have preserved her from destruction; but this course, injurious though it might have been to his temporal interests, justice demanded, and it would have yielded true satisfaction to his own mind, for no one will ever repent of leaning to the side of charity and of mercy.

On the 6th of May Anne wrote her celebrated letter to the king —a letter universally admired for its beautiful composition, its affecting eloquence, and indicating a highly cultivated mind. She

acknowledges her deep obligations to his majesty, for exalting her from a comparatively low station to the highest rank to which female ambition could aspire. She assures him that this sudden vicissitude had not taken her by surprise, as, even in the hey-day of prosperity, she had anticipated such an event as not improbable. She maintains her innocence of the crimes imputed to her, demands a lawful and open trial, and the exclusion of her sworn enemies from acting as her accusers and judges. In short, she expresses a generous solicitude about the preservation of the lives of the individuals criminated on her account.[1] But in vain did she appeal to Henry's justice and mercy; and his heart remaining impenetrably obdurate to her touching eloquence, she could appeal to no other quarter for her life. His will was supreme, and she had, therefore, now to make up her mind patiently to submit to whatever treatment he should doom her to undergo.

Forgetting, or not knowing, from her imperfect experience of human character, how her fallen fortunes would change the countenances and the hearts of her friends, she placed upon those whom she conceived to be the best portion of them a confidence doomed, alas! to disappointment. "I would I had my bishops," said she to Kingston, "for they would all go to the king for me."[2] That Bishop Shaxton, then professedly a zealous disciple of the Reformation, but a wolf in sheep's clothing, made no effort in her behalf, need not excite our surprise. He had pressed forward to do her honour; he had courted her favour, fawned upon and flattered her, so long as he expected some brilliant advantage as the fruit of his cringing homage; but when calamity had now overtaken her, instead of applauding he condemned her, instead of respectfully bowing the knee he contemptuously shook the head. His letter to Cromwell on the 23d of May, four days after her execution, betrays the genuine spirit of the man. It is now much mutilated by fire, but these imperfect passages are still legible: "She sore slandered the

[1] See this letter in *Appendix*, No. I.

[2] MS. Otho, c. x., p. 260; quoted in Turner's *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 434.

same—hath exceedingly deceived me—that vice that she was found —Lord have mercy on her soul." But even the best of her bishops, partaking of the imperfection and infirmity of human nature, and afraid of incurring the monarch's displeasure, left her solitary and unprotected. They shrunk from claiming for her case, what gratitude and justice equally bound them to do, an impartial investigation; the avoidance of precipitation, as injurious to dispassionate inquiry and an upright decision; and that mercy which, even should she be found guilty, it would have been creditable for all concerned in the prosecution to have extended to her. Finding at length that she was thus unbefriended and forsaken by all, the thoughts, trite, because founded on daily experience, expressed in the *Rambler*, would affectingly and strongly suggest themselves to her mind:—

> "When smiling fortune spreads her golden ray,
> All crowd around to flatter and obey;
> But when she thunders from an angry sky,
> Our friends, our flatterers, and lovers fly."

On the 10th of May, seven of those judges who had been on the special commission for making inquiry into the conduct of the queen, having met with the grand jury of Westminster, consisting of seven squires and nine gentlemen, the criminating matter collected against her was considered, and by the verdict of the jury, given upon their oaths, a bill of indictment for high treason[1] was found against her; Sir Henry Norris, groom of the stole to the king; Sir Francis Weston and William Brereton, gentlemen of the

[1] "Two legal explanations of this proceeding have been attempted. The first is founded on the statute of treasons, 25 Ed. III., which made it high treason to *violate* the queen; a word which had been understood as applicable to any illicit connection with her. As accessory to the treason of her paramours, she became, by operation of law, a principal in the crime. The other represents the indictment as under the late statute, which made it treason 'to slander the succession of her issue' by the profession of love to others, with which she was charged. It is hard to say which of these constructions was the most forced and fantastic. But it seems evident, from the use of the word *violavit* in the indictment, that the prosecutors, in spite of the common meaning of this word, which implies force, chose to rely on the statute of Edward III." —Sir James Mackintosh's *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 195.

privy chamber; Mark Smeaton, a man of inferior rank, who, on account of his skill as a performer on musical instruments, had been promoted to be groom of the chamber; and George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, Anne's brother.

The indictment, which is in barbarous Latin, is too gross for the public eye; and the very grossness of the accusations is a strong presumption of their being base and clumsy fabrications. It represents her as being in every instance the seducer, and while the charges go back nearly three years, there is always an interval of several days, sometimes of several weeks, between her solicitations and the commission of the crime, a circumstance unlike the impetuosity of passion, and giving the document very much the appearance of having been manufactured for the occasion. "It is hard to believe," says Sir James Mackintosh, "that Anne could have dared to lead a life so unnaturally dissolute, without such vices being more easily and very generally known in a watchful and adverse court. It is still more improbable that she should in every instance be the seducer; and that in all cases the enticement should systematically occur in one day, while the offence should be completed several days after."[1] Turner, the apologist of Henry, and by no means a partizan of Anne, after giving an abstract of the indictment from one of the Birch manuscripts,[2] observes, "These circumstances do not resemble those of a true case, nor suit the natural conduct of a shameless woman. I have more doubt of her criminality since I met with this specifying record than I had before. The regular distinctions between the days of allurement and the days of offence are very like the made up facts of a fabricated accusation."[3] "The first alleged offence," says Miss Strickland, "is with Norris, and is dated October 6, 1533, within a month after the birth of the princess Elizabeth, which statement brings its own refutation, for the queen had not then quitted her lying-in chamber."

[1] *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 196.
[2] It is printed in full in Bayle's *Dictionary*, art. Boleyn.
[3] *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 444.

As to the imputation involving her brother, the only circumstance adduced in proof was that he was once seen leaning on her bed[1]—a circumstance to which only such as were malignantly set on framing a criminal charge from nothing would have attached the smallest importance. How malicious the enemies by whom she was surrounded, and with what minute unceasing attention must her conduct have been watched and pried into, when a harmless incident like this was converted into a monstrous crime! The more unnatural, and consequently the more improbable the crime, every principle of reason and of justice demanded that the proof of guilt should be so much the stronger. And if, upon the slender circumstance mentioned, her enemies—in their eagerness to ruin her honour, and blast her name, and bring her to the scaffold—pronounced her guilty of the atrocious, the unnatural crime of incest, we may be sure that they would have little scruple in pronouncing her guilty of all the other accusations, however lame the evidence.

In their ardour to find criminating matter against her, her enemies had recourse to the artifice of insinuating or directly saying to each of the prisoners, which was a base falsehood, that his fellows had confessed, in order to induce him to make confession. This artifice was practised even upon Anne, who was told by her uncle, or by his orders, that Norris had confessed the truth of all the charges, which was false. Verily, men who could make use of such unprincipled arts, would stick at no falsehood, however flagrant, at no sort or size of calumny, by which they might compass the destruction of their victim.

Smeaton was the only one of the prisoners who confessed anything to her disadvantage. But how his confession was obtained, how far it extended, or what were the conditions of it, we are ignorant.[2] Whatever was its amount, it is said to have been obtained

[1] Burnet's *Reformation*, vol. i., p. 197.

[2] Soames's *Reformation in England*, vol. ii, p. 135.—Sir James Mackintosh's *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 196.

by means of the rack, though, from the secrecy with which his examination was conducted, this has not been authenticated. "Upon May-day in the morning," says Constantine, a contemporary, "he was in the Tower; the truth is he confessed it, but yet the saying was that he was first grievously racked, which I could never know of a truth."[1] It has also been said that he was encouraged to confess by a promise of life. "He was provoked thereunto," says Grafton, "by the Lord Admiral Fitzwilliams, that was after Earl of Southampton, who said unto him, Subscribe Mark (meaning to a confession, criminating himself, the queen, and others), and see what will come of it."[2] A confession obtained by such means, in a case like the present, is entitled to little credit. And what is to be thought of statesmen who, in their eagerness to accomplish the purpose of their master, were so base as to make such a promise, while they had no intention of keeping it? The other three, Lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, and Brereton, persisted to the last in denying their own criminality, and in asserting their conviction of the queen's innocence. Norris in particular, though offered his life by Henry if he would make confession against her, spurned the offer. His humanity and generosity revolted at the idea of purchasing life upon such terms, and he declared that in his conscience he believed her to be blameless, and that he would die a thousand deaths rather than betray the innocent. On hearing this strong protestation of Norris, Henry cried out, "Hang him up, then! Hang him up, then!"[3] the words of a man who, maddened into demoniacal fury against the woman whom he now mortally hated, could have thrust the dagger to the very hilt in her heart with his own hand, and who was clearly determined to get quit of her, at whatever cost. The fact that Smeaton alone would criminate the queen, greatly perplexed her enemies. Sir Edward Baynton thus writes with much concern to Sir William Fitzwilliams, treasurer of the household, a very active agent in the plot: —"Mr. Treasurer, this shall be to advertise you,

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii., p. 64.
[2] Grafton's *Chronicle*, edit. London, 1809, vol. ii., p. 456.
[3] Godwin.



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THE TRIAL OF ANNE BOLEYN.

that here is much communication that no man will confess anything against her, but only Mark [Smeaton]. Wherefore, in my foolish conceit, it should much touch the king's honour if it should no farther appear;" and, as has been truly said, it never did.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM HER TRIAL TO HER EXECUTION.

ON the 15th of May, the queen and her brother were brought to trial before their peers. Her maternal uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, who was constituted Lord High Steward, presided, supported on the right hand by Lord Chancellor Audley, and on the left by the Duke of Suffolk, while the Earl of Surrey sat as Earl Marshal in front, before his father, the Duke of Norfolk. Only twenty-seven peers in all were present, though the number of the peerage at that period amounted to fifty-three; the rest not choosing to attend, or doubts being entertained of their subserviency to the wishes of the monarch, they had not been summoned, or means had been adopted to prevent their attendance. It is an important fact that these peers were men notorious for their servility to the monarch, and indebted to him for honourable titles and lucrative appointments, to which must be added, that with one or two exceptions, they were hostile to the Reformation, and therefore far from being actuated by friendly feelings towards the queen, its friend and supporter. From a court constituted of such men, it could hardly be expected that either she or her brother would obtain an impartial trial.

The court was held in a temporary wooden hall, erected for the purpose within the Tower; and the trial was private, only Sir Ralph Warren as Lord Mayor, with divers aldermen and citizens, being permitted to be present.[1] This privacy, it was pretended, pro-

[1] Lord Herbert's *Henry VIII.*, p. 195.

ceeded from motives of delicacy, from respect to Anne's feelings, to save her the pain of being exhibited to public view under such scandalous imputations. But it was rather intended to prevent the manifestation of popular feeling in her favour, of which Henry, who, notwithstanding his self-will and tyranny, was not indifferent to the good opinion of the people, had evinced during the whole of the proceedings a sensitive dread. That this was the real motive for excluding the public from witnessing her trial, as afterwards from witnessing her execution, is evident from some statements in a letter of Sir William Kingston, lieutenant of the Tower, to Cromwell, to be afterwards quoted. "It could not be," as has been well observed, "to conceal the heinousness of the accusation, though such might be the pretence; for that was published in Parliament a few weeks after." This privacy was a strong temptation to injustice, for whatever unfair dealing might be practised, it would not meet the public eye; and it seems to betray a conviction that the proceedings would not stand the open light.

Lord Rochford was first brought to the bar of the court. His indictment being read, he pleaded not guilty. His own wife, Jane Parker, his principal accuser, appeared a willing witness against him. He made an eloquent and powerful defence, and his judges were at first divided. But he was finally found guilty, and condemned to be beheaded.

The trial of her brother having been concluded, Anne was brought to the bar by a gentleman-usher. She appeared attended only by the faithless and cold-hearted women who waited upon her as spies in her prison. On entering the court she bowed with becoming respect and dignity to the judges. She was desired to take her seat on a chair which had been made for the occasion. The trial proceeded, and her manner throughout was composed, but without the effrontery of a hardened culprit. The indictment was read, upon hearing which, she held up her hand and pleaded not guilty. Jane Parker, her brother's unprincipled abandoned wife, was one of the witnesses brought forward against her. Who the others were, and

what were their depositions, cannot now be known, the whole of the evidence produced having perished,[1] nothing remaining but the indictment, precepts, and conviction. "For the evidence," says Wyatt, "as I never could hear of any, so small I believe it was. It seems the triers themselves doubted their proofs would prove their reproofs, when they durst not bring them to the proof of the light in open place." Whether or not use was made of Smeaton's confession at the queen's trial is unknown. His evidence was perhaps produced in court; but he was never confronted with her, her enemies being apparently afraid lest, when brought to face her, he would shrink from the criminating testimony extorted by promises and threatenings—another circumstance creating a strong suspicion that these men were far from being satisfied themselves as to her guilt.

No counsel being allowed to appear in her behalf, to question and cross-question the witnesses, and to present her cause in the most favourable light, she was left to defend herself as she best could. This in all cases would be a hard alternative, but especially in the case of woman. Had Anne, when placed in such unusual and trying circumstances, made no defence, it would not have been wonderful. But she was not altogether silent; and her defence, though brief, left on the minds of at least some of the spectators, the conviction that she was innocent, and that the accusations against her were the offspring of malice and revenge. "The evidence was heard, indeed," says Wyatt, "but close enough, as enclosed

[1] "The records of her trial," says Lingard, the Popish historian, "have perished, perhaps by the hands of those who respected her memory." "Whether destroyed," says Ellis, "by Henry VIII., or Elizabeth, is not known." It is, however, unnatural to suppose that Elizabeth, or any who respected Anne's memory, would have destroyed the evidence, and preserved the indictment which loads her with such infamous crimes. It is more reasonable to ascribe the destruction of the records of the trial to Henry, who, convinced of the lameness of the evidence, took this precaution to prevent posterity from testing its inadequacy. This is a strong presumption in favour of the innocence of Anne. Henry's motives in allowing the indictment to remain, could only be to brand her name with dishonour, and to vindicate himself in the eyes of posterity.

in strong walls. Yet to show that the truth cannot by any force be altogether kept concealed, some belike of those honourable personages who were there, more perhaps for countenance of others' evil than that by their own authority they might do good (which also, peradventure, would not have been without certain peril to themselves), did not yet forbear to say things which caused it to be everywhere muttered abroad, that that spotless queen in her defence had cleared herself with a most wise and noble speech."[1] The Lord Mayor, and others who were present, afterwards told some of their friends, "that they saw no evidence against her, only it appeared that it was resolved to get quit of her."[2]

But a majority, if not all of the peers on the trial, crouching beneath the remorseless power of Henry, pronounced her guilty. Whether any of them resisted this finding is not known; but their opposition would have been fruitless, for unanimity is not required to give effect to the decision of the peers, as is the case with regard to the verdict of a jury, a majority being deemed sufficient either for condemnation or acquittal. The sentence, which was that she should be beheaded or burned, according to his majesty's pleasure, was pronounced by her unnatural uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, and she heard it with unaltered countenance. On hearing the fatal words, lifting up her hands and eyes towards heaven, she exclaimed, "O Father and Creator! O thou who art the way, the truth, and the life! thou knowest that I have not deserved this death."[3] "It is difficult," says Turner, "to connect with Anne Boleyn's character such a mockery of what she most venerated, as to reconcile this ejaculation with her consciousness of guilt."[4] This solemn ejaculation, which was like laying hold on the arm of Omnipotence, imparted to her mind a degree of tranquillity, and turning to the judges, she addressed them with uncommon self-possession, in these words:—"My Lords, I will not say that your sentence is unjust, nor presume that my opinion ought to be preferred to the

[1] Wyatt. [2] Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, edit. Haigue, 1618, p. 21. [3] *Ibid.* p. 21. [4] *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 446.

judgment of you all. I believe you have reasons and occasions of suspicion and jealousy, upon which you have condemned me; but they must be other than have been produced in this court: for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations; so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have always been a faithful and loyal wife to the king. I have not, perhaps, at all times shown him that humility and reverence which his goodness to me, and the high honour bestowed by him upon me, did deserve. I confess that I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion enough to manage; but God knows, and is my witness, that I never trespassed otherwise against him: and at the moment of my death I shall confess nothing else. Think not that I say this to prolong my life: God has taught me how to die, and by his grace he will fortify my spirit. Yet do not think that I am in such a state of mind, as not to lay the honour of my chastity to heart. Of this I should make small account now, in my extremity, if I had not maintained it, my whole life long, as much as ever queen did. I know that these, my last words, will signify nothing, but to justify my honour and my chastity. As for my brother, and those others who are unjustly condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths to deliver them; but since I see it so pleases the king, I must bear with their death; and shall depart with them out of the world, under an assurance of leading with them an endless life in peace."[1]

The tone of candour, subdued feeling, natural eloquence, and good sense pervading this address, could hardly fail, in the circumstances, to make a deep impression on all present.

[1] This, as well as her ejaculation on hearing the sentence pronounced, is from Meteren, the Dutch consul-general's *Histoire des Pays Bas*, who has given in prose her address and ejaculation from a poetical narrative by Crispin, Lord of Milherve, a Frenchman, who was in London at the time, and an eye-witness of what he describes. The poet, for the sake of the metre, may have somewhat amplified what she really said. The metrical *Histoire d'Anne Boleyn, par un Contemporain*, published a considerable number of years ago, from a manuscript in the *Bibliothéque du Roi*, is supposed to be Crispin's work. It is dated London, 2d June, only fourteen days after Anne's death.

Life is sweet, and Anne, it would appear, even after the sentence, indulged the hope of the commutation of capital punishment into banishment from England. This hope, during the short time of its continuance, brightened up her countenance. She spoke of retiring to Antwerp, and there spending the remainder of her days in peaceful obscurity. "This day [16th May], at dinner," writes Sir William Kingston to Cromwell, "the queen said that she should go to Antwerp, and is in hope of life." But she was not to be allowed to live, even in exile and seclusion, forgotten by the world.

On the 17th of May, Lord Rochford, Norris, Brereton, and Smeaton were executed. The first three were beheaded, in consideration of their rank, and the last was hanged. The mother and wife of Sir Francis Weston had earnestly implored Henry for the life of Weston, and offered a ransom of a hundred thousand crowns. But the relentless heart of the monarch was not to be moved by the tempting bribe. Lord Rochford on the scaffold protested his innocence, and encouraged his companions to meet death with unshrinking fortitude.[1] Then turning to the spectators, he thus addressed

[1] Lord Rochford was a man of great personal beauty, and possessed, in no common degree, a talent for poetical composition; qualities which made him the idol of the ladies in Henry's court. He is supposed to have been the author of several poems, published along with those of his friends, the Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt, in Tottel's *Miscellany of Songs and Sonnettes*, 1568. Only one, however, has been expressly named as his, printed in Ellis's *Specimens and other Miscellanies of Ancient Poetry*. It has been much admired for its beauty, and begins thus:—

"My lute, awake, perform the last
Labour that thou and I shall waste."

In the verses prefixed by Richard Smith to George Gascoigne's *Poetical Works*, he is thus eulogized:—

"——— Rochford clamb the stately throne
Which muses hold in Helicon."

Cavendish, too, Wolsey's gentleman-usher, though, being a Papist, he is strongly prepossessed against Anne on account of her favour for the reformed doctrines, and regards her, and all who were involved in her fate, as guilty of the crimes imputed to them, and therefore as justly punished by death, yet celebrates, in his *Metrical Legends*, both the personal attractions and poetical genius of Lord Rochford. He introduces his lordship after death as thus passing in vision before him, and speaking:—

them: "I am come here to die, since the king has so ordered it. I desire you that no man will be discouraged from the gospel on account of my fall. For if I had lived according to the gospel as I loved it, and spake of it, I had never come to this. Wherefore, Sirs, for God's love, leave not the gospel, but speak less and live better. For I had rather have one good liver according to the gospel, than ten babblers. I would exhort all who hear me, not to trust to courts, states, and kings, but to rely on Heaven alone. For my sins I have deserved heavy punishment, but I have deserved none from the king, whom I have never injured. Nevertheless, I earnestly pray God to grant him a long and happy life." [1] Norris, Weston, and Brereton, like Rochford, persisted on the scaffold in asserting their innocence. Smeaton, who was the last executed, and who, it has been supposed, harboured hopes of life to the last, is commonly understood to have confessed. His words, as reported by an eye-witness,[2] were, "Masters, I pray you all pray for me, for I have deserved the death." This language is ambiguous, but the impression conveyed to those who heard it was that it implied a confession of guilt. His dying words being reported to the queen on the following day, she exclaimed with warmth, "Has he not, then, cleared me from the public shame which he has done me? Alas! I fear his soul will suffer from his false accusation. My brother and the rest are now, I doubt not, before the face of the greater King, and I shall follow to-morrow."[3]

To inflict additional degradation upon Anne, she was brought to Lambeth on the morning of the 17th of May—the day on which her

> "God gave me grace, dame nature did hir part,
> Endewed me with gyfts of natural qualities:
> Dame eloquence also taughte me the arte
> In meter and verse to make pleasaunt dities,
> And fortune preferred me to high dignyties,
> In such abondaunce that combred was my witt,
> To render God thanks that gave me eche whitt."

While Anne was in favour, Rochford stood high in Henry's good graces, and notwithstanding his youth, was exalted to an honourable place in the privy council.

[1] Constantine's Memorial to Secretary Cromwell, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii., p. 65. Meteren, p. 21.

[2] Constantine.

[3] Meteren, p. 21.

brother and her other alleged accomplices were executed—that Cranmer, whose pliant temper was here again displayed, might officially pronounce the nullity of her marriage with the king. As to the specific grounds of this sentence we have no authentic information. From a parliamentary statute passed about a month after her death,[1] it appears that Cranmer pronounced the marriage never to have been good, but "utterly void, in consequence of certain just and lawful impediments unknown at the time of her pretended marriage, but confessed by the said Lady Anne before the most reverend father in God sitting judicially." What these "just and lawful impediments" were is not mentioned in the statute, an omission affording a strong presumption of their invalidity. The most probable supposition is, that they were the pretended discovery of a matrimonial contract between Anne and the Earl of Northumberland, formerly Lord Percy, previous to her marriage with Henry.[2] That Anne and young Percy had contemplated marriage as the consummation of their wishes, there can be little doubt; but no legal contract had existed, and their courtship had been broken up by the influence of Percy's father and of Cardinal Wolsey, at the desire of the king. *At the desire of the king*, be it observed, so that if the mutual interchange of affection and vows between her and Percy constituted the "just and lawful impediments" to her marriage with Henry, this was no new matter risen up against her, but an old story revived, perfectly well known to the king at the time when he married her. The Earl of Northumberland, being examined upon oath before both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York, denied that such a precontract had ever existed, and in farther attestation of the truth of this he had received the sacrament. In a letter to Secre-

[1] This was a statute passed in the Parliament 28 Henry VIII., c. 7, declaring the said marriage never to have been good, nor consonant to the laws, and repealing an act of a former Parliament, which fixed the succession of the crown to the issue of the king by Anne Boleyn. By this act it was even made treason to assert Elizabeth's legitimacy

[2] Strype's *Cranmer*, pp. 48, 49.

tary Cromwell, dated 13th May, he made a similar denial.[1] Anne being also examined, a confession of the truth of the "just and lawful impediments" was extorted from her, if we are to believe the words of the statute above quoted.[2] As there had been mutual professions of love between her and Lord Percy, and as she was ignorant of nice legal distinctions, it is not difficult to see how such an admission might be obtained from her, an admission also probably drawn from her in the hope of life. Did it never occur to these men, that if her marriage with the king was null from the beginning, she could not, though the charges against her had been proved, have been guilty of adultery, which can only be committed where there is legal marriage, and that if not guilty of that crime, the sentence pronounced upon her only two days before for treason —the construction put upon the infidelity of the sovereign's wife —was illegal? It is also remarkable, as Collier has observed, that the record of the decree pronouncing the nullity of her marriage with Henry is not entered in Cranmer's register, though that of Anne of Cleves is inserted at length. What was the reason of this difference? Did Cranmer, in not giving that of Anne Boleyn a place *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, act of his own accord, or had he received orders to that effect from the king? Either supposition betrays a consciousness that the alleged impediments were a mere pretext, and that, reflecting discredit on all concerned, it would be better to consign the whole proceedings to oblivion.

"Men may justly marvel," says Fuller, "what King Henry meant by this solemn and ceremonious divorce, which the edge of the axe or sword was more effectually to perform the day after, her death being then designed. Was it because he stood on this punctilio of credit, that he might not hereafter be charged with cruelty for executing his wife, that first he would be divorced from her, and so could not be said to put his queen, but Anne Boleyn, to death? . . . . Or was it because he conceived the execution would only

[1] Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 384. [2] Strype's *Cranmer*, pp. 48, 49.

reach the root, the queen herself, and not blast the branch, the Lady Elizabeth, whom by this divorce he desired to render illegitimate?"[1] That this last supposition is well-founded there can be no doubt. Henry's alienation from Anne extended even to their mutual issue. Their daughter Elizabeth, in whose favour the right of the succession had formerly been violated, must now be degraded, as well as the mother.[2]

On the evening of the 17th, it was intimated to Anne that it had been determined to carry the sentence of death into execution. As a means of preparation for death, she had previously devoted herself to religious exercises; and now she engaged in them with renewed earnestness. From some statements in Sir William Kingston's letters to Cromwell, it appears that she still retained her belief in transubstantiation. In one of these letters, probably written on the 17th of May, he says: "Sir,—The queen hath much desired to have here in the closet the sacraments,[3] and also her almoner, whom she supposeth to be Devet;" and in another, probably written on the 18th, he says: "This morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the good Lord, to the intent I should hear her protestations touching her innocence."[4] It is, however, to be observed, that at this infant stage of the Reformation in England, there remained in the minds of many, whose eyes had been opened to see the truth partially, and who sincerely advocated the diffusion of the pure doctrines of God's word, much darkness and superstition, and they only gradually discovered the absurdity, idolatry, and blasphemy of transubstantiation. This doctrine was still believed in by Cranmer, one of Anne's chief instructors in religion. It was not till a later period that he adopted the doctrine, that Christ's presence in the sacrament is exclusively limited to his spiritual presence.[5]

[1] *Church History of Britain*, vol. iii., p. 126. [2] See p. 124, Note 1.

[3] In such cases the desire of persons to have the consecrated elements in their closet, was for the purpose of adoration.

[4] Ellis's *Original Letters*, first series, vol. ii., pp. 59-63.

[5] In a letter written the year after Anne's execution to Joachim Vadian, a native of

Since her imprisonment, Anne had often remembered with bitter remorse the wrongs she had done to the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry by his first queen; and now, in the near prospect of judgment and eternity, she could find no peace in her soul till she had made the only reparation now in her power to make—a free and humble confession. She had not herself an opportunity of meeting with the princess, but on the 18th of May, the day before she suffered, taking Lady Kingston into the presence-chamber—for, as has been stated before, she was allowed to occupy the royal apartments in the Tower—and desiring her to sit down in the canopied chair of state, she fell on her knees before Lady Kingston, and holding up her hands, with tearful eyes, charged her, as in the presence of God and his angels, and as she would answer to her before them when all should appear to judgment, that she would in like manner fall down before the Lady Mary's grace, and ask forgiveness for the wrongs she had done her; "for," added she, "till that is done, my conscience cannot be quiet."[1] This does not look like a remorseless hardened woman, who lay under some potent spell which prevented her from confessing her crimes.

Henry having decided to put her to death by the less painful method of beheading, it was determined to consummate the deed, not with an axe, the usual method in England, but with a sword,[2]

Switzerland, and distinguished as a scholar and mathematician, who had published a work, entitled *Aphorisms upon the Eucharist*, intended to disprove the corporeal presence, and sent the present of a copy to Cranmer, the archbishop says, "The subject you treat of in those six books, which you sent me as a present, is altogether displeasing to me; and I could wish you had bestowed your labours to better purpose, and commenced an agreeable friendship with myself under better, or at least more approved auspices. For unless I see stronger evidence brought forward than I have yet been able to see, I desire neither to be the patron nor the approver of the opinion maintained by you."—Zurich *Letters*, first series, p. 13. Cranmer held the doctrine of transubstantiation up to the year 1546, when, by conference with Dr. Ridley, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and his fellow-martyr, he renounced it, and embraced the sentiments of Zuinglius as to the nature of Christ's presence in the supper.—*Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72.—Strype's *Cranmer*, pp. 94, 97.

[1] Speed.

[2] An axe shown in the Tower is represented as the instrument of her decapitation,

according to the French fashion, and a French executioner, famed for expertness in his profession, was brought over from Calais for the purpose.

The public, who had been excluded from witnessing her trial, were also to be excluded from witnessing the closing scene of the tragedy. Cromwell, on the 18th of May, wrote to Kingston, ordering him to remove all strangers from the Tower. And from Kingston's reply we learn that the privacy of her execution did not proceed from the humane desire to free her from the ignominy of a public spectacle, but from a dread of the expression of popular sympathy. "Sir," said he, "this shall be to advertise you that I have received your letter, wherein ye would have strangers conveyed out of the Tower, and so they be—but the number of strangers passed not thirty, and not many others—the ambassador of the emperor had a servant there, and honestly put out. Sir, if we have not an hour certain, as it might be known in London, I think here will be but few, and I think a reasonable number were best; for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman for all but the king at the hour of death." [1]

On the morning of the 19th of May, the day of her execution, she sent for Kingston, to whom, after solemn protestations of innocence, she said, "Mr. Kingston, I hear that I am not to die before noon, and I am very sorry for it, for I thought ere then to be dead and past my pain." "It will be no pain, it is so subtle," said Kingston, ministering to her, in his usual affected courteous manner, that species of comfort so characteristic of a hardened jailer. "I have heard say," she answered, "that the executioner is very expert, and I have a little neck," upon which she put her hand about it, laughing. She had become reconciled to her fate, and had risen superior to the terrors of death, anticipating—and it is fondly

but incorrectly, though it may have been employed in the execution of Cromwell and others during the reign of Henry VIII.

[1] MS. Cotton, Otho, c. x., fol. 223, quoted in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., p. 475.

to be hoped upon good grounds—rest from all sorrow, and perfect happiness in a better world. Her jailer Kingston bears testimony not only to her calm and collected, but even to her joyful state of mind, in the prospect of what was awaiting her. "I have seen many men," says he, "and women also, executed, and they have been in great sorrow, but to my knowledge this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death. Her almoner is continually with her, and has been since two of the clock after midnight."

Immediately before being brought out for execution, she sent a verbal message to the king, by a gentleman of his privy chamber, solemnly protesting her innocence, a message remarkable for its dignified and yet mild tone:—"Commend me to his majesty," said she, "and tell him he hath been ever constant in his career of advancing me; from a private gentlewoman he made me a marchioness, from a marchioness a queen, and now that he hath left no higher degree of honour, he gives my innocency the crown of martyrdom." "But the messenger," says Lord Bacon, who relates the anecdote, "durst not carry this to the king, then absorbed in a new passion, yet tradition has truly transmitted it to posterity." [1]

On the 19th of May, a little before noon, she was brought to the scaffold. The chief of the select company admitted as spectators were the Duke of Suffolk, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Chancellor Audley, Secretary Cromwell, the Lord Mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of London; the most of whom, not long ago, cringed for her favour, and were elated with her smile, but who now left her, when abandoned by the tyrant, unpitied, to her fate. On the scaffold her fortitude did not forsake her. With the utmost composure she addressed a few words to the spectators:—"Christian people! I am come hither to die according to law: by law I am judged to death, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused

[1] Bacon is a good authority, for, though not contemporary, he had access to the best means of information. His grandfather, Sir Anthony Cooke, was tutor to Edward VI., and a courtier, while his mother, Lady Bacon, and his aunt, Lady Cecil, had from their youth moved in the circle of the court, and were maids of honour to Queen Mary.

and condemned to die. But I pray God save the king, and grant him long to reign over you, for a gentler and more merciful prince was there never, and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and sovereign lord. If any person will meddle with my cause, I require him to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world and of you, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord, have mercy on me! To God I commend my soul."[1]

Surprise has often been expressed that Anne, at her death, should have eulogized a monarch as lenient and merciful, the effects of whose bloody and malignant temper she was now suffering. This may have proceeded from a wish not to provoke him against their daughter Elizabeth, maternal feeling having triumphed over the desire to protest against her own wrongs; and Cranmer, in his private interviews with her on the preceding day, may have advised her to speak in this guarded manner. It may, however, be doubted whether her dying words, as reported, may not have passed under the revision of Henry, who, to save his own reputation, represented her as using language which she never uttered.

Having concluded her address, she prepared for the fatal catastrophe, removing with her own hands her hat and collar; and such were her composure and fortitude, that she would not consent to have her eyes bandaged, saying that she had no fear of death. On kneeling down, she continued for some time in prayer, and her last words, which she repeated several times before the fatal stroke, were: "To Christ I commend my soul. Jesus, receive my soul!" The moment the blow fell, amidst the shuddering horror and shrieks of the spectators, who felt as if they had received it upon their own necks, there was a discharge of artillery, a novel accompaniment of an execution, but which, as we shall presently see, had been ordered for a special object. After her head was cut off, her eyes and lips were observed to move, and a faithful attendant or two, in testimony of their devotion to their mistress, with deep emotion and dissolved in tears, washed away the blood which now made her once fair face

[1] Wyatt.

ghastly, and a terror to behold. Her body was then barbarously thrown by the executioner into a box of elm-tree, used for holding arrows, and was interred without ceremony, in the chapel of the Tower, before twelve o'clock. Tradition, however, reports that during the night after her execution her remains were secretly removed by her friends, and conveyed for interment to Salle church, the burial-place of her family. A plain black marble slab is still pointed out in that church, as marking the spot where her ashes repose.[1] This tradition receives confirmation from Wyatt's indefinite but grateful allusion to her final resting-place. "God," says he, "provided for her corpse *sacred burial*, even in a place, as it were, consecrate to innocence."

Henry did not witness with his own eyes the perpetration of this deed of blood. He was to spend that day in the chase, and surrounded by his dogs and attendants, had breakfasted under an oak in Epping Forest, still standing, and known by the name of Henry's oak. But by the tragedy about to be enacted he was greatly excited; and he had arranged that, the moment the queen fell under the stroke of the executioner, the news should be heralded to him by the discharge of artillery. As the appointed hour drew near, he was anxiously listening to hear the signal. At length the report of cannon booming through the wood announced, to the delight of his heart, that he had now got rid of the hated queen, and could wed the new object of his affections. In the delirium of depraved passion, and exulting with ferocious infernal glee, he started up, and cried out, "Ah! ah! it is done! the business is done! uncouple the dogs, and let us follow the sport!"[2]

We have read few trials, bringing out at every stage of the proceedings so many grounds of suspicion of evil intention and premeditated murder, as the trial of this unfortunate queen. The secrecy of the plot till it was ripe for execution; the corrupt and venal character of the junto appointed to collect the criminating matter, of the jury and judges who found a bill of indictment for high treason

[1] Miss Strickland's *Queens of England.* [2] Tyndal's Rapin—Tytler.

against her, and of the peers, who were carefully selected for trying her, men who had no rule, save the capricious will ot the monarch to regulate their determinations; the privacy of her trial, depriving her of one of the most effectual safeguards of justice—publicity, and indicating a consciousness, on the part of her prosecutors, of the incompetency of the evidence; the haste of the whole procedure, so prejudicial to calm and impartial investigation; the slender occurrence upon which she was pronounced guilty of incest; the unprincipled arts resorted to in order to extract from her pretended accomplices confessions against her; the testimony borne by them all, with only one exception, to her innocence; the suspicions resting on his testimony, and the fact that he was never confronted with her; the judgment confidentially expressed by one of her most active prosecutors, that the evidence was so glaringly defective, that her condemnation would damage the popularity of the king, unless the other culprits should testify to her guilt; the consideration that had she been so abandoned as the indictment represents her to have been, evidence would not have been wanting, as in that case she would, what invariably happens when every modest feeling is extinguished from the breast, have thrown off circumspection, laying herself open to conviction, upon proofs of criminality so abundant and manifest, as to leave no room for doubt, the more especially as many hostile eyes were upon her in the court:—these, and other circumstances, stamp suspicion upon the whole proceedings, and force upon us the conviction, that though the forms of a trial were gone through, they were a mere mockery of justice, a shocking and shameless pretence; and that her condemnation and execution were the triumph of power and calumny over the weak and defenceless.

The reflecting mind is appalled at the precipitate violence, the cool deliberation, the unshrinking steadiness of purpose displayed by Henry in this transaction, from the commencement to the close. Never for a moment did he exhibit a single symptom of relenting, or betray the slightest returning tenderness of feeling, but, as in his whole career, evinced a determined resolution, a carelessness of

the means employed to effect his purposes, and a disregard of all consequences.

> "——————— One cannot always
> Finish one's work by soft means.——
> 'Dash and through with it.' That's the better watchword.
> Then after come what may come. 'Tis man's nature
> To make the best of a bad thing once past." [1]

That such was the temper of Henry is attested by Cavendish, who informs us that Wolsey said of him: "Rather than miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he would put the loss of one-half of his kingdom in danger, and that he had often kneeled before him the space of an hour or two to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom." To a man of this reckless and violent character, the sacrifice of the life of a queen towards whom he had conceived an aversion, or whom he suspected of conjugal infidelity, was nothing; especially when she stood in the way of the consummation of his union with a new object of affection.

On the day of Anne's execution he arrayed himself in white, as if he meant to express his joy or his innocence of the brutal murder. His marriage the next day to Jane Seymour, eldest daughter of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, Wilts, goes far to explain the mystery of these proceedings, by showing that he had determined the destruction of Anne, to make way for another to occupy her place. What seems very surprising is the eagerness of Jane Seymour to ascend the perilous eminence of becoming the wife of a monarch whose hands were yet reeking with the blood of his former queen. Young and inexperienced, and perhaps believing in the guilt of Anne Boleyn, she little thought how brittle and transitory that happiness was which depended on the changeful temper of a ruthless tyrant like Henry, who might be loving to-day, and animated by the fury of a demon to-morrow. From a hardened conscience, or from the boiling frenzy of passion, the monster himself, in the meantime, appa-

[1] Schiller.

rently felt no compunction. But the crime met him on a future day —the day of his death—when the horrors of remorse and the darkness of despair gathered around and settled on his soul. At that solemn period, when conscience forced upon his memory the past, and unveiled to him at but a short, an almost imperceptible distance in the future, the dreadful tribunal of a righteous God, who will bring every work into judgment, and with whom there is no respect of persons, he is said to have confessed to some around him the bitter anguish he felt on account of the severity with which he had treated this unfortunate queen. "Many English gentlemen," says an old Roman Catholic writer, "have assured me that Henry VIII., on his death-bed, greatly repented of the offences he had committed, and, among other things, of the injury and crime committed against Anne de Boleyn, in her condemnation and death on the ground of the false charges brought against her."[1]

This horrible tragedy was bewailed by the secret tears of many of the good in England, who traced it to a secret Popish conspiracy, in combination with the furious passions of the monarch;[2] though, overawed by his terrible decision, even the leaders of the reformed party had pusillanimously deserted the hapless queen. The friends of the Reformation in other countries were shocked, and deeply lamented her unmerited fate. Viewing all the circumstances, the States of Germany confederated for the defence of the reformed religion, considered her guilt so improbable, that they now laid aside all further thoughts of an alliance with him.[3] Melancthon, who had contemplated visiting England, now abandoned the idea, and, moved with a generous pity, pronounced her innocent. In a letter to Joachim Camerarius, written in June, 1536, he thus writes: "I am altogether released from concern about my English journey. After events so tragical have happened in England, a great change of counsels has followed. The late queen, rather accused than convicted of adultery,

[1] Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle*, liv. 16, c. v., p. 657, quoted in Turner's *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., pp. 458, 459.

[2] See Appendix, No. II.

[3] Godwin.

has undergone the last sentence of the law. How wonderful are the turns of things, my Joachim; how great the wrath of God they denounce against mankind; into how great calamities, also, do the mightiest of earthly potentates at this day fall. When I think upon these things, the conclusion to which I am brought is, that our afflictions and our dangers should be borne with a more patient mind."[1] The tidings created a great sensation in France, and must have struck with horror Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre, Anne's old patroness and friend, who could hardly fail of being impressed with a feeling of gratitude to Providence that, when the offer was made to her, she refused to supplant Katharine of Aragon, by becoming the queen of a sovereign who, under similar charges, might have brought her to the same terrible end.

[1] Melancthon's *Epist.*, quoted in Ellis's *Original Letters*, first series, vol. ii., p. 65.



ANNE ASKEW,

DAUGHTER OF SIR WILLIAM ASKEW, KNIGHT, OF KELSEY.

IN this lady, whose story we are now to relate, we have a noble example of female Christian heroism. She fell a martyr for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, during the reign of Henry VIII., and her name must ever stand among the foremost in the list of the venerated martyrs of the English Reformation. Her calm unshrinking fortitude in maintaining the truths of God's Word in opposition to the Popish doctrines, and in suffering a cruel death rather than abjure them, places her on a level with the most illustrious martyrs of any age or country.

ANNE ASKEW was the second daughter of Sir William Askew, knight, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire,[1] a gentleman of an ancient and honourable family. Of her education and early life nothing is now known. She is said to have been "a lady of great beauty, of gentle manners, and warm imagination."[2] The earliest notice in her

[1] Sir William, besides Anne and an elder daughter, had a third, named Jane, who was married, first to Sir George St. Paul, and secondly to Richard Disney, Esq., of Norton Disney, ancestor of the present John Disney, Esq., of the Hyde, Essex. He had also two sons, Francis, the eldest, and Edward, who was one of his majesty's body-guard.—Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii., pp. 190, 191.

[2] Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. i., p. 634.

history respects her marriage with the son and heir of Mr. Kyme, who had extensive property in Lincolnshire. Her father lived on terms of familiar intercourse with Mr. Kyme, who resided in the same county, and was his near neighbour; and, allured by the prospect of a wealthy connection, he had engaged to give his eldest daughter in marriage to the son and heir of his friend, without, however, asking or obtaining the consent of the young lady herself; such were the worldly views which regulated the formation of marriages in England among persons of rank at that period, as in later times. The lady having died before the marriage was completed, Sir William, unwilling to lose so rich an alliance, entered into new engagements, to give his second daughter, Anne, to be the wife of his friend's son and heir. This engagement was not less objectionable than the former. The young man was but of indifferent character, and the proposed union was the reverse of agreeable to Anne, whose affections were either fixed elsewhere, or did not rest upon him. His prospective wealth made no impression on her mind, and she earnestly objected. But her father, dazzled and blinded by the prospect of wealth, deemed the match to be most eligible, and would listen to no objections, nor break his engagements, not reflecting that he was perilling the happiness of his daughter, by forcing her into a relation so important, contrary to her inclinations. She yielded to his commands, and is said to have conducted herself like a Christian wife. She bore to her husband two children. But marriages originated and formed in such circumstances are seldom happy, and the present instance formed no exception to the general rule. The tender emotions, feeble before the marriage, had not been subsequently improved; causes of domestic disquiet arose between Anne and Mr. Kyme, and the bitter preponderated over the sweet in their conjugal cup.

The conversion of Anne to the reformed faith, like that of many others at the period of which we now write, was principally owing to the reading of the Scriptures, which, after being locked up for ages, had recently been unsealed by being translated, printed, and circulated in the English tongue.

In the year 1536, Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament was printed by Henry the Eighth's printer.[1] At the same time the printers, Grafton and Whitchurch, who subsequently became so eminent in their profession, undertook the expense of completing at the press at Antwerp the printing of the folio edition of the whole Bible in English, which the martyr John Rogers, who was resident in that city, had secretly begun to print there, consisting of Tyndale's version of the New Testament, and such portions of the Old Testament as Tyndale had translated, with the other books supplied from Coverdale's translation of the whole Bible, made in 1535. This edition of the entire Scriptures was dedicated to Henry VIII. The whole was completed before the 4th of August, 1537, for on that day we find Archbishop Cranmer, to whom a copy was presented by Grafton, sending Grafton with his Bible to Cromwell, and requesting that statesman to show it to the king, and to obtain, if possible, the royal "license that the same may be sold, and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance, heretofore granted to the contrary."[2] The license was obtained, and thus the people of England might now read in their own tongue the whole Word of God, which they could not do before, only certain portions, as the five books of Moses, some of Paul's epistles, or the gospels, having been previously printed. Numerous new editions of the Bible were afterwards printed during the reign of Henry VIII., with the sanction of that monarch, obtained chiefly through the influence of Archbishop Cranmer and Cromwell, to whom is to be attributed whatever steps Henry made in the reformation of the church at that period.[3]

Anne Askew had procured a copy of the Bible, which she read with the freshness and intensity of interest, inspired by the novelty and importance of the truths which beamed, for the first time, upon

[1] See *Life of Anne Boleyn*, p. 92.

[2] Biographical notice of Tyndale, prefixed to his *Doctrinal Treatises*, printed for Parker Soc., pp. lxxiv–lxxvi.

[3] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., pp. 472-476, 546-548, 573, 574.

her mind. A permanent change was wrought upon her understanding and her heart. Finding the doctrines of Popery at complete variance with the doctrines of the Bible, she renounced the former, and embraced the latter, as professed by the Lollards or followers of Wickliffe, to which she continued to adhere, till her life was closed by martyrdom. The defection of a lady of her position in society greatly enraged the priests; and her husband, partly prompted by his own Popish intolerance, on which no restraint was imposed by warmth of affection for his wife, and partly instigated by the priests, who, with despicable meanness, have very frequently shown a peculiar propensity to meddle with domestic affairs, and to create quarrels between Protestant ladies and their Popish husbands, and *vice versa*, treated her with great cruelty on account of the change in her religion; and as, acting on the principle that God alone was the Lord of her conscience, she would not renounce her convictions of truth and duty at his bidding, he even proceeded so far as to expel her from his house. In consequence of this violence, she is said to have actually applied for a legal divorce, and to have vindicated the proceeding from 1 Cor. vii. 15: "If a faithful woman have an unbelieving husband, which will not tarry with her, she may leave him, for a brother or sister is not in subjection to such." This contemplated step was the cause, it would appear, of her going to London. During her abode in the capital, she obtained introduction to those illustrious personages in the court who either professed, or were friendly to the reformed sentiments, among whom were Queen Katharine Parr, the Duchess of Suffolk, and other ladies of distinction. She is even said to have been one of Queen Katharine Parr's maids of honour. To these ladies, some of whom had experienced domestic trouble from a similar source, she made known her cause. Whether she persevered in seeking a divorce is uncertain. The probability is, that being soon involved in cruel persecution on account of her religion, she abandoned all thoughts of prosecuting a cause which, there could be little doubt, would have gone against her, as her heresy would, by Popish judges, have been deemed, in those times of judicial corruption, a

sufficient justification of whatever harshness or even brutality she had suffered from her husband. She, however, never thought of returning to him again, and resumed her maiden name.

Before proceeding to narrate the sufferings and martyrdom of this lady for her adoption of the reformed doctrines, it will be necessary, for the clearer understanding of the narrative, briefly to bring under the notice of the reader the leading particulars as to the penal statute she was accused of violating, and for the violation of which she was condemned and put to death. This was an act of Parliament respecting what is commonly called the Six Articles. Henry VIII., in his zeal to maintain the Catholic faith, and prompted by the bishops, especially by Bishop Gardiner, desired the Parliament which met in 1539[1] to appoint a committee to draw up a series of articles, expressing the faith of the English Church. The result was, that six articles were embodied in a bill, which, having passed both houses of Parliament, in opposition to the influence and arguments of Archbishop Cranmer, who strongly opposed it,[2] and received the royal assent, thus became the law of England.[3] The act was entitled, "An act for abolishing diversity of opinion in certain articles of the Christian religion." The Six Articles, which Fuller, in his usual quaint manner, has styled "Gardiner's Creed,"[4] from the principal share which that prelate had in this business, were as follows:—

"1. That in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (it being spoken by the priest), is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man. 2. That the communion in both kinds is not necessary

[1] This Parliament assembled April 28, and ended June 28.

[2] Cromwell, though opposed in sentiment and heart to the bill, gave to it a temporizing assent.

[3] Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, vol. ii., p. 98. Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., p. 542.

[4] *Worthies of England*, vol. ii., p. 331.

to salvation, by the law of God, to all persons. 3. That priests may not marry by the law of God. 4. That vows of chastity or widowhood, made to God advisedly[1] by man or woman, ought to be observed by the law of God. 5. That it is meet and necessary that private masses be continued and admitted in this English Church, as by them good Christian people receive godly consolation and benefit;[2] and they are also agreeable to God's law. 6. That auricular confession is expedient, and necessary to be retained and continued, used, and frequented, in the church of God.

The act or law as to these six articles was sanctioned by bloody penalties. For enforcing the first article it was enacted, that whoever within the realm of England, or any other part of the king's dominions, after the 12th of July ensuing, "by word, writing, printing, or otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, affirm, argue, or hold any opinion" contrary to that article; or whoever aided and abetted such as did so, should, on conviction, be adjudged heretics, and should suffer death by burning, without benefit of abjuring—"an unheard of severity," says Hume, "and unknown to the Inquisition itself"—without benefit of clergy or sanctuary, and should, as in the case of high treason, forfeit to the crown all his honours and possessions whatsoever. As to the other five articles it was enacted, that speaking, writing, printing, or otherwise publishing sentiments contrary to them; that the marriage of priests; that the incontinence of unmarried priests; that abstaining from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times; that every such offence committed after the aforesaid day should, for the first time, be punished by forfeiture of goods and possessions of whatever kind, and by imprisonment during the king's pleasure. The punishment for the second offence was forfeiture of life and goods, as in the case of felony, without benefit of clergy or sanctuary. The marriages of priests contracted previous to this Parliament were declared void; and the same

[1] "Advisedly" means made above the age of twenty-one, in the case of all except priests.

[2] By this benefit of private masses is meant the helping of souls in purgatory.

penalties incurred by priests who married were to be enforced against women who married priests.

For the more effectual execution of these enactments, commissioners were to be appointed in every shire by the authority of the Parliament, to make inquiries as to the violations of the act. These commissioners, of whom three were to form a quorum, of which the archbishop or bishop, or his chancellor, or his commissioner, were always to be one, were to sit four times at least in the year, and had full power to take informations, accusations, the depositions of witnesses—not less than two witnesses being necessary—before a jury of twelve men upon their oaths, and to proceed to a final sentence. The justices of peace in their sessions, and every steward or under-steward, or his deputy, in their law-days, were invested with the same powers.

The act of the six articles afterwards underwent several alterations. As it was first enacted, an offender, when once convicted, could not save his life by recantation. But by the Parliament held in 1543, it was decreed,[1] that for the first offence he should be admitted to recant in such form as his ordinary should dictate. In case of his refusal, or if after recantation he offended again, he was, for the second offence to be admitted to abjure and bear a fagot.[2] Should he refuse life on a condition so humiliating, or should he, after abjuration, offend the third time, the penalties of law were to be inflicted without mercy In a subsequent Parliament, held in 1544,[3] other qualifications or alterations on the side of moderation were made on the act. As it originally stood, when a complaint was lodged against any of his majesty's subjects for violating the act by any person, though from pure malice, the accused was immediately to be indicted. But by this Parliament it was ordained that no

[1] This session of Parliament closed May 12, 1543.

[2] The allusion here is to the public ceremony of recantation, according to which the person recanting brought a fagot of dry sticks and burned it publicly, to signify that he was destroying that which should have been the instrument of his death.—Calderwood's *History*, vol. i., p. 109; and Knox's *History*, vol. i, p. 58.

[3] This session of Parliament closed March 29, 1544.

person should be brought to trial before the authorized commissioners, upon an accusation of violating the act, till after he had been legally presented with an indictment, on the oath of twelve men of reputation, purged of corruption and malice. It was also enacted, that such accusations or indictments were not admissible, unless within a year from the time when the offence was committed; that the accused should not be arrested or committed to ward before he was indicted, except by special warrant from the king; and that a preacher could not be accused of words publicly spoken against the six articles, unless within forty days after they were spoken. The accused had also the right to challenge any juryman.

Such was the state of the law as to the six articles at the time when Anne Askew fell under its dreadful operation. From the bloody cruelty with which it was enforced, it received the *sobriquet* of "the whip with the six strings."[1] Yet in the face of its terrible penalties, the reformed doctrines gained ground in different parts of the country, and even at court.

In consequence of this severe law against heresy, and the cruel deaths inflicted on heretics, Anne exercised considerable reserve in disclosing to others her reformed sentiments. But it was difficult for her to refrain at all times from expressing sentiments, of the truth and importance of which she was deeply convinced; and this, combined with her earnest devotion, created suspicions of her heretical pravity. During her abode in the capital, a worthless Papist, named Wadloe, a cursitor of the chancery, rented lodgings about the Temple, next to the house where she had taken up her temporary residence, with the view of finding grounds upon which to accuse her of heresy, being probably bribed for the purpose. But he was constrained to confess to Sir Lionel Throgmorton that she was the most devout woman he had ever known; "for," said he, "at midnight she begins to pray, and ceases not for many hours, when I and others are addressing ourselves to sleep or to work."[2] She had more malignant

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., pp. 262-265, 502-505, 526-528.
[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., pp. 597, 598.

and persevering enemies than Wadloe. Her own husband and the Romish priests had combined for her destruction. Surrounded by



Anne Askew at her midnight devotions.

spies, who watched her every word and action, it was hardly possible for her to escape being ensnared. They succeeded in getting hold of certain heretical opinions to which she had given utterance. For example, she had said on one occasion that she would rather read five lines of the Bible, than hear five masses in the chapel. She had also expressed her disbelief as to the efficacy of the sacrament of the eucharist being dependent on the character or intention of the priest; and observed, that whatever was the character or intention of the priest who administered to her the eucharist, he could not prevent her from receiving spiritually the body and blood of Christ. These expressions were reported to the legal authorities, and she had not been long in London when she was arrested on the charge of heresy, and examined concerning her faith. In all the examinations she underwent the question most strongly pressed was, what her sentiments were as to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The anxiety evinced, and the arts resorted to, both on this occa-

sion and at her subsequent examinations, to draw from her an expression of her sentiments, prove that she had not been given to disputation, but held her sentiments quietly, her great delight, indeed, having been in secret devotion, and in reading the Scriptures.

Anne's first examination took place in March, 1545, before a London inquest, probably a standing one, specially intended for heretics, at Sadler's Hall, Cheapside. Her principal examinator was Christopher Dare. His questions related chiefly to transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, the dependence of the efficacy of the sacrament of the Lord's supper on the good intention of the priest, and auricular confession. To some of the questions she refused to answer, not choosing to criminate herself; others she answered with great freedom, point, and scriptural accuracy. The questions, with her answers, taken from her own account,[1] with which we intersperse a few explanatory observations, are as follows:—

Christopher Dare.—"Do you believe that the sacrament upon the altar is the very body and blood of Christ?"

Anne Askew.—"Please inform me why Stephen was stoned to death?" Had she answered the question in the negative, agreeably to her sentiments, this would have been to confess herself guilty of

[1] Anne while in prison wrote a full account of her examinations, at the earnest request of certain Christian ladies and gentlemen. It is an artless and an affecting tale, and proves the writer to have been a woman of no common talents. Bishop Bale published this account, accompanied with numerous remarks of his own, written in his peculiar pungent style, and other particulars he had collected respecting her birth, marriage, sufferings, and martyrdom. The work was printed at Marburg, in Hesse, January 16, 1547. It has recently been printed by the Parker Society. Each examination has a different title-page, but the same wood-cut in the centre, namely, the representation of an angel holding the Bible, and trampling on a dragon wearing a triple crown. At these two pieces, edited and published by Bale, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who had a chief hand in the death of Anne, and whom Bale satirizes as "the Pope's great dancing bear," was mightily enraged, calling them pernicious, seditious, and slanderous. On the accession of Edward VI., he wrote from Winchester a long letter of complaint on the subject to Protector Somerset. His great exceptions were that Bale made her die a martyr, "whereas she was a *sacramentary*, and so by the law worthy of the death she suffered; that he had falsely set forth her examination, misrepresenting it; and that thereby his late master, King Henry, was slandered, religion assaulted, and the realm troubled."—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., p. 56.

denying a doctrine, the denial of which had been made capital by act of Parliament. Determined, therefore, not to put into their hands the means of putting her to death, she answered Dare's question by asking him another.

C. D.—"I cannot tell."

A. A.—"Neither will I tell you whether I do or do not believe the sacrament upon the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ."

C. D.—"A woman has testified that you told her you had read in the Scriptures that God was not in temples made with hands." Her inquisitors understood her to employ these words as an argument against transubstantiation.

A. A.—"As to this I would refer you to the 7th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, verses 48–50, where Stephen says, 'Howbeit the most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands; as saith the prophet, Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool; what house will ye build me? saith the Lord; or what is the place of my rest?' and to the 17th chapter of the same book, verse 24th, 'God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands.'"

C. D.—"Why did you say that you would rather read five lines in the Bible than hear five masses in the church?"

A. A.—"I confess that I said no less, because the one greatly edifies me, the other nothing at all." And without animadverting upon the idolatry of the mass, she quoted, in proof of the uselessness of performing the service connected with it in a dead tongue, the words of Paul, in 1 Cor. xiv. 8, "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?" The apostle, in the 19th verse of the same chapter, still more explicitly says, "In the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue;" on which Bishop Bale well observes, "This proves the temple service of the Papists all the year to be worth nothing."

C. D.—"You also said, did you not, that if a wicked priest ministered, it was the devil and not God?"

A. A.—"I deny that I ever said any such thing. What I said was, that whoever ministered unto me, his bad character could not injure my faith, but that I, notwithstanding, received in spirit the body and blood of Christ.

C. D.—"If a mouse eat the host, does it receive God or no?"

To this question she made no answer, as it deserved none, but smiled. And yet the question has been gravely discussed among learned Popish doctors; and the Pope, it would appear, having given no infallible deliverance on the subject, they have been divided in their opinions about it, some asserting that the sacrament eaten of a mouse is the very and real body of Christ;[1] others, as Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, maintaining, "that a mouse cannot devour God," though "Christ's body may as well dwell in a mouse as in Judas."[2] "The sacraments are not eaten of mice," says another, "though they seem so to be in the exterior similitudes; for the virtues of holy men are not eaten of beasts when they are eaten of them." "That which is material," says a fourth, "in the bread, is consumed by digestion; but that which is spiritual remaineth uncorrupted."[3] Such is a specimen of the gabble of Popish casuistry in dealing with questions as contemptible as the *quidlibets* and *quodlibets* of the schoolmen, not to speak of their impiety and blasphemy.

C. D.—"What are your sentiments concerning confession?"

A. A.—"I believe, as the apostle James teacheth, that Christians ought to confess their faults one to another, and pray one for another."

C. D.—"What is your opinion as to the king's book?"

A. A.—"I can pronounce no judgment upon it, as I never saw it." The book here referred to was the *Erudition of a Christian Man.* In 1537 a book, entitled *The Institution of a Christian Man*, was compiled by a commission, consisting of several bishops and other divines,

[1] *Three Notable and Godly Sermons*, by W. Peryn, friar.

[2] See the Bishop's *Detection of the Devil's Sophistry*, pp. 16, 21.

[3] Bishop Bale's *Select Works*, p. 154.

appointed by Henry VIII., and was intended to be a standard of orthodoxy to the nation.[1] It asserted the leading dogmas of Popery, with some leanings towards the sentiments of the Reformers. In 1543 a second edition, with alterations and additions so numerous as to make it almost a new work, was published by the authority of the king, under the superintendence of Archbishop Cranmer and other learned bishops and divines. This book, which is the one referred to in the question, was entitled the *Erudition of a Christian Man;* and among other things it included the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, called the *Pater Noster*, the Salutation of the Angel, called the *Ave Maria*, and separate articles on freewill, justification, good works, and prayer for souls departed. It made considerably nearer advances to the reformed sentiments than the former work. In the former the worship of images, praying to saints, masses for the dead, and various Popish rites were approved and confirmed. In the latter these points were spoken of more doubtfully and cautiously, or rejected altogether. An article on purgatory occupied a prominent place in the former; in the latter it is entirely omitted.[2]

C. D.—"Have you the Spirit of God?" This he said mockingly.

A. A.—"If I have not, I am but a reprobate and a castaway."

C. D.—"I have brought a Popish priest to examine you, and he is at hand." The priest then proceeded to examine her. He asked her, among other things, what she said as to the sacrament of the altar, and strongly urged her to give her opinion on this point; but knowing him to be a Papist, and suspecting him of the crafty design of involving her in the confession of sentiments punishable by death, she requested to be excused in declining to answer the question.

C. D.—"Do you not think that private masses help souls departed?"

A. A.—"It is great idolatry to believe more in these than in the death which Christ died for us."

[1] *The Institution of a Christian Man* is reprinted in the addenda to the first volume of Burnet's *History of the Reformation.*

[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., pp. 485, 486, 583-590.

The examination being closed, she was sent from Sadler's Hall to the Lord Mayor, Sir Martin Bowes, who, after having, with the Bishop of London's chancellor, Thomas Bage or Williams, examined her on the same topics, and received similar answers, illegally ordered her to be committed to prison.[1] Some of her friends, deeply interested in her safety, were ready to become her sureties, provided she could be admitted to bail; but the Lord Mayor, in answer to her inquiries, harshly told her that such a favour would not be granted. She was therefore conducted to the Compter, where she remained seven days, so secluded that no friend was admitted to speak with her. A priest, however, was sent by Bonner to examine her again as to "the sacrament of the altar" and other Popish doctrines. He affected a humane sympathy for her sufferings, but distrusting his professions of kindness, she answered his questions with prudent reserve. "If the host," said he, "should fall, and a beast should eat it, does the beast receive God or no?" "Seeing you have taken the trouble to ask this question," she replied, "I desire you also to take the trouble to answer it yourself: for I will not, because I perceive you are come to tempt me."

On the 23d of March her cousin Brittayne, who felt for her deep sympathy, paid her a visit in the Compter. After an interview, he immediately repaired to the Lord Mayor, with the view, if possible, of getting her admitted to bail. But his lordship, with professions of readiness to do his utmost to befriend her, declared that the sanction of a spiritual officer, which had been necessary in order to her committal, was equally necessary in order to her liberation on bail, and desired him to call upon the Bishop of London's chancellor. But neither would the chancellor, when waited on, interfere without the consent of the bishop. He, however, promised to speak to Bonner on the subject, and desired her cousin to call back on the morrow, when the bishop's pleasure might be known. Brittayne returned on the morrow to the chancellor, and met at the same time with Bonner,[2]

[1] In proof that her imprisonment was *illegal*, see act of Parliament referred to, p. 144.

[2] Edmund Bonner, who figures so conspicuously in the prosecution of this lady,

who appointed her to appear before him for examination on the following day, being the 25th of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The prelate at the same time expressed his desire that Dr. Crome, Sir William Whitehead, and Huntington, for whom she had a particular respect, might be present to be able to report from observation that she was humanely treated—a crafty proposal, intended not to advantage her, but to afford an apportunity of arresting these gentlemen and throwing them into prison, as he boasted to some of his own party. He also besought Brittayne to urge her freely to disclose her sentiments, protesting in the most solemn manner that her freedom of speech should not be turned to her prejudice, and that all he should do, did she say anything amiss, would be to put her right by godly counsel and instruction.

On the 25th of March she was brought before Bonner for examination. So intent was the blood-thirsty prelate upon extracting a confession of heresy from her own mouth, by which she might be condemned without the aid of witnesses, that he again entreated her cousin Brittayne, who, with several others of her friends, was present, to urge her unreservedly to declare her sentiments; and with expressions of warm concern for her welfare, and assurances that no hurt should be done to her for a single word she should utter, he himself endeavoured to persuade her to speak her mind without apprehension. "If a man," said he, "have a wound, no wise sur-

was the natural son of John Savage, a richly-beneficed priest in Cheshire, who was the son of Sir John Savage, knight of the garter, and privy councillor to King Henry VII. Savage, the name he inherited from his father, was most befitting him, and he should never have received another. He was educated at Oxford, and under Henry VIII., who appointed him Archdeacon of Leicester, he was employed in several embassies on the Continent. During this time he had not developed his real character. In 1539, he was advanced to be Bishop of London by Cromwell and Cranmer, who believed him, as he pretended to be, a friend to the Reformation. Not long after he appeared in his true colours. On the enactment of the law of the Six Articles, he immediately erected his crest, and displayed his fangs and talons. In brutal cruelty he is hardly surpassed by any name in English history. "He had," says Fuller, "*sesqui corpus*, a body and half (but I hope that corpulency without cruelty is no sin); and towards his old age he was overgrown with fat, as Mr. Foxe, who is blamed for having persecuted persecutors with ugly pictures, doth represent him."—*Worthies of England*, vol. ii., pp. 468, 469.

geon would minister to its relief without first seeing it uncovered. In like manner, I can give you no counsel unless I know wherewith your conscience is burdened." "My conscience," she replied, "is clear in all things, and it would appear very foolish to apply a plaster to a whole skin." She placed no reliance on his professions of good-will, and as little on his promise and oath; for what dependence could be placed on the promise and oath of a man who held, as all Papists do, that no faith is to be kept with heretics.

The examination was substantially the same with that which she underwent before Christopher Dare and the Lord Mayor. Bonner, who was her principal examinator, grossly misrepresented her answers to Dare and the Lord Mayor, and made every endeavour, by artfully questioning and cross-questioning her, to extract from her own mouth a confession of her faith; but her guarded answers rendered it impossible to found a charge of heresy upon them. "I believe as the Scripture teacheth," was the only reply she would make to the fatal question, whether the consecrated host is, or is not, the real body of Christ. To Dr. Standish and other priests, who assisted Bonner in attempting to entangle her, she uniformly answered, "What I have said to my Lord Bishop of London, I have said." Standish having desired Bonner to bid her explain the sense in which she understood the language of Stephen and Paul, as to God's not dwelling in temples made with hands, she told them that it was against St. Paul's learning, that she, being a woman, should interpret the Scriptures, especially where so many wise and learned men were present.

Glad would her persecutors have been had they been able to blacken her name with some odious imputation, in addition to the charge of heresy; but so unblemished had been her reputation, that they could accuse her life of nothing inconsistent with the Christian character. "There are many," said Bonner, not daring to make a direct charge against the sanctity of her life, but malignantly intending to convey insinuations against it, "that read and know the Scripture, and yet do not follow it, nor live according to it."

"I would, my lord," said she, with the confidence of conscious integrity, "that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am so sure of myself this hour, that there is none able to prove any dishonesty in me. If you know any that can do it, I pray you bring them forth."

Failing to extract from her answers any proof of heresy, Bonner, whose ensnaring arts were not yet exhausted, retired to commit to writing the substance of her answers, as he pretended, which she might subscribe as the confession of her faith. The document he drew up, which was false in every particular, is as follows:—"Be it known to all faithful people, that as touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, I do firmly and undoubtedly believe that, after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, according to the common usage of this Church of England, there is present really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whether the minister that doth consecrate be a good man or a bad man; and that, also, whensoever the said sacrament is received, whether the receiver be a good man or a bad man, he doth receive it really and corporally. And, moreover, I do believe, that whether the said sacrament be then received of the minister, or else reserved to be put into the pix,[1] or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sick, there is the very body and blood of our said Saviour. So that, whether the minister or the receiver be good or bad, yea, whether the sacrament be received or reserved, always there is the blessed body of Christ really. And this thing, with all other



[1] The pix is a covered vessel, various in form and material, used in Catholic countries as a depository for the consecrated wafer or host. One form of this vessel is shown in the engraving, but it was sometimes simply a chalice with a cover, and at others, a small square chest or box These were not unfrequently very richly ornamented, made of the richest metals, and enriched with costly gems.

things touching this sacrament, and other sacraments of the church, and all things else touching the Christian belief, which are taught and declared in the king's majesty's book, lately set forth for the erudition of the Christian people, I, Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, do truly and perfectly believe, and so do here presently confess and acknowledge. And here I do promise, that henceforth I shall never say or do anything against the premises, or against any of them. In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name unto these presents."[1]

Having read to her this fabrication, in which she is made to acknowledge, in the most explicit terms, doctrines which in her examinations she had steadily refused to admit, he asked her whether it did or did not contain the confession of her faith. "I believe," she answered, "as much thereof as is agreeable to the Holy Scripture, and I desire that you will add to it this sentence." The bishop stormed, and cried out in a furious rage that he was not to be dic-



Anne Askew examined before Donner.

tated to by her as to what he should write; and required her to affix her name to the document. She at first objected, but impor-

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., pp. 537-553.

tuned by her friends, she appended the following sentence, "I, Anne Askew, do believe all things contained in the faith of the Catholic Church." Had she used the phrase, "the *Roman* Catholic Church," this would have satisfied the prelate; but rightly judging that by "the Catholic Church" she meant such pestiferous sects as the Waldenses, Albigenses, Hussites, Wickliffites, and the numerous heretics then living in the different countries of Europe, and that she hereby ignored the Popish Church as a part of the Church of Christ, he became yet more infuriated, and rushed into an adjacent chamber. "For God's sake, treat her kindly," said her cousin Brittayne, alarmed at the bishop's wrath. "She is a woman," said Bonner, his choler towering still higher, "and I am nothing deceived in her." "Take her as a woman, then," said Brittayne gently, wishing to allay his fury, "and do not set her weak woman's wit to your lordship's great wisdom." Bonner's resentment, which at first seemed uncontrollable, was at last so far overcome that he was persuaded to come out of the chamber, and take her name, with the names of her sureties, who were Brittayne and Mr. Spilman of Gray's Inn. This being done, it was expected that, agreeably to the forms of law, she should be immediately admitted to bail. But Bonner, reluctant to let go his grasp of the victim, ordered her to be led to prison until the next day, when he again commanded her to appear in Guildhall, which she did, and was again conducted thence to prison. At last, by the exertions of her friends, the bishop's storm was in some measure laid, and a bail-bond being taken of her sureties, she was set at liberty.

Anne felt deeply grateful to her cousin Brittayne, and Mr. Spilman, who had brought her out of prison. But her enemies, resolved to bring her to the stake, did not give her a long respite. Bonner and Gardiner had already tasted blood, and it was their purpose now, when heretics were in their power, to strike terror by making a terrible example of this lady.

In less than three months after, she was again in the hands of her persecutors. On Saturday, June 19, she and her husband, Mr. Kyme,

were brought before the lords of privy council at Greenwich. He was dismissed; but "for that she was very obstinate and heady in reasoning of matters in religion, seeing no persuasion of good reason could take place, she was sent to Newgate, to remain there to answer to the law." [1]

She was again examined on Friday, the 25th, and her examination lasted about five hours. Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor of England,[2] having asked her what was her opinion as to the bread in the eucharist, she answered, "I believe that as oft as I, in a Christian congregation, receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious passion." Gardiner required her to give a direct answer, charged her with speaking in parables, and, forgetting the dignity becoming a member of the privy council, scornfully called her a parrot. "I am ready," she calmly replied to his insolent sneers, "to suffer all things at your hands; not only your rebukes, but all that shall follow besides, yea, and that gladly." Others of the council reprimanded her for not being free and ingenuous.

On the following day she was examined on the same vexed ques-

[1] *Harl. MS.*, 256, fol. 224, b., quoted in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii., p. 193.

[2] Thomas Wriothesley "was a warm adherent of the old faith; and, with the Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, he formed the party actually opposed to the Reformation, who procured the passing of 'the six articles.'"—Lord Campbell's *Chancellors of England*, vol. i., p. 628. On the 1st of January, 1543, he was created by Henry VIII. Baron of Titchborne, and on April 30th, next year, Chancellor of England. He was a man of undoubted ability; but that he was, at the same time, narrow-minded, bigoted, and cruel, is abundantly proved from his treatment of Anne Askew. On the accession of Edward VI. he was removed from his place as Lord Chancellor, though, as some compensation, he was raised to be Earl of Southampton. He was also excluded from the privy council, but was afterwards restored to it. He died at his house in Holborn, on the 30th of July, 1550.—Fuller's *Worthies of England*, vol. ii., p. 70. It is worthy of notice that the famous Rachel, wife of the illustrious patriot, William, Lord Russell, who suffered on the scaffold in the reign of Charles II., was the great-great-grand-daughter of Wriothesley, and her father dying without male issue, she was his sole heiress.—See Introduction to *Lady Russell's Letters*. Her son, who succeeded his grandfather in 1700, became Duke of Bedford; and thus, the old Chancellor Wriothesley is at present represented by that honourable family.

tion. After being teazed for some time with interrogations, she was ordered to stand aside till the lords of council should consult together. During the interval Lord Lisle, Lord Essex, and Gardiner, entering into conversation with her, earnestly pressed her to confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. "It is a great shame for you," said she to Lord Parr and Lord Lisle, whose sentiments, she had reason to believe, very much coincided with her own, "to counsel contrary to your knowledge." The Lord Chancellor having renewed the examination, her answers as to the corporal presence not satisfying Gardiner, that bloody prelate cried out, "You will be burned." "I have searched all the Scriptures," she promptly rejoined, unterrified by his sanguinary threat, "yet could I never find that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death." She was again commanded to stand aside; and to Mr. Paget, who, its seems, had a greater share in her confidence than the others, she then opened her mind more freely. "How can you avoid," said he, "the very words of Christ, 'Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you.'" "Christ's meaning," she replied, "in that passage, is similar to the meaning of these other places of Scripture, 'I am the door,' 'I am the vine,' 'Behold the Lamb of God,' 'That rock was Christ,'[1] and such like. You are not in these texts to take Christ for the material thing which he is signified by, for then you will make him a very door, a vine, a lamb, a stone, quite contrary to the Holy Ghost's meaning. All these indeed do signify Christ, even as the bread signifies his body in that place. And though he said there, 'Take, eat this in remembrance of me,' yet did he not not bid them hang up that bread in a box and make it a god, or bow to it."

Not only did Anne condemn the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, but what shocked her pious mind still more was the Popish adoration of the host, making the consecrated wafer a god, and yielding to it divine worship. Idolatry more manifest than this there cannot be. The body of Christ being now in heaven, and there being only bread and wine in the eucharist—as our senses, our reason, and

[1] John x. 7; xv. 1; i. 36; 1 Cor. x 4.

the Scriptures unitedly testify—the obvious conclusion is, that those who adore the host adore bread alone, and are therefore idolaters. This outmatches, in folly and grossness, even much of the heathen idolatry. "Among the old idolaters," says Bale, "some took the sun, some the moon, some the fire, some the water, with such other like, for their gods. . . . . Now come our doting Papists here, wading yet deeper in idolatry, and they must have bread for their god, yea, a wafer-cake, which is scarce worthy to be called bread. In what sorrowful case are Christian people now-a-days, that they may worship their Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, in no shape that his heavenly Father hath set him forth in, but in such a shape only as the wafer-baker hath imagined by his slender wit! God's creatures are they whom the idolatrous took for their gods, but the cake is only the baker's creature, for he alone made it bread, if it be bread."

On Sabbath, the day after her examination, Anne being seized with severe sickness, and thinking herself dying, earnestly requested that Mr. Latimer [1] might be permitted to visit her. She felt desirous of opening up the state of her mind to this excellent man, and of receiving from him instruction and comfort. But her request was denied.

Under her present and prospective sufferings, this confessor betook herself to Him who has ever proved the unfailing refuge of His people in the time of trial; and, sustained by the power of His grace

[1] This was the famous Reformer and martyr, Hugh Latimer, formerly Bishop of Worcester. The act of the six articles placed him at the mercy of his persecutors. Upon the passing of that act, he resigned his bishopric, and returned to a private life. On laying aside his robes of office, which was on the 1st of July, 1539, he exultingly exclaimed, "I am now rid of a great burden, and never felt my shoulders so light before." Gardiner having sent for him, and expressed surprise that he would not submit to the authority of the traditions then enjoined by the Council, Latimer answered, "I will take the Word of God alone as my rule, and rather than depart one jot from it, I will submit to be torn in pieces by wild horses." The sequel proved that this was not an empty boast.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part 1, pp. 542-546. Soon after he was imprisoned in the Tower, where he was lying at the time when Anne Askew expressed a strong desire to see him, and where he continued to lie till the accession of Edward VI., when he was released, after an imprisonment of more than six years. As is well known, he suffered at the same stake with Ridley, at Oxford, on the 16th of October, 1555.

and the consolations of His Spirit, she was enabled to glory even in tribulation; to rejoice that her afflictions, though severe in themselves, were yet light compared with that far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory which was prepared for her in heaven. This is evident from the poem she composed during her imprisonment in Newgate. In this poem, which has been justly praised for its simple beauty and sublimity of sentiment, and for its euphony, too, when compared with the poetry of even more than a century later, she declares her resolution, by Divine grace, to stand by the truth of Christ even in the face of death; celebrates the power of faith in overcoming the united opposition of earth and hell; rejoices in Christ, assured that he was on her side, and would finally deliver her from all evil; beseeches God, on whom she cast all her care, to strengthen her by his grace, and to fight her battles, that her soul might escape her numerous enemies uninjured; denounces the tyranny, oppression, and cruelty which had usurped the throne of justice; anticipates the awful doom awaiting unjust judges at the great day of righteous retribution; and closes with an earnest prayer to God for forgiveness to her persecutors.

Like as the armed knight,
  Appointed to the field,
With this world will I fight,
  And Christ[1] shall be my shield.

Faith is that weapon strong,
  Which will not fail at need:
My foes, therefore, among
  Therewith will I proceed.

As it is had in strength
  And force of Christ's way,
It will prevail at length,
  Though all the devils say nay.

Faith in the fathers old
  Obtained righteousness;
Which makes me very bold
  To fear no world's distress.

[1] "Faith" in another copy.

I now rejoice in heart,
And hope bids me do so;
For Christ will take my part,
And ease me of my woe.

Thou say'st, Lord, whoso knock
To them wilt thou attend:
Undo, therefore, the lock,
And thy strong power send.

More enemies now I have
Than hairs upon my head:
Let them not me deprave,
But fight thou in my stead.

On thee my care I cast,
For all their cruel spite:
I set not by their haste,
For thou art my delight.

I am not she that list
My anchor to let fall,
For every drizzling mist,
My ship substantial.

Not oft use I to write,
In prose, nor yet in rhyme;
Yet will I show one sight
That I saw in my time.

I saw a royal throne,
Where Justice should have sit,
But in her stead was one
Of moody, cruel wit.

Absorbed was righteousness,
As of the raging flood;
Satan, in his excess,
Sucked up the guiltless blood.

Then thought I, Jesus, Lord,
When thou shalt judge us all,
Hard is it to record
On these men what will fall.

Yet, Lord, I thee desire,
For that they do to me,
Let them not taste the hire
Of their iniquity.[1]

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., Appendix, No. xix.

Anne had hitherto cautiously avoided, under all her examinations, giving a definite answer as to the deadly question of transubstantiation. But at last convinced, from the persevering zeal with which the proceedings against her were conducted, that she could only avert the dreadful fate of perishing at the stake by recantation, and resolved that, by the grace of God, she never would recant, she at last thought it needless any longer to conceal her sentiments. She therefore wrote to the Privy Council the confession of her faith as to the eucharist, in these terms:—"That the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving in remembrance of Christ's death, the only remedy of our souls' recovery, and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion."

On Monday, June 28, she was brought before the council at Guildhall. They told her that she was a heretic, and condemned by the law, unless she fell from her opinion. She repelled the imputation of being a heretic: "Neither do I deserve," she added, "death by the law of God. But as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I will not deny it, because I know it to be true." They next desired to know whether she denied the sacrament of the eucharist to be Christ's body and blood. "Yes," she unhesitatingly answered, "for the same Son of God that was born of the Virgin Mary is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the last day in like manner as he went up. And as to what you call your god, it is but a piece of bread. As an additional proof of this (mark it when you please), let it lie in the box but three months and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. I am therefore persuaded that it cannot be God." "Do you deny the bread in the pix to be God?" She replied "that God is a spirit," and not a wafer-cake, and "that he is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth," not by the impious superstitious homage paid to a wafer, converted, by Popish jugglery, into a god. "Do you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament?" her interrogators further demanded. "I believe," she answered, "the eternal Son of God not to dwell there," in proof of which she referred to

various passages of Scripture,[1] concluding with these words, "I neither wish death nor yet fear his might. God have the praise thereof, with thanks." They requested her to take the benefit of a priest, at which she smiled, observing that she would confess her faults to God, from whom alone forgiveness could be obtained.

It was probably at this time that Sir Martin Bowes, the Lord Mayor, an ignorant, blustering Popish devotee,[2] who, it appears, was sitting with the council, asked leave to examine the prisoner. Leave being granted, he tried his skill in the interrogatory art, in which, from Anne's adroitness, he made a somewhat ludicrous figure. *Lord Mayor.*—"Thou foolish woman, sayest thou that the priest cannot make the body of Christ?" *Anne Askew.*—"I say so, my lord, for I have read that God made man, but that man can make God I never yet read, nor I suppose ever shall." *L. M.*—"Thou foolish woman, after the words of consecration, is it not the Lord's body?" *A. A.*—"No, it is but consecrated or sacramental bread." *L. M.*—"What if a mouse eat it after the consecration? What shall become of the mouse? What sayest thou, foolish woman?" *A. A.*—"What shall become of it, say you, my lord?" *L. M.*—"I say that that mouse is damned." *A. A.*—"Alack, poor mouse!" "By this time," says Strype, "my lords heard enough of my Lord Mayor's divinity, and perceiving that some could not keep from laughing, proceeded to the butchery they intended before they came thither." [3]

[1] As Acts vii. 48-50; xvii. 24; and Matt. xxiv. 23, 24. She also quoted a passage quite in point from the History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon, in the *Apocrypha*:—"Now the Babylonians had an idol called Bel, and there was spent upon him every day twelve great measures of fine flour, and forty sheep, and six vessels of wine. And the king worshipped it, and went daily to adore it; but Daniel worshipped his own God. Then said the king unto him, Thinkest thou not that Bel is a living God? seest thou not how much he eateth and drinketh every day? Then Daniel smiled and said, O king, be not deceived: *for this is but clay within, and brass without*, and did never eat or drink any thing."

[2] "Sir Martin left a sum for an anniversary sermon to be preached in St. Mary, Woolnoth, where the venerable John Newton so long proclaimed such doctrine as the poor mayor never heard. Bowes lies there interred, under a close marble tomb."—Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii., p. 191.

[3] *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., pp. 597, 598.

Anne's plain confessions being deemed sufficient proof of her heretical guilt, she, with two other persons, were condemned to be burned, without a formal trial by jury, to which they were entitled. "On Monday" [June 28], says a contemporary authority, "Mrs. Askew, Christopher White, and a tailor [Adams], who came from Colchester or thereabout, were arraigned at Guildhall, and received their judgment of my Lord Chancellor [Wriothesley] and the council, to be burned, and so were committed to Newgate again."[1] Wriothesley and Gardiner were the leading agents in their condemnation.

From the relentless severity with which the six articles were at this period enforced, there was little hope that Anne, now when the condemning sentence had been pronounced upon her, would escape. Gardiner, whose chosen function was the suppression of heresy by the most desperate means, and who never swerved from pursuing his bloody purposes to their appalling issue, had her fully in his power; and what could she expect from him? Of only one resource did she attempt to take advantage, that of appealing from the unjust tribunal that condemned her to the mercy of the sovereign. This resource, indeed, offered but a very slender ground of hope. Henry had never been particularly susceptible to the emotions of pity, and during his latter years his heart had become hardened into stone by the many cruelties he had committed. He who "sent a minister or a wife to the scaffold with as little compunction as he would have shown in ordering a dog to be drowned," was not likely to feel the smallest concern about the life of any other human being. Besides, still believing, as he had been taught from infancy, that heresy was the greatest of all crimes, and still proud of the title he had earned as "defender of the faith," he held it to be an acceptable service to the Deity, as well as necessary to establish his reputation for orthodoxy, to burn heretics, the punishment denounced against them by the Romish Church, and especially to burn whoever denied transubstantiation, his favourite doctrine. Anne, however, purposed to

[1] Otwel Johnson to his brother, 2d July, quoted in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii., p. 195.

make the appeal, and wrote out a brief confession of her faith, to be laid before the monarch, in which, while asserting the injustice of her condemnation, she speaks, perhaps intentionally, of the eucharist in language so general and indefinite, that it would be impossible for the monarch to gather from it whether she believed in transubstantiation or no. "I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known to your grace:—That forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil-doer, here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocence: And according to what I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe also so much as he willed me to follow and believe, and so much as the Catholic Church of Him doth teach: for I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look! what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end, for lack of learning. "ANNE ASKEW."

This confession of her faith she sent to Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, accompanied by the following letter, in which she requests him to communicate it to the king:—

"The Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, bless you, with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

"My duty to your lordship remembered, &c. May it please you to accept this my bold suit, as the suit of one who, upon due consideration, is moved to the same, and hopeth to obtain. My request to your lordship is only that it may please your lordship to be a means for me to the king's majesty, that his grace may be certified of these few lines, which I have written concerning my belief; which, when it shall be truly compared with the hard judgment given [against] me for the same, I think his grace shall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of balances. But I remit my matter and cause to Almighty God, who rightly judgeth all secrets. And thus

I commend your lordship unto the governance of Him, and fellowship of all saints. Amen. By your handmaid, ANNE ASKEW."

It would be a mistake to conclude, as some did, from this appeal to the monarch, that Anne shrunk from the dreadful fate to which she had been doomed. "O friend," said she, in a letter to her fellow-sufferer, John Lascels, who had been her tutor, "most dearly beloved in God, I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord I desire of you not to believe of me such wickedness; for I doubt it not, but God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun." Her appeal proceeded not from the fear of death, but from the principle on which she had all along acted, that she was not only entitled, but bound to avail herself of every legitimate and honourable means of defending her liberty and life, of pleading for them on the grounds of universal justice, if not of English law, and of submitting to death only when she could preserve her life in no other way than by denying the truths of Christ. This is the rule laid down in the New Testament for the guidance of Christians, on their falling into the hands of their persecutors, and by this rule were the apostles governed on every such occasion. Had Anne, like the Christians of the third century, actuated by a false heroism, delivered herself up to her persecutors, and evinced a carelessness about life, and an impatience to earn the crown of martyrdom, instead of making a calm and spirited defence, exercising caution under her examinations, that she might not criminate herself,[1] and appealing to the monarch after being condemned, she would have been guilty of violating apostolic precept and example. But, like the great body of the martyrs of the Reformation in the sixteenth century throughout Europe—in England, France, Spain, and Italy—she understood divine truth and Christian duty better than the Christian confessors and martyrs of the third century.

[1] This caution she had carefully observed till her last examination at Guildhall, when she saw that her death had been determined upon, unless she should distinctly recant.

Anne's appeal to her sovereign, as might have been expected, was in vain. Endeavours were, however, made to bring her to recant, and, by yielding, she probably might still have saved her life. On the 13th of July, she was brought from Newgate to the Sign of the Crown, where Mr. Rich, Mr. Nicholas Shaxton, who had recently renounced the reformed faith,[1] and the Bishop of London, did their utmost by promises, as threatenings had been found ineffectual, to persuade her to abjure her faith. The gentler arts had as little success as the sterner appliances. She was neither to be smiled nor frowned into a denial of the truth. Shaxton in particular, whom she regarded as a traitor to her Lord and Saviour, might as well have spared his pains. She told him that it had been good for him had he never been born. She was next sent to the Tower, where remaining till three o'clock in the afternoon, she then underwent a new examination.

One great object of this examination was to extract from her discoveries as to others, her instructors, or participators in heresy, and especially as to several ladies and gentlemen of the court, who were suspected of holding the reformed opinions. The ladies of rank belonging to the court, whom the persecutors were extremely anxious to involve in a charge of heresy, were the Duchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Sussex, the Countess of Hertford, Lady Denny, and Lady Fitzwilliams.[2] From the kindness of some of

[1] Shaxton, as we have seen before, was raised to the see of Salisbury by Queen Anne Boleyn. On the passing of the act of the six articles, rather than renounce his sentiments, he resigned his bishopric, and languished seven years in prison. At length he was indicted for denying transubstantiation, and sentenced to the flames. The prospect of the fiery trial overcame his courage, and Bishops Bonner and Heath having visited him by the orders of the king, he professed to be convinced by their arguments, and subscribed a paper expressing his belief in the six articles; upon which he was pardoned and set at liberty, on the 13th of July, 1545. He subsequently took an active part in the persecution of the Protestants, both in the reigns of Henry VIII. and of Mary. He was poorly rewarded by the party to which he went over, having been merely constituted a suffragan in the diocese of Ely, in which situation he died in 1556.—Burnet's *Hist. Records*, vol. i., pp. 386, 526.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., pp. 542-546. Many of Shaxton's letters are contained in *Miscellaneous Correspondence*, second series, vol. xxxvii.

[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., p. 597.

these ladies in sending her money for her support in prison, it was concluded that she and they had been on intimate terms, and hopes were entertained that she might be made their accuser. Aware of their malignant purpose, and too generous to betray her friends, she would disclose nothing as to what she knew of their religious sentiments. From the examination it appears that, during her imprisonment, she had chiefly, if not altogether depended for her subsistence upon the private bounty of charitable individuals. "Tell us," said her examinators, "how you were maintained in the Compter, and who willed you to stick to your opinion." "There was no creature," she replied, "that strengthened me therein. And as for the help which I had in the Compter, it was by means of my maid; for as she went abroad in the streets, she made moan to



Anne's Maid soliciting aid from the Apprentices.

the prentices, and they by her did send me money, but who they were I never knew." "Were there not several ladies who sent you money?" they asked. "There was a man in a blue coat," she answered, "who delivered me ten shillings, and said that my Lady of Hertford sent it me; and another, in a violet coat, gave me eight shillings, and said my Lady Denny sent it me. Whether it was true or not I cannot tell; for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid said."

Defeated in their attempts to inveigle Anne into a discovery of the heresy of these ladies and of others, they determined to gain

their object by putting her to the torture, a horrible custom then common in judicial proceedings, and not altogether abolished in England for nearly a century later. "They did put me on the rack," says she, "because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time." She was let down into a dungeon in the Tower, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, ordered the jailer to apply the instrument of torture. This being done, without any of the wished-for discoveries being extorted, the lieutenant ordered her to be taken down. But Wriothesley, the chancellor, incensed at her obstinacy in making no confessions, and observing that she lay quiet without uttering a cry or groan, insisted that the torture should be renewed. Touched with compassion, the lieutenant objected, excusing himself from the weak and delicate frame of the young lady. The proud chancellor, whose indignation waxed hotter at finding that he, the highest judge in the land, should be disobeyed, threatened him with the displeasure and vengeance of the sovereign. But the lieutenant was not to be browbeaten and menaced into a mean-spirited compliance. Upon which the chancellor and Richard Rich, afterwards lord chancellor, one of Bonner's creatures, throwing off their gowns, plied the machine with their own hands, first asking Anne whether she was with child. "Ye shall not need to spare for that," she answered, "do your wills upon me." With great barbarity they continued to stretch her on the rack,[1] till her bones were almost broken and her joints pulled



[1] The torture of the rack, or *stretching*, was applied in various ways, but it is ordinarily understood as the fearful agonies produced by the extension of the criminal or sufferer on the machine shown in the engraving. This consisted of two rollers or windlasses, placed horizontally, seven or eight feet apart, to which the arms and feet were fastened by sharp cutting cords; the windlasses were then turned by levers until the body of the tortured was in a state of tension, sometimes so great as not only to dislocate the limbs, but also to tear the muscles, and the agony was further increased by the cords cutting through the flesh of the wrists and ankles to the very bone.

asunder;[1] but her fortitude was not to be subdued. Torture, which has often wrung secrets from the stoutest hearts, and made them betray their dearest relatives and friends, was applied in vain to this gentle and delicate female. This she might suffer till even life itself was extinguished; but not a word would she utter criminating others, and more especially the noble ladies from whom she had received the warmest kindness and sympathy. Baffled in their object, Wriothesley and Rich desisted, afraid lest she should die among their hands. Immediately upon their loosing her from the rack, she swooned from the dreadful agony. By the use of means they succeeded in recovering her to consciousness, after which she was kept sitting two long hours on the bare floor disputing with the chancellor, who, notwithstanding his ruthless inhumanity, urgently importuned her, with great professions of good-will, to renounce her faith. "But," says she, "my Lord God—I thank his everlasting goodness—gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end. Then," she adds, "was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job; I thank my Lord God therefor." By the torture she lost the use of her limbs, and was left in a condition so dangerous that she could not have lived long, though her enemies had spared her the fire; but severe as were her bodily agonies, it was a great alleviation to think that under the torture she had said nothing to peril the safety of any Christian friend.

Wriothesley and Rich, immediately after leaving the Tower, proceeded on horseback to the court by land, while the humane lieutenant, taking boat, proceeded in haste by water, that he might, if possible, arrive before them, and obtain the royal ear before it was prejudiced against him by their misrepresentations. He was the first in reaching the court, and being admitted into his majesty's presence, represented the whole matter exactly as it stood—how Anne Askew had been tortured—how, not knowing his majesty's pleasure, he refused, at the simple bidding of the chancellor, to pro-

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., pp. 537-553.

long her torture, which, from compassion, he could not find in his heart to do—and humbly craved forgiveness if he had thereby offended his majesty. The king, who seemed somewhat displeased with the extreme severity of the chancellor and Rich, approved of the lieutenant's conduct, and dismissed him with assurances of continued favour. The officers of the Tower, who much respected the lieutenant, were anxiously waiting for his return, and were delighted to hear of his gracious reception at court.[1] It would have been honouring to the memory of Henry, and a redeeming act in his history, amidst the numerous atrocities by which it is blackened, had he given orders that the proceedings against this lady should be stopped. But an idea so merciful seems never to have entered his mind; and the displeasure he expressed at the severity of the chancellor and of Rich, proceeded, there is reason to believe, merely from a capricious impulse, and not from sentiments of compassion, which, if he ever felt, were, "like angels' visits, few and far between."

The lord chancellor afterwards sent a notification to Anne, assuring her that, provided she would renounce her opinion as to the eucharist, she should want nothing; but that if she continued obstinate, she should be forthwith sent to Newgate, and should undergo the ignominious death to which she had been condemned. Her reply was brief but decisive—"that she would rather die than renounce her faith." In giving this account to a friend, she concludes with these words, so expressive of her forgiving and pious spirit—"Lord, open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may find entrance. Farewell, my dear friend, and pray, pray, pray!"

The council, and especially Wriothesley and Rich, though hardened by the frequent repetition of cruel deeds, yet not altogether indifferent to public censure, were anxious to have the torture of Anne concealed, dreading that they might incur, barbarous as was the age, the odious imputation of torturing a lady. "I understand," says she, in a letter to John Lacels, "the council is not a little displeased that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., pp. 537-553.

say now that what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their own uncomely doings, and fear much lest the king's majesty should have information thereof. Wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well, their cruelty God forgive them." If the council desired to conceal their barbarity, Bale was determined to give it the widest publicity:—"It is so honest a part ye have played, that ye will not have it noised. But I promise you so to divulge this unseemly fact of yours in the Latin, that all Christendom over it shall be known what ye are."

To damage Anne's reputation in the estimation of the public, and to abate the sympathy which her condemnation and death might excite, Bonner and his confederates, after her condemnation, printed and circulated the paper which he had fabricated, before her liberation after her first imprisonment, as the confession of her faith,[1] with her own name as subscribing to it unreservedly, and with the names of upwards of a dozen of ecclesiastics and laymen appended to it as witnesses. This paper, which obtained a place in the public registers, bore the following title: "The true copy of the confession and belief of Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, made before the Bishop of London, on the 20th of March, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1544,[2] and subscribed with her own hand, in the presence of the said bishop and other whose names hereafter are recited, set forth and published at this present, to the intent the world may see what credence is now to be given unto the same woman, who in so short a time hath most damnably altered and changed her opinion and belief; and therefore rightfully in open court arraigned and condemned." The date of the paper is incorrect;[3] and Anne, as we have seen, subscribed it only with such qualifications as amounted to a disavowal of it as the confession of her faith. Upon the moral baseness of this malicious attempt to blast her good name by a false

[1] See p. 152.

[2] As at that period the year began on the 25th of March, the date here assigned to Anne's confession, according to our present computation, would be 20th March, 1545.

[3] It should have been dated 25th March, 1546.

imputation, it is unnecessary to dwell. It was worthy of such a man as Bonner, and of men who identified themselves with a system which teaches that the end sanctifies the means, and that to forge false accusations to ruin the credit of heretics is a venial sin, or rather no sin at all. The evil was that many, and even some Christian acquaintances, on seeing the paper with the names of so many witnesses attesting its genuineness, believed that her liberation after her first imprisonment had been purchased at the price of abjuration. She had an approving conscience, the best of all comforters; but still as malicious calumnies, especially when credited by esteemed friends, cause deep concern to an ingenuous mind, she felt uneasy till she had publicly explained that the circumstances connected with her release involved no desertion or compromise of principle. She accordingly drew up a "purgation or answer against the false surmises as to her recantation." "I have read," says she, in this purgation, "the process which is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But as sure as the Lord liveth, I never meant anything less than to recant. Notwithstanding this, I confess that in my first troubles I was examined of the Bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my mouth but this, that I believed therein as the Word of God did bind me to believe. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set thereunto my hand; but I refused it. Then my two sureties did will me in no wise to stick thereat, for it was no great matter, they said. Then, with much 'ado, at the last I wrote thus: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe this, if God's Word do agree to the same, and the true Catholic Church.' Then the bishop, being in great displeasure with me, because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to prison, where I was a while; but afterwards, by means of friends, I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to John vi., and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well, quoth Anne Askew."

The number of her enemies, and the many iniquitous forms in

which they had exercised their cruelty upon her, as if to make her taste again and again the bitterness of death before they committed her to the excruciating flames, deeply oppressed her spirit—for this, to a pure mind, must ever give dark distressing views of human nature—and extorted from her earnest appeals to the justice and compassion of God. But it is delightful to witness the meekness of spirit she cherished towards these miserable and hardened men, even when she most agonizingly felt the iron entering her soul. She cannot make her appeal to God against their injustice and cruelty, without, like Christ in his passion, and like the proto-Christian martyr Stephen, earnestly praying for their forgiveness, and that their understandings might be enlightened by the knowledge of the truth, and their hearts changed by Divine grace. "O Lord," says she, in a brief prayer which she composed and committed to writing when in prison, "I have more enemies now than there be hairs on my head; yet, Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou, Lord, in my stead, for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them that are against me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee that thou wilt, of thy most merciful goodness, forgive them that violence which they do and have done unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight which is only acceptable before thee, and to set thy verity aright without all vain fantasies of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it!"

When in Newgate she drew up a confession of her faith, probably with the intention of leaving it as a memorial to her Christian friends. In this confession, while acknowledging herself to be a sinner before God, though not a heretic, and while maintaining that she was unjustly condemned to suffer death, she denies the doctrine of transubstantiation, repudiates the authority of traditions, defends the sufficiency of the Scriptures in all matters of Christian faith and practice, and asserts the offering of the mass to be idolatry. Of this document the following is a copy:—"I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although

my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, do confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly Majesty, desiring his eternal mercy. And forasmuch as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil-doer concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, who hath made both heaven and earth, to record that I hold no opinions contrary to his Holy Word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions, which are contrary to his most blessed verity. For I take him to witness that I do, and will unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

"But this is the heresy which they report me to hold: that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after those words are once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs say I nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, 'that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.' Lo, this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer, Jesus Christ, would I should believe.

"Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation that Christ hath left here with us; so that I believe we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore, look, what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that have I, with God's grace, closed up in my heart. And my full trust is, as David saith, that it shall be 'a lantern to my footsteps' (Psalm cxix. 105).

"There be some that do say that I deny the eucharist, or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people do untruly report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered like as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your mass, as it is now used in our days, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world; for my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon these words that I have now spoken will I suffer death."

The day of her execution having arrived,[1] she was brought to Smithfield in a chair; for she had been racked till the dreadful torture had deprived her limbs of the power to carry her. Three others were executed with her for the same opinions, Nicolas Belenean, a priest of Shropshire, John Adams, a tailor, and John Lacels, a gentleman of the family of Gatford in Nottinghamshire, and of the king's household. The four martyrs were bound to three separate stakes; Anne to one stake, to which she was fastened by a chain passing round her middle; one of her fellow-sufferers to a second, and the other two to a third. They mutually encouraged one another to a calm and willing self-immolation. Anne in particular confirmed the rest, who, though not deficient in fortitude,[2] became more intrepid

[1] According to Foxe, in his *Acts and Monuments*, she was executed about the month of June; according to Bishop Bale, in his work, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, fol. ed., p. 670, on the 16th of July. Southey, in his *Book of the Church* (vol. ii., p. 92), says, "The execution was delayed *till darkness closed*, that it might appear the more dreadful" This, there is reason to believe, is a mistake. Executions of this kind in England, so far as we have discovered, uniformly took place in the broad light of day, and generally in the morning. Southey, even in his second edition, in which he supplies an omission in the first—an entire want of references—does not note his authority for this statement; but we apprehend it rests solely on an indefinite expression used in a brief notice of the martyrdom by an eye-witness, found among Foxe's MSS, and printed in Strype's *Memorials*, vol. i., part i., p. 599. The expression is, "When the hour of darkness came and their execution," the allusion of the writer, there can be little doubt, being to these words of Christ to his enemies, "This is your hour and the power of darkness."

[2] Lacels, on returning to prison after his condemnation, was not only tranquil, but cheerful. To some Christian friends who paid him a visit, though at the risk of their personal safety, he said, "My Lord Bishop would have me confess the Roman Church to be the Catholic Church; but that I cannot do, for it is not true."—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., pp. 599, 600. A letter, which he wrote when in prison, refuting



J. GODWIN. G. AND E. DALZIEL.

THE BURNING OF ANNE ASKEW AND OTHERS.

on witnessing her invincible constancy, and hearing her Christian exhortations. The place of execution was defended from the pressure of the crowd by a rail. In those days unceasing efforts were made to the last to convert condemned heretics. After they had been bound to the stake, a Popish priest from a pulpit, which it was common to have erected beside them, endeavoured to convince them of their pretended errors, and bring them to recant. In the present instance the usual practice was followed. But if the object of the persecutors was to convert the sufferers, they could hardly have made a worse selection of a priest to officiate. Dr. Shaxton, whom they had appointed, being a renegade from the reformed faith, his character on that account was damaged in the estimation of all the martyrs, and especially of Anne, in whose mind he was associated both in character and in doom with Judas the traitor. Shaxton mounted the pulpit and began his homily; but he might as well have spent his oratory on the desert air. It made no impression on those for whom it was professedly intended. Anne, who remarkably preserved her powers of attention and presence of mind at the stake, expressed her approbation when he spoke the truth; but her dissent on his advancing anything contrary to the Scriptures, saying, "There he misseth, and speaketh without the book." On the conclusion of the sermon the martyrs began their devotional exercises.

To witness the appalling scene, an immense multitude of spectators had assembled. Here were to be seen, as at every public execution, the scum, the most barbarous and brutal of the London population, who had come out of their dens of filth, and vice, and infamy, from an all-devouring eagerness to gratify their curiosity, and gorge their eyes with spectacles of cruelty. Here, too, were the fanatical Papists, in whom Popery had extinguished the common feelings of humanity uttering, like fiends in vindictive triumph over the destruction of their victims, wild cries of jubilee. Wriothesley, Chancellor of England, the old Duke of Norfolk, the old Earl of Bedford, the Lord

transubstantiation, and proving that Christ is received in the supper only spiritually, is preserved in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., pp. 550–553.

Mayor, and several other persons of rank, were all here, sitting on a bench under St. Bartholomew's Church. They had no commiseration for the sufferers, but they were afraid of any harm accidentally befalling themselves. Before the fire was lighted, one of them, understanding that a quantity of gunpowder was to be used in the execution, became alarmed lest the fagots, by the explosion, should come flying about their ears. His alarm was allayed by the Earl of Bedford, who assured him that, as the gunpowder was lodged about the persons of the sufferers, with the view of hastening their death, not under the fagots, there was no danger. All of them, therefore, remained on the bench, remorselessly looking on till the fire had consumed the devoted martyrs. Other lords of council were entertaining themselves by looking on, leaning over the window of a neighbouring house. The gratification felt by these Popish councillors in witnessing this horrible scene, is not altogether to be accounted for from the influence of the frequent atrocious punishments inflicted at that period, in hardening the hearts of all classes. It is very much to be attributed to the influence of Popery in brutalizing, or rather demonizing, the human character. This is confirmed from the fact, that in every country, and especially in the most intensely Popish countries, the execution of heretics was witnessed with every demonstration of satisfaction and delight, by Papists of all ages, sexes, and conditions, from the monarch to the peasant, from "the tender and delicate lady, that would not adventure to set her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness," down to the lowest of her sex; while yet the execution of ordinary malefactors excited the compassion of the very same spectators.

Others, however, were present at this tragedy from very different motives, and witnessed it with very different feelings. "These dreadful spectacles," says Southey, "were attended not by the brutal multitude alone," and the brutal of the nobility, "who came as to a pastime, and by those who, for the sake of gratifying their curiosity, chose to endure the sight: the friends and fellow-believers of the sufferer seem generally to have been present, as an act of duty; they derived,

from his example, strength to follow it when their hour should come; and to him it was a consolation to recognize sympathizing faces amid the crowd; to be assured that in his agony he had their silent but fervent prayers to support him; and to know that, as faithful witnesses, they would do justice to his memory, which else was at the mercy of his enemies. For it was one of the pious frauds of the Romanists to spread reports that their victims had seen and acknowledged their error, when too late to save their lives, and had asked pardon of God and man for their heresies with their latest breath."[1]

A new temptation to unfaithfulness to God and conscience, this lady and her fellow-sufferers had to encounter just on the eve of their execution; but in the strength of God's grace they nobly overcame it, and it added "a fresh garland to their crown of martyrdom." Before the fire was lighted, Wriothesley, the chancellor, sent letters to Anne, to which was affixed the great seal, offering her the king's pardon, provided she would abjure her heretical opinions. This he did in conformity with an Act of Parliament, 1543, by which it was ordained, that such as were convicted of the violation of the law as to the six articles, for the first time, should be admitted to recant. Not a moment did she hesitate as to her duty; with letters offering her pardon on such a condition, she would have nothing to do; she would not even look at them. "I am not come here," she said heroically, "to deny my Lord and Master." She indeed appears to have experienced a large measure of the support and consolations of the Holy Spirit; and her very countenance reflected the peace and joy of her soul. An eye-witness bears testimony, that on the day before her execution, and on the day of it, "she had an angel's countenance, and a smiling face." Similar letters were offered to her three fellow-sufferers, who, imitating her constancy, nobly refused to recant. All four were therefore dealt with as obstinate, irreclaimable heretics. The lord mayor, thinking that as they had the offer of their lives on such easy terms, their blood was on their own heads, and not on

[1] *The Book of the Church*, vol. ii., p. 18.

his, cried with a loud voice, "Fiat justitia,"[1] and the fire was immediately kindled.

At the first lighting of the fire, the sky all of a sudden became gloomy, a thunder-clap was heard, and a slight shower of rain descended. Very different were the interpretations put upon these phenomena by different spectators, according to their respective religious creeds. By the reformed party they were accounted tokens of God's approbation of the martyrs, and of his indignation against the persecutors. "God knows," said a friendly spectator, "whether I may truly term it a thunder-crack, as the people did in the gospel, or an angel's, or rather God's own voice. But, to leave every man to his own judgment, methought it seemed rather that the angels in heaven rejoiced to receive their souls into bliss, whose bodies these Popish tormentors cast into the fire, as not worthy to live any longer among such hell-hounds."[2] "The sky," says Bale, "abhorring so wicked an act, suddenly altered colour, and the clouds from above gave a thunder-clap, not at all unlike to what is written in Psalm lxxvi. 8: 'Thou didst cause judgment to be heard from heaven; the earth feared and was still.' The elements both declared therein the high displeasure of God for so tyrannous a murder of innocents, and also expressly signified his mighty hand present to the comfort of them which trusted in him." The Popish priests, on the other hand, observing the sudden gloom, and hearing the thunder, not doubting that these were signs of the perdition of the sufferers, cried out with fanatical fury, gnashing their teeth, "They are damned, they are damned."[3]

The interpretation put upon these phenomena by the Reformers has the merit of being humane and pious; that put upon them by

[1] *i. e.*, "Let justice be done."

[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., pp. 599, 600.

[3] These executions struck terror into the English refugees on the Continent. John Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, in a letter to Henry Bullinger, without date, but probably written from Basle about the close of the year 1546, says, "For his impious mass the king has this last summer committed four respectable and godly persons to the flames."—*Zurich Letters*, first series, printed for Parker Soc., p. 41.

the Papists has the discredit of being savage and vindictive. Yet as a guide in determining God's love or hatred towards the sufferers, we are not disposed to lay much stress on these phenomena, which were too vague and indefinite to enable either the martyrs or others to form anything like a correct judgment on the point, and which might be easily explained from natural causes. As to the martyrs themselves, they needed no outward signs to convince them that God loved them. From the workings of love to him in their own hearts, and from the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit to their adoption, they knew that he loved them. This knowledge confirmed their faith and strengthened their courage when they were called to the honourable though very trying distinction of sacrificing their lives "for the witness of Jesus, and for the Word of God; and because they would not worship the beast, neither his image, neither would receive his mark upon their foreheads, nor in their right hands." It inspired them with the triumphant hope—a hope of which the wicked and cruel men who put them to this terrible death could not deprive them—that the flames which consumed their bodies would be a chariot of fire, in which they would ascend to heaven, that having suffered for Christ on earth, they might reign with him there for ever.

Anne Askew, at her martyrdom, was in the twenty-fifth year of her age, in the prime of youth, in the meridian and summer of her existence, when life is generally most full of enjoyment, and the future most kindles into brightness to the eye of youthful hope. This made the sacrifice she made of her life the nobler, the more heroic; for, as Foxe observes, "she might have lived in great wealth and prosperity, if she would have followed the world rather than Christ;"[1] and it fixes a blacker, a more indelible brand of infamy upon the cruelty of her murderers.

[1] *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii., p. 489.



Ruins of Kendal Castle, Westmoreland.

KATHARINE PARR,

SIXTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HER BIRTH TO THE RETURN OF HENRY FROM FRANCE TO ENGLAND, IN THE AUTUMN OF 1544.

KATHARINE PARR was born at Kendal Castle, in Westmoreland,[1] about the year 1513. She was the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, of Kendal, knight, by Matilda or Maud Green, his wife, daughter and coheiress of Sir Thomas Green, of Boughton and Green's Norton, in Northamptonshire. At the time of her birth, her father

[1] Kendal Castle is situated on a knoll in the middle of a valley, about half-a-mile on the east side of the town of Kendal. Its situation is both strong and beautiful, commanding a delightful prospect of wood, pasture, and running water. In Camden's

was Master of the Wards and Comptroller of the Household to Henry VIII. He enjoyed the favour of the monarch, by whom he was presented with a gold chain, valued at £140. He died in 1517, leaving Katharine, by his last will, a fortune of £400, a small inheritance for a lady who afterwards became Queen of England. He left a similar fortune to her only sister, Anne, and bequeathed the gold chain he had received as a token of the royal favour, to his only son, William, afterwards Earl of Essex, and Marquis of Northampton.

Having lost her father when only in her fifth year, Katharine owed her education mainly to her mother, a woman, it has been said, of much wisdom and good management, who carefully cultivated the talents of all her children. Not only was she educated in the ordinary branches of learning, in the art of music, in the use of the needle, then deemed a necessary accomplishment to ladies of the highest distinction, and in the modern languages, but she was taught the Latin and Greek tongues, in which, since the revival of letters in England, it had become fashionable for English ladies of rank to be instructed. From her good natural abilities, her progress in learning corresponded to her opportunities and her mother's expectations. She soon acquired as high a reputation for intelligence and sound discretion as for learning; and on reaching womanhood, though of small stature, she is described by our historians as possessing great personal beauty; as remarkable for her amiable, engaging, and polished manners; and as adorned with many virtues, especially humility, the crown and ornament of all others.

An anecdote has been recorded, illustrative of her liveliness of disposition and her ready ingenuity, if not of her ambition in early life. The belief in astrology, or in the existence of some pre-ordained and unchangeable connection between the fate of an individual in life and the position of the stars at his birth, was common at that time; and Katharine, like many others, consulted some professed

time it was "decaying with age," and in 1670, according to the *Pembroke Memoirs*, it was "ruinous." Since that period it has suffered still more from the destroying hand of time.—*Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. xv., p. 108. The prefixed engraving represents it in its present state.

astrologer, to know, from the revelations of his science, her future destiny. Casting her nativity, he told her that she was born to sit on a throne, encircled by all the stars and planets. That this prognostication, if not pure imposture, was entitled to no credit, no one now needs to be told. As some hundreds, if not thousands of females would be born in England at the same time, and under the same astrological aspect of the stars, the same prediction might have been uttered, but could not prove true as to them all. Whether or no Katharine believed in astrology, and had faith in the prediction of the star-seer she consulted, it was usual for her after this, when her mother called her to work, to say, "My hands are ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, not needles and spindles."[1] This she may have spoken partly in jest, and partly in earnest. Doubts of the truth of the nativity-caster's vaticination may have mingled with flattering, though vague and undefined, dreams of her being elevated one day to the dizzy eminence of royalty. She, however, did not neglect the use of the needle, and attained a degree of perfection in the art of embroidery equalled by few.

At a very early age—the exact date is unknown—Katharine was married to Edward Lord Borough, of Gainsborough, a wealthy widower, distantly related to her, who could easily have been her grandfather. To this nobleman, with whom she resided at his manor of Gainsborough, she had no children; and by his death, which took place in 1528-9, she became a widow, when she could not have exceeded her fifteenth year. She became, secondly, the wife of another wealthy aged widower, John Neville, Lord Latimer,[2] who had been previously twice married. The date of her marriage with this nobleman is uncertain, but she did not, perhaps, at the time exceed twenty

[1] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., pp. 203-209.

[2] He possessed large property in Worcestershire and other counties. George Neville, Lord Latimer, a previous representative of the house, marrying Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, had the manors of Great Cumberton, Wadborough, and other estates in the county of Worcester. These John Lord Latimer, on his marriage with Katharine Parr, settled in jointure on her, and she held them during her life.

years of age. She now resided with him, chiefly at his stately mansion of Snape Hall, in Yorkshire, a goodly castle, distant about two miles from Great Tanfield. By this second marriage she had no



Snape Hall.

children, and she again became a widow early in 1543. Lord Latimer was a decided Roman Catholic, and died in that faith, as is evident from his leaving, by his will, funds "to endow a grammar-school at Wells, and to pray for him, the founder." Katharine's amiable dispositions, her good sense, and her conscientious performance of her duties as a step-mother, gained her the esteem and affection of the children of both the noblemen to whom she had been united.

At what period she became a convert to the reformed doctrines it is difficult, perhaps impossible, now to determine. It is a mistake to suppose, as has been done by some writers, that the knowledge and belief of them were instilled into her mind from childhood. From a treatise written by her after her marriage with Henry VIII., and found among her papers after her death,[1] it is evident that she had

[1] This work, with a preface from the pen of Secretary Cecil, was printed at London.

been educated in Popery, and, during a great part of her life, had observed and trusted to its idolatrous and superstitious services, conceiving, in her ignorance, frequent though her opportunities were of becoming acquainted with the reformed principles, that the Popish religion, since the vast majority embraced it, behoved to be right, and the only way to heaven. "What a wretch and caitife," says she, "am I, that when the Prince of princes, the King of kings, did speak many pleasant and gentle words unto me, and also called me so many and sundry times that they cannot be numbered, and yet, notwithstanding these great signs and tokens of love, I would not come unto him, but hid myself out of his sight, seeking many crooked and by-ways, wherein I walked so long that I had clean lost sight of him. And no marvel or wonder, for I had a blind guide, called *Ignorance*, who dimmed so mine eyes that I could never perfectly get any sight of the fair, goodly, straight, and right ways of his doctrine, but continually travelled uncomfortably in foul, wicked, crooked, and perverse ways; yea, and because they were so much haunted of many, I could not think but that I walked in the perfect and right way, having more regard to the number of the walkers than to the order of the walking; believing also most assuredly, with company, to have walked to heaven, whereas, I am most sure, they would have brought me down to hell. I forsook the spiritual honouring of the true living God, and worshipped visible idols and images made of

in 1548, under the title, *The Lamentation or Complaint of a Sinner, made by the most virtuous and right gracious Lady, Queen Katharine, bewailing the ignorance of her blind life, led in superstition; very profitable to the amendment of our lives.* It was again printed at London in 1563 "at the instant desire of that right gracious lady, Katharine, Duchess of Suffolk, and the earnest request of Lord William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, brother to Queen Katharine Parr." It has been reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v., pp. 277–298. It is an original work, not a compilation, and though posthumous, is the best of all her writings. As a piece of English composition, it reckons with the very first productions of that age. Without assuming a controversial form, it yet condemns the leading dogmas of Popery, and vindicates the doctrines of the Reformation. It is pervaded by a Christian wisdom, a knowledge of the human heart, and a just estimate of the comparative value of heavenly and earthly things, which must leave on the mind of every candid reader an impression highly favourable to her talents and Christian excellence of character.

men's hands, believing by them to have gotten heaven. . . . . Furthermore, the blood of Christ was not reputed by me sufficient for to wash me from the filth of my sins, neither such ways as he had appointed by his Word, but I sought for such riffraff as the Bishop of Rome hath planted in his tyranny and kingdom, trusting, with great confidence, by the virtue and holiness of them, to receive full remission of my sins."[1] At length, however, by the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and of the writings of the Reformers, accompanied by sincere humble prayer for the illuminating grace of the Holy Spirit, her faith in Popery became unsettled, the truth in its purity beamed with serene effulgence upon her mind, and receiving it cordially, as impressed with the seal of Heaven, she was brought under its saving power. This change upon her sentiments and feelings, it is probable, took place during the lifetime of Lord Latimer, though she may not then have made open profession of her faith. After his death her house, it appears, became the resort of the most learned and zealous of the Reformers, and conventicles were held in it for the celebration of the Protestant worship.

Being again loosed from the matrimonial tie by the death of her second husband, Katharine soon found new candidates for her hand and heart. Among these appeared no less a personage than her sovereign, Henry VIII., thus bidding fair to verify to the full the astrological soothsayer's flattering prediction. Henry, in his former selections of a wife, had been resolutely bent on wedding a maid, but having some doubts whether in this respect he had not hitherto been imposed upon, he purposed now to marry a widow, who had given proof of chastity and loyalty to her former husband. He fixed upon Katharine, who still retained so many charms as captivated his fickle heart; and for once he found a lady whose piety, discretion, and many excellent qualities, surpassed even her personal attractions.

To this flattering offer her heart at first gave a cold response: her affections were placed elsewhere. She passionately loved a nobleman of captivating person and manners, though not of corresponding ex-

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v., p. 280.

cellence of character, who, on the death of Lord Latimer, attracted by her beauty and winning deportment, and no doubt also by her wealth—for she posessed two ample jointures—sought her in marriage. This was Thomas Seymour, Lord High Admiral of England, and brother of the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector during the reign of Edward VI.; and, as we learn from an amatory letter she wrote from Chelsea to Seymour, after the death of Henry, it cost her a severe struggle to renounce the idol of her heart for the old debauched worn-out monarch. "I would not have you," says she, "to think this mine honest good-will towards you to proceed of any sudden motion or passion, for, as truly as God is God, my mind was fully bent, the other time I was at liberty, to marry you before any man I know. Howbeit, God withstood my will therein most vehemently for a time, and through his grace and goodness made that possible which seemed to me most impossible, that was, made me renounce utterly mine own will, and to follow his most willingly."

Another serious objection she must have felt to this marriage was the character of Henry. In the prospect of becoming his wife, it can hardly be doubted that she would feel secret presentiments of calamity. Little as the young, to whom time has not yet brought the changes and misfortunes which it has brought to the old, are disposed to form gloomy presages of the future, and prone as they are, in the flushing luxuriance of health and of animal spirits, to paint it as the golden age, as the scene only of enjoyment and happiness, there was much in the character of Henry, and in the tragic history of his former queens, to dispel pleasing dreams, and to create dark forebodings in the mind of any young lady, and especially in the mind of a lady so reflective and intelligent as was Katharine Parr. She might win the proud name of queen, but she would win it with more than its ordinary cares, anxieties, and sorrows. On becoming the wife of Henry, while invested with the dazzling splendours of royalty, she would, in reality, "put on the poisoned robe of Nessus, which, though given as a token of affection, would be found, in the experiment, to eat into the flesh and burn up the vitals of the person who wore it." She

could only anticipate that, amidst imperial honours, wealth, and enjoyments, her rest by night and her tranquillity by day would be often disturbed, from the dread of a sudden reverse; from the appalling visions of the capricious affections of Henry changed into jealousy, suspicion, mortal hatred; of her incarceration in the Tower under false charges; of a mock trial, with none to show her mercy; and all ended by the axe of the executioner. Nor could the most exalted virtue, any more than the most dazzling beauty, afford security against such a fate. By a word or a look, on her part meaning nothing, but construed by jealousy into something criminal, or by a slight accidental circumstance, or simply because he had transferred his affections to another object, his caresses of to-day might be exchanged for frowns and mortal feud to-morrow. That such a train of thought actually passed through her mind, is manifest from the answer she returned to Henry when he first disclosed to her his intention of making her the sharer of his bed and throne, "that it was better to be his mistress than his wife;" a sarcasm overlooked by him at the time, from the ardour of his new affection, but which, had he lived long enough, might afterwards have cost her, though nothing else could have been laid to her charge, her life.[1] Had she then been left to her voluntary choice, never would she have become his wedded wife. But she had satisfactory reasons for consenting to the proposed union. If it was dangerous to accept of his proposal, to have declined it would have been equally perilous.

To Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, this contemplated marriage was a cause of great uneasiness. The fall of Katharine Howard had

[1] When, on looking out for another queen-consort, after the death of Jane Seymour, his third wife, Henry made his first offer to Christiana, the duchess-dowager of Milan, then in Flanders, at the vice-regal court, that lady is said to have given an answer still more cutting—that she had but one head; if she had had two, one should have been at his majesty's service.—Ellis's *Letters*, first series, vol. ii., p. 123. From other ladies he would have received similar answers, had they as freely spoken their mind. They had too much respect for their heads to be disposed to contest an alliance with a monarch who could, with the utmost unconcern, decapitate his wives whenever he tired of them, and kick about their severed bleeding heads as indifferently as he would an old hat.

inflicted a heavy blow on him and on the whole Popish party, of which she was the avowed protectress; and desirous to see a devotee of the Romish Church in the influential position of queen-consort, he had taken every opportunity of recommending to Henry an alliance with some of the royal families of Europe who continued adherents of the old faith. His advice was not followed; and great were his terror and distress on learning one morning, from the monarch's own mouth, that it was his intention to marry the Lady Katharine Parr.[1] The bigoted chancellor dreaded that, as the consequence of this marriage, an arrest would be put on the attempts now making to suppress the reformed doctrines, and that, from the influence she might acquire over Henry, facilities hitherto withheld would be given for their propagation, which, despite the deadly persecution maintained against them, were making steady progress in England. He had, however, more discretion than to oppose the monarch's inclinations. Keeping his chagrin concealed within his own breast, he assumed the appearance of satisfaction with what he could not prevent, and was present at the marriage ceremony.[2]

The requisite arrangements being made, the marriage took place at Hampton Court, July 12, 1543, the bride being at the age of twenty-nine. The union was formed by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. On the morning of that day, being in attendance on his majesty at Hampton Court, Gardiner, without previous notice, was ordered, to his great surprise and mortification, immediately to proceed. Like Wriothesley, he was extremely desirous, for the sake of Romanism, of seeing a lady of indisputable orthodoxy elevated to the throne; and though too prudent to condemn the marriage, distasteful as it was to him, he complacently reminded his majesty that it behoved him, as an example to his subjects, to observe ecclesiastical forms, and that the banns not having been proclaimed, nor other requisite preliminaries observed, it would be irregular and uncanonical, in the meantime, to celebrate the intended marriage.

[1] It is observable that, though a widow, she was called by her maiden name.

[2] Lord Campbell's *Chancellors of England*, vol. i., p. 629.

Henry had provided against this objection, by obtaining from Archbishop Cranmer, who was delighted that his sovereign had chosen a queen who patronized the new faith, a license dispensing with the publication of banns, and allowing the ceremony to take place at any hour, and in any place, "for the honour and weal of the realm."



Hampton Court, time of George II.

On being informed of this by his majesty, the prelate shrewdly suspected that it was intended to play a trick upon him, by employing him to perform a service, to which, it was well known, he was in heart vehemently opposed. But with great self-command he restrained his feelings, and being conducted into a small private chapel in the palace, performed the ceremony as if entirely satisfied with the king's choice; but his haughty spirit felt as if insulted; as he retired to his own house his proud blood boiled with indignation, and he resolved to watch his opportunity, when he might at once gratify his thirst for vengeance, and do the old faith good service, by ridding England and the world of this heretical queen.[1]

Wriothesley and Gardiner were not mistaken as to Katharine's sincere and ardent devotion to the reformed faith, though she may not have openly professed it. In her *Lamentations of a Sinner*,

[1] Lord Campbell's *Chancellors of England*, vol. ii., pp. 45, 46.

her sentiments on the subject are expressed in the strongest terms; and though this work was not committed to writing till some time after her marriage with Henry, she had previously formed a matured judgment on its great leading principles. At present it will be sufficient to quote only, as a specimen, the passage in which she compliments Henry—with somewhat extravagant adulation, it must be allowed, according to the manner of the times, and from conjugal partiality—for having shaken off the Papal authority, and for allowing the circulation of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue among his subjects, and in which she denounces the Pope as a persecuting monster and a soul-deceiver, unequalled in all preceding ages. "Thanks be given," says she, "unto the Lord, that hath now sent us such a godly and learned king, in these latter days, to reign over us; that, with the virtue and force of God's Word, hath taken away the veils and mists of errors, and brought us to the knowledge of the truth, by the light of God's Word;[1] which was so long hid, and kept under, that the people were nigh famished and hungered, for lack of spiritual food. Such was the charity of the spiritual curates and shepherds. But our Moses, and most godly wise governor and king, hath delivered us out of the captivity and bondage of Pharaoh. I mean by this Moses King Henry VIII., my most sovereign favourable lord and husband; one (if Moses had figured any more than Christ), through the excellent grace of God, meet to be another expressed verity of Moses' conquest over Pharaoh. And I mean by this Pharaoh the Bishop of Rome, who hath been and is a greater persecutor of all true Christians than ever was Pharaoh of the children of Israel: for he is a persecutor of the gospel and grace, a setter forth of all superstition and counterfeit holiness, bringing many

[1] By the close of the year 1541, only four years and four months from the time that Rogers's English Bible, before referred to (see p. 139), was imported to this country, there had issued from the press not fewer than twelve editions of the entire Bible, ten in folio, and two in quarto. The impression of each of these editions, it has been calculated, amounted, on an average, to 2000 copies, thus furnishing in whole 24,000 Bibles. Besides this ample supply, thousands of copies of the New Testament, printed at home, with numerous foreign editions, were in circulation among the people, and ardently read.—Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii., p. 153.

souls to hell with his alchemy and counterfeit money, deceiving the poor souls under the pretence of holiness; but so much the greater shall be his damnation, because he deceiveth and robbeth under Christ's mantle. The Lord keep and defend all men from his jugglings and sleights, but specially the poor, simple, and unlearned souls. And this lesson I would all men had of him, that, when they begin to mislike his doing, then only begin they to like God, and certainly not before."[1]

The persecuting Papists having thus some reason to dread that such a woman as Katharine would exercise a powerful influence over the mind of Henry against Popery, and in favour of heresy, her marriage had hardly been consummated, when Gardiner and others began to plot against her and the reformed members of her household. He found a ready tool in Dr. London, a canon of Windsor, formerly one of Cromwell's most active agents in the visitation of the monasteries.[2] London having collected matter sufficient to criminate, under the act of the six articles, four pious individuals, Anthony Person, a priest, Robert Testwood and John Marbeck, both choristers, and Henry Filmer, who had impugned the doctrine of transubstantiation, transmitted this information to Gardiner, who resolved not only to bring them to the stake, in defiance of the queen, but to convert, if possible, the discovery of their heresy into the means of her ruin. He laid the information before the king and council, moving, at the same time, that a warrant should be issued, authorizing a search to be made for prohibited books and heretical papers, both in the town and in the castle of Windsor, the very residence of the queen. Henry, either thinking it would be something like an insult for his palace to be rummaged by officers of justice, or shrewdly guessing that the repositories of his queen contained prohibited books, would not permit inquisition to be made within the precincts of his own residence, but he allowed search to be made in the town, upon which several heretical books and papers were seized. About the same time, besides the four

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v., p. 289. [2] Ellis's *Letters*, first series, vol. ii., p. 79.

persons accused, Sir Philip Hoby, one of the gentlemen of the royal household, and Dr. Haines, a canon of Windsor and dean of Exeter, all suspected of heresy, were committed to prison. Person, Testwood, Marbeck, and Filmer were brought to trial, and a packed jury having found them guilty of heresy, they were condemned to the flames. Marbeck's life was saved at the intercession, it would appear, of the queen. Some MS. notes upon the Bible, and a MS. English concordance, carried down to the end of the letter L, which he had taken from a Latin concordance (having acquired some knowledge of the Latin tongue when a boy), by comparing the references in it with the corresponding passages in the English Bible, had been found in his house. As he was evidently illiterate, his examinators doubted his veracity when he asserted that these papers were exclusively the fruits of his own industry: but he soon removed their doubts, for being allowed the use of a Latin concordance and of an English Bible, he filled, in the course of a single day, no less than three sheets of paper with words under the letter M. The circumstance being told to Henry, it would seem by Katharine, who pleaded the cause of the condemned, he exclaimed, in a spirit of sympathy to which his bosom was generally a stranger, "Poor Marbeck has been in the habit of employing his time far better than those who examined him." It was, however, difficult to manage the fierce and intractable spirit of the monarch, and Katharine was unable to save the lives of the other three, who suffered at the stake with unshrinking fortitude, July 26, exactly a fortnight after her marriage.

Gardiner was still intent upon the destruction of Katharine and the heretical members of her court; for he never lost sight of an object he was earnest to accomplish; and his caterer, Dr. London, in concert with a lawyer named Simons, had, as the fruit of their vile ferreting labours, sent him pretended criminating matter affecting some members of the royal household, together with additional papers containing others of their machinations, by a person named Ockham, who had acted as clerk of the court which condemned the martyrs just mentioned. But the plot was discovered; for intelligence of what

was going on being communicated to one of the gentlemen accused, Ockham, while on his way to the prelate, was seized, with all the papers upon his person. It was certainly contrary to Gardiner's usual prudence thus to attempt to invade the peace of Katharine's household before the honeymoon was over, as a preliminary step to making an attempt upon herself, and Henry resented the audacity. Gardiner, however, had kept himself behind the scenes, and escaped. London and Simons, less fortunate, were apprehended and examined. Ignorant of the seizure of Ockham, they alleged upon oath false pretences in self-vindication, after which, to their utter confusion, their own papers were produced. They were sentenced to be publicly paraded through the streets of Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, on horseback, with their faces towards the horses' tails,



London and Simons paraded through Windsor.

and having fastened on their heads a paper proclaiming their perjury. They were next placed in the pillory. This ignominious punishment made so deep an impression on the mind of London, that he died soon after in prison.[1]

Katharine in all respects performed the duties of a faithful wife, and conducted herself with uncommon prudence. Being a very amiable woman, as well as a person of great good sense, she studied to humour Henry, whose temper, in addition to its imperiousness,

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v, p. 486.—Soames's *Hist. of the Ref. in England*, vol. ii., pp. 538-542.

had, in consequence of his bodily infirmities, become peevish and froward. At all times she greeted him with looks of affection, and paid him every kind attention, which, together with her unimpeachable virtue, secured his affection, respect, and confidence. She was, in truth, rather his nurse than his wife, his intemperance having brought on him prematurely the infirmities of old age.

Though, from the smallness of her stature, without the commanding majesty of some other ladies, Katharine yet had something in her countenance and bearing peculiarly charming, and her winning suavity, and polite vivacity of manner, was eminently fitted to give dignity and grace to the court, to which she had been suddenly and unexpectedly elevated. The notices of the interview which Don Manriquez de Lara, Duke of Najera, a Spanish nobleman, had with her and Henry, and the Princess Mary, during the close of the year 1543, and in the beginning of the year 1544, are interesting, as giving the impressions of a stranger as to the etiquette of the English court, and the personages who came under his observation. "Before the duke arrived," says his secretary, "at the king's chamber,[1] he passed through three saloons, hung with tapestry; in the second of which were stationed, in order on either side, the king's body-guard, dressed in habits of red, and holding halberts. In the third saloon were nobles, knights, and gentlemen, and here was a canopy made of rich figured brocade, with a chair of the same material. To this canopy and chair the same respect was paid by all as if the king himself were present, every one standing on foot, with his cap in his hand. Here the brother of the queen[2] and the

[1] This was at Westminster Palace.

[2] William Lord Parr, of Kendal, created Earl of Essex, Dec. 23, 1543, and by Edward VI. Marquis of Northampton, Feb. 16, 1545-6. Bishop Hooper, in a letter to Henry Bullinger, dated London, June 29, 1550, describes this nobleman, who was then Lord High Chamberlain of England, as "a man active in the cause of Christ."—*Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 88, 93. King Edward used to call him "his honest uncle." On the accession of Queen Mary he was deprived of his honours for having supported the claims of Lady Jane Grey to the crown; but was restored by Queen Elizabeth. He is said to have excelled in the arts of war, music, and poetry. He died about the beginning of August, 1571, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Warwick.—Granger's *Biog. Hist. of England*, vol. i., p. 234.—*Zurich Letters*, second series, vol. i., p. 257.

other noblemen entertained the duke a quarter of an hour, until it was announced that he should enter the chamber of the king. Don Rodrigo de Mendoça and Tello de Guzman entered with him, and no one else, nor did they permit us even to see the king. I do not know the motive of this, unless it be according to a saying of the ancients, 'that he whom many dread, must necessarily himself be subject to fear and distrust.' I say this, because for many centuries there has never been Christian prince nor infidel who has ordered so many executions as this king, as well of his immediate relations, as of gentlemen, clergy, and other persons, for having spoken against his proceedings, and against the opinions he maintains, that the Pope is only Bishop of Rome, that his power extends not beyond his bishopric, and that he cannot ordain bishops; yet, although a layman, he holds himself capable of ordaining them! Throughout his kingdom obedience to the Pope is forbidden, and he constitutes himself head of the church! The duke remained with the king half-an-hour, and when he came forth he went with the above noblemen to the chamber of the queen, who was accompanied by the Princess Mary, daughter of the king and Queen Katharine, daughter of our good monarch Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabel. Many ladies attended the queen, and amongst them a daughter of the Queen of Scotland,[1] and another called the Queen of *Mongoça*.[2] The duke kissed the queen's hand, by whom he was received in an animated manner. . . . The king is said to be a man of great authority and beauty. The queen has a lovely and pleasing appearance, and is praised as a virtuous woman. She was dressed in a robe of cloth of gold, and a petticoat of brocade, with sleeves lined with crimson satin, and trimmed with three-piled crimson velvet: her train was more than two yards long. Suspended from her neck were two crosses, and a jewel of very rich diamonds, and in her head-dress were many and beautiful ones. Her girdle was of gold, with very large pendants."[3]

[1] Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., who married, first, James IV. of Scotland, and secondly, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus.

[2] Can this be Anne of Cleves?

[3] *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii., pp. 351-354.

It is not, however, from seeing Katharine mingling, as from her situation it was necessary for her to mingle, in the pageantry, etiquette, and amusements of the court, that we can learn her true character. To do this we must follow her into seclusion, observe how much time she spent there in meditation and devotion, and see the deep fountains of piety opened and welling out in her soul. Though not beyond the period of youth, she was not inexperienced, and her heart was less caught than it might have been some years earlier by her great, her sudden elevation, and by the mere glare of external splendour. These did not blind her mind to the littleness of all earthly things, and the greatness of eternal interests. She aspired after the better part, the one thing needful, an interest in God, and in the Saviour of men, as necessary equally for all, for kings and queens as well as for peasants and beggars. In proof of this, reference might be made to the various pious works she wrote, and some of which she published during the period of her union with Henry. A few extracts from one of them may suffice, namely, from *The Manual of Devotion* she published,[1] which, though a com-

[1] This work was entitled *Prayers or Meditations, wherein the mind is stirred patiently to suffer all afflictions, to set at nought the vain prosperity of this world, and always to long for everlasting felicity. Collected out of Holy Works, by the most virtuous and gracious Princess Katharine, Queen of England, France, and Ireland.* These prayers or meditations are arranged in verses or sentences. They were twice printed by Berthelet in 1545, and a third time, without date or printer's name, in 48 pages, 16mo, with the additions of A Prayer for the King—A Prayer for Men to say entering into Battle—A Devout Prayer to be daily said—Another Prayer—and A Devout Prayer; making in all above 60 pages.—Herbert's *Ames*, p. 449. The whole of this manual, with the exception of the additional five prayers, is printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790, vol. lx. Katharine gave to the world some other fruits of her studies on divine things, all indicating the pious temper of her mind; as, Fifteen Psalms, composed by her in imitation of David's Psalms, and abounding in quotations from them, as well as from other parts of Scripture. Each psalm has its proper subject, and is arranged into verses. To these is subjoined the Twenty-first Psalm, entitled, *The Complaint of Christ on the Cross*, and a Psalm of Thanksgiving. She also published a tractate of St. Jerome's, translated by her from Latin into English, under the title, *A Godly Exposition, after the manner of a Contemplation upon the Fifty-first Psalm, which Hierom, of Ferrary, made at the latter end of his days.* To this are added short essays on Faith—The Power of Faith—The Work of Faith—Good Works, together with the Prayer of the Prophet Daniel.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol ii., part i,

pilation from various authors, may, as consisting of passages forming, in her estimation, a casquet of devotional gems, be regarded as a genuine expression of her sentiments and feelings.

"Wherefore, Lord Jesus," says she, "I pray thee give me the grace to rest in thee above all things, and to quiet me in thee above all creatures, above all glory and honour, above all dignity and power, above all cunning and policy, above all health and beauty, above all riches and treasure, above all joy and pleasure, above all fame and praise, above all mirth and consolation that man's heart may take or feel besides thee.

"For thou, Lord God, art best and most wise, most high, most mighty, most sufficient, and most full of all goodness, most sweet and most comfortable, most fair, most loving, most noble, most glorious, in whom all goodness most perfectly is.

"And therefore, whatsoever I have beside thee, it is nothing to me, for my heart may not rest, nor fully be pacified, but only in thee. O Lord Jesus, most loving spouse, who shall give me wings of perfect love, that I may fly up from these worldly miseries and rest in thee?

"O when shall I ascend to thee, and see and feel how sweet thou art? When shall I wholly gather myself in thee so perfectly, that I shall not for thy love feel myself, but thee only above myself, and above all worldly things, that thou mayest vouchsafe to visit me in such wise as thou dost visit thy most faithful lovers.

"O Jesus, King of everlasting glory, the joy and comfort of all Christian people that are wandering as pilgrims in the wilderness of this world, my heart crieth to thee by still desires, and my silence speaketh unto thee, and saith, How long tarrieth my Lord God to come to me?

"Make me strong inwardly in my soul, and cast out thereof all

pp. 204-207. Her *Lamentations of a Sinner*, as we have already seen, breathes throughout, like all these pieces, an eminently devout and Christian spirit. Among her various letters still extant, one addressed to Lady Wriothesley, comforting her under the loss of her only son, may be referred to as particularly excellent. It is inserted in Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 339.

unprofitable cares of this world, that I be not led by unstable desires of earthly things, but that I may repute all things in this world (as they be) transitory and soon vanishing away, and myself also with them drawing to mine end.

"Send forth the hot flames of thy love, to burn and consume the cloudy fantasies of my mind.

"Let me, thy humble and unworthy servant, joy only in thee, and not in myself, nor in anything else beside thee.

"For thou, Lord, art my gladness, my hope, my crown, and all mine honour.

"Lord, give me peace, give me inward joy, and then my soul shall be full of heavenly melody, and be devout and fervent in thy lauds and praisings. But if thou withdraw thyself from me (as thou hast sometime done), then may not thy servant run the way of thy commandments, as I did before."[1]

The prayer for his majesty and soldiers to offer up on entering battle, included in the same *Manual*, breathes an eminently humane Christian spirit, and has been considered preferable to the prayer directed by the English *Liturgy* to be used in time of war:—"O Almighty King and Lord of hosts, which by thy angels thereunto appointed dost minister both war and peace, who didst give unto David both courage and strength, being but a little one, unversed and inexpert in feats of war, with his sling to set upon, and overthrow the great huge Goliah, our cause now being just, and being enforced to enter into war and battle, we most humbly beseech thee, O Lord God of hosts, so to turn the hearts of our enemies to the desire of peace, that no Christian blood be spilt; or else grant, O Lord, that with small effusion of blood, and to the little hurt of innocents, we may, to thy glory, obtain victory, and that, the wars being soon ended, we may all, with our heart and mind knit together in concord and unity, laud and praise Thee, who livest and reignest world without end. Amen." "This, to my ears," says Dr. Nash, "sounds better than 'Abate their pride, assuage their malice, and

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lx, pp. 701, 785, 986, 987.

confound their devices.'"[1] The prayer was probably composed in 1544, when Henry having, in co-operation with Charles V., concerted a plan for invading France with a powerful army, and having engaged to undertake the expedition in person, appointed Katharine regent of the kingdom in his absence.

Henry did not remain long in France.[2] Charles V., apprehensive of the difficulty of subduing that kingdom, and earnestly desirous of turning his arms against the Protestant princes of Germany, concluded a peace with France on the 18th of September, without consulting Henry, who upon this, judging it hopeless to persevere unaided in the attempt to conquer France, returned to England on the 30th of September, 1544.

CHAPTER II.

FROM NOTICES OF HER DOCTRINAL SENTIMENTS TO THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

THE doctrinal sentiments of Katharine are more fully brought out in her *Lamentations of a Sinner* than in any of her other writings. The accuracy of her views as to the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ's righteousness, without any works or merits on the part of the sinner, and the importance she attached to this, the great central doctrine of revelation, are exhibited in every part of that work. "I have no hope nor confidence in any creature, neither in heaven nor earth, but in Christ, my whole and only Saviour. He came into the world

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. ix., p. 9.

[2] A letter, written by her to Henry, during his absence, is to be found in Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 331. Three additional letters, written by her when regent at this time, one to the council attendant on the king's person, and two to the king himself, are inserted in Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal*, &c., vol. iii., p. 171, &c. In Ellis's *Letters*, first series, vol. ii., p. 130, is a letter from Henry to her, dated Sept. 8, 1544, from before Boulogne, which he was then besieging.

to save sinners, and to heal them that are sick, for he said, 'The whole have no need of the physician.'" After adverting to the confidence she formerly placed in Popish observances for justification—on hearing mass, praying to departed saints, and especially to the Virgin Mary, worshipping relics, giving alms, performing pilgrimages, submitting to penances and bodily mortifications—she laments her sin in thus derogating from the all-sufficiency of the Saviour's merits, the only ground of a sinner's hope:—"And so I did as much as was in me obfuscate and darken the great benefit of Christ's passion, than the which no thought can conceive anything of more value. There cannot be done so great an injury and displeasure to Almighty God, our Father, as to tread under foot Christ, his only begotten and well-beloved Son. All other sins in the world, gathered together in one, be not so heinous and detestable in the sight of God. And no wonder, for in Christ crucified God doth show himself most noble and glorious, even an Almighty God and most loving Father in his only dear and chosen blessed Son. And therefore I count myself one of the most wicked and miserable sinners in the world, because I have been so much contrary to Christ my Saviour. Saint Paul desired to know nothing but Christ crucified; after he had been rapt into the third heaven, where he heard such secrets as were not convenient and meet to utter to men, but counted all his works and doings as nothing, to win Christ. And I, most presumptuously thinking nothing of Christ crucified, went about to set forth mine own righteousness, saying, with the proud Pharisee, 'Good Lord, I thank thee I am not like other men; I am none adulterer, nor fornicator,' and so forth." [1]

While holding the doctrine of justification by faith in the righteousness of Christ without works of law, she, on the one hand, attached no merit to faith, nor, on the other, disparaged good works. Faith she regarded as only the hand of the soul which embraces the Saviour and a free salvation; and good works, though not imputed to us for our justification, as necessarily springing from justifying faith.

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v., p. 280.

"St. Paul saith, 'We be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the deeds of the law; for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain.' St. Paul meaneth not here a dead human and historical faith, gotten by human industry, but a supernatural and lively faith, which worketh by charity, as he himself plainly expresseth. This dignity of faith is no derogation to good works, for out of this faith spring all good works; yet we may not impute to the worthiness of faith or works our justification before God, but ascribe, and give the worthiness of it, wholly to the merits of Christ's passion, and refer and attribute the knowledge and perceiving thereof only to faith, whose very true and only property it is to take, apprehend, and hold fast the promises of God's mercy, the which maketh us righteous."[1]

In regard to the Scriptures, she taught "that they are so pure and holy that no perfection can be added unto them." Renouncing "men's traditions and inventions" as of no authority in religion, and condemning the Popish priesthood for "extolling men's inventions and doctrines before the doctrine of the gospel," she expressly asserts the supremacy of the Scriptures in all matters of faith and practice. "Truly, in my simple and unlearned judgment, no man's doctrine is to be esteemed or preferred like unto Christ's and the apostles', nor to be taught as a perfect and true doctrine, but even as it doth accord and agree with the doctrine of the gospel."[2]

There is one, and only one doctrine of Popery, to which she has been said to give countenance in this work—the celibacy of the clergy. In describing what is required of the children of God in their several vocations, she thus expresses herself: "The true followers of Christ's doctrine have always a respect and an eye to their vocation. If they be called to the ministry of God's Word, they preach and teach it sincerely to the edifying of others, and show themselves, in their living, followers of the same. If they be married men,[3] having children and family, they nourish and bring them up, without all

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v., p. 283. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 290, 295, 296.

[3] Here, on the margin of the first editions, the word "laymen" is inserted.

bitterness and fierceness, in the doctrine of the Lord, in all godliness and virtue, committing the instruction of others which appertain not to their charge to the reformation of God and his ministers, which chiefly be kings and princes, bearing the sword even for that purpose to punish evil-doers."[1] From this passage it has been inferred that "Katharine evidently approved of clerical celibacy."[2] Even had she approved of a dogma so contrary to Scripture, and so unnatural, this would by no means be surprising. The wonder is, not that she should remain in error on some particular point, but that, in the imperfect state of the English Reformation during the reign of Henry VIII., she should have attained such clear and comprehensive views of Divine truth as her writings prove her to have possessed.[3] But the justice of the inference may be fairly questioned. Celibacy being then enforced by Henry upon the functionaries of religion, "priests" and "married men" was the phraseology often employed simply to distinguish between ecclesiastics and laymen, without any judgment being thereby pronounced either for or against clerical celibacy. "Priests" is a designation claimed by the Popish clergy, from their pretending to offer, in the mass, Christ as a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, and this appellative they now universally receive, from Protestants as well as from Papists; but no

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v., p. 296.

[2] Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. v., p. 42.

[3] In her time there were not wanting ecclesiastical reformers who were favourable to the perpetual continence of the clergy, and who wrote in defence of it, erroneously judging that this was most becoming the sacred character of their office, forgetting that, to impose such a law upon ecclesiastics, was to impose a restraint in a matter which God had left free—was to do violence to the constitution of man's nature, and to perpetuate the enormous evils of which Popish celibacy had been for ages the prolific source. Even under the reign of Edward VI., the prejudices of the Parliament and of the nation were so strong against the marriage of ecclesiastics that, had it not been for the persevering exertions of Archbishop Cranmer, who, having himself a wife and children at that time in exile, was deeply interested in settling the question in favour of the marriage of ecclesiastics, it is probable that the reformed ministers would not have obtained, as they finally did, in the reign of that monarch, the sanction of the legislature to marry. Among others, besides Cranmer, who vindicated from the press, or who approved of the marriage of the clergy, were Cox, Poult, Hooper, with some of whom Katharine was on terms of intimacy.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., p. 8.

one concludes from this that Protestants maintain the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass, though the premises for drawing such a conclusion are about as good as those from which it is attempted to deduce Katharine's belief in clerical celibacy.

To Henry's children, some of whom, as Mary, were not many years younger than herself,[1] Katharine acted the part of a mother. Under her superintendence the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth prosecuted their studies in the various branches of learning; and while aiming at their improvement in knowledge, and in every suitable accomplishment, she particularly turned their attention to the study of the Scriptures, and of the writings of the Reformers. Elizabeth, when only eleven years of age, probably at her suggestion, translated into English Margaret, Queen of Navarre's poetical work, entitled *Le Mirroir de L'Ame Pecheresse, i.e., The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*, into English prose.[2] After having completed the translation, she sent it to Katharine for examination and revision, accompanied with an interesting letter.[3]

Immediately after this Elizabeth translated Katharine's *Prayers or Meditations*, &c., above referred to, into Latin, French, and Italian, and dedicated the translation to Henry, her father. The dedication is dated Hatfield, December 30, 1545.[4] Under the care of Katharine Parr, and Dr. Grindal, Elizabeth's tutor, who, solicitous about her improvement in Christian knowledge and piety, engaged her in this and similar exercises, this princess acquired no inconsiderable knowledge of theology and of the Sacred Scriptures.

Upon her son-in-law, Prince Edward, the youngest of Henry's

[1] Mary was born February 18, 1516, and consequently was Katharine's junior by about three years.

[2] Ballard's *Memoirs of Learned Ladies*, p. 212.

[3] See this letter in Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal*, &c., vol. iii., pp. 177-179.

[4] Ballard's *Memoirs of Learned Ladies*, p. 213. These translations are to be found among the Royal Manuscripts, in the British Museum, in a small volume in embroidered binding. "Elizabeth had great fondness for the Latin and Italian tongues, but, late in life at least, seems, like her sister, Mary I., to have had but small love for, and probably little skill in French; though Mary and Elizabeth were both instructed in that language under the direction of Queen Katharine Parr."—Note of Ellis, in his *Letters*, first series, vol. ii., p. 246.

three children, and the heir-apparent to the throne, Katharine bestowed particular attention. Over his education she watched with maternal care and tenderness, endeavouring to give the sapling—the hope of the nation—in the freshness of its prime, its proper direction. Several of Edward's letters addressed to her, in English, Latin, and French, probably written in 1546, when the prince was in the ninth year of his age, are still extant, and are full of the warmest expressions of affection and gratitude for her kind and endearing attentions.[1]

Henry's war with France being extremely expensive, had exhausted his coffers, and reduced him to great pecuniary difficulties. To raise money he had adopted various expedients, as adulterating the coin, procuring "benevolences," and raising loans which he never meant to pay. All this being inadequate to supply his necessities, he was obliged to summon Parliament and the Convocation. They met on the 23d of November, 1545. The Convocation granted him a liberal percentage on their incomes for two years. The House of Commons voted him a still larger subsidy; and, apprehensive of additional demands being made upon their purses, placed all colleges, chantries,[2] and hospitals in the kingdom, with their lands and entire property, at his sovereign disposal; thus exposing the universities to the risk of sharing the fate of the monasteries. On this occasion Katharine, in her zeal on behalf of the interests of education, extended her protection to these seats of learning. The University of Cambridge, in

[1] In the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts a volume is preserved, containing a fair transcript of Edward's Latin letters to Katharine and others, entitled, *Epistolæ Edwardi Principis illustrissimi, quas suopte marte composuit et scripsit anno ætatis nono.* From the tenderness of Edward's age, as well as from the quotations from Erasmus, Job, Solomon, Ludovicus, Vives, St. Paul, Horace, Cicero, and Aristippus, which they contain, it may be fairly concluded that his majesty was assisted in the editing of them by his Latin tutor."—Ellis's *Letters*, first series, vol. ii., p. 133. Some of Edward's letters to Katharine are printed by Ellis (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 131, 132), and by Strype, *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., pp. 58-60.

[2] "A chantry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral church, &c., endowed with lands or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to say mass, or perform divine service, for the use of the founders, or such others as they appointed."—Hume's *History of England*, chap. xxxiii., note 27.

dread of being broken up, as the monastic institutions had been, sent letters to her in Latin, by Dr. Smith (afterwards Sir Thomas Smith, the learned secretary of state to King Edward), praying her to lay their representation before his majesty, and employ her influence for preserving intact institutions of such indisputable utility. Entering with the ardent sympathies of a scholar into the sentiments and feelings of the learned men of the university, she earnestly pled their cause with the sovereign, and so successfully, that needy and greedy as he was of money, waiving the right granted him by act of Parliament to the property of all such establishments, he consented to leave this university, and also that of Oxford, in full possession of their revenues. Her answer to the university, dated February 26, 1546, bears testimony to her correct and comprehensive views of what constitutes a good education, not confining it to mere instruction in the various branches of secular knowledge, however important in their own place, to mere instruction in the vernacular tongue, in the learned languages, in mathematics, philosophy, natural and moral, but extending it to what must rank still higher, to instruction in the great truths of revealed religion, as the best means of cultivating the moral and religious feelings of the young, improving and regulating their temper, and forming them to virtuous habits, thus rendering them useful and ornamental members of society, and preparing them for the eternal state. She strongly combated a separation between the Bible and secular knowledge in the education of youth, and contended for the combination of moral and religious with intellectual training. "Your letters," says she, "I have received by Mr. Doctor Smith, your discreet and learned advocate. . . . . And forasmuch as I do well understand all kind of learning doth flourish amongst you in this age, as it did amongst the Greeks at Athens long ago, I require and desire you all not so to hunger for the exquisite knowledge of profane learning, that it may be thought that the Greeks' university was but transposed, or now in England again revived, forgetting our Christianity; since their excellency did only attain to moral and natural things: but rather, I gently exhort

you to study and apply those doctrines,[1] as means and apt degrees to the attaining and setting forth the better Christ's reverend and most sacred doctrine, that it may not be laid against you in evidence at the tribunal of God, how you were ashamed of Christ's doctrine; for this Latin lesson I am taught to say of Saint Paul, *Non me pudet evangelii.* To the sincere setting forth whereof, I trust universally, in all your vocations and ministries, you will apply; and conform your sundry gifts, arts, and studies, to such end and sort, that Cambridge may be accounted rather an university of Divine philosophy, than of natural and moral, as Athens was.

"Upon the confidence of which, your accomplishment of my expectation, zeal, and request, I, according to your desires, attempted my lord, the king's majesty, for the stay of your possessions; in which (notwithstanding his majesty's property and interest through the consent of the high court of Parliament) his highness, being such a patron to good learning, will rather advance and erect new occasion therefor, than confound these your colleges; so that learning may hereafter ascribe her very original, whole conservation and sure stay, to our sovereign lord, her only defence and worthy ornament: the prosperous estate and princely government of whom, long to preserve, I doubt not but every one of you will, with daily invocation, call upon Him, who alone and only can dispose all to every creature."[2]

Katharine's zeal was not limited to the dissemination of the reformed doctrines among the comparatively small number who attended the universities. She earnestly desired their diffusion among the great body of the people, and with this view advocated the circulation of the Bible in the vernacular tongue. In her *Lamentations of a Sinner*, she laments "the ignorance of the people as great" in those things "which were most necessary for Christians to know;" and combats the reasoning of such men as Bishop Gardiner, who argued that the circulation of the Bible in English made men contentious,

[1] That is, the various branches of human learning.
[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol ii., part ii., p. 337.

arrogant, and vain-glorious. "These men," says she, "might be enforced by this kind of argument to forsake the use of fire, because fire burneth their neighbour's house; or to abstain from meat and drink, because they see many surfeit. O blind hate! They slander God for man's offence, and excuse the man whom they see offend, and blame the Scripture which they cannot improve."[1]

To promote the knowledge of the Scriptures among the people, Katharine resolved upon translating into English Erasmus's Latin Paraphrase of the New Testament,[2] in order to its being printed for general circulation. This work, from its intrinsic value, as well as from the fame of its author, which would induce many to read it, who would not have read a similar work by an author of inferior reputation, was well adapted for the proposed object. By exhibiting the doctrine of justification by faith, and the necessity of repentance and purity of life; by condemning the worship of images and of saints, pilgrimages, and superstition in various forms; by exposing the tyranny, blasphemy, hypocrisy, ambition, and usurpations of the see of Rome, the abuses of monasteries and the jugglery of priests; by describing the duties of a Christian pastor, and particulary how his lessons of instruction ought to be drawn from the fountain of the Sacred Scriptures, it was fitted to open men's eyes to the errors, absurdities, and impieties of Popery, and to give increased currency to the reformed sentiments.

That the translation of this paraphrase might be executed in a

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v., p. 294.

[2] The paraphrase on the various books appeared at distant intervals. If we may judge from the dates of the dedications, that on the Epistle to the Romans was published in 1517; that on the First Epistle to Timothy, on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and on the Epistle to the Ephesians, in 1519; that on the Epistle of James, in 1520; that on Matthew, in 1522; that on John and Luke, in 1523; that on the Acts of the Apostles, in 1524; and that on Mark, in 1533. The paraphrase on Matthew is dedicated to Charles V., Emperor of Germany; that on John, to Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria; that on Luke, to Henry VIII. of England; and that on Mark, to Francis I. of France, it being Erasmus's object "to dedicate the four gospels to the four principal monarchs of the world. And," adds he, "would to God that, as the evangelical books appropriately join together your names, so the evangelical spirit may harmoniously unite your hearts." The paraphrase on the Book of Revelation was executed, not by Erasmus, but by Leo Jude.

creditable manner, Katharine engaged the services of some of the best scholars of that period. The general superintendence of the work was committed to Nicolas Udal,[1] then master of Eton school; and he translated the paraphrase on the Gospel of Luke, which he had finished in 1545, as appears from his epistle dedicatory, addressed to Katharine, bearing the date of that year. That on Mark's Gospel was translated by Thomas Key, registrary of Oxford, who was recommended by Dr. Owen, the king's physician; that on the Gospel of Matthew was, according to the supposition of Strype, translated by Katharine herself; and at her earnest solicitation the Princess Mary undertook to translate the paraphrase on John's Gospel: while the other portions of the work engaged the labours of various learned men.[2]

Katharine was not ignorant of Mary's dislike of everything connected with the Reformation; but the princess having previously made her submission to the will and religious creed of her father, the queen, if she did not altogether believe in the sincerity of this submission, might think that it would have a beneficial effect on the mind of Mary, to get her to engage in the translation of a paraphrase on one of the gospels, written by a man then universally admired for his learning, and from whose writings, considering his well-known moderation, she might more readily imbibe correct and liberal sentiments, than from the writings of the avowed opponents of the Romish church. This literary exercise unfortunately neither softened the temper, nor enlightened the understanding of that princess. She is, however, said to have taken much pains upon the translation of the portion assigned her; but falling sick before it was completed, she desisted, leaving the remainder to be executed by Dr. Francis Mallet,[3] her chaplain. Strype ascribes her sickness to "overmuch study in this work;" on which Walpole, who, it seems, imagined that

[1] Udal was rewarded, in 1551, with a prebend of Windsor, and, in the following year, with the parsonage of Colborn, in the Isle of Wight.

[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., pp. 41 49.

[3] Mallet, on her becoming queen, was promoted to the deanery of Lincoln, and, at her death, was on the eve of being raised to the see of Salisbury.

her sickness was fully as much owing to her aversion to the task as to over-exertion, observes, that "she would not so easily have been cast into sickness had she been employed on the legends of St. Teresa, or St. Catherine of Sienna." An elegant letter in Latin from the queen to Mary, in reference to this translation, has been preserved, from which we learn the anxiety of the queen to have the whole work executed with accuracy, and ushered into the world with every recommendation promising to procure it acceptance and popularity. Of this letter the following is a translation:

"Although, most noble and dearest lady, many considerations readily induce me to write to you at present, yet I am chiefly influenced by a solicitude for your health, which I hope is now perfectly restored, and concerning which I am greatly desirous to be made acquainted. I have, therefore, despatched this messenger, whom I doubt not you will kindly welcome, both on account of his eminent skill in music, which affords most delightful entertainment at once to you and to myself, and because, coming immediately from me, he can give you certain information as to my health and my whole circumstances. It was indeed my intention, before now, to have paid my respects to you in person, but things have not fallen out in all respects as I could have wished. I now hope that during this winter, and at no distant day, we shall meet together, than which nothing will afford me greater pleasure.

"As I have been informed that the finishing hand has been put by Mallet to the translation of Erasmus's paraphrase on John, and that nothing now remains but that all diligence and care be taken in revising it, I entreat you to transmit to me this most elegant and useful work, now amended by Mallet or some of your learned friends, that it may be committed to the press in due time, and that you would also signify whether you wish it published with your name, which would be most advantageous to the work, or anonymously. In my opinion, you will considerably obstruct its success if you refuse to let it go down to posterity under the sanction of your name. You have bestowed much labour in accurately translating it for the

great good of the public, and would have undertaken still more, as is well known, had the health of your body permitted. Since, therefore, the great pains you have taken on this work is universally known, I see no reason why you should reject the praise deservedly awarded you by all. But I leave all to your own prudence, and am ready to approve of whatever you shall think best to be done.

"I return you abundant thanks for the purse you have sent me as a present. I beseech the all gracious and Almighty God to vouchsafe to bless you with long life, and with true, unalloyed happiness. From Hanworth, the 20th of September. Your most attached and affectionate friend, "KATHARINE THE QUEEN. K. P."[1]

The whole expense connected with the translation of Erasmus's work was defrayed from the queen's privy purse. This we learn from Nicolas Udal's epistle dedicatory to her, before referred to, in which he says, that "at her exceeding great costs and charges, she had hired workmen to labour in the vineyard of Christ's gospel, and procured the whole paraphrase of Erasmus upon all the New Testament, to be diligently translated into English by several men, whom she employed upon this work." He at the same time expresses his hope that the king would not allow it to remain buried in silence, but would cause it to be printed, as the queen intended, "to the commodity and benefit of good English people, now a long time sore thirsting and hungering after the sincere and plain knowledge of God's Word." Henry, it thus appears, was privy to the undertaking, and had he lived till the work was ready for the press, it would probably have been printed and published under his patronage.

During the lifetime of Katharine, the only portion of it printed was that on the Gospels and on the Acts of the Apostles, which was printed at London in 1548, in folio, accompanied by three epistles composed by Udal, one to King Edward, another to Queen Katharine, and the third to the reader.[2]

[1] The original is in Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 330.

[2] The translation of the remainder, forming the second volume, was published about a year later, accompanied with a dedication to King Edward, by Myles Coverdale. A

In his epistle dedicatory to Katharine, Udal pays a merited compliment to the ladies of rank in England, many of whom at that period cultivated with enthusiasm profane and sacred learning; and pronounces a high eulogium on the devotion of the queen to the study of letters, and of divine things. "A great number," says he, "of noble women at this time in England are not only given to the study of human sciences and strange tongues, but also so thoroughly expert in Holy Scriptures, that they are able to compare with the best writers, as well in enditing and penning of godly and faithful treatises, to the instruction and edifying of realms in the knowledge of God, as also in translating good books out of Latin or Greek into English, for the use and commodity of such as are rude and ignorant of the said tongues. It is now no news in England to see young damsels in noble houses, and in the courts of princes, instead of cards and other instruments of idle trifling, to have continually in their hands either psalms, homilies, and other devout meditations, or else Paul's epistles, or some book of Holy Scripture matters, and as familiarly both to read and reason thereof in Greek, Latin, French, or Italian, as in English. It is now a common thing to see young virgins so trained in the study of good letters, that they willingly set all other vain pastimes at nought for learning's sake. It is now no news at all to see queens and ladies of most high estate and progeny, instead of courtly dalliance, to embrace virtuous exercises, reading and writing, and with most earnest study, both early and late, to apply themselves to the acquiring of knowledge, as well in all other liberal arts and disciplines, as also most specially of God and his Holy Word. And in this behalf, to your highness as well for composing and setting forth many godly psalms, and divers other contemplative meditations, as also for causing these paraphrases to be translated into our vulgar tongue, England can never be able to

second impression of the whole work was issued in 1552. In the reign of Edward, a copy was ordered to be placed in every parish church in the kingdom, to be read on the Sabbaths and holy days to the people.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., pp. 101, 102.

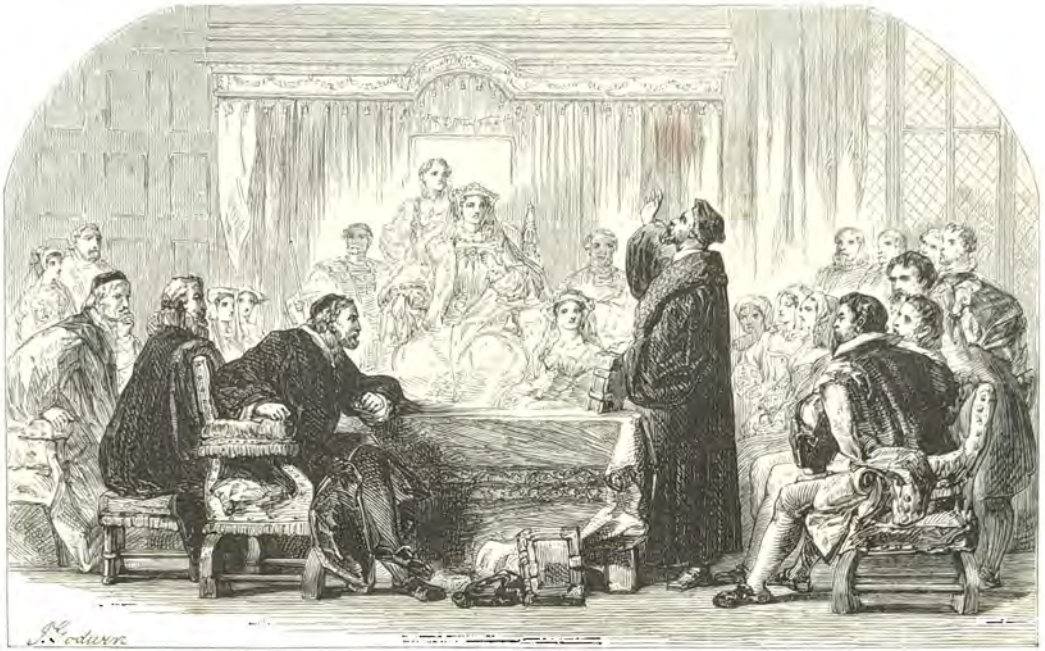
render thanks sufficient."[1] He then proceeds with a mixture of flattery, the common fault of learned men in that age, and even at a later period, to praise the Princess Mary's diligence and ability in prosecuting, till interrupted by sickness, her part of the undertaking.

The zealous endeavours of Katharine for the translation and publication of Erasmus's paraphrase, excited the bitter opposition of Bishop Gardiner, and deepened his enmity against her. After it was published he violently urged his objections in a letter to the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Protector, and in other ways. He agreed with those who said that Erasmus had laid the eggs and that Luther had hatched them. He represented the paraphrase as hostile to the power of princes, as well as full of other dangerous doctrines, and as powerfully tending to foster in evil men the monstrous opinions which had lately sprung up. He might term it, in one word, "abomination," on account both of the falsehood and malice of much of its matter. In Latin it was bad enough, but much worse in English, the translators, who knew neither of the two languages, having often from ignorance, and often from design, misrepresented the meaning. Besides, being written by Erasmus in his youth, it contained many sentiments which, in his mature judgment, he had renounced. And as to the law requiring every parish to purchase a copy, it was, calculating from the price of the book and from the number of probable purchasers, equivalent to the imposition of a tax of £20,000.[2] But Gardiner, much as he detested the English translation of Erasmus's paraphrase, had it not in his power to suppress it till the accession of Mary to the throne.

Besides devoting herself to the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures, Katharine retained several learned and pious chaplains for the improvement of herself and her household. Every afternoon, and especially in Lent, a discourse upon some portion of the Sacred

[1] Ballard's *Learned Ladies*, pp. 127-130.

[2] Strype's *Mem. of Cranmer*, book ii., chap. iii., p. 151.—Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, London, 1808, vol. i., pp. 120, 121, 384; and vol. ii., pp. 103, 104.



J. GODWIN. W. L. THOMAS.

SERMON BEFORE QUEEN KATHARINE PARR.

Volume, extending to about an hour's length, and frequently touching upon some abuses rampant in the church, was delivered by one of her chaplains in her privy chamber, she herself, her ladies, and such of her household gentlemen and others as were inclined, being present. Of these exercises she by no means made a secret, and they were neither unknown nor disagreeable to the king, who at first, and for a considerable time, seemed rather pleased than dissatisfied with them, though he himself never attended.

Gathering confidence from his tolerance, if not approbation of her house conventicles, Katharine began to take the liberty to converse with him, in their hours of social intercourse, on religious questions, defending the Protestant doctrines from Scripture and reason with much ability and spirit. So far did she carry this freedom, as frequently, from her Protestant zeal, to urge him, by all the gentle arts of persuasion, to purge the Church of England from the remaining dregs of Popish superstition and idolatry, and thus complete the work of reformation he had commenced, to the glory of God and his own honour, by delivering England from the thraldom of the Pope. In pressing religious subjects on his attention, she was influenced by another reason, chiefly affecting himself. Perceiving that his naturally vigorous constitution was broken down by a complication of diseases, to all appearance mortal, though lingering, and knowing that the dreadful burden of the unpardoned, because unrepented, guilt of some of the most dreadful crimes which man can commit was lying upon his soul, she was desirous of bringing him, while yet he had time and space to repent, seriously to think of the awful account he behoved soon to render at the bar of the righteous Judge of all, and "to lament, sigh, and weep for his life and time so evil spent," to use in application to him the language she applies to herself, and to seek "absolution and remission through the merits of Christ," trusting to him as "the only advocate and mediator between God and man." This led her in her converse with him to advert to the most solemn topics of religion, ungrateful to him at all times, and not more grateful now, when he ought especially to have felt their importance; and

though she exercised a wise discretion, none in possession of the royal ear would have ventured to use equal plainness of speech.

In arguing with Henry on theological questions, Katharine was exposing herself to no small personal danger. Having towards the close of his life become increasingly opinionative, as well as increasingly fierce in temper, by reason of his bad health, he would listen to counsel from very few, and still less would he bear to be opposed by argument on points of theology, as to which, proud of his title of Defender of the Faith, and as strenuous an asserter of his own infallibility as the Pope, he thought that every one should think exactly as he thought; but, from the singular affection he unquestionably felt for her, till prejudices against her were successfully infused into his mind, he listened to her counsels and arguments on such topics with respect, or at least without any indication of his taking offence. Even when his ulcerated leg, which gradually waxed worse, had reduced him to a state of sickness, and rendered him still more cross and difficult to be pleased, she continued, on visiting him at his request or of her own accord, to endeavour, after her usual manner, to move him zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church. And though his aggravated pain and restlessness made him listen less patiently than formerly to such discourse, so much of his favour and affection did she enjoy, that there was some prospect of liberty being granted freely and fully to preach the gospel throughout England, and of the Reformation being carried to a much greater extent than before.

These promising appearances were, however, soon blasted, partly from the caprice of the king, and partly from the malicious conspiracies formed against her life. Gardiner and Wriothesley, with other ferocious and implacable enemies of the Reformation, both of the king's privy chamber and of the privy council, about a year after the king's return from Boulogne, that is, towards the close of the year 1545, indignant at learning not only of the king's connivance at the sermons preached in her privy chamber, but at the influence she was exerting over him in private in favour of the new opinions, and

which, if continued, would issue in the utter ruin of Popery in England, formed a plot not only to decrown but to decapitate her, that, having removed out of the way the most illustrious patroness of the Reformers, they might openly, and without fear of control, fall upon and exterminate, with fire and sword, the whole of that hated body. Great as was the influence they had acquired over Henry by pandering to his worst passions, they yet judged it prudent to proceed with caution. His great favour and warm affection for the queen made them doubtful of success, and for some time they did not dare once to open their lips against her in his presence, or even behind his back, save to their own confidants. But their deep malignity determined them to watch the course of events, in the hope that an opportunity would occur of infusing into the royal mind ill-will against her. At no distant date an opportunity did occur, and it was eagerly seized upon. Gardiner, happening to be present at one of the visits she paid to the king, at a time when the more than ordinary pain he suffered from his ulcerated leg rendered him unusually irritable, observed the impatience of the monarch as she began to plead the cause of the oppressed, and to urge upon him the importance of carrying on the reformation of the church—how, not seeming to relish the theme, he made an abrupt transition to more agreeable topics. On that occasion, indeed, the king conversed with her on other subjects with courteous affection, and in taking farewell called her, as usual, "sweetheart;" but immediately upon her departure he gave vent to his chagrin, deeming it the highest presumption for her to pretend to instruct him. "A good hearing it is," said he to the bishop, "when women become such clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife."

Gardiner, observing the king's displeasure at the queen, and thinking that now the hour of vengeance had at last arrived, resolved to strike the iron when it was hot, by stirring up in Henry such suspicions, jealousies, and prejudices against her as might lead to her overthrow, and thus defeat all her endeavours in behalf of the Reformation. "I dislike," said the impudent and malignant prelate,

eagerly, "that the queen should so much forget herself as to take upon her to stand in any argument with your majesty, so eminent for your rare virtues, and especially for your learned judgment in matters of religion, above not only princes of this and other ages,



Gardiner inciting Henry against Katharine.

but also above doctors professed in divinity. It is an unseemly thing for any of your majesty's subjects to reason and argue with you so malapertly, and it is grievous to me, and others of your majesty's counsellors, to hear the same. They all know from experience your wisdom to be such that you do not require to be instructed in these matters. How dangerous and perilous is it, and ever has been, for a prince to suffer such insolent words from his subjects; who, as they have boldness to contradict their sovereign in words, want only the power to oppose him in deeds! Besides, the religion so stiffly maintained by the queen, not only disallows and dissolves the civil government of princes, but also teaches the people that all things ought to be in common. So odious are these opinions, and so perilous to the estate of princes, whatever may be pretended, that, notwithstanding the reverence I bear her for your majesty's sake, I am bold to affirm

that the greatest subject in the land, speaking such words as she spake, and defending such arguments as she defended, had deserved death. Yet I will not and dare not, without good warrant from your majesty, speak what I know in the queen's case, although I have good grounds for doing so, and such as my dutiful affection towards your majesty, and my zeal for the preservation of your estate, will scarcely permit me to conceal, though the uttering thereof may, through her and her faction, be the destruction of myself, and of such as have most at heart their prince's safety, unless your majesty become their protector. Which if you do (and for your own safety you ought not to refuse), I, with others of your faithful counsellors, can within a short time disclose such treasons, covered with the cloak of heresy, that your majesty will easily perceive the danger of cherishing a serpent within your own bosom. Howbeit, I will not for my part willingly meddle with the matter, both from reverent respect to the queen for your majesty's sake, and also lest the faction should be grown already too great to render it consistent with your majesty's safety to discover it."

In this speech Gardiner, affecting, with malignant craft, a tone and manner of great concern for the preservation of the authority and rights of the crown, assured his majesty that the toleration of these Reformers was inconsistent with his safely enjoying his crown; that their sole, though disguised motives, were to undermine the royal authority, to destroy the distinctions of rank, to place all men on an equality, and that the queen, by embracing and advocating their sentiments, had become the supporter of traitors to the throne, and of the enemies of social order. This was the common slang brought against the Reformers by their enemies, either ignorantly or maliciously, probably both, in every country of Europe; and calumnious though it was—for the Reformers earnestly inculcated submission to the lawful authority of princes, and respected the distinctions of rank in society—it contributed powerfully in creating prejudices in the minds of monarchs against the Reformation, and in exciting them to attempt to crush it, if possible, by deadly persecu-

tion. Gardiner's fierce invectives against the Reformers, and the extravagant flattery he lavished upon Henry, were not without their effects. So jealous did the king become of his authority and rights, and so displeased with the queen for adopting rebellious principles and patronizing rebels, that before Gardiner's departure he gave warrant for articles of impeachment to be drawn up against her, so that she might forthwith be brought to trial, declaring it to be his fixed resolution not to spare her should she be found to have violated the statutes of the realm. With this commission Gardiner departed, fully anticipating that ere long this Protestant queen would follow the way of Henry's former wives.

The more effectually to compass their purpose, Gardiner and Wriothesley suborned accusers, and adopted measures for discovering what books forbidden by law she had in her possession. They thought it best to begin with some of those ladies of her privy chamber suspected of heretical pravity, with whom she was living on terms of intimate friendship. The chief of these were her sister, Anne, wife of Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke; Lady Lane, her cousin-german; and Lady Tyrwhit.[1] These ladies, like the queen, were friendly to the reformed principles, and in their social confidential intercourse they would discuss the great questions now contested by the Reformers, and now shaking the long-established ecclesiastical fabrics of Europe—transubstantiation, the adoration of the host, purgatory, praying to angels, saints, and the Virgin Mary, pilgrimages, the virtues of saints' relics, and other Popish dogmas, each bringing the force of her understanding to bear on the point at issue, and contributing her store of remark, derived from the Scriptures, or from the writings of the Reformers, and thus opening up new sources of mutual intellectual enjoyment. It was agreed upon by the conspirators that these three ladies should first be accused of violating the statute of the six articles, and that, upon their apprehension, their chambers and cabinets should be searched, in the hope that something, as prohibited books, might be found, supplying

[1] The wife of Sir Robert Tyrwhit.

matter for criminating the queen herself; in which case she was to be instantly arrested and carried prisoner, by barge, during night, to the Tower. Articles of impeachment were drawn up, and brought by Wriothesley to the king. His majesty signed them without hesitation, so that, to all appearance, the tragedy of the execution of another queen would speedily be enacted.

According to Foxe, Henry acted throughout dissemblingly, having no real intention of bringing Katharine to the block, but merely wishing to see how far her enemies would carry their persecuting cruelty. From the frequency with which the martyrologist interjects a clause to this effect during the course of his narrative of this affair, he seems very anxious to impress on the minds of his readers a belief of the generous intentions of Henry, which are extremely doubtful. "If he were not in earnest," says Lord Herbert, "it was thought a terrible jest, especially to a queen that had the reputation of a virtuous, humble, and observant wife."[1] Besides, if the monarch in this instance was governed by generous feeling, he acted somewhat at variance with his past character and conduct. He had hitherto shown no reluctance to shed the blood of his wives; he had already butchered two of them, and from an ominous clause of an act passed at his dictation in the Parliament which met January 14, 1544, regulating the succession to the crown, only six months after her marriage, and from a clause equally significant in his will, it appears that, notwithstanding her youth and health, and his advanced years and declining health, he contemplated surviving her, and wedding another wife. In the act of Parliament referred to is the following sentence:—"And forasmuch as it standeth in the only pleasure and will of Almighty God, whether the king's majesty shall have any heirs begotten and procreated between his highness and his most entirely beloved wife, Queen Katharine, *or by any other his lawful wife*."[2] And in his will, dated December 30, 1546, settling the succession, after nominating Prince Edward his immediate successor,

[1] *Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 561.

[2] Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*, pp. 503-506.

he appoints that, in default of issue by that prince, the crown shall come to the heirs of his own body, lawfully "begotten of the body of our entirely beloved Queen Katharine, that now is, *or of any other our lawful wife that we shall hereafter marry.*"[1]

Meanwhile the queen, ignorant and unsuspicious of the fatal snares laid for her destruction—such was the secrecy observed—dwelt, as formerly, on paying her accustomed visits to the king, on the importance of church reformation. And he listened to her without contradiction or displeasure; her strong good sense, and her winning gentleness of manner, gaining on his heart, hard as it was, and causing him to relent, if he ever really intended to permit the bloody purpose of her enemies to take effect.

For her first knowledge of the conspiracy she was indebted to an accidental circumstance. Wriothesley having casually dropped from his bosom the articles of impeachment, they were providentially found by one of Katharine's friends, who immediately put them into her hands. On reading the document, and observing the royal signature appended to it, the sudden and unexpected discovery of a wicked plot against her life came upon her like a stroke of lightning; and, stunned with the blow, she fainted away. On recovering consciousness she was in the deepest distress, and felt as if her doom was sealed. The fate of Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard rushed with horror upon her mind; and the truculent temper and past conduct of the monarch made it but too probable that she would now end her days upon a scaffold; "for," as has been justly observed, "hitherto the king had never relented in any capital prosecution, once commenced, against wife or minister."[2] Her agitated feelings affecting her bodily frame, brought upon her an illness which even threatened her life. Hearing of her dangerous condition, the king sent Dr. Wendy and others of his physicians to attend her. Dr. Wendy alone knew that the real cause of her illness was mental distress; for the king himself, one evening after the queen's depar-

[1] Fuller's *Church History.*

[2] Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors of England,* vol. i., p. 637.

ture, expressed to this physician his dislike of her religion, professing that he intended no longer to be troubled with such a doctress and disclosed to him the plot formed for her destruction, charging him with secrecy upon peril of his life, naming at the same time the conspirators, all the circumstances of the conspiracy, and how it would issue.[1] Dr. Wendy, who was an excellent man, revealed to her the secret. "I know," said he, "that articles of impeachment have been devised against you, and though I stand in danger of my life, should it be discovered that I make this known to any human being, yet from concern for your life, and to discharge my own conscience, by preventing, as far as in my power, the shedding of innocent blood, I feel constrained to give you warning of the ruin impending over you. I beseech you instantly, and with due secrecy, to consult your own safety, and to conform somewhat to the king's inclinations; assured that by humble submission you will find him exorable."

Not long after, Henry, understanding that she still continued in a dangerous state, his sympathy being awakened, he personally visited her, remaining with her about an hour, and assuring her of his constant fidelity and affection.

Encouraged by his majesty's gracious visit, and by Dr. Wendy's confidential communications, she gradually recovered; and that no time might be lost, she embraced an early opportunity of repairing to the king, in the hope that by her address and submissions she might still avert the threatened crushing calamity. From her knowledge of his moods and habits, she judged that the most effectual method of producing a favourable impression on his mind, would be to act as if entirely ignorant of the hostile purpose of her enemies, so that her soothing and submissive language might seem the spontaneous effusion of the heart, and not assumed for any personal object. Having commanded her ladies to remove the prohibited heretical books in their possession, she went the following night into

[1] Foxe's favourable judgment as to the king's intentions with regard to the queen, appears to rest upon this part of Dr. Wendy's testimony.

his majesty's apartment, attended only by Lady Herbert, her sister, and Lady Lane, who carried the candle before her, and she there found him sitting, engaged in conversation with some of the gentlemen of his chamber. He welcomed her with courteous affection; and, contrary to his former manner, entered at once into conversation with her on some controverted theological questions, as to which he professed a desire that she might resolve his doubts. With great presence of mind, she concealed her emotions of alarm, though her life, it may be said, hung upon the chances of this interview, and answered his questions with coolness and even vivacity, without, however, greatly committing herself. To have spoken her whole mind, explaining and vindicating all her views of religious truth to a monarch like Henry, who was too self-willed to listen to his wives as oracles, either on political, ecclesiastical, or religious questions, and too ferociously arbitrary to tolerate any creed materially different from his own, would have been a somewhat perilous task. "Your majesty," said she, "right well knows, nor am I myself ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness, by our first creation, is allotted unto us women, who are ordained inferior and subject unto man, as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed; and that as God made man in his own likeness, whereby he, being endued with higher gifts, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to an earnest endeavour to obey his commandments, even so, also, made he woman of man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded, and directed; whose womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be aided and borne with, so that by his wisdom, such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied. Since, therefore, God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your majesty, excelling so much in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to pass that your majesty requireth my judgment on theological problems? as to which, when I have said what I can, yet must I, and will I refer my judgment in this and in all other

cases to your majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here on earth, next under God to lean upon."

This speech, framed so dexterously as to chime in with Henry's extravagant ideas of his own superiority, and of the inferiority of woman, whom, in fact, he only regarded as a slave to his passions, and delivered with the fascinating, the easy-humoured conversational vivacity in which she excelled, so mollified the heart of the stern monarch, that he exclaimed, "Not so, by St. Mary, you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us (as we take it), and not to be instructed or directed by us."

"If your majesty take it so," replied the queen, following up her success, "then hath your majesty very much mistaken me, who have ever thought it very unseemly and preposterous for the woman to take upon her the office of a teacher to her lord and husband, of



Reconciliation of Henry and Katharine.

whom she ought rather to learn. And whereas I have, with your majesty's leave, been formerly bold, in conversing with your majesty, sometimes to express and defend opinions different from yours, I have

done this not so much to dogmatize as to beguile the weary hours, by diverting your majesty in this the painful time of your infirmity, and to receive some profit to myself from your majesty's learned discourse; in which last, I assure your majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire, always referring myself in such matters to your majesty, as by the ordination of nature it is my bounden duty to do."

"And is it even so, sweetheart!" replied the king, "and tended your arguments to no worse end? Then, perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore." And as he sat in his chair, he affectionately embraced and kissed her, adding, that it did him more good at that time to hear these words from her mouth, than if he had heard of a hundred thousand pounds having come into his possession.

Katharine thus bowed to the storm, and it passed over her head. It was fortunate for her that Henry, the violence of whose amorous propensities was somewhat subdued through age and excess, had not conceived a passion for any of the beautiful ladies of the court, else Katharine's good sense and adroitness, her eloquence and submission, her engaging manners and virtuous character, would have availed little in appeasing his wrath, and in saving her from being beheaded or burned on Tower Hill for treason or heresy, to make way for the elevation of the new favourite to the throne. As he had fixed his affections upon no rival, she succeeded the more easily in mollifying his hard heart, and retired with assurances of his continued favour and protection. After her departure, he was as loud in her commendation as formerly in her condemnation.

Gardiner and Wriothesley, ignorant of this interview, and of the favourable impression she had produced on the mind of Henry, had made all necessary preparations for arresting her, and carrying her prisoner to the Tower on the succeeding day, accompanied with Lady Herbert, Lady Lane, and Lady Tyrwhit; for they had altered their former purpose of apprehending first these three ladies, and afterwards the queen. But Providence ordered things differently from



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the intentions of these implacable and unprincipled men. At the time they had fixed upon for the apprehension of their victims, which was in the afternoon, the weather being fine, the king, attended only by two gentlemen of his bed-chamber, was amicably conversing in the garden with the queen, whom he had sent for, and who was attended by the three ladies already named. While the royal party was thus engaged, the lord chancellor entered the garden, with forty of the royal guard at his back, in the full expectation that his majesty would say to him, "See these four heretics forthwith lodged in the Tower." In this he was completely disappointed. The king, who knew his errand, looked with indignation at him and the guards, and stepping aside to a short distance from the queen and her attendants, called to the chancellor, who on his knees addressed a few words to his majesty, inaudible to the others in the garden. "Knave! arrant knave! beast! fool!" replied his majesty gruffly, in a low whispering tone, and yet so vehemently as to be overheard by the queen and her ladies, at the same time commanding him instantly to quit his presence. Mortified at being thus cheated of his prey, and in terror for the wrath of the monarch, the chancellor withdrew and all his train. Thus was the plot entirely broken, though no punishment was inflicted on the culprits who had committed this grievous outrage on the Queen of England, an outrage which, if committed on the humblest woman in the kingdom, ought to have been severely punished.

Immediately after the departure of Wriothesley, Henry returned to the queen, who was ignorant of the hostile purpose of the chancellor. Perceiving his majesty, though he still spoke kindly to her, offended at him, she interceded for her enemy, urging that, though ignorant of the chancellor's offence, it must have proceeded from ignorance, and not perversity of will; and therefore beseeching his majesty, if the cause was not very heinous, to regard it in this light at her humble suit. "Ah! poor soul," replied the king, "thou little knowest how ill he deserveth this grace at thy hands. Upon my word, sweetheart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let

him go!" Her reply breathed no malice, but a Christian forgiving spirit towards the man who, could he have compassed his purpose, would have speedily brought her to an ignominious execution.[1]

Thus was Katharine at this time indebted for her escape to a temporary impulse of generosity on the part of Henry. But there is reason to fear, from the persevering malignity of her enemies, and from the capriciousness of the monarch, that had not death soon after overtaken him, she would at last have fallen a sacrifice on the scaffold;[2] and the terrors of a sudden reverse, it is probable, clung to her imagination so long as he lived; for what dependence could be placed on a selfish, cruel voluptuary, who was governed by ever-varying impulses; who, in regard to his wives, never observed the laws of chivalry and honour; whose all-engrossing devotion to his own gratification blunted his heart into callous indifference to the happiness or misery of every other human being but himself. In living with him she was in the tiger's den, and all the chances were that, though the savage monster might spare her for a time, he would one day, and all of a sudden, falling upon her, ramp and rend, with the ferocity proper to his nature, leaving her a mangled, lifeless victim. Thus haunted by funereal images, the splendour of a court was stripped of its attractions, and seemed darkened by the shadow of death. Such feelings were destructive of earthly happiness, but they powerfully promoted the religious turn of her mind, and excited her, more frequently than ever, to retire from the gaiety and pomp of fashionable life, to indulge in serious and solemn meditation on Divine things, that, come what may, she might be prepared.

Henry was now approaching the close of his earthly career. He did not live long after Katharine had made so narrow an escape;

[1] Our chief authority in the preceding narrative of the conspiracy against Katharine is Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., pp. 553-561.

[2] The Jesuit Parsons affirms that "the king, notwithstanding, purposed to have burned her as a heretic, if he had lived." Fuller calls in question the truth of this assertion, observing, that Parsons was neither confessor nor privy-councillor to King Henry VIII.—*Church History of Great Britain*, vol. ii., pp. 116, 117.—*Worthies of England*, vol. ii., p. 9.

and his closing scene, as might have been expected, was embittered by the agony of remorse. His last words, as one of his attendants presented to him a cup of white wine to allay his scorching death-thirst, were, "All is lost!" He died on the 28th of January, 1547, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth of his age, leaving Katharine a widow, after she had been his wife three years, six months, and five days. The death of this tyrant, whatever were the feigned expressions of sorrow uttered on the occasion, must have been felt as a merciful deliverance to multitudes of his subjects. There is no reason to believe, as is asserted by some of our historians, that he retained to the last the affection with which, at his accession to the throne, and even long after, he was universally regarded. From the sudden and violent outbursts of fury to which in the latter period of his life he was liable, from the imperious caprice which rendered it impossible for any human being long to please him, even such as stood highest in his favour could hardly contemplate his death with regret. To the privy-councillor, whom he might exalt to the highest honours to-day, and consign to the axe of the executioner to-morrow; to the monks, whom he had disgraced and beggared, that he might appropriate to himself their accumulated wealth; to staunch Roman Catholics, whom he remorselessly committed to the flames for impugning his ecclesiastical supremacy; and to the Reformers, on whom he as unscrupulously inflicted the same punishment for denying transubstantiation, he was equally an object of terror; and his death must have been equally a cause of secret congratulation. How different this state of feeling from the enthusiastic joy with which his accession was hailed by his united subjects! William Montjoy at that time thus wrote to Erasmus, from the court at Greenwich:—"I doubt not, my Erasmus, but that when you have once heard of the succession of our prince, Henry VIII., to the kingdom, on the death of his father, this will banish all sadness from your mind. Did you see how all here leap for joy, how they are delighted with so great a prince, how they desire nothing more cordially than the prolongation of his life, you could not refrain from

shedding tears of gladness. The sky smiles, the earth exults, all things are full of milk, of honey, of nectar. Our king covets not gold, nor jewels, nor metals, but virtue, glory, eternity."[1] How different a man did Henry turn out from the portrait here sketched! and how did his reign, when brought to its close, disappoint, in all respects, the flattering hopes expressed at its commencement in these extravagant hyperboles!

On the death of Henry, Edward VI., his son and successor, wrote letters of condolence to his mother-in-law, whom he loved with filial affection, and to his sisters. Three letters of this description, in Latin, the earliest he wrote as king, are still extant. From the tenderness of his youth, he doubtless experienced, on the death of his father, bitter pangs of sorrow; and yet these letters are not written in the style and tone of deep, heartfelt grief. They appear rather as if dictated by his Latin tutor, Cox, than the free effusions of Edward's own feelings. "Cox," as Ellis observes, "it should seem, could not assume for his pupil that expression of natural grief which he did not personally feel."[2]

CHAPTER III.

FROM HER MARRIAGE WITH LORD ADMIRAL SEYMOUR TO HER DEATH.

AFTER Henry's death Katharine resided for some time at Chelsea,[3] which was part of her jointure. During her residence there, her affection for the former object of her choice, Thomas Seymour, Lord High Admiral of England,[4] and brother to the Duke of Somerset, the

[1] Erasmi *Epist.*, tom. i., p. 7.

[2] Ellis's *Letters*, first series, vol. ii., p. 141.

[3] The Manor-house had been built by Henry. It was pulled down many years ago, when Cheyne Walk was erected.

[4] The admiral was also brother to the deceased Jane Seymour, third queen of Henry VIII., and mother of Edward VI.

Lord Protector, revived. To this nobleman, whom she had looked upon with eyes of affection before her marriage with the deceased monarch, she now surrendered her heart, and they were soon upon terms of courtship. Seymour "was a man of insatiable ambition, arrogant, assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of superior capacity to the protector, he possessed not to the same degree the confidence and regard of the people."[1] A marriage with the queen-dowager would, therefore, be highly flattering to the pride of such a man. It has indeed been said, and not without foundation, that his first thoughts were of a more ambitious kind than even a union with her; that marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, and the acquisition of the English crown, were his most potent wishes.

Before receiving from Katharine explicit declarations of her attachment—for she seems to have been first in making blushing confession of her love—Seymour was apprehensive that by his addresses he might fail in insinuating himself into her good graces, and therefore he solicited the friendly assistance of the Princess Mary, who, however, from various circumstances, declined to interfere.[2] But, in reality, Seymour did not need the services of any to assist him in gaining the heart and hand of Katharine. He had every external accomplishment calculated to captivate the female heart; and in courting her he certainly experienced no difficulties. Like himself, she was desirous of his obtaining the consent of his brother, the lord protector, and of other influential parties, to his marrying her, though she by no means imagined that any obstacles thrown in the way by them ought to be a sufficient bar to the union. In one of her letters to him about this time, signed, "Your humble, true, and loving wife, during her life, Keteryn the Quene, K.P.," after adverting to his letter to her brother-in-law, Herbert, from which she gathered that he dreaded his brother, the Protector's opposition to the marriage, and expressing it as her wish that he should account it sufficient once to have sought his brother's good-will, she bids him endeavour

[1] Hume. [2] See Mary's letter to him, dated June 4, in Ellis's *Letters*, first series vol ii., pp. 149-151.

to obtain favourable letters from the king, and also the friendly aid of the most notable members of council. "My Lord," she adds, with playful affection, "whereas ye charge me with a promise written with mine own hand, to change the two years into two months, I think ye have no such plain sentence written with my own hand; I know not whether ye be a paraphraser or not; if ye be learned in that science, it is possible ye may of one word make a whole sentence, and yet not at all times after the true meaning of the writer, as it appeareth by your exposition upon my writing."[1]

The marriage took place clandestinely, about the middle of May, 1547,[2] so soon after the death of Henry, that, as has been said, had Katharine immediately proved pregnant, a doubt would have arisen to which husband the child belonged. This haste exposed her at the time to censure, and though it involved no immorality, it was certainly a breach of the laudable usages of society, which dictated the propriety of her allowing a longer period of time to elapse before entering into a new conjugal alliance. Henry, indeed, had little claim upon her sorrow; but whatever were his demerits, it would have been wise in her to have avoided seeming to offer any disrespect to his memory. Hardly, indeed, had a longer period elapsed from the death of her second husband, Lord Latimer, when she was married to Henry; but in that case she had no choice. The author of her life, published by the London Religious Tract Society, apologizes for her listening to the addresses of a man of rank and power sooner than modern ideas of propriety would countenance, from the circumstance that the provision made for her by Henry, namely, four thousand pounds, in addition to her jointure, was inadequate; and that she was thus left an unprotected female in troublous times. But Katharine was by no means in narrow circumstances, having, besides, ample jointures left her by her two first husbands. The real explanation of this precipitate marriage was the strength of a revived passion for Seymour, hurrying her on, in disregard of the prudence that usually marked her conduct.

[1] Ellis's *Letters*, first series, vol. ii., pp. 151-153. [2] King Edward's *Journal*.

The Princesses Mary and Elizabeth were deeply offended at the precipitation of their step-mother in entering into a new marriage, though they judged it prudent to conceal their displeasure from others. Mary wrote to Elizabeth in terms strongly condemnatory of Katharine's conduct; and Elizabeth, who partook of the same feelings with her sister, thus writes in reply: "Princess, and very dear sister, you are very right in saying, in your most acceptable letters, which you have done me the honour of writing to me, that, our interests being common, the just grief we feel in seeing the ashes, or rather the scarcely cold body of the king, our father, so shamefully dishonoured by the queen, our step-mother, ought to be common to us also. I cannot express to you, my dear princess, how much affliction I suffered when I was first informed of this marriage, and no other comfort can I find than that of the necessity of submitting ourselves to the decrees of Heaven; since neither you nor I, dearest sister, are in such a condition as to offer any obstacle thereto, without running heavy risk of making our own lot worse than it is; at least so I think. We have to deal with too powerful a party, who have got all authority into their hands, while we, deprived of power, cut a very poor figure at court. I think, then, that the best course we can take is that of dissimulation, that the mortification may fall upon those who commit the fault."[1] King Edward, on the contrary, was well-pleased with the marriage, and sent Katharine a congratulatory letter on the occasion.[2]

After the nuptials, Katharine and Seymour left Chelsea to reside at Hanworth, in Middlesex, one of Henry the Eighth's favourite royal seats, which he had settled in dower upon her. Here, as at Chelsea, subsequently to Henry's death, she had residing with her the celebrated Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, a lady whose tragic history will hereafter be related. Whilst resident with Katharine, who herself was

[1] *Leti, Vita Elisabetta*, vol. i., p. 180, quoted in Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain*, vol. iii., p. 193.

[2] See his letter to her in Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., pp. 203-209.

a cultivator and patron of literature, young Jane was not likely to suffer any loss in the prosecution of her literary studies. And in regard to elegance of manners, mental refinement, the knowledge of the Scriptures, and all that can improve the female character and render it attractive, there was, perhaps, no lady of the age from whom she could have derived greater benefit.

The Princess Elizabeth, whose education was committed to the care of Katharine, who was kind to her as if her own daughter, also joined the new married pair. Auguring, from the distinguished abilities of Elizabeth, that Providence intended to elevate her to sovereign power, Katharine gave her much wise and pious counsel. "God," she would often say, "has given you great qualities; cultivate them always, and labour to improve them, for I believe that you are destined by Heaven to be Queen of England."[1] But the accession of Elizabeth to the family added to the comfort of neither of the parties. Seymour soon began to use indelicate freedoms with the young princess, which he carried so far as to give rise to scandalous reports, exceedingly prejudicial to her good name; and these freedoms exciting the jealousy of Katharine, caused a degree of domestic discord. This we learn from the depositions of the witnesses examined on the lord admiral's impeachment, subsequently to Katharine's death. Mrs. Katharine Ashley, Elizabeth's governess, and Parry, her cofferer, bore explicit testimony to that effect.[2] The consequence was, as the latter witness deponed, that she was sent from the "queen, or else that her grace parted from the queen." The probability is that she was sent away. Had Elizabeth's character been ruined, of which there was some danger, Katharine would have been severely blamed, and her concern for the safety of the princess, as yet only fifteen years of age, would naturally suggest to her that the most effectual means of putting a stop to these unbecoming scenes was removing her from the family.

Seymour was, indeed, an unprincipled and irreligious character,

[1] Leti's *Elisabeth*, quoted in Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. vi., p. 28.
[2] See Haynes's *State Papers*, London edit., 1740, p. 99.

and this rendered Katharine's union with him less happy than she had anticipated. As to the celebration of the offices of religion she was particularly strict, having established family worship in her mansion every morning and evening, besides having sermons frequently preached in it; but, as might be expected, such was Seymour's neglect or contempt of these exercises, that on all such occasions he was sure to be absent. In a sermon preached before Edward VI.,[1] Hugh Latimer discloses this piece of domestic history: "I have heard say that when the good queen who is gone had ordained in her house daily prayer, both before noon and after noon, the admiral gets him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. He shall be Lot's wife to me as long as I live. He was, I heard say, a covetous man, a covetous man indeed: I would there were no more in England! He was, I heard say, an ambitious man: I would there were no more in England! He was, I heard say, a seditious man, a contemner of common prayer: I would there were no more in England! Well, he is gone. I would he had left none behind him."[2] In another sermon, preached before the same monarch, Latimer says, "He was a man, the farthest from the fear of God that ever I knew or heard of in England."[3] The admiral's whole life, indeed, showed that he had no regard to the obligations of equity and justice, or to moral and religious obligations of any kind, never shrinking from dishonourable practices, if his objects of ambition or of pleasure could thereby be promoted.

Katharine did not give birth to an infant till considerably more than a year after her marriage. In the prospect of this auspicious event, both she and her husband were desirous that the child should be a son. Writing some time before to Seymour, who was then absent from her, she says, "This shall be to desire you to receive my humble and most hearty recommendations and thanks for your letter, which was no sooner come than welcome. . . . I gave your little knave your blessing, who, like an honest man, stirred apace

[1] April 19, 1549.

[2] Latimer's *Sermons*, printed for Parker Soc., p. 228.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

after and before. . . . . It hath stirred those three days every morning and evening, so that, I trust, when ye come it will make you some pastime. And thus I end, bidding my sweetheart and loving husband better to fair than myself. From Hanworth, this Saturday, on the morning. By your most loving, obedient, and humble wife, Kateryn the Quene. K.P."[1] Previously to her confinement she retired to Sudley Castle, in Gloucestershire, accompanied



Ruins of Sudley Castle.

with the youthful Lady Jane Grey. Here she received a friendly letter from the Princess Mary, expressing the hope that her grace would have a safe delivery. On the 30th of August, 1548, the expected little stranger, who turned out to be a daughter, made her appearance, to the great joy of Seymour, though a boy would doubtless have gladdened him still more. But the birth of the child proved fatal to the mother, in whom, on the third day after the birth, unfavourable symptoms began to make their appearance. On the fifth day, namely, September 3, Dr. Huick, her physician, having informed her of her dangerous condition, she made her

[1] Haynes's *State Papers*, p. 62.

will,[1] by which she, "lying on her death-bed, sick of body, but of good mind and perfect memory and discretion, being persuaded, and perceiving the extremity of death to approach her," bequeathed all she possessed to her husband, "wishing them to be a thousand times more in value than they were." Two days after, namely, on Wednesday, the 5th of September, being the seventh day after she was delivered, she expired, between two and three o'clock in the morning, at the castle of Sudley, in the thirty-sixth year of her age.[2]

It has been often said that she died of a broken heart, caused by the harsh treatment of her profligate husband, and not without suspicions of having been poisoned by his orders, suspicions probably first created by his enemies, and the more readily received from a very prevalent impression that he aimed at a match with the Princess Elizabeth, who, he anticipated, might one day become queen of England. That Seymour ill-used his wife was much talked of at the time. Parry, Elizabeth's cofferer, in his examination on the trial of Seymour, states that he said to Mrs. Ashley, in a conversation with her as to Elizabeth's marriage with Seymour, after the death of Katharine, "I had heard much evil report of the lord admiral, that he was not only a very covetous man and an oppressor, but also an evil jealous man; and how cruelly, how dishonourably, and how jealously he had used the queen." From the evidence of Elizabeth Tyrwhit,[3] in her examination on the same occasion, we learn that Katharine on her death-bed reproached him for having treated her with unkindness, an idea which seems to have taken possession of her mind, to the exclusion of all other cares. But this paper bears internal evidence, that through the violence of disease Katharine's reason had become affected. "Two days before the death of the queen," says

[1] Miss Strickland's *Queens of England* has the 5th of September as the date of the will, evidently a typographical error.

[2] A breviate of the interment of the Lady Katharine Parr, &c., in *Archæologia*, vol. v., p. 232.

[3] This is the lady formerly mentioned (p. 218), whom Gardiner and Wriothesley intended to prosecute for heresy in the same bill of indictment with Katharine.

Lady Tyrwhit, "at my coming to her in the morning, she asked me where I had been so long, and said unto me she did fear such things in herself that she was sure she could not live; whereunto I answered, as I thought, that I saw no likelihood of death in her. She then, having my lord admiral by the hand, and divers others standing by, spake these words, partly, as I took it, idly:—'My Lady Tyrwhit, I am not well handled, for those that be about me care not for me, but stand laughing at my grief; and the more good I will to them, the less good they will to me;' whereunto my lord admiral answered, 'Why, sweetheart, I would you no hurt!' And she said to him again, aloud—'No, my lord, I think so;' and immediately she said to him in his ear, 'but, my lord, you have given me many shrewd taunts.' Those words I perceived she spake with good memory, and very sharply and earnestly, for her mind was sore unquieted. My lord admiral, perceiving that I heard it, called me aside and asked me what she said, and I declared it plainly to him. Then he consulted with me that he would lie down on the bed by her, to look if he could pacify her unquietness with gentle communication; whereunto I agreed. And by that time he had spoken three or four words to her, she answered him very roundly and shortly, saying—'My lord, I would have given a thousand merks to have had my full talk with Hewyke, the first day I was delivered, but I durst not for displeasing of you;' and I, hearing that, perceived her trouble to be so great that my heart would serve me to hear no more. Such like communication she had with him the space of an hour, which they did hear that sat by her bedside."[1]

If what Katharine uttered at this time proceeded, as it evidently did, from a distempered imagination, if it was the broken and incoherent ravings of delirium, it is entitled to no great weight; for that persons under a partial or total eclipse of reason will reproach with unkindness friends who have ever treated them with the tenderest affection, and whom they themselves have loved with idolatrous attachment, is a fact which, however explained, frequently occurs in

[1] Haynes's *State Papers*, p. 103.

the history of mental derangement. But that Katharine's reproaches were not altogether unfounded, seems implied in the depositions of Lady Tyrwhit, from her representing Katharine, in her censures of Seymour, as speaking only "*partly* idly," and "with good memory," from her saying that she declared plainly to Seymour what Katharine had said against him, and from the entire absence of even a single word in favour of his past conjugal kindness. Under her illness he, indeed, acted with apparent affection, endeavouring by tender words to divert her thoughts from the distressing ideas preying upon her mind; but observation frequently furnishes examples of persons acting with similiar kindness towards relatives on a death-bed whom they have been far from treating well during life, their sympathy, perhaps, being excited at the moment, or this apparent affection being assumed to save their reputation.

The suspicion that she was poisoned, in order to make room for his intended marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, is totally destitute of evidence. That, from his boundless ambition, he contemplated gaining the hand of the princess before marrying Katharine, there seems little room to doubt. From a letter of Elizabeth to him, we learn that he had made proposals of this kind to her immediately on her father's death. "I confess to you," says she, "that your letter, all elegant as it is, has very much surprised me, for, besides that neither my age nor my inclination allows me to think of marriage, I never could have believed that any one would have spoken to me of nuptials at a time when I ought to think of nothing but sorrow for the death of my father. And to him I owe so much, that I must have two years at least to mourn for his loss. And how can I make up my mind to become a wife before I shall have enjoyed for some years my virgin state, and arrived at years of discretion."[1] After the death of Katharine he again paid his addresses to Elizabeth; and, notwithstanding the disparity of their ages, though she was only in her sixteenth year, while he was many years older, yet such were his advantages of person, and his insinuating manners, that he succeeded in captivat-

[1] Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. iii., p. 191.

ing her young heart.[1] It may, however, be doubted, whatever improper freedoms he had used with her, whether during the lifetime of Katharine he had formed any project of this sort, and there is no evidence of his having attempted, as a means of carrying it into effect, to get rid of Katharine by poison. The state of preservation in which her body was found when discovered, as we shall afterwards see, towards the close of the last century, nearly two hundred and forty years after the breath had quitted it, is a strong presumption against her having been poisoned; for, had she been so, the effect of the poison would have been to cause a rapid putrefaction and decay. Seymour had many crimes to repent of, but this is one of which there is every reason to believe he was innocent.

The body of Katharine was wrapped in cerecloth and chested in lead; and on the part of the lead which covered the breast was engraved a simple inscription. The body then remained in her privy



Chapel of Sudley Castle.

chamber till the day appointed for interment. It being intended to bury her in the chapel of Sudley, preparations were made for the

[1] This is evident from the testimony of Mrs. Ashley, Elizabeth's governess, of the princess herself, and of others examined on the impeachment of Seymour. Elizabeth

performance of the funeral service in the chapel. On the morning of the funeral day her corpse was carried from the castle of Sudley to the chapel, with all the marks of distinction due to her rank, Lady Jane Grey being chief mourner.[1] The corpse, when carried into the chapel, was set down within the rails, and the mourners having taken their places, the whole choir commenced singing certain psalms in English, after which three lessons were read. At the close of the third lesson the mourners, according to their degrees, and in conformity with the custom on such occasions, put their offerings into the alms-box; such solemn circumstances being eminently fitted, by

herself acknowledges that she loved him, and Mrs. Ashley secretly encouraged the project of a marriage between them. Parry, the princess's cofferer, depones that the governess said to him, "I would wish her [Elizabeth] his wife of all men living." For this reason the lords of council, much against the will of the princess (Ellis's *Letters*, vol. ii., pp. 153-159), dismissed her governess, and substituted Lady Tyrwhyt in her place. The Duchess of Somerset blamed Mrs. Ashley for indulging the princess with too much liberty. In their letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the change, dated February, 1548, the lords of council simply state, as their reason for depriving Mrs Ashley "of the special charge, to see to the good education of Elizabeth's person," that she "had shown herself far unmeet to occupy any such place about her grace."—See Haynes's *State Papers*, pp. 95-107.

[1] The order of the procession, and the badges of mourning worn, are recorded in *A Breviate of her Interment*, written at the time, and printed in *Archæologia*, vol. v., pp. 232-236. It is also inserted in Rudder's *History of Gloucestershire*.

The place of Katharine's interment was long unknown. George Ballard, the industrious antiquary of Camden, a town about ten miles from Sudley, says, in his *Memoirs of Learned Ladies* (p. 96), that the particulars of her death and burial are *desiderata;* and his ignorance of these facts appears the more extraordinary, as his business of a staymaker must often have led him into those parts. He had not seen the *Breviate of her Interment* just referred to, which determines the points he desiderated. The reading of this document in Rudder's *History of Gloucestershire*, by some ladies interested in the history of Katharine, led them to the discovery of the spot of her sepulture, and of some curious particulars respecting her remains, in May, 1782, when they happened to be at the castle of Sudley. They found her grave at the north wall, within the ruined chapel; and having pierced the leaden envelope, and removed the portion of the cerecloth covering the face, they discovered the features, and particularly the eyes, in a state of uncommon preservation. In 1784, some other persons visiting the chapel had the curiosity again to open the grave. And on October 14, 1786, the Rev. Dr Nash went to Sudley Chapel, in company with two gentlemen, to gratify his curiosity by a personal investigation of the grave and remains of Katharine; and they were satisfied that the body was in entire preservation. A particular account of these several visits to her last resting-place is given in *Archæologia*, vol. ix., pp. 1-9, accompanied with an engraving of Katharine's incased body as found by Dr. Nash.

reminding those in possession of this world's goods how the grave ultimately reduces all mankind to a level, to soften their hearts and open their hands to relieve the sorrows and privations of poverty. The mourners having made their contributions, the others, both gentlemen and ladies, followed their example, each giving as a sense of duty or as inclination prompted. Then Dr. Myles Coverdale, almoner of the deceased, as a means of leading the living to improve the affecting dispensation, preached an appropriate and impressive sermon, in which, among other things, he warned his hearers against thinking, or spreading abroad the idea, that these offerings were made for the benefit of the dead, being intended solely for the poor. He also took occasion to caution them against supposing that the lights carried and stationed about the corpse were for any other purpose than the honour of the departed lady. The sermon being concluded, he offered up a solemn and an affecting prayer, in which the whole audience joined with becoming seriousness. The corpse was then deposited in the earth, and during the time of interment the choir sung *Te Deum* in English. The last offices of respect having been thus performed to the mortal remains of this excellent woman, the mourners and others, after partaking of a dinner prepared for them, returned to their homes.[1]

Katharine's chaplain, Dr. Parkhurst,[2] subsequently Bishop of Norwich, wrote a Latin epitaph commemorative of her many virtues. Of this epitaph, which was probably engraven on the monument erected to her memory in the chapel of Sudley, the following is an English translation:—

"In this new tomb the royal Kath'rine lies,
Flower of her sex, renowned, great, and wise.
A wife by every nuptial virtue known,
And faithful partner once of Henry's throne.

[1] *A Breviate*, &c., in *Archæologia*, vol. v., pp. 232–236.

[2] Parkhurst, in a letter to Henry Bullinger, dated Ludham, August 10, 1571, while informing him of the death of her brother, the Marquis of Northampton, which took place in the beginning of that month, designates her "my most gentle mistress, whom I attended as chaplain twenty-three years since."—*Zurich Letters*, second series, vol. i., p. 257.

To Seymour next her plighted hand she yields
(Seymour who Neptune's trident justly wields);
From him a beauteous daughter bless'd her arms,
An infant copy of her parents' charms.
When now seven days this tender flower had bloom'd,
Heaven in its wrath the mother's soul resum'd.
Great Kath'rine's merit in our grief appears,
While fair Britannia dews her cheek with tears;
Our royal breasts with rising sighs are torn;
With saints she triumphs—we with mortals mourn." [1]

Within less than a year after Katharine's death, namely, on March 17, 1549, Seymour perished on the scaffold, under a bill of attainder for high treason.

Their only child, whose name was Mary, upon the death of both her parents, after remaining a short time at her uncle Somerset's house, at Sion, was, according to her father's dying request, conveyed to Grimsthorpe, in Lincolnshire, the residence of Katharine, Duchess-Dowager of Suffolk, a Protestant and intimate friend of the deceased mother, to be brought up under the care of that lady. She was accompanied by her governess, Mrs. Aglionby, her nurse, two maids, and other servants. Her mother having made her will in favour of Seymour, and his property having been confiscated on his condemnation, the little helpless orphan was left upon the charity of her friends. At the time of her leaving Sion, her uncle, the Duke of Somerset, promised that a pension should be settled upon her for her support, and that a portion of her nursery plate and furniture, brought to Sion House, should be sent after her to Grimsthorpe; promises which, to the disgrace of that nobleman, were never fulfilled, notwithstanding the persevering efforts of the Duchess of Suffolk to prevail upon him to fulfil them.[2] This noble lady repeatedly wrote to him, to his duchess, and to William Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, on the subject. Miss Strickland, who has given specimens of the letters to Cecil, which are written in a familiar tone, and with a vein of humour running through them quite characteristic of the writer, asserts that they

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. ix., pp. 1-9.

[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., p. 201.

betray a "worldly spirit and sordid temper," and that "the helpless little one," though the child of a lady who had honoured the duchess with her friendship, and shielded her from persecution, and whom she regarded as a saint, "had become the unwelcome recipient of her charity."[1] But the letters by no means warrant this uncharitable construction. The case, as brought out in them, only requires to be fairly represented in order to vindicate the duchess from these hard censures. The maintenance of the babe, with her train, consisting of some dozen of persons, involved considerable expense, and the duchess found herself unable, without running into debt, to support this large train, considered suitable, according to the etiquette of the times, to the child of the Queen-Dowager and of the Lord Admiral of England. Again, Somerset, as has been just now said, had promised that a portion of the nursery plate should be delivered with the child when she was sent to Grimsthorpe, and that a pension should be granted for her maintenance. Under these circumstances was it unreasonable, was it any proof of ingratitude to Katharine Parr, or of unkindness to her daughter, was it worldly or sordid for the Duchess of Suffolk to be urgent in endeavouring to obtain from Somerset the fulfilment of these promises, the more especially as the child had been wrongfully deprived of the vast wealth which she ought to have inherited from her parents? This, so far from being blameworthy, was what she was bound in duty to do. In other cases the gifted authoress of the *Queens of England* can carry her charity to a somewhat extravagant extent. She attempts, even in the face of facts proving the contrary,[2] to screen Queen Mary from the guilt of the Protestant blood shed under her reign; and yet, upon such totally inadequate evidence as these letters, she holds up the Duchess of Suffolk to contempt as an ungrateful, sordid, selfish being, who, while pretending piously to venerate the memory of Katharine Parr by "editing and publishing the devotional writings of that queen," "grudged a shelter and food to her only child."

[1] *Queens of England*, vol. v., pp. 125–129.

[2] See Introduction, p. 21.

Mary Seymour continued, it appears, for some years at least, under the care of the duchess, and she was ultimately married to Sir Edward Bushel—a respectable alliance, though inferior to what she would probably have obtained had her parents' wealth come into her possession.[1]

[1] *Queens of England*, vol. v., pp. 129–131.





Remains of Bradgate House.

LADY JANE GREY.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HER BIRTH TO THE CLOSE OF HER CORRESPONDENCE WITH CONTINENTAL DIVINES.

FEW characters in English history have occupied, within so short a time, a more important part in the political transactions of their day, than the lady whose life we are now to relate, and few are fraught with a deeper and more permanent interest. The purity and loveliness of her character, the vigour of her intellectual powers, the extent of her literary acquirements, the seraphic fervour of her devotion, were enough of themselves to have rendered her an engaging object. But the interest derived from these attractions has been greatly

enhanced, and the sympathies of the human heart powerfully enlisted on her behalf, from the romantic events crowding the narrative of her brief course, and from the tragic death by which it was closed.

LADY JANE GREY was the eldest daughter of Henry Grey, third Marquis of Dorset, by his second wife,[1] Lady Frances Brandon, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, widow of Louis XII., King of France, second daughter of Henry VII. of England, and youngest sister of Henry VIII. Thus she was of the blood-royal of England on the mother's side, and she was also connected, though not by consanguinity, with the royal family on the father's side, her paternal great-great-grandmother, Elizabeth Woodville,[2] relict of Sir John Grey of Groby, having been queen-consort to Edward IV. Her father, Henry Grey, when he succeeded to the honours of his family, on the death of his father, which happened in 1530, was, in point of rank, one of the first noblemen of his time. In 1547, the first year of the reign of Edward VI., he was made lord high-constable for that monarch's coronation, and was elected a knight of the garter; in 1550 he was constituted justice-itinerant of all the king's forests; in the following year he was appointed warden of the east, west, and middle marches towards Scotland; and on October 15, 1551, he was created Duke of Suffolk. If not entirely without ambition, he appears to have been a man quietly disposed; and though not possessed of those powerful talents and that force of character which exert a commanding influence over others, and which, seizing upon circumstances, can convert them into the means of promoting the success of great undertakings, he was a warm friend of the Reformation, and a patron of learned men.

The date of Lady Jane's birth has not been exactly ascertained. If, according to Fuller, she was eighteen years of age at the time of her

[1] His first wife was Katharine Fitz-Alan, daughter of William, Earl of Arundel. She is supposed to have died without issue.

[2] Elizabeth Woodville and her family have been immortalized by Shakspeare in his *King Richard III.*

execution, February 12, 1554, this would make the date of her birth about the year 1536. The place of her nativity was Bradgate, her father's seat, a magnificent mansion about five miles from Leicester, and the ruins of which are yet remaining. She was the eldest of three daughters, the names of the other two being Katharine and Mary, and she had no brothers. In her early years she was remarkable for gentle and engaging dispositions, combined with more than ordinary natural abilities, and a passionate love of learning. Among her earliest tutors were Thomas Harding [1] and John Aylmer,[2] her father's chaplains, both learned men, and supporters of the reformed doctrines, though the former, who had not the high principle of the latter, relapsed into Popery on the accession of Mary to the throne. Aylmer being a kind-hearted man, as well as an eminent scholar, treated Jane, whom he soon discovered to be a girl of superior talents, with affectionate gentleness; and under his care she assiduously studied, and became deeply versed in the Latin and Greek languages, which she both wrote and spoke with great facility and purity. She also got lessons in Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, French, and Italian;

[1] Thomas Harding was educated at Winchester, and at New College, Oxford, of which he was elected a fellow in 1536. He was afterwards appointed by Henry VIII. Hebrew professor in that university. Of a temporizing character, he was just about as much a Reformer as Henry VIII. during the life of that monarch, and on Edward's accession to the throne, he professed the reformed faith then established. After this he became chaplain in the family of the Marquis of Dorset, and was accounted a very good Protestant; but no sooner had Mary ascended the throne, than he embraced Popery. He was preferred by the queen to a prebend of Winchester, and the treasurership of Sarum. Upon the accession of Elizabeth he withdrew to the Continent, and engaged in warm and protracted controversy with Bishop Jewel.

[2] John Aylmer was, as we have seen before (p. 94), patronized in early life by Queen Anne Boleyn. Lady Jane's father had supported him at school, and also at the university of Cambridge, where he took his degree of master of arts, and made him tutor to his children. Aylmer was a superior Latin and Greek scholar, and a steady, active promoter of the Reformation. He was for some time, according to the testimony of Thomas Becon, who knew him well, the only Protestant preacher in Leicestershire. On the accession of Mary, he boldly opposed Popery, which, exposing him to danger, he retired to the Continent, where he remained till Elizabeth came to the throne. In 1576 he was appointed Bishop of London, and died June 3, 1594, being, at least, seventy-three years of age.—Becon's *Jewel of Joy*, in his works printed for Parker Soc., vol. iii., p. 424.—See his *Life*, by Strype.

but it was hardly possible for her to attain, as some have affirmed,[1] to great proficiency in all these languages, which it would require the study of a long life to master. The lighter branches of education she successfully cultivated. She played admirably on various musical instruments, and accompanied them with a voice of exquisite sweetness. In embroidery and other works of the needle she eminently excelled, and the hand she wrote was remarkable for its beauty, which may be accounted for from her having received, with her sisters, lessons in the art of writing from Roger Ascham,[2] an exquisite penman, and one of Queen Elizabeth's tutors. She was also probably taught, as ladies then generally were, some knowledge of physic and surgery, and even spinning. In the extent of her attainments, and in the ready acquisition of every kind of knowledge, she surpassed all her equals. Prince Edward, her second cousin, though a boy of uncommon capacity, and nearly of her age, being born October 12, 1537, was considered decidedly her inferior. She was frequently brought to court by her parents; and though little more than a child,

[1] Sir Thomas Chaloner, for example, in his Latin elegy upon her. This piece is inserted in Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., App., No. IX.

[2] Roger Ascham, who was born at Kirby Wiske, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire, about the year 1515, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, was one of the most accomplished scholars of his day. He was elected fellow of his college at the early age of eighteen, and in 1548 was appointed tutor to the Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth, whom he taught writing, as well as the Greek and Latin languages, of which he was a consummate master. He was afterwards made Latin secretary to Edward VI., and in 1550 he accompanied Sir Richard Morison on his embassy to the Emperor Charles V. On his return to England, Mary was the reigning sovereign, but, though he continued to profess himself a Protestant, he was allowed, in consideration of his great abilities, to retain his fellowship in his *alma mater*, together with his office as public orator. On the elevation of Elizabeth to regal power, he was rewarded by his former pupil with a prebend in the church of York. He died of ague, according to some accounts, in December, 1568, according to others, on the 4th of January, 1569. His last words were, "I am suffering much pain, I sink under my disease; but this is my confession, this is my faith, this prayer contains all that I wish for, 'I desire to depart hence, and to be with Christ.'" His published letters in Latin have been admired at once for the excellence of the matter and for their classic style. He is also the author of various poems, of the *Schoolmaster*, and of a somewhat whimsical work, entitled *Toxophilus;* a treatise of shooting in the long-bow, to which he was passionately addicted.—Granger's *Biographical History of England*, vol. i., pp. 326, 327.—Ackermann's *History of Cambridge College*, vol. ii., pp. 117, 118.

was, from her learning, set up as a pattern for imitation and emulation to the young prince.[1] To her natural abilities and acquired scholarship were added early piety and an enlightened cordial attachment to the reformed principles, for which she was indebted to Aylmer, and probably in no small degree to Queen Katharine Parr, who, as Henry VIII. was her grand-uncle, was her grand-aunt by marriage.

Lady Jane, who was a great favourite with Katharine, lived with her, as has been seen before,[2] at Chelsea, subsequently to the death of Henry VIII., and at Hanworth after Katharine's marriage with Lord Seymour of Sudley, Lord Admiral of England, and derived much advantage from being placed under her superintendence. She was residing with her at Sudley Castle at the time of Katharine's death, in September, 1546, and was chief mourner at her funeral. A letter written by her, when a child only eleven years old, to the lord admiral, the month following the death of Katharine, is still extant. Its penmanship is remarkably beautiful; and having escaped the notice of all her biographers, it is here subjoined, as being the first specimen now remaining of her epistolary writing:—"My duty to your lordship in most humble wise remembered, with no less thanks for the gentle letters which I received from you. Thinking myself so much bound to your lordship for your great goodness towards me from time to time, that I cannot by any means be able to recompense the least part thereof, I purposed to write a few rude lines unto your lordship, rather as a token to show how much worthier I think your lordship's goodness, than to give worthy thanks for the same; and these my letters shall be to testify unto you that, like as you have become towards me a loving and kind father, so I shall be always most ready to obey your godly monitions and good instructions, as becometh one upon whom you have heaped so many benefits. And thus, fearing lest I should trouble your lordship too much, I most

[1] Howard's *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, p. 131.
[2] See *Life of Katharine Parr*, p. 231.

humbly take my leave of your good lordship.—Your humble servant, during my life, "JANE GREY.

"To the right honourable, and my singular good lord, the Lord Admiral, give these." [1]

So long as Katharine Parr was living, young Jane's parents had every confidence that their daughter would, in all respects, be carefully watched over; but on the death of that virtuous and pious woman, alarmed at the thought of leaving their daughter under the charge of a man so ambitious, intriguing, and unprincipled, as was the lord admiral, they were exceedingly desirous to have her restored to them, and a curious correspondence took place in consequence between them and his lordship, who was not less desirous to retain her. From this correspondence we learn that her parents, from causes which can only now be conjectured, had promised to be guided by the advice of the admiral in the disposal of her hand; a promise of great importance in his account, as it might be rendered subservient to his ambitious projects. "Where it hath pleased you," says the Marquis of Dorset in a letter to the lord admiral, dated Bradgate, September 19, [1548], "by your most gentle letters to offer me the abode of my daughter at your lordship's house, I do as well acknowledge your most friendly affection towards me and her herein, as also render unto you most deserved thanks for the same: Nevertheless, considering the state of my daughter and her tender years (wherein she shall hardly rule herself as yet without a guide), lest she should, for lack of a bridle, take too much the head, and conceive such opinion of herself, that all such good behaviour as she heretofore hath learned, by the queen's and your most wholesome instructions, should either altogether be quenched in her, or at least much diminished, I shall, in most hearty wise, require your lordship to commit her to the governance of her mother; by whom, for the fear and duty she oweth her, she shall most easily be ruled and framed towards virtue, which I wish above all things to be most plentiful

[1] Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. iii., p. 197. It is endorsed, "My Lady Jane, 1st October, 1548."

in her. And although your lordship's good mind concerning her honest and godly education, is so great that mine can be no more, yet weighing that you be destitute of such one as should correct her as a mistress, and [ad]monish her as a mother, I persuade myself that you will think the eye and oversight of my wife shall be in this respect most necessary. My meaning herein is not to withdraw any part of my promise to you for her bestowing, for I assure your lordship I intend, God willing, to use your discreet advice and consent on that behalf, and no less than my own. Only I seek, in these her young years wherein she now standeth, either to make or mar (as the common saying is) the dressing of her mind to humility, soberness, and obedience. Wherefore, looking upon that fatherly affection which you bear her, my trust is that your lordship, weighing the premises, will be content to charge her mother with her, whose waking eye in respecting her demeanour shall be, I hope, no less than you as a friend, and I as a father, would wish."[1]

A letter from the marchioness to the admiral, to the same effect, accompanied this from the marquis, and the result was that Lord Seymour, much against his will, permitted Lady Jane to return to her parents. He, however, made strenuous efforts to get her back; and by promising to her father that he would marry her to King Edward, and by offering him, what he greatly needed, a large sum of money, he succeeded in inducing him to send her back to Hanworth. On her return he immediately sent her father £500, as part of £2000 which he had promised to lend him, and for which he had refused any bond, saying that the Lady Jane should be the pledge. Whether he ever seriously thought of striking a match between her and King Edward may be doubted. It has been conjectured that, having no male children of his own, he had intended to marry her to Lord Hertford, son of his brother, Duke of Somerset, the protector. This conjecture derives plausibility from the fact that at the time when he evinced such anxiety about her marriage, he had become reconciled to his brother, with whom, from jealousy

[1] Haynes's *State Papers*, p. 78.

of his power, he had been at variance. It is, besides, certain, from a letter written by her father to the Duke of Somerset, that an alliance had been projected between her and the Earl of Hertford. "For the marriage of your grace's son to be had with my daughter Jane," says he cautiously to the duke, as if leaving an opening for a change of purpose, should the chapter of accidents offer a more splendid alliance, as a match with her royal cousin Edward, "I think it not meet to be written, but I shall at all times avouch my saying." [1] Or the admiral, in the event of his being thwarted in his hope of obtaining the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, may have contemplated making Lady Jane his own wife. She was indeed his junior by many years; but as he regarded the disparity of years between him and Elizabeth as no obstacle to his union with her, there is no reason to think that, though Lady Jane was three or four years younger than Elizabeth, he would have considered this difference as an insuperable impediment to his wedding her, had the step been recommended by ambitious or political considerations. The admiral's motives, in the uncommon interest he took as to the marriage of this lady, it is impossible now to determine with certainty. "The probable conclusion," says Nicolas, "is that he was merely anxious to obtain the power of disposing of her, when she became of a marriageable age, in such a manner as would best advance his views or support his interest, without at any time being determined whether he should espouse her, or whether she should become the wife of his nephew, or of some other nobleman on whom he could depend. Such, in all probability, were the speculations relative to this amiable girl in her childhood, and who, even at that early period of her life, seemed destined to be the victim of ambition. At no period of our history," adds this writer, "was the detestable disposition to render every connection subservient to political purposes, so much the prevailing feeling, as in the reigns of the Tudors; the ties of friendship or of kindred were seldom suffered to interfere when opposed to the prospect of advancement; self-interest superseded every other considera-

[1] Howard's *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, p. 161.

tion; and little as honesty and generosity are to be looked for in courtiers, the total absence of these virtues was never so manifested as when their dynasty swayed the English sceptre." [1]

Having left Seymour's roof, Lady Jane returned to her father's house, living for the most part at the family seat at Bradgate. Here she pursued with increasing assiduity her favourite studies, encouraged by her amiable tutor, Aylmer, for whom she felt no common reverence and affection. It is somewhat remarkable that so docile and obedient a child should have been treated with undue severity by her parents. Acting apparently on the unreasonable principle that children should become perfect in everything all at once, they would harshly chide, threaten, or punish her, if on observing any defect in her manner of speaking, or keeping silence, sitting, standing, or walking, eating or drinking, sewing, playing on musical instruments, or dancing, though she did all in her power to please them. It is, however, to be observed that this injudicious severity, though, doubtless, it proceeded more from an anxiety to see her thoroughly accomplished than from a defect in parental tenderness, was, at that period, deemed necessary in the education of the young. "Severity," says Howard, "was the most frequent engine of both classes, gentry and citizens, for improving their children; and whether at home or at school, the youth of both sexes were kept in order more by fear than love. Daughters in particular, even in womanhood, are described as being obliged to stand at the cupboard-side during visits, except when permitted to have a cushion to kneel on; and then, also, it was not unusual, even before company, for ladies of the first rank to correct their grown-up daughters with the large fans which it was the fashion to carry." [2]

On the sensitive mind of Lady Jane, this austere discipline made a deep impression; and the consequence was that she preferred the society of Aylmer to that of her parents. The hours spent in their company being frequently hours of unmerited harsh treatment, were associated in her mind with restraint and terror. The hours spent

[1] Nicolas's *Memoirs of Lady Jane Grey.* [2] *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, p. 110.



F. GODWIN. W. L. THOMAS.

LADY JANE GREY AND ROGER ASCHAM.

with Aylmer at her lessons were, from his affectionate manner of instructing her, explaining to her difficulties, correcting her mistakes, and encouraging her to proceed, associated with enjoyment, and when called from him she would often fall a-weeping. This gentleness of her preceptor, so favourably contrasted with the harshness of her parents, was, as she acknowledges, one reason of the great delight she took in learning. "And thus," says she, "my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more and more pleasure, that in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed be but trifles and troubles unto me."

To her intimate knowledge of the Greek language, and her ardent study of the Grecian orators and philosophers, a high testimony is borne by an eminently qualified judge, Roger Ascham. This celebrated man visited her in the summer of 1550, at her father's seat at Bradgate, when on his way to London to attend Sir Richard Morison, on his embassy to Charles V. She was then about the fourteenth year of her age. On his arrival, her father and mother, with all the ladies and gentlemen of the household, were hunting in the park, while the fair scholar was in her own apartment, engaged in reading Plato's *Phædon* in the original Greek, with as much delight, to use Ascham's illustration, as the gentlemen of that day felt in reading the merry tales of Boccaccio. Astonished at this devotion to study, after saluting her, he inquired why she had not gone with her parents and the rest of the family to the park, to enjoy the amusement of the chase. "I wisse,"[1] she replied with a smile, "all their sport in the park is but a shadow to the pleasure I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure means." "And how came you, madam," asked Ascham, still more astonished that a lady of her age should be so enchanted both with the language and philosophy of Plato, "to this deep knowledge of pleasure? and what did chiefly allure you into it, since not only few women, but even very few men, have attained thereunto?" "I will tell you," she answered, "and tell you a truth, which, perchance, you will marvel at." She then

[1] *i. e.*, "I think."

proceeded to inform him how, as we have already stated, the harshness of her parents and the tenderness of Aylmer had combined in strengthening in her mind the love of learning; how, when depressed and perturbed by the indiscreet fault-finding propensities of her parents, she longed to return to her own chamber, to hold delightful communion with Demosthenes and Plato, or to receive instructions from her beloved preceptor, who never spoke to her an unkind word or gave her an unkind look.[1] This was the last interview Ascham had with her; but one or two letters subsequently passed between them, and, at his urgent request, she promised to write him a letter in Greek, provided he would first send her one in that language from the emperor's court.[2] In his correspondence with his learned friends, he lavished upon her the highest encomiums. Understanding that his much-respected friend, John Sturmuis, rector of the Protestant academy of Strasburg, had translated some orations of Æschines and Demosthenes into Latin, and intended to publish them, he advised him to dedicate the volume to Lady Jane, both on account of her skill in the Greek language, and because of her admiration of learned men, and particularly of himself. He reckoned her and Lady Mildred Cook, Sir William Cecil's wife, who spoke and understood Greek almost with equal facility as English, to be the two most learned women in England; but he gave Lady Jane the preference, pronouncing on her the eulogium, "that however illustrious she was by her fortune and royal extraction, this bore no proportion to the accomplishments of her mind, adorned with the doctrine of Plato and the eloquence of Demosthenes." [3]

A testimony not less flattering to her general accomplishments, and equally entitled to credit, is borne by a Swiss scholar of high character and no mean attainments, John ab Ulmis, who, in the reign of Edward VI., had come to this country, and studied at St. John's College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1549, and was admitted master of arts in 1552. This young man, who was patron-

[1] Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, book i., p. 37. [2] Ascham's *Epist.*, lib. i., ep. 4.
[3] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part i., pp. 140-143.

ized by the Marquis of Dorset,[1] and who resided for some time in the marquis's family, thus writes concerning her, in a letter to Conrad Pellican, dated [Bradgate] May 29, 1551:—"In truth I do not think that among all the English nobility for many ages past, there has arisen a single individual, who, to the highest excellencies of talent and judgment, has united so much diligence and assiduity in the cultivation of every liberal pursuit. For she is not only conversant with the more polite accomplishments, and with ordinary acquirements, but has also so exercised herself in the practice of speaking and arguing with propriety, both in Greek and Latin, that it is incredible how far she has advanced already, and to what perfection she will advance in a few years; for I well know that she will complete what she has begun, unless, perhaps, she be diverted from her pursuits by some calamity of the times;"[2] an anticipation which, unhappily, at no distant period was painfully realized.

From her amiable character, her fervent piety, the purity of her faith, and her high rank, Lady Jane became early an object of peculiar interest to the friends of the Reformation, both in this country and on the Continent. Martin Bucer, who had been invited to England by Edward VI., and the Lord protector, at the recommendation of Archbishop Cranmer, and appointed professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge, took a friendly interest in her intellectual, religious, and moral training. Lamenting the death of this celebrated divine, of whom, says she, "I was bereaved," she acknowledges her obligations to him, commending him as "that most learned man and holy father, who unweariedly did not cease, day and night, and to the utmost of his ability, to supply me with all

[1] Hooper, in a letter to Bullinger, dated London, March 27, 1550, says, "John ab Ulmis is also well, and as I hear very diligent in his studies. He has been munificently and honourably presented by the Marquis of Dorset with a yearly stipend of thirty crowns." This he had in addition to his fellowship.—*Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 84, 389. He was recalled to Switzerland "by a letter from his family," and, on his return, resigned his fellowship in St. John's College, Oxford.—*Ibid.*, pp. 326, 396. He died in 1580, and his descendants took the name of Ulmer.—*Ibid.*, second series, vol. ii., p. 306.

[2] *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 432, 433.

necessary instructions and directions for my conduct in life; and who, by his excellent advice, promoted and encouraged my progress and advancement in all virtue, godliness, and learning."[1]

Among the foreign reformed divines attracted by her promising talents and excellent character, Henry Bullinger, one of the ministers of the reformed church of Zurich, in Switzerland, a man of uncommon learning, wisdom, benevolence, and piety, is entitled to special notice.[2] He had received from his young friend, John ab Ulmis, very high commendations of her laudable diligence and unusual acquirements in letters at her age, united with fervent piety and ardent devotion to the reformed cause. At the incitation, in a great measure, of this worthy youth, he sent her occasionally such small religious treatises as might tend to confirm her piety and faith in God's Word, and commenced an epistolary correspondence with her exceedingly gratifying to her, and also very pleasing to himself. Ab Ulmis, in a letter to him, dated Oxford, December 31, 1550, says, "If you intend to present any book to the Earl of Warwick, send it together with the rest to me. . . . . I hope you will send a copy to the daughter of the marquis, and, take my word for it, you will never repent your having done so. Let this be the form of the address:—'To Jane Grey, daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, &c.,' and you will elicit from her a most learned and courteous letter. She has herself rendered into Greek a good part of that book, *On Marriage*, which I translated

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 4–7.

[2] Henry Bullinger, who was born at Bremgarten, near Zurich, Switzerland, on July 18, 1504, studied at the university of Cologne, into which he entered in 1519, and connected himself with the Reformers in the course of the year 1524. On the death of Zuingle, in the close of the year 1531, he was chosen to fill his place as chief pastor of the reformed church of Zurich. Though he had never been in England, he was well known to the friends of the Reformation in this country, from his generous hospitality towards the English Reformers, consisting of nobles, clergy, gentry, and scholars, who had fled their native country to escape persecution in the reign of Henry VIII., when the six articles were rigorously enforced, and in Queen Mary's reign. He corresponded with the leading English Reformers, to whom he was of great use by his judicious counsels. He is styled by Bishop Jewel *oraculum ecclesiarum*. He died Sept. 17, 1575, in the seventy-first year of his age.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 144. *Zurich Letters*, second series, vol. i., p. 156. *Adami Vitæ Germanorum Theologorum.*

into Latin, and presented it to her father on the last day of December, for a New-year's gift."[1]

The date of Bullinger's first letter to Lady Jane, written in Latin, appears to have been in the early part of the year 1551, when she was only about the fifteenth year of her age; and, like his other letters to her, all of which are now lost, it chiefly consisted of counsels on topics suited to her age, sex, and rank in life, as on the best method of prosecuting her studies, and on the cultivation of the Christian character; and of encouragements to perseverance in the excellent path of religion and virtue upon which she had entered. Considering herself highly honoured with this mark of attention from a minister whom she had been taught to venerate for his personal worth and learning, she speedily sent him a reply in Latin, written from Bradgate, July 12, 1551. The style is remarkably elegant for a girl of her years, and the whole strain bespeaks a mind smitten with an eager desire to excel in every liberal accomplishment, and especially in Christian knowledge and godliness. Our limits will admit only of a few extracts. "I have received," says she, "from you a most weighty and eloquent epistle, which was, indeed, very gratifying to me, not only because, to the neglect of more important engagements, you have condescended to write from so distant a country, and in your declining age to me, who am unworthy of the correspondence of so distinguished a personage, but also because your writings are of such a character, as that they contain not mere ordinary topics for amusement, but pious and divine thoughts for instruction, admonition, and counsel, on such points especially as are suited to my age and sex, and the dignity of my family. . . . . From that little volume[2] of pure and unsophisticated religion which you lately sent to my father and myself, I gather daily, as out of a most beautiful garden, the sweetest flowers. My father, also, as far as his weighty engagements permit, is diligently occupied in the perusal of it . . . .

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 427.

[2] This was a treatise on Christian Perfection, printed in 1551, and dedicated to Henry II. of France.

To conclude, as I am now beginning to learn Hebrew, if you will point out some way and method of pursuing this study to the greatest advantage, you will confer on me a very great obligation. Farewell, brightest ornament and support of the whole church of Christ, and may Almighty God long preserve you to us, and to his Church! Your most devoted, JANE GREY."[1]

Her father, who was hopeful, in his anxiety for her intellectual and religious improvement, that she would derive much advantage from the wise and pious counsels of Bullinger, was desirous that he should maintain a correspondence, so delightful to her, thus begun. In a letter to Bullinger, dated December 21, 1551, after thanking him for his exceeding courtesy in dedicating to him his fifth *Decade*,[2] he adds, "I acknowledge myself also to be much indebted to you on my daughter's account, for having always exhorted her in your godly letters to a true faith in Christ, the study of the Scriptures, purity of manners, and innocence of life, and I earnestly request you to continue these exhortations as frequently as possible."[3] Others of Bullinger's correspondents in England, who were great admirers of this gifted young lady, excited him to persevere in stimulating, by his epistolary communications, her ardent mind in the pursuits of knowledge and Christian excellence. "You can, indeed," says one of them,[4] in a letter to him, dated December 28, 1551, "confer no greater obligation upon his grace than by continuing (as you have once done already) to impart godly instruction to his daughter. For although she is so brought up that there is the greatest hope of her advancement in godliness, yet your exhortations afford her encouragement, and at the same time have their due weight with her, either as

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 4–7.

[2] This is the last part of Bullinger's principal work—his *Decades*, or Fifty Sermons on the chief heads of the Christian religion, divided into five *Decades* which was published in Latin. It was translated into English; and the translation, which passed through three editions in the sixteenth century, has recently been reprinted by the Parker Society.

[3] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 4.

[4] Mr. James Haddon, "a minister of the word."

proceeding from a stranger, or from so eminent a person as yourself." [1]

The study of theology engaged no inconsiderable share of her attention, and Bullinger's *Decades* was one of the chief works on this subject which she read and studied. "I can bear testimony," says John Banks, an English Reformer, in a letter to Bullinger, after her death, "which, if not very abundant, is that of an eye-witness, that the whole family of the Greys, and Jane especially, derived incredible benefit from your writings. She, indeed, had not only diligently perused, but also committed to memory, almost all the heads of your fifth *Decade*." [2]

The strong interest taken in Lady Jane by the friends of the Reformation, both at home and abroad, was increased, from reports which began to be circulated, that she was to become the consort of Edward VI., an event thought by many, from the similarity of their ages, dispositions, talents, and from their near relationship, not improbable, and greatly desired by the reforming party, as promising the most important advantages to the reformed cause, to which, from her course of education, she was known to be extremely devoted. On this subject one of the Reformers thus writes:—"A report has prevailed, and has begun to be talked of by persons of consequence, that this most noble virgin is to be betrothed and given in marriage to the king's majesty. O, if that event should take place, how happy would be the union, and how beneficial to the church! But the supremely great and good God will preside in this matter, who alone causes to prosper, and cares for, and remembers, and foresees and disposes of all things according to his good pleasure." [3] Katharine Parr, an excellent judge of the kind of wife suitable to such a prince as Edward, was favourable to this talked of union; and Lady Jane was doubtless well worthy of an earthly crown. But the Reformers, in dreaming of her as the future protectress of the Protestant faith,

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 280. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

[3] Letter of John ab Ulmis to Henry Bullinger, dated Bradgate, May 29, 1551, in *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 429–431.

in the character of Queen of England, were building castles in the air. There is no reason to think that Edward, who, as we learn from his journal, with the pride natural to his exalted station, contemplated marrying only some rich foreign princess, would have listened to the proposal of wedding a subject, however illustrious.

As observed before, Lady Jane's father was created Duke of Suffolk on the 11th of October, 1551, her maternal uncles, Henry Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Charles his brother, having died of the sweating-sickness, without issue, at Bugden, the Bishop of Lincoln's palace, in July preceding.[1] On the same day John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, to whom she afterwards became so nearly related, was created Duke of Northumberland. She now resided for some time in the metropolis with her father's family, who lived at their own mansion in Suffolk Place. But though occasionally appearing at court, she still continued, under the superintendence of Aylmer, to prosecute with avidity her literary studies.

Kind and affectionate as was Aylmer to her, and careful as he was to encourage her to persevere, by duly commending her diligence and success, he did not spoil her by injudicious flattery. His literary instructions were accompanied with the inculcation of a meek and humble temper of mind, and hence, though some learned men, who courted her friendship or the friendship of her father, might, according to the custom of those times when the great were addressed, pay her homage with a somewhat extravagant profusion of adulation, she was preserved by the admonitions of her preceptor, notwithstanding her high scholarship and accomplishments, from the vice of pedantry, so great a blemish in all, especially in a young lady. In his anxiety to repress in her pride, affectation, and vanity, he made it a special object to train her to the love of simplicity and plainness in her apparel. He aimed at impressing her with the folly of going to excess in costly attire, of allowing her mind to be engrossed with a fondness for finery and expensive decorations. He taught

[1] See an account of these young noblemen in the *Life* of their mother, the Duchess of Suffolk.

her that inward sanctity, the renewal of the soul into the Divine image, constituted the most attractive and durable beauty, enforcing his lessons from the exhortation of the apostle Peter to Christian women: "Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price."[1] Nor did he neglect to set before her the example of the Princess Elizabeth, of whom, regarding her as a model of Christian propriety in the article of dress, he says in his *Harbour for Faithful Subjects*—"I am sure that her maidenly apparel, which she used in King Edward's time, made the noblemen's



Costly attire, time of Edward VI.

wives and daughters ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks, being more moved with her most virtuous example, than with all that ever Paul or Peter wrote touching that matter."[2] So

[1] 1 Peter iii. 3, 4.

[2] Her plainness of dress, he adds, was especially noticed on the occasion of the visit of the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, Mary of Lorraine, to the court of Edward VI. Elizabeth afterwards, however, as we shall see in her Life, carried her fondness for finery of dress to the highest pitch of extravagance.

earnest was Aylmer to bring Lady Jane up to what he conceived to be the Christian standard in the matter of apparel, that he expressly requested Bullinger, in the next letter he wrote to her, to confirm these lessons by his eloquent pen. "It now remains for me," says he, in a letter to him,[1] "to request that, with the kindness we have so long experienced, you will instruct my pupil in your next letter as to what embellishment and adornment of person is becoming in young women professing godliness. In treating upon this subject, you may bring forward the example of our king's sister, the Princess Elizabeth, who goes clad in every respect as becomes a young maiden; and yet no one is induced by the example of so illustrious a lady, and in so much gospel light to lay aside, much less look down upon, gold, jewels, and braidings of the hair. They hear preachers declaim against these things, but yet no one amends her life."[2]

The inculcations of her tutor had the desired effect on Lady Jane, who was always a very docile scholar. When urged to wear a costly dress presented to her by the Princess Mary, she replied, "Nay, that were a shame to follow my Lady Mary, who leaveth God's Word, and leave my Lady Elizabeth, who followeth God's Word."[3] It is doubtless well to admonish young ladies against vanity in dress, as in everything else; but we are not quite sure whether Aylmer, like honest old Latimer, whose thundering philippics against the ladies' dress in his day are still so edifying to antiquarian readers, would not have carried the principle of negation into the ladies' wardrobes to a rather unnecessary extent, and to an extent which, had the attempt been made to enforce it, would have been in some danger of raising a female rebellion.

In the summer of 1552, when Lady Jane was on a visit to her cousin, the Princess Mary, at her mansion at Newhall, in Essex, an occurrence happened, which, while it displayed her ready ingenuity and her pious zeal against Popery, had, it is believed, no inconsiderable influence on her subsequent unfortunate destiny. One after-

[1] Dated from the house of the Duke of Suffolk, London, Dec. 3, 1551.
[2] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 278. [3] Aylmer's *Harbour for Faithful Subjects*.

noon, while she was accompanying Lady Anne Wharton[1] in a walk, at the invitation of that lady, Lady Anne, on their passing by the Popish chapel of the place, made a low courtesy in honour of the host, which, according to custom, was suspended, enclosed in a box, over the altar. Lady Jane, who, educated in Protestantism, had never been accustomed to practise this species of idolatry, and not thinking at the time of the object to which the lady's homage was paid, asked her whether the Princess Mary was in the chapel. "No," said Lady Wharton, "but I make obeisance to Him who made us all." "Why," replied Lady Jane, "how can that which the baker made be He who made us all?" This ingenious sarcasm, savouring so strongly of heresy, being reported to the Princess Mary, that princess, saturated with Popish bigotry, was shocked at her cousin's profaneness, and from that moment became her personal enemy. "She did never love her after," says Foxe, who has preserved this anecdote, "as credibly reported, but esteemed her as the rest of that profession;"[2] and how she esteemed them, we may leave it to the cruelties of her reign to tell. Lady Jane, therefore, would have had little to hope for from her royal cousin in after times, even though she had not, by being dragged by the ambition of her relatives, into the usurpation of the crown, incurred the vengeance of that sullen and unmitigable princess.

Among other eminent continental Protestant divines who corresponded with Lady Jane, was Conrad Pellican, professor of theology and Hebrew in the university of Zurich. He was led into this correspondence by John ab Ulmis, who, finding, while resident in the family, that she was bent upon learning Hebrew, was anxious, from grateful and fraternal feelings, to secure for her the assistance and encouragement of Pellican in the study of that language. "I am more bold in writing to you," says ab Ulmis, in a letter to him,[3] "by

[1] This lady, apparently, was the daughter of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and second wife of Thomas, first Lord Wharton. She was probably one of the attendants of the princess.

[2] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii., p. 700.

[3] Dated [Bradgate] May 29, 1551.

reason of the daughter of the most noble the Marquis of Dorset, a lady who is well versed both in Greek and Latin, and who is now especially desirous of studying Hebrew. I have been studying with her these two days; she is inquiring of me the best method of acquiring that language, and cannot easily discover the path which she may pursue with credit and advantage. She has written to Bullinger upon this subject; but if I guess right, he will be very willing to transfer the office to you, both because he is always overwhelmed with affairs of greater importance, and because all the world is aware of your perfect knowledge of that language. If, therefore, you are willing to oblige a powerful and eminent nobleman, with honour to yourself, you will by no means refuse this office and duty to his daughter. . . . . I promise you, indeed, and solemnly pledge myself, that I will bear all the blame, if you ever repent of this deed, or if the marquis's daughter do not most willingly acknowledge your courtesy. Write, therefore, a letter to her as soon as possible, in which you will briefly point out a method of learning the sacred language, and then honourably consecrate to her name your Latin translation of the Jewish Talmud. You will easily understand the extent of her attainments by the letter which she wrote to Bullinger."[1]

Yielding to the solicitations of ab Ulmis, Pellican sent a letter to her, replete with judicious counsels as to the best method of prosecuting her studies in general, and particularly the study of Hebrew, as well as full of pious exhortations. His letter was delivered to her by ab Ulmis, and the gratification felt both by herself and by her parents at Pellican's paternal interest in her progress in learning, is testified by ab Ulmis in a letter to the learned professor.[2] "You must know," says he, "in the first place, and take my word for the fact, that this mark of your respect to the most godly daughter of the Duke of Suffolk has been very gratifying and acceptable to her. For I delivered your letter to her in person, and easily per-

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 431-433.
[2] Dated Oxford [before June 19], 1552.

ceived the great veneration that is both entertained and expressed for you by the whole of the duke's household. Your reputation here is very great, as is the commendation of your well-spent life, and the remembrance of your writings. I could wish you, therefore," he adds, "my very dear father in Christ, to continue to assist and advance the studies of the daughter of a most valued nobleman, and one, too, who has deserved so much at my hands; and as you find her well prepared, and making a steady progress, do not cease to exhort her, that she may daily more and more excel herself in learning, and in the cultivation of her mind."[1] In token of her gratitude to Pellican, she wrote him an answer in Latin, not now extant, which he received June 19, 1552, and characterizes as "written with admirable elegance and learning."

About the same time Lady Jane, having before received a second letter from Bullinger, sent him an answer in Latin, written with her usual elegance of diction, and breathing the fervent, unaffected piety characteristic of all her writings.[2]

As a small token of her gratitude for Bullinger's kindness to her, she sent a pair of gloves to his wife, through their common friend, John ab Ulmis, and would have sent her at the same time a gold ring, had not ab Ulmis, for reasons of which he does not inform us, declined to receive it. This we learn from one of his letters to Bullinger. "The gloves," says he, "which the daughter of the duke had given me to be sent over yonder to your wife, cannot conveniently be forwarded before the fair. She wished also to send her a beautiful gold ring, but I did not receive it, for certain reasons which would be too long to enumerate in this letter."[3]

Her third letter to Bullinger, though without date, appears to have been written in the first half of the year 1553, and was a reply to another letter she had received from him. "I entertain the hope,"

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 451, 452.

[2] See this letter in *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 7, 8. It is without date. The editor supplies, "Bradgate, July 7, 1552."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 457. The letter is dated Oxford, August 16, 1552.

says she, "that you will excuse the more than feminine boldness of me, who, *girlish* and unlearned as I am, presume to write to a man who is the father of learning."[1] The original word for *girlish* is *virgo*, showing that this letter was written before her marriage, which took place about the end of May or the beginning of June, 1553.[2]

CHAPTER II.

FROM HER MARRIAGE WITH LORD GUILDFORD DUDLEY TO HER IMPRISONMENT IN THE TOWER.

WE now enter upon the tragical part of Lady Jane's life. This may be said to commence with her marriage. The health of King Edward was now in a very precarious state. In the year 1552 he had been affected with measles and small-pox, and in the beginning of the year 1553 he caught a severe cold, which, it is said, was aggravated by injudicious treatment, and ultimately exhibited all the symptoms of consumption, creating great apprehensions as to the result. At this conjuncture the Duke of Northumberland, whose ambition was either unsatisfied with the high authority which, after the fall of Protector Somerset, he had acquired, or whose fears of a sudden reverse of fortune, in the event of the king's death, were awakened, conceived the double plan, first, of forming a matrimonial alliance between Lady Jane, who was of the blood royal, and his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, "a very comely, tall gentleman,"[3] his three other sons being already married; and, secondly, of effecting a change in the succession to the crown in favour of Lady Jane. The former of these objects he had no difficulty in accom-

[1] See this letter in *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 9-11.

[2] Howard is therefore mistaken in supposing that it was written after her marriage, from Sion House, where she then resided for some time.—*Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, p. 221.

[3] Grafton's *Chronicle*, London edit, 1809, vol. ii., p. 544.

plishing. The nuptials of the youthful pair were celebrated about the end of May or the beginning of June, at Durham House, in the Strand, the town mansion of Northumberland, with much pomp and



Durham House, from the River, time of Charles I.

splendour. On that occasion King Edward, who was greatly pleased with the marriage, ordered much rich dress and jewels to be delivered out of his own wardrobe to the Duchesses of Suffolk and Northumberland, to the Marchioness of Northampton, to Lady Jane herself, and to Lord Guildford Dudley, for wedding apparel.[1]

Northumberland's other project, to which this was only subordinate, could not be carried into execution with equal ease. Though Lady Jane had the honour to be of the blood royal, and to have her name on the list of the heirs to the throne, others in the meantime had prior claims. This will be seen by attending to the state of the law at present in existence in regard to the succession. In the Parliament which met January 14, 1544, in the thirty-fifth year of

[1] These articles were not new, but the property of the late Duke and Duchess of Somerset, which had been forfeited to the crown on the attainder of that nobleman.

the reign of Henry VIII., an act was passed by the will of that monarch, restoring the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth to their right of succession, of which they had been deprived by preceding parliamentary statutes. It was enacted that, provided his majesty's only son and nearest heir, Edward, Prince of Wales, should die without lawful issue, and provided his majesty himself should die without issue by his "most entirely beloved wife, Queen Katharine" Parr, or any other wife he might afterwards marry, which issue, male or female, were to be next in the order of succession, the imperial crown should descend to his eldest daughter, the Princess Mary, and her legitimate offspring, on such conditions as he might impose by his letters-patent or by his last will; and in the event of her dying without "heirs of her own body lawfully begotten," that the crown should, on like conditions, descend to his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, and her legitimate children; failing which, his majesty was invested with full power to dispose of the crown as he pleased by his letters-patent, or by his last will.[1] Henry's last will, dated December 30, 1546, in the thirty-eight year of his reign, corresponded with the provisions of this settlement, but with two important additions, which the act of Parliament just now referred to authorized him to make, 1st, that the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth should inherit the crown, only upon condition of their not marrying without the consent of the majority at least of the privy councillors and others appointed by him for the government of Prince Edward, or of the majority of such of them as should be then alive; and, 2dly, that next to the Princess Elizabeth, and provided she should die without lawful issue, the royal dignity should descend to the heirs of the body of Lady Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk (the mother of Lady Jane), eldest daughter of Henry's youngest sister, Mary, by her second husband,[2] Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; failing which, to the lawful children

[1] This act of Parliament is printed in Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII*, pp. 503-506.

[2] To her first husband, Louis XII., King of France, she had no children.

of Lady Eleanor, the second daughter of the same sister, and the wife of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; failing which, "to our next lawful heirs."[1] It is observable that, according to this will, the daughters of Henry's youngest sister could not themselves have inherited the crown, but only their legitimate children, a circumstance which, perhaps, may be explained on the supposition that Henry's children being so much younger than these ladies, it had not been contemplated that the latter would survive the former. But it is still more worthy of observation, as illustrating the caprice of the monarch, that in these deeds of settlement, his eldest sister, Margaret, queen of James IV. of Scotland,[2] mother of James V., by that monarch, and consequently grandmother of Mary Queen of Scots, was, contrary to the general rules of succession, overlooked to make way for the descendants of the youngest sister.[3] Such was

[1] Henry's will is printed in Fuller's *Church History*, in Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, and in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

[2] After the death of James IV. she married Archibald Douglas, seventh Earl of Angus, by whom she had the Lady Margaret Douglas, who married Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox, by whom she had Henry Lord Darnley, the future husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Next to Mary and Elizabeth, the daughters of Henry VIII., Mary Queen of Scots was, according to the general rules of succession (though not according to Henry's will), next heir to the throne of England.

[3] At the time when Henry made his will he was greatly irritated against Scotland, with which he had been at war for more than two years, in consequence of the Regent of Scotland, James Earl of Arran, having violated a treaty of pacification between the two kingdoms, and a matrimonial contract between Henry's son and heir, Prince Edward, and the infant Mary Queen of Scots, whose father, James V., died at Falkland on the 13th or 14th of December, five or six days after her birth. The treaty was sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament, on the 8th of June, 1543, concluded at Greenwich on the 1st of July, and ratified by the Regent of Scotland on the 25th of August. But Cardinal Beaton and the French faction, who contemplated the union of the infant Mary with the Dauphin of France, as promising security to the old religion in Scotland, the overthrow of which they dreaded, should the treaty with England be carried into effect, opposed that treaty to the uttermost, and prevailed with the regent, a man of a weak and vacillating character, to break it, which he did within nine days of his having ratified it in the most solemn manner.—Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Wod. Soc. edit., vol. i., pp. 101-110, 182. The antipathy thus created in the mind of Henry against the Scotch, and increased by protracted hostilities, combined, it is believed, with alienated affection from his sister Margaret, Queen-Dowager of Scotland, because of her understood preference of the French to the English alliance, may account for his setting aside her and her issue in the settlement of the succession to the throne.

the state of the law as to the succession to the throne at the death of Henry VIII.; and in the first year of the reign of Edward VI., it was not only solemnly ratified by Parliament, but the penalties of treason were denounced against any of the heirs of the crown who should usurp or claim it otherwise than in conformity with the provisions of that settlement.

Thus it is evident that, as the law then stood, the right both of the Princess Mary and of the Princess Elizabeth to the throne was prior to that of Lady Jane. It is equally manifest that the attempt of Northumberland to effect Jane's succession to the throne, in defiance of the claims of these princesses, was a hazardous as well as a difficult enterprise—an enterprise which, if unsuccessful, would involve himself, the young lady, and all her supporters in the penalties of high treason. But blinded by ambition, he thought only of success, not of failure. His argument for setting aside the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth was, that both these princesses had been declared illegitimate and incapable of inheriting the crown, by Parliamentary statutes in the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth years of the reign of Henry VIII., and that though by a subsequent Parliamentary statute—that above quoted, enacted in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of that monarch—they were placed next to Edward as heirs of the throne, they are described in that statute only as his daughters, without any reference to the question of the legitimacy of their birth.[1] But plausible as this reasoning might appear to himself, it made little impression on others, who naturally felt that, though the statute left the ban of illegitimacy, pronounced against them in former statutes, unrecalled, it secured to them the crown, and until it was repealed by Parliament it was indisputably valid.

After Lady Jane's marriage, the health of Edward declining so rapidly as to afford little hope that he would long survive, Northum-

[1] In the proclamation of Lady Jane as queen, to be afterwards quoted, which was, no doubt, either written by or under the authority of Northumberland, this is precisely the line of argumentation adopted.

berland saw that no time was to be lost in the execution of his plans. He endeavoured, in the first place, to obtain from Edward letters-patent, appointing Lady Jane heir to the crown of England, and the heirs male of her body, and to procure the subscriptions of the privy councillors and other persons of influence to that document. Taking advantage of the young monarch's well known devoted attachment to the reformed cause, he represented to him the danger to which the Reformation would be exposed in the event of the successsion of the Princess Mary, from her determined adherence to the Popish Church, and the advantages it would derive from the elevation of Lady Jane, its enlightened and ardent supporter, to the sovereign power. Edward showed some reluctance to pass over his other sister, Elizabeth, of whose attachment to the reformed faith there was no doubt; but Northumberland, arguing that the injustice would be too glaring were Mary to be set aside on the ground of illegitimacy, when the same objection was equally applicable to the succession of Elizabeth, at last obtained Edward's consent.[1] Influenced partly by promises and partly by threatenings, all the judges, with a single exception, and that a Protestant, Sir John Hales, one of the judges of the court of common pleas, and all the lords of the privy council, with other persons of distinction, amounting to above a hundred, signed the letters-patent, which are dated the 21st day of June, 1553. Nothing more was done to give validity to the change of succession. In consequence of Edward's death, which took place soon after, namely, on the evening of Thursday, the 6th of the following month, the letters-patent were confirmed neither by his will and testament, nor by act of Parliament, as was intended.[2]

[1] Baker's *Chronicle*, London edit., 1730, p. 311.

[2] "Scarcely any of our historical writers show an acquaintance with these letters-patent, though they have been conversant with the substance of them, from the recital which is made in Queen Jane's proclamation. ..... It is set forth in these letters-patent that the king intended to complete this settlement of the crown by making a will, and by an act of Parliament; thus following the precedent of his father Henry the Eighth's settlement, which this was to supersede.—(See an essay by the present writer in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., p. 464). But the rapid termination of King Edward's illness prevented these final acts of ratification; and Northumberland, in con-

On the death of the young monarch, his sister, Lady Mary, ought immediately to have succeeded to the imperial sceptre. But her claims were in the meantime set aside. The measures adopted to secure the succession of Lady Jane to the throne had, it appears, been wholly concealed from her for some time. The first information she received of them was from her mother-in-law, the Duchess of Northumberland, shortly before the death of Edward, as we learn from a statement written by herself. "When it was publicly reported," says she, "that there was no more hope of the king's life, as the Duchess of Northumberland had before promised that I should remain in the house with my mother, so she, having understood this soon after from her husband, who was the first that told it to me, did not wish me to leave my house, saying to me that if God should have willed to call the king to his mercy, of whose life there was no longer any hope, it would be needful for me to go immediately to the Tower, I being made by his majesty heir of his realm."[1] But at this announcement, so far from being elated, she rather felt perplexed and unhappy. "Which words," says she, "being spoken to me thus unexpectedly, put me in great perturbation, and greatly disturbed my mind as yet, [and] soon after they oppressed me much more."

On the evening of the 9th of July, when the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Earl of Pembroke, coming to Sion

sequence, could only rely upon the validity of the letters-patent, which had passed the great seal upon the 21st of June."—*Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Note by Editor, p. 4. The letters-patent for the limitation of the crown are inserted in Appendix to that work, pp. 91-100.

[1] This is part of a letter written by Lady Jane, after her condemnation, to Queen Mary, printed in Pollini's *Istoria Ecclesiastica Della Rivoluzion D'Inghilterra*, p. 355. The original is not now extant, and, as given by Pollini, the letter has no address or subscription, but its authenticity is generally admitted. It contains a somewhat minute detail of the circumstances connected with her assumption of royalty, showing that the whole scheme originated entirely from the political motives of her relatives; and it is an appeal to the mercy of the sovereign. We quote from a translation of this document, in Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. iii., pp. 272-279.

House,[1] where she then was, announced to her the death of the king, and that she was the heir named by his majesty to succeed him, she felt in a similar manner, and showed great reluctance to accept



Sion House.

of the crown, though it must be admitted that the motive disinclining her to accept of it, appears rather to have been a modest diffidence of her own abilities, than a conviction that, by the laws of the kingdom and natural right, it was the inheritance of the Princess Mary,[2] "Which things," says she in her letter to Mary, "as soon as I had heard, with infinite grief of mind, how I was beside myself, stupified and troubled, I will leave it to those lords who were present to testify, who saw me overcome by sudden and unexpected grief, fall on the ground, weeping very bitterly; and then declaring to them my insufficiency, I greatly bewailed myself for the death of so noble a prince, and at the same time turned myself to God, humbly praying and beseeching Him, that if what was given to me *was rightly and lawfully mine*, his Divine majesty would grant me such

[1] Heylin fixes this scene at Durham House. But in Jane's letter, just quoted, Sion House is expressly named as the place.

[2] This conviction was the result of after thoughts.

grace and spirit that I might govern it to his glory and service, and to the advantage of this realm." This disinclination to accept the crown, it also seems, was increased from a sense of the danger to which she might be exposed should the country fail to support her assumption of the supreme authority; for, young as she was, from recent events she could not have been ignorant of the capriciousness of fortune, which might adorn her with a crown to-day, and make sport of her ruin to-morrow. "With what crown," said she, "does fortune present me? A crown which hath been violently and shamefully wrested from Katharine of Aragon; made more unfortunate by the punishment of Anne Boleyn, and others that wore it after her. And why, then, would you have me add my blood to theirs; and be the third victim from whom this fatal crown may be ravished, with the head that wears it! But in case it should not prove fatal unto me, and that all its vemon were consumed; if fortune should give me warranties of her constancy; should I be well advised to take upon me these thorns, which would lacerate though not kill me outright? My liberty is better than the chain you proffer me, with what precious stones soever it be adorned, or of what gold soever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And if you love me sincerely, and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and quiet fortune, though mean, than an exalted condition, exposed to the wind, and followed by some dismal fall." [1]

In this reply Lady Jane reasoned wisely, and had she been left to her own determination she would have remained in a private sta-

[1] Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, London, 1661, p. 159. This author, in describing the interview which took place between the councillors and Lady Jane on this occasion, states at considerable length the whole argument *pro* and *con*. There is reason to think that he has himself constructed the speeches of the respective parties, as they cannot be traced to any earlier authority; but if he has not given the *ipsissima verba*, he has given the spirit of what was said on both sides, and, in particular, of what was said by Lady Jane. This is confirmed from her letter to Queen Mary, and from a passage in the Duke of Northumberland's speech to the lords of council, recorded in *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 6, "Who, by your and our enticement, is rather of force placed therein than by her own seeking and request."

tion, contented with the wealth and honours which by birth and marriage were indisputably her own. But, besieged by the urgent entreaties of Northumberland, and the expostulations of her father, to which, it has been said, were added the tender and insinuating persuasions of her aspiring husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, on whom the brilliant prospect of a kingdom acted with the spell of enchantment, she yielded her own inclination, and the dictates of her own judgment, to these combined influences brought to bear upon her mind. Another motive of great weight—a motive highly creditable to the tenderness of her filial piety, and to her self-sacrificing disinterestedness of spirit—was the apparent impossibility of otherwise saving from destruction her father and her father-in-law, who had carried matters so far, that in the event of her refusing the crown, they would, on the accession of Mary, have incurred the mortal vengeance of that princess. Her accepting the royal dignity, perilous as this might be to herself and to her friends, should Mary and her supporters finally triumph, seemed to be the only course she could adopt, by which, perchance, their safety might be secured. While, therefore, granting that it was criminal in her to usurp what belonged to another, yet, taking all these circumstances into account, and reflecting too on her early age, we are disposed more to pity her as the victim of ambition, than to condemn her for at last yielding to accept of the crown under the operation of influences so difficult to resist.

Lady Jane's consent having been thus extorted, preparations were made to invest her with the government of the kingdom; and for two or three days appearances promised her a quiet succession. For though some of the common people, in the parts of the country where Lady Mary now was, gave decided indications of a purpose to support the claims of that princess, they were joined by few of the nobility and gentry, who seemed rather disposed to throw the weight of their influence on the side of Lady Jane, and it was confidently anticipated that this opposition would be speedily subdued.

On the 9th of July, the chief officers and the guard were sworn at

Greenwich, to bear true and faithful allegiance to Jane as queen; and as it had been the long-established practice for the sovereigns of England to take up their residence for a few days after their accession in the Tower of London, she was on the following day conducted with great state to that fortress, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, attended by her father-in-law, and a numerous retinue of noblemen and noble ladies, the Duchess of Suffolk, her mother, bearing up her train, and the Tower batteries firing a royal salute.[1] On her passing through the city to the Tower, as Bishop Godwin remarks, no acclamations saluted her, though vast crowds flocked around her, drawn rather, it seemed, to gratify their curiosity than to express their joy; and this, he adds, was the first circumstance which encouraged Mary's friends, who regarded it as a favourable omen, to the resolution of making some attempt in her behalf when a proper occasion should offer. At six o'clock she was proclaimed Queen of England, with the usual formalities, by two heralds and a trumpet blowing, first at Cheapside, and then in Fleet Street. The proclamation [2]explained the grounds on which it was attempted to vindicate her title, referring to Edward's death-bed settlement of the crown in her favour; and to set aside the superior claims of Mary and Elizabeth, founded on the act of Parliament relating to their right of succession, passed in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Henry VIII., the two princesses are declared to be illegitimate, in conformity with acts of Parliament passed in the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth years of that monarch's reign, and never abrogated, ratifying the sentence annulling his marriage with Katharine of Aragon and his divorce from Anne Boleyn, and bastardizing his children by these two queens. The proclamation was heard by the assembled multitude in silence, without those demonstrations of popular joy usually made at the proclamation of a new sovereign; but no opposition or dis-

[1] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part i., pp 1-5.

[2] It is inserted in Burnet's *History of the Reformation.* In speaking of Edward VI., it designates him "late King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth, the supreme head, under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland"

satisfaction was shown, save by a young man, the apprentice of a vintner, who uttered certain expressions in favour of Mary's rightful title to the throne. The young man being apprehended, was next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, set in the pillory, and had both his ears nailed and cut off, at which infliction a trumpet was blown, and a herald in a coat of arms read the offence of the culprit in presence of one of the sheriffs of London. He was then again cast into prison.[1] This punishment was not only cruel but impolitic, being only calculated to render the new government unpopular. Orders were issued by the council that Jane should be proclaimed throughout England, but these orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood.

On the same day on which she entered the Tower, letters were issued to the lieutenants of the different counties, signed by herself, but probably the composition of Northumberland, or of some of his agents, announcing her succession to the throne, vindicating her title, and expressing her confidence that they would support her "in her rightful possession of this kingdom, and repel and resist the feigned and untrue claim of the Lady Mary, bastard daughter to her great-uncle, Henry VIII., of famous memory." The originals of two of these letters, both addressed to the Marquis of Northampton,[2] one of them to him as lieutenant of Surrey, and the other, which is similar, addressed to him as lieutenant of the counties of Surrey, Northampton, Bedford, and Berks, are still extant.[3]

Some time before the death of her brother Edward, the Princess Mary, while resident at Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, had received an invitation to come and see her dying brother. But having been previously apprised of the conspiracy formed to exclude her from the succession, she suspected that the invitation was a mere stratagem of Northumberland, as it really was, to get possession of her person for his own purposes; and therefore, instead of going to court to see her brother, she set off from Hunsdon, to her manor of Kenninghall,

[1] Stowe's *Annals*, p. 610.
[2] William Parr, brother of Katharine Parr.
[3] Ellis's *Original Letters*, first series, vol. ii., pp. 183-188.

in Norfolk, whence she very soon proceeded to her castle at Framlingham, in Suffolk.[1] At Framlingham, on the 8th of July, two days after Edward's death, she received her first intelligence of the event, and naturally indignant at the attempts made to supplant her, she was not supine in the assertion of her rights. She immediately assumed the royal title. On the same day she wrote to Sir George Somersall and others, claiming the crown as her birthright, and commanding them to repair to her as their lawful sovereign, at her manor of Kenninghall, whither she intended speedily to return, from Framlingham, provided she found the nobility, gentry, and people generally, favourable to her interest.[2] On the following day she wrote to the council, expressing her surprise that no intimation of her brother's death had been conveyed to her, and claiming the crown as hers, equally by the laws of nature and the laws of the kingdom. In their answer the council inform her that their "sovereign lady, Queen Jane," was invested with the just title to the imperial crown, "by their late sovereign lord's letters-patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, councillors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages assenting and subscribing to the same." They also have the boldness to tell her, what must have been peculiarly painful to her feelings, that in consequence of the divorce effected between her mother, Katharine of Aragon, and her father, Henry VIII.—a divorce demanded "by the everlasting laws of God, and also by ecclesiastical laws," sanctioned by the judgment of "the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed by sundry acts of Parliament remaining yet in their force, she was justly made illegitimate, and uninheritable to the crown imperial." And, in conclusion, they warn her of her danger, should she, "under any pretence whatsoever, vex and molest any of our sovereign lady Queen Jane's subjects from their true faith and alle-

[1] Baker's *Chronicle*, pp. 311, 314.

[2] Howard's *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, p. 232.

giance due unto her grace." The council's letter is dated "From the Tower of London, 9th July, 1553." [1]

To the council's caution in the close of their letter Lady Mary paid no attention. Setting them at defiance, she unremittingly persevered, and with great success, in asserting her right to the throne. Her right was indeed so manifest, not simply because she had been appointed heir, next to her brother, by the will of her father and by Parliament, but because she was the eldest daughter of Henry VIII., and the transference of the royal power from a brother to his second cousin, in preference to his sister, was so unnatural, arbitrary, and unjust, that her claims powerfully recommended themselves to men's natural sense of justice. Bright an ornament as was Lady Jane to the Protestants, the great body of that party regarded her elevation as a mere political intrigue of Northumberland for the aggrandizement of his family; and they supported Mary, though they knew that she was a bigoted Romanist, so effectively, that to them she was mainly indebted for being placed securely on the throne. The two great counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, though generally professing, or friendly to the reformed religion, enlisted themselves in her cause. The inhabitants of the county of Suffolk, notwithstanding their apprehensions of danger to the Reformation from her accession, were not kept back on that account from acknowledging her as their queen; and when, to allay the fears they expressed while tendering their allegiance to her, she pledged herself to make no alteration in the laws of the late sovereign with respect to religion,[2] they were prepared, in the ardour of their loyalty, to shed the last drop of their blood on her behalf. Many of the chief nobility and gentry tendered their homage to her as their legitimate

[1] Holinshed's *Chronicles*, London edit., 1808, vol. iii., pp. 1066, 1067.

[2] To this engagement Mary, alas! proved unfaithful, as soon as she got secure possession of the throne, and there is reason to think that she never intended to fulfil it. When the Suffolkshire people afterwards reminded her of it, she replied, "Forsomuch as ye, being but members, desire to rule your head, ye shall one day well perceive that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same."—Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., p. 387.

sovereign; and she found herself, much more rapidly than she had at all anticipated, in a condition for maintaining her right by an appeal to arms.

The friends of Lady Jane, dreading that the Emperor Charles V. would not only dispute her pretensions, but would extend his protection and assistance to his relative Mary, the council were less prompt than usual in communicating with him as to the accession of the new sovereign. Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Richard Morison, and the Bishop of Norwich, who had been appointed by Edward VI. commissioners for mediating a peace between the emperor and the King of France, were now at Brussels, at the court of Charles. To these commissioners letters were sent from the council, dated the 8th and 9th of July, conveying to them the mournful tidings of the king's death, and requiring them to acquaint the emperor with the event, not doubting that he would remember the ancient amity between the two crowns, and to assure him that nothing should be wanting on their part to maintain it. Such is the whole amount of the despatch. A total silence is preserved as to Edward's successor, a proof of the suspicions entertained by the council as to the friendly feelings of Charles. Soon after, a special messenger, Mr. Richard Shelley, was despatched to Brussels with a letter from the council to the commissioners, a letter from Queen Jane to them, and another from her to the emperor. The council in their letter, dated 11th July, in which they style Jane "our sovereign lady," require the commissioners to communicate to the emperor the tidings of King Edward's death; the accession of Jane to the throne; the appointment of Sir Philip Hoby as resident ambassador at the emperor's court; the willingness of the government to continue that knight and the other two commissioners at his court, should the emperor be so inclined, with the view of carrying into effect a treaty of peace between his majesty and the King of France. Jane's letter to the commissioners,[1] announcing to them her succession, chiefly consists of a reiteration and ratification of the instructions given

[1] It is dated from the Tower of London, 12th July.

them in the council's letter. In her letter to the emperor she informs him of the death of her cousin, Edward VI., and of her succession to the crown, desiring the continuance of the same good understanding between him and herself which had been maintained between him and her predecessor.[1] None of these letters, as we shall afterwards see, were delivered to the emperor.

It was not until the 16th of July that the English commissioners waited upon Charles, and officially conveyed to him the intelligence of King Edward's death, assuring him, at the same time, of the readiness of the lords of council, at all times, to maintain the amity which had always existed between the realm of England and the emperor's dominions. But not having as yet received official information of Jane's assumption of royal authority, they made no communication to him on that subject. Charles, in reply, expressed his sorrow at hearing of the death of the young king, on whom he pronounced the highest eulogiums. "And touching," said he, "the amity which hath been betwixt me and my late good brother, our countries and subjects, as I have always had good-will to the observance of the same, according to such treaties as were betwixt us; so now, understanding by you, my lords of the council's good inclination and mind to entertain and observe this amity for correspondence, I both now have and shall have like good-will to keep and continue the same, and I thank them for making me to understand their good-will herein." [2]

Having, however, learned from other sources the state of affairs in England, the emperor was greatly dissatisfied at the innovation in the order of the succession, not simply on political grounds, but from the near consanguinity between himself and Mary, who was his cousin on the mother's side.[3] He accordingly, soon after, summoned

[1] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part i., pp. 5-14.—Howard's *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, pp. 246-252.

[2] From letter of the commissioners to the council, dated 17th July, in Howard's *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, p. 260.

[3] Katharine of Aragon, Mary's mother, was the sister of Joanna, the mother of Charles.

the English commissioners to wait upon him without delay. While they were preparing to obey the summons, Mr. Shelley arrived at Brussels, and they would have examined his despatches before attending the emperor, but were prevented from doing so by a second messenger, requiring their attendance at court immediately. In his interview with the commissioners, Charles expressed himself as far from satisfied with what Edward had done, in declaring his sister to be illegitimate, and in changing the succession as fixed by his father. He reminded them that the pretensions of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, and wife of the Dauphin of France—not to speak of his cousin Mary and her sister Elizabeth—were better founded than those of Lady Jane Grey, the former being a descendant of the eldest sister of Henry VIII., while the latter was only a descendant of the youngest sister of that monarch. In short, he declined giving audience to Mr. Shelley, until he knew from whom he was sent, and gave them to understand that he could receive none in an official capacity from England but the accredited agents of his relative Mary. Thus Mr. Shelley never had an opportunity of delivering to Charles the letters with which he was intrusted, nor had the commissioners ever an opportunity of officially communicating to him the import of the instructions brought to them from Queen Jane and her council by Shelley.[1] Intelligence of the triumph of Mary's party soon arriving at Brussels, Shelley returned to England, carrying with him a letter from the three commissioners at the emperor's court to Queen Mary's lords of council, tendering their allegiance to her—for they had changed with the tide—and desiring to know her majesty's pleasure, to which they should conform themselves most willingly.[2]

[1] These facts are contained in a letter of the commissioners to the council, extant in one of the *Harleian MSS.*—See Nicolas's *Memoirs of Lady Jane Grey*, pp. lxv-lxvii. Strype, who, it would appear, had not seen this letter, says that Shelley "seemed to make no haste in the delivery of his letters from Queen Jane and the council to the emperor; waiting to see the issue and success of the contests in England between her party and that of Lady Mary."—*Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part i., pp. 13, 14. The text assigns the true cause why the letters were not delivered.

[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl*, vol. iii., part i., p. 14. These commissioners were, however, deprived of their diplomatic offices by a despatch from Mary's council, dated from the Tower, 5th August, 1553.—Howard's *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, pp, 299, 300.

At London the eloquence of the pulpit was exerted, but with little success, in vindicating Jane's title and authority. On Sabbath, the 9th of July, Ridley, Bishop of London, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, by order of the council, congratulated his auditors on



Ridley preaching at St. Paul's Cross.

her accession, and expatiated on the calamities into which the nation would have been plunged by the certain overthrow of the reformed religion, so happily established under King Edward, had Lady Mary succeeded to the throne—a sermon for which he was afterwards burnt at the stake. The following Sabbath, July 16th, Mr. Rogers, the learned reader of that cathedral, who officiated in the same place, was more cautious than Ridley, preaching only upon the gospel of the day; but this availed him nothing, for he was the first victim committed to the flames during the Marian persecution.[1]

A crown, dazzling as it is with its diadems of glory, is often lined with thorns, and the brief period of Lady Jane's possession of the

[1] Stowe's *Annals*, p. 611.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part i., p. 5.

imperial dignity was, perhaps, the least happy portion of her existence. Besides proving a source of constant anxiety, it became, from her refusal—for reasons of state policy, and, perhaps, also from a newly excited ambition in her mind—to make her husband king, the occasion of disagreement between her and Guildford, who had ill put into his head against her by his own mother. In giving an account of what took place after she had been conducted to the Tower, she thus speaks on this subject: Whilst "I was reasoning of many things with my husband, he assented that if he were to be made king, he would be made so by me, by act of Parliament. But afterwards, I sent for the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and said to them, that if the crown belonged to me, I should be content to make my husband a duke, but would never consent to make him a king. Which resolution of mine gave his mother (this my opinion being related to her) great cause for anger and disdain, so that she being very angry with me and greatly displeased, persuaded her son not to sleep with me any longer, as he was wont to do, affirming to me, moreover, that he did not wish in any wise to be a duke, but a king. So that I was constrained to send to him the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, otherwise, I knew that the next morning he would have gone to Sion, where his mother now was, and she would have fanned the flame of his resentment."[1] The fact, too, that she believed that, during the few days she was queen, two attempts had been made upon her life, is an additional proof of the unhappy state of her mind in the situation in which she was now placed. "I know for certain," says she, "that twice during this time poison was given to me, first in the house of the Duchess of Northumberland, and afterwards here in the Tower, as I have the best and most certain testimony."[2] Whether this, her affirmation, is well founded or not, cannot now be positively determined. The probability is that it is not, and that her indisposition, caused by the upbraidings of her

[1] Letter of Lady Jane, after her condemnation, to Queen Mary, in Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. iii., pp. 271-279.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 279. She adds, "Besides, since that time all my hair has fallen off."

mother-in-law, and by the irritation of Guildford at her refusing to invest him with the regal power, led her groundlessly to imagine that they had given her poison. But the suspicion which haunted her mind, that those nearest and dearest to her were plotting to take away her life, must have rendered her truly miserable.

It has formerly been noticed that the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk had declared in favour of Mary. As early as the 12th of July, news was brought to the council that the inhabitants of these counties were rising in arms for her support. To quell this opposition, it was determined to despatch a strong body of troops with all possible speed. Northumberland, who seems from the first to have entertained strong suspicions of the fidelity of the Londoners, and even of some of the councillors, forseeing that his presence would probably be more important in the city than in the proposed expedition, intended to intrust the Duke of Suffolk with the command of the troops; but Jane, alarmed for the safety of her father, with tears besought the whole council that he might remain in her society. Northumberland, accordingly, constrained to yield to the tenderness of her filial piety, took the command himself.[1] On the 13th of July he marched out of London with an army of 6,000; but he was much discouraged, in passing through Shoreditch, to observe that among the crowds that collected to see their march, not a single individual wished them success. "The people press to see us," said he to Lord Grey, "but not one of them saith God speed you."[2] His troops were afterwards increased to 8,000 foot, and 2,000 horse. This body, however, was altogether insufficient to enable him to cope with Mary's forces, which, on his reaching Edmond's-Bury, he had the mortification to find amounted to at least double that number; and he repeatedly wrote to the council, urgently requesting reinforcements, which the council were in no hurry to send.

Meanwhile, the spirit of disaffection to Jane began to work among many members of council, from reports they had received that the great body of the people were in favour of Mary, that many of the

[1] Stowe's *Annals*, p. 611.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 611.

nobility who were at liberty were her zealous supporters, and that the prospect of Northumberland's success was extremely doubtful. Impatient to desert a sinking cause, the well affected towards Mary among them, on receiving Northumberland's letters importuning additional forces, quitted the Tower, where, in fact, they were in a manner prisoners, avowedly to raise new recruits with all possible haste, but in reality to shake off his tyranny, and concert measures for effecting the succession of the Princess Mary. At a meeting of such members of council and others of the nobility as favoured Mary, held on the 19th of July, at Baynard's Castle,[1] at that time the residence of the Earl of Pembroke, it was unanimously agreed to acknow-



Baynard's Castle.

ledge her as their rightful sovereign. The mayor and aldermen of London were sent for, and the whole assembly proceeded to Cheapside, where they proclaimed her Queen of England, by four trumpet-

[1] Baynard's Castle was situated on the banks of the Thames, and was founded by Baynard, a follower of William the Conqueror. After passing through various hands, it was repaired, or rather rebuilt, in 1501, by Henry VII., who frequently lodged in it. In 1666 it was destroyed in the great fire of London. A fragment of the building, incorporated with a coal wharf, marks its exact site, near the west extremity of Thames Street.

ers and three heralds at arms, in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, whose enthusiastic acclamations formed a striking contrast to the cold indifference betrayed by the crowd at the proclamation of Lady Jane. They immediately after went to St. Paul's cathedral, where was sung *Te Deum laudamus*, with songs and the organs playing.[1] An eye-witness thus describes the scene presented by the metropolis on that occasion: "Great was the triumph here at London; for my time I never saw the like, and by the report of others the like was never seen. The number of caps that were thrown up at the proclamation was not to be told. The Earl of Pembroke threw away his cap full of angelles. I saw myself, money was thrown out at windows for joy. The bonfires were without number; and what with shouting and crying of the people, and ringing of bells, there could no one man hear almost what another said; besides banqueting and skipping the streets for joy."[2] Mary was speedily proclaimed with acclamation throughout England. The recognition of the equity of her claim to the throne was the sole cause of the enthusiastic loyalty of the Protestants. As to the fanatical Papists of all classes, the aristocracy, the gentry, the priests, and the mob, another consideration gave a stimulus to their extravagant demonstrations of joy—the prospect of seeing the tables turned against "the gospellers," as they called the Reformers, whom, in their excitement, they threatened with flames, hanging and drowning.[3]

No sooner was the Duke of Suffolk informed of what had taken place at Cheapside, than he came out of the Tower, saying he was but one man; and attended by a few of his men, whom he commanded to leave their weapons behind them, he proclaimed Mary on the Tower Hill; after which he immediately entered London. Northumberland, whose army was melting away, and who discovered that everywhere the general feeling strongly inclined to Mary, upon receiving the same intelligence, hopeless of success, left Bury for

[1] Stowe's *Annals*, p. 612.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl*, vol. iii., part i., pp. 20, 21.
[2] Quoted in Howard's *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, pp. 269, 270.
[3] *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 365-374.

Cambridge, whither he arrived with a few followers on the 21st of July; and making a virtue of necessity, he went with the mayor of the town to the public cross, and proclaimed Mary, "the beholders whereof," to use the quaint language of a contemporary, "more believing the grief in his eyes, when they let down tears, than the joy professed by his hands, when he threw up his cap." His pretended loyalty availed him nothing. Being arrested at Cambridge, he was brought a prisoner to the Tower of London, and on his way to it was treated with unbounded abuse by the London people, who hated him ever since he had shed the blood of the Protector Somerset, and rejoiced in his fall, as the just punishment of his ambition and cruelty.[1]

Lady Jane was now to reap the bitter fruits of her father-in-law's and her father's ambition. This sudden reverse of fortune was first made known to her by her father, who, upon hearing that Mary was proclaimed in the city, entered the apartment of his daughter, and told her that she behoved to put off the robes of royalty and return to a private station. At this announcement, though not ignorant of her danger, she was not depressed. She assured her father that she would more willingly put them off than she had put them on, which last she would never have done but in obedience to him and her mother.[2] No sooner was Mary proclaimed, than an order was sent by her council to the Tower, requiring the surrender of that fortress, and orders were issued that Jane and her husband, as well as her father and mother, should be made state prisoners in the Tower. On being informed of this she summoned up all her powers of fortitude, and in her interview with Guildford, previously to their separation, exhibiting that magnanimity of mind often displayed by the softer sex under great calamities, she set herself, tender as were her years, to the painful task of affectionately supporting his courage. This,

[1] Stowe's *Annals*, p. 612.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., pp. 19, 20.—*Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 365-374.—Sir John Heyward, quoted in Singer's Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. ii., p. 144.

[2] Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 315.

her last interview with him, is well delineated by Rowe, in his Tragedy of *Lady Jane Grey*.[1]

"*Guildford.*—Thou stand'st unmov'd;
Calm temper sits upon thy beauteous brow;
Thy eyes, that flow'd so fast for Edward's loss,
Gaze unconcern'd upon the ruin round thee,
As if thou hadst resolv'd to brave thy fate,
And triumph in the midst of desolation.
Lady Jane.—And dost thou think, my Guildford, I can see
My father, mother, and ev'n thee, my husband,
Torn from my side, without a pang of sorrow?
How art thou thus unknowing in my heart?
Words cannot tell thee what I feel: there is
An agonizing softness busy here,
That tugs the strings, that struggles to get loose,
And pour my soul in wailings out before thee.
Guildford.—Give way, and let the gushing torrent come;
Behold the tears we bring to swell the deluge,
Till the flood rise upon the guilty world,
And make the ruin common.
Lady Jane.—Guildford! no;
The time for tender thought and soft endearments
Is fled away and gone; joy has forsaken us;
Our hearts have now another part to play;
They must be steel'd with some uncommon fortitude,
That fearless we may tread the path of horror,
And, in despite of fortune and our foes,
Ev'n in the hour of death be more than conquerors."

Before the close of the day on which Mary was proclaimed, Lady Jane, who had been queen only nine days, her husband, and her parents were all prisoners, and strict orders were given to confine them in distinct apartments in the Tower. This cruel separation, heart-rending to them all, was peculiarly so to the youthful couple, who were thus deprived of the alleviation to be derived in their trying circumstances from mutual endearing sympathy. The Duchess of Suffolk was soon set at liberty, and at her intercession, whether with Queen Mary, or with some councillor, we are not informed, the Duke of Suffolk was liberated on the 31st of July, on engaging to

[1] This tragedy is included in *British Theatre*, vol. x.

return to prison whenever required by the queen.[1] But no such favour was granted to Lady Jane and Lord Guildford.

CHAPTER III.

FROM HER IMPRISONMENT IN THE TOWER TO HER EXECUTION.

AT that period the part of the Tower called Beauchamp's Tower was appropriated for state prisoners;[2] but Lady Jane was confined in the house of one of the warders, whose name was Partridge, and she was permitted to retain two of her female attendants. The day after she had become Mary's prisoner, namely, on the 20th of July, she was commanded by the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, to deliver up all the crown jewels; and under this pretext she and her husband were unmercifully stripped of every farthing they possessed.

On the 18th of August the Duke of Northumberland was arraigned as a traitor, and condemned to the block. At his trial he had the generosity to declare before the court that Lady Jane, so far from aspiring to the crown, had been brought to accept of it only by "enticement and force." The 21st of August was the day appointed for his execution; but it was delayed, that, according to his desire, he might hear mass and receive the sacrament after the Popish form. On the following day he was executed on Tower Hill, with Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer. On the scaffold he confessed himself

[1] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part i, p. 24.

[2] Here the Duke of Northumberland was confined. About sixty years ago it was converted into a mess-room for the officers of the garrison. When the alterations were making, a great number of names, inscriptions, arms, crests, devices, &c., were discovered on the walls of the prison, made at different periods, probably for the most part with nails, by illustrious and unfortunate prisoners, who being generally denied the use of books to alleviate the tedious hours of imprisonment, thus endeavoured to amuse themselves. Among other memorials of this description was a curious device of Northumberland, with his name in the spelling of the age, and an inscription.—*Archæologia*, vol. xiii., pp. 68-71.—Nicolas's *Life of Lady Jane Grey*, pp. cii.-cvii.

worthy of death, regretted that he had so much supported the new religion, which he stigmatized as false, and as the cause why God had punished the nation with the loss of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., then with the rebellion, and after that with the sweating-sickness. He admonished the spectators to cleave to the religion of their forefathers, rejecting that of modern date, and thanked God for having vouchsafed to call him now to be a Christian; "for," said he, "these sixteen years I have been none."[1] Whatever he had pretended, to serve his own purposes, he had certainly been governed by other motives than love to the Reformation in attempting the elevation of Lady Jane to regal dignity. He perished unregretted, for he was a man more dreaded than beloved. His body, with his head, were buried in the Tower, beside the late Duke of Somerset.[2]

Lady Jane, who was too young profoundly to scan human character, never dreamed that Northumberland had professed and favoured the Reformation solely to advance his ambitious schemes. She believed that, like herself, he had done so from conviction; and hence her surprise on hearing that, previously to and at his execution, he had renounced the Protestant faith for Popery. Nor could she conceal how low he had thereby sunk in her estimation, whether his relapse to Popery proceeded from the hope of pardon, or was the avowal of his real sentiments, which he had hitherto dissembled. That these were her feelings, and that she expressed them strongly, we learn from a record of her conversation one day at dinner, by the author of *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, who dined with her on that occasion. This record we shall give in his own words. "On Tuesday, the 29th of August," says he, "I dined at Partridge's house with my Lady Jane, she sitting at the board's end,

[1] *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, written by a resident in the Tower, supposed to have been Rowland Lea, an officer of the mint, edited by John Gough Nichols, Esq., and printed for the Camden Society, pp. 18, 19, 21. The duke's eldest son, the Earl of Warwick, died in prison. His younger sons, Lord Ambrose, Robert, and Henry, were incarcerated, and received sentence of death; but they were ultimately pardoned. Sir Andrew Dudley, the duke's brother, who was condemned to death, was also pardoned.

[2] Stowe's *Annals*, p. 615.

and there being present Partridge, his wife, Jacob, my lady's gentlewoman, and her man. She commanding Partridge and me to put on our caps, amongst our communication at the dinner this was to be



Lady Jane at dinner in Partridge's house.

noted: after she had once or twice drunk to me, and bade me heartily welcome, saith she, 'The queen's majesty is a merciful princess; I beseech God she may long continue, and [that He may] send his bountiful grace upon her.' After that we fell in [discourse of] matters of religion; and she asked who he was that preached at Paul's on Sunday before; and so it was told her to be one [blank in MS.]. 'I pray you,' quoth she, 'have they mass in London?' 'Yea, forsooth,' quoth I, 'in some places.' 'It may so be,' quoth she: 'it is not so strange as the sudden conversion of the late duke; for who would have thought,' said she, 'he would have so done?' It was answered her, 'Perchance he thereby hoped to have had his pardon.' 'Pardon!' quoth she, 'wo worth him! he hath brought me and our stock in most miserable calamity and misery by his exceeding ambition. But for the answering that he hoped for life by his turning, though other men be of that opinion, I utterly am not; for what

man is there living, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that would hope of life in that case; being in the field against the queen in person as general, and after his taking so hated and evil-spoken of by the commons? and at his coming into prison so wondered at[1] as the like was never heard by any man's time. Who was judge that he should hope for pardon, whose life was odious to all men? But what will ye more? like as his life was wicked and full of dissimulation, so was his end thereafter. I pray God, I, nor no friend of mine did so. Should I, who [am] young and in the flower of my years, forsake my faith for the love of life? Nay, God forbid! much more he should not, whose fatal course, although he had lived his just number of years, could not have long continued. But life was sweet it appeared; so he might have lived, you will say, he did [not] care how. Indeed the reason is good; for he that would have lived in chains to have had his life, by like would leave no other mean attempted. But God be merciful to us, for he saith, 'Whoso denieth him before men, he will not know him in his father's kingdom.' With this and much like talk the dinner passed away; which ended, I thanked her ladyship that she would vouchsafe [to] accept me in her company; and she thanked me likewise, and said I was welcome. She thanked Partridge also for bringing me to dinner. 'Madam,' said he, 'we were somewhat bold, not knowing that your ladyship dined below, until we found your ladyship there.' And so Partridge and I departed."[2]

[1] *i. e.*, apparently gazed at without sympathy.

[2] *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, pp. 24-26. Here the editor has the following note: "This highly interesting passage has been unknown to the modern biographers of Lady Jane Grey, though it has been once extracted and printed, when the MS. was in the possession of Sir Simond D'Ewes, in his pamphlet entitled *The Primitive Practice of Preserving Truth*. 1645. 4to. Sir Simonds has there appended to it the following remarks: 'How justly may the *masculine* constancy of this excellent lady, whose many virtues the pens of her very enemies have acknowledged, rise up in judgment against all such poor spirits who, for fear of death or other outward motives, shall deny God and his truth, and so crown the trophies of the antichristian or mongrel adversaries by their lamentable apostasy. For what she here spake christianly, she within a few months afterwards performed constantly, her life being taken from her on the 12th day of February, 1553.'"

After Mary's coronation, which took place in Westminster Abbey, on the 3d of October, with unusual splendour, preparations were made for the trial of Lady Jane and her husband, together with his brothers, Lord Ambrose and Lord Henry Dudley. Their trial was conducted at Guildhall, on the 13th of November, the prisoners having, on the morning of that day, been brought thither from the Tower, under a guard of 400 soldiers with their halberts. It was vain to attempt a defence, and they all pleaded guilty to the charges of the indictment. On this occasion Lady Jane displayed an uncommon degree of self-possession. Her cheeks did not blanch for a moment, nor her voice falter. The awful sentence being pronounced, the prisoners were escorted to the Tower under the same guard.[1] On their way the popular sympathy was strongly manifested for them all, and especially for Lady Jane, whose uncommon attainments and amiable character commanded all but universal respect and affection. She and her husband had not seen each other from the time of their arrest till the day of their trial; and after it was concluded they were confined in separate apartments as before, and never again met in this world. Her intrepidity she carried back with her to prison, and—always more ready to wipe the tears from the eyes of others than from her own—she even administered to the friends who were permitted to visit her that comfort which, overpowered by the scene, they were unable to impart to her. "O faithful companions of my sorrows," she said, "why do you thus afflict me with your plaints? Are we not born into life to suffer adversity, and even disgrace, if it be necessary? When has the time been that the innocent were not exposed to violence and oppression?"[2]

Soon after, she obtained some relaxation of the severity of her imprisonment. On the 18th of December, by the order of the queen, she had the liberty of the Tower, so that she might walk in the queen's garden and on the hill. Her husband, and his brother, Lord

[1] Judge Morgan, who condemned them, became raving mad, and died in this state, incessantly calling out that Lady Jane should be taken away from him.—Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., p. 425.

[2] Howard's *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, pp. 339-342.

Ambrose, had also the liberty of the "ports," where they lodged, and were permitted to walk on the leads of the Tower.[1] From this and other slight favours, it was fondly hoped by their friends that the youth and innocence of the amiable pair had made such an impression on even the hard and unfeeling heart of Mary, as to incline her to extend to them the royal clemency.

Mary and her ghostly counsellors were now extremely anxious to recover Lady Jane from heresy to the Popish faith. It has indeed been affirmed by Foxe and others, that the most solemn promises of life and fortune were held out to her, provided she would abjure the reformed doctrines; but if so, she rejected the tempting offer, refusing for kingdoms, or even for life, to belie her honest convictions; and, therefore, though not formally condemned for heresy, she is as well entitled as though she had been so, to be ranked among the martyrs to the reformed faith.

While confined in the Tower, Lady Jane, having heard that Dr. Harding, formerly her father's chaplain and her tutor, had, after the accession of Mary to the throne, relapsed into Popery, addressed to him a long letter of severe reprehension and earnest expostulation.[2] From the pungency of censure characteristic of certain parts of this letter, some, as Howard, in his *Life of Lady Jane*, have denied its authenticity, arguing that it could not have been the genuine effusion of a mind so gentle and amiable as that of our heroine. "It commences," says Howard, "with a variety of phrases, applied to Harding as forsaking Christ, which surpass even the Billingsgate of some modern sectaries. Then follow reproaches for apostasy, in a

[1] *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 33.—Stowe's *Annals*.

[2] Nicolas, in his *Life of Lady Jane*, from her having signed this letter with her maiden name, concludes that it was written previously to her marriage, and supposes that though Harding did not openly profess the change in his sentiments till after Mary's accession, yet Lady Jane was acquainted with the change some time before he publicly avowed it. It may, however, be questioned whether the mere fact of her having signed the letter with her maiden name is a sufficient ground for assigning it a date prior to her imprisonment. Its whole tone certainly conveys the impression that it was written to one who had renounced Protestantism, and professed Popery in the most open manner.

style such as few professed termagants would venture to use in conversation, much less set down in writing; whilst the attack upon the Roman Catholic Church, though it manifests great vehemence of faith and abhorrence, does not at all resemble either the piety or the Christian forbearance for which Lady Jane was so remarkable. Can it for a moment be supposed," he adds, "that such epithets as 'deformed imp of the devil,' 'stinking and filthy kennel of Satan,' 'unshamefast paramour of Antichrist,' 'cowardly runaway,' 'golden calf,' '* * * of Babylon,' 'sink of sin,' 'child of perdition,' 'white-livered milksop,' with a long &c., can have issued from the mind or pen of an amiable young female? We think not; and therefore consider it unnecessary to notice this epistle any further."[1]

There are, however, good grounds for believing this letter to be the genuine production of Lady Jane. John Banks, an English Reformer, writing concerning her, in a letter to Henry Bullinger, dated London, March 15, 1554, says, "It may be seen how her truly admirable mind was illuminated by the light of God's Word, by two letters, one of which she herself wrote to the Lady Katharine, her sister, a most noble virgin, to inspire her with a love of the sacred writings, and the other to a certain apostate, to bring him back to Christ the Lord. I have taken the pains to translate both these letters from our vernacular language[2] into Latin, that your excellence may perceive that the pains which you have taken to enlighten that family, and incite them to the love of godliness, have not been ill bestowed." Mr. James Haddon, another English Reformer, corroborates Banks's statement on the point in question, in a letter to Henry Bullinger, dated Strasburg, August 31, 1554. "As to what regards the Lady Jane's exhortations to a certain apostate," says he, "I believe and partly know that it is true, and did really proceed from herself."[3] Nor is it to be forgotten that, as her letter was

[1] *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, pp. 345, 346.

[2] It is therefore evident that Lady Jane wrote her letter to Harding in English, and not in Latin, as has been supposed by some, who have mistaken Banks's Latin version for the original.

[3] *Zurich Letters*, first series, Nos. 134, 141.

printed long before the death of Harding, who lived after this many years, during which he was engaged in bitter controversies with the Protestants, he would not, had it been a forgery, have allowed the imposition to pass unexposed. And when Foxe inquired of Aylmer for documents respecting Lady Jane, Aylmer informed him of this letter, already in print, recommending him to insert it in his work, adding, "You will say it was piously and prudently written, and perhaps learnedly too."[1]

In judging upon the pungent style of some parts of the letter, we must take into account that in her time it was reckoned not incompatible with refinement of manners to use in religious disputation language which would now be accounted extravagantly intemperate and violent. In conducting controversies with the Papists, the Reformers, who saw Popery everywhere around them, presenting itself in its most hateful forms, in its gross idolatries, its shameless licentiousness, its deadly hatred of God's Word, its sanguinary persecutions, by proscriptions, inquisitions, racks, flames, massacres, spoke, as they felt, strongly on the subject, and not in the soft accents of milk and water Protestants of later times, who, having never felt the fangs of Popery, think of it simply as an absurb superstition; or only in its enchanting music, its masterly paintings, its finely chiseled sculpture, its magnificent architectural structures, and not in its true character as displayed in the faithful page of history. It was therefore natural for this young lady to use forms of phraseology similar to what she had heard from the lips of the Reformers, whom she admired, or similar to what she had read in their writings. Besides, from her deep-rooted conviction of the truth of the reformed principles, and of Popery being the Antichrist of Scripture, the great enemy of God, of Christ, of the church, of man, she regarded apostasy from Protestantism to Popery with horror, and in her benevolent desire to reclaim her old tutor, described in strong language his guilt and danger with the view of arousing his conscience, though, in point of fact, her strong language might tend to defeat her object, by

[1] Strype's *Life of Aylmer*, pp. 7, 8.

wounding his pride and creating irritation. But though some parts of the letter are expressed in terms less respectful than would be expected from a lady in our day, in addressing an individual in similar circumstances, yet the high-toned Christian principle, the deep abhorrence of the soul-ruining errors of Popery impressed on the whole, is admirable, and worthy of all imitation.[1]

Mary's accession to the throne, and her vigorous efforts in putting down the Reformation, and in re-establishing Popery, put the Romanists into ecstasy. "Then," to quote the words of Stephen Perlin, a French ecclesiastic, who was at that time in London, "you might have seen bishops, who had been displaced by the young King Edward, and his late father, Henry, coming in great joy and magnificence about the town, mounted on mules and little pompous



Pompous parade of Popish Priests.

horses, dressed in great gowns of black camlet, over which were beautiful surplices, their heads covered with satin hoods, like those worn by the monks, being joyous on account of the queen's victory."[2]

During Lady Jane's imprisonment, the new queen was not only

[1] This letter is printed in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., p. 418; in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii., pp. 114-116; and in various other collections.

[2] Howard's *Life of Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, pp. 301, 302.

vigorously carrying into effect the object nearest her heart, the re-establishment of Popery, but she was giving manifest indications of her persecuting spirit by her proclamations, by the imprisonment of many, both clergy and laity—among whom were Bishop Hooper, Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Ridley and Latimer, simply because suspected of being well affected towards the Reformation—and by the rescissory acts of her first Parliament. These proceedings created no small dissatisfaction and alarm; for though the great body of the people were far from being well instructed in the reformed principles, a large proportion of them regarded them with greater favour than Popery. This dissatisfaction and alarm were increased by the queen's contemplated marriage with Philip of Spain. No sooner were the articles of the marriage published, than an insurrection, hasty and ill-concerted, broke out, headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt,[1] who attempted to raise the county of Kent, and Sir Peter Carew, who engaged to muster forces in Cornwall. Though the insurgents had not the most distant intention of restoring Lady Jane to regal power, the Duke of Suffolk, with an infatuation truly astonishing, when it is considered that his daughter was still in the queen's power, joined them, and undertook to raise the midland counties. The insurrection[2] was speedily suppressed. Suffolk's forces, which were few in number, were scattered, and he himself was taken by the Earl of Huntingdon. Proclamation to that effect was made on the 1st of Feburary, and on Saturday, the 10th of that month, he was brought in prisoner to the Tower of London. Wyatt made an assault on the metropolis, but was defeated on the 6th of the same month, made prisoner, and ultimately beheaded. In commemoration of this victory, command was given by the queen and the Bishop of London that a *Te Deum* should be sung in St. Paul's church, and in every parish church in London, and that all the bells should be rung.[3]

[1] Son of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet, and friend of Queen Anne Boleyn.
[2] For a full account of it the reader is referred to Holinshed and other historians.
[3] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part i., p. 140.

This rebellion was particularly unfortunate for Lady Jane. The share her father had in it sealed the doom both of herself and of her husband. The treason of Suffolk was imputed to his daughter and his son-in-law, and it was resolved by the queen and her government to carry into execution, without delay, the sentence of death formerly pronounced upon them. "Then," as Baker quaintly remarks, "was verified, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge;' the innocent lady must suffer for her father's fault; for if her father, the Duke of Suffolk, had not this second time made shipwreck of his loyalty, his daughter, perhaps, had never tasted the salt water of the queen's displeasure, but now, as a rock of offence, she is the first that must be removed."[1]

Accordingly, on the 8th of February, John of Feckenham, the queen's confessor,[2] was sent to communicate to her the awful tidings, that she was to die on the following day. The intelligence hardly affected her tranquillity. So far from flattering herself with the hope of life, she had been anticipating that if ever brought out of prison it would be only to the block. Feckenham then turned his discourse to the subject of religion, and exerted, but without success, all his powers of argument to persuade her to become a Papist. Not wishing to waste the remaining precious hours she had to live in this world in useless controversy, she told him that now she had no time to think of anything but of preparation for eternity. Construing this into a prayer that her execution might be delayed, and in the hope that by using additional means she might be converted to Popery, he obtained for her from the queen a reprieve of three days. Knowing that her death was now determined upon, she longed for the inevitable stroke to be over, and at the intimation of this poor favour, felt rather disappointed

[1] Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 319.

[2] His proper name was Howman, but he was called Feckenham, because born near the forest of that name, in Worcestershire. He studied in Gloucester College, Oxford, where he took his degree of bachelor of divinity. He was for some time chaplain to Bonner, Bishop of London, and on Mary's accession was appointed her chaplain. In May, 1556, he was honoured with the degree of doctor of divinity by the university of Oxford, and in September following was promoted to be abbot of Westminster Abbey.

than gratified. "You are much deceived," said she to Feckenham, "if you think I had any desire of longer life; for I assure you since the time you went from me, my life has been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing so much as death, and since it is the queen's pleasure, I am most willing to undergo it."[1]

That the sole motive in granting the reprieve was to endeavour, if possible, to induce her to change her religion, and die professing herself a Papist, as her father-in-law had done, appears from the frequency with which the queen and council, under pretext of extreme solicitude for the salvation of her soul, sent priests to instruct her, as they pretended, in the right way, but who only distracted her mind and disturbed her devotions, by constraining her to engage in incessant disputations. Her ability and knowledge of the reformed principles enabled her to maintain her ground with the ablest of these controversialists, and such was the stability of her faith, that she remained inflexible, never exhibiting, in a single instance, the slightest wavering. "Divers learned Roman Catholics," says an old writer, "and even those of the best fame and reputation, were sent unto her to dissuade her from that true profession of the gospel, which from her cradle she had ever held, each striving by art, by flattery, by threatenings, by promise of life, or whatever else might move most in the bosom of a weak woman, who should become master of so great and worthy a prize; but all their labours were bootless, for she had art to confound their art, wisdom to withstand their flatteries, resolution above their menaces, and such a true knowledge of life that death was to her no other than a most familiar acquaintance."[2]

One of these disputations, the substance of which she wrote out with her own hand, and subscribed, has been preserved, forming an interesting memorial of her ability in defending the reformed doctrines.[3] It was held between her and Feckenham, two days before

[1] Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 319.

[2] *The Life, Death, and Actions of the most Chaste, Learned, and Religious Lady, the Lady Jane Grey*, &c., London, 1615.—See also *The Phœnix*, vol. ii., p. 27.

[3] It is printed in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., pp. 415–417; in *The Phœnix*, vol. ii., pp. 39, 40; and in Nicolas's *Memoirs and Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey*.

her death, and took place publicly in the Tower, in presence of several of the nobility and other persons of learning and distinction, who greatly admired her argumentative power, combined with modesty in maintaining her principles. Towards the close of the disputation, Feckenham, it would appear, finding himself scarcely a match in polemics for his youthful opponent, and in danger of suffering somewhat in his reputation for learning, so far forgot himself as to speak to her in terms unsuitable to the gravity becoming his character as a priest, and cruel to one in her situation. It is also said that on coming along with others to take his leave of her, mortified at the unsuccessful issue of this exertion of his persuasive powers, he said, "Madam, I am sorry for you and your obstinacy, and now I am assured you and I shall never meet again;" language such as might be expected from a Popish priest, who believes, or professes to believe, that there is no salvation beyond the limits of the Popish Church. She promptly retorted, "It is most true, sir, we shall never meet again except God turn your heart, for I stand undoubtedly assured, that unless you repent and turn to God you are in a sad and desperate case, and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit, for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it please him to open the eyes of your heart to his truth." Offended at this retort, Feckenham went away without paying her the usual parting compliment, whilst she withdrew into her bed-chamber, to engage in devotional exercises.[1] Feckenham, however, save in this instance, seems, upon the whole, to have acted towards her, both in prison and on the scaffold, with respect and sympathy, for which she was duly grateful.

On the evening of the 9th of February she wrote her memorable letter to her father, conveying to him her last expressions of filial affection, extenuating the guilt of her usurpation, from her having acted by constraint, and breathing the spirit of pious resignation, characteristic of everything she wrote during her imprisonment. His bitter remorseful agony, on reading this letter, we can hardly

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., p. 417.—*The Phœnix*, vol. ii., pp. 39, 40.

conceive. The opening sentence, which refers to his having shortened her days, though expressed in the gentlest and most Christian spirit, he must have felt as a sword piercing his heart.[1] When writing this letter, she had probably heard neither of his having been in arms against the government, nor of his arrest. On the following day, just two days before her decapitation, he was brought in prisoner to the Tower of London, guarded by a troop of 300 horse, under the Earl of Huntingdon, and she did not long remain ignorant of his fate.

Every circumstance connected with the closing scene of this admirable young lady, sheds a bright halo around her character. Even the random verses she wrote with a pin on the walls of the place of her imprisonment, to beguile the tedious hours, attest her ardent piety and tranquil submission to the will of God. One of these verses is:—

"Deo juvante nil nocet livor malus,
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebras spero lucem."

Which has been thus translated:—

"Endless all malice, if our God is nigh,
Fruitless all pains, if he his help deny.
Patient I pass these gloomy hours away,
And wait the morning of eternal day."

Another conveys a moral for the instruction of others:—

"Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt:
Sors hodierna mihi cras erat illa tibi."

Which has been translated thus:—

"Think not, O mortal! vainly gay,
That thou from human woes art free:
The bitter cup I drink to-day
To-morrow may be drunk by thee."

One of the books she used while in prison, as a help to her devotions, was a manual of prayers, a small square manuscript on vellum,

[1] See this letter in Appendix, No. III.

containing thirty-five prayers; the first thirty being written by the same hand, and the last five by some other person.[1] How she and her husband came into the possession of this manual is not quite certain. The most probable conjecture is that it was written for the use of the Duke of Somerset, the Protector, upon his first imprisonment in the Tower—the last five prayers having been added after his second commitment, which ended in his execution; and as Lady Jane's husband's brother, John, Earl of Warwick, was married to Anne Seymour, eldest daughter of the protector, it is supposed that it was given to Lord Guildford by his sister-in-law, after his imprisonment, as a present appropriate to his trying situation. After the Duke of Suffolk was made prisoner, permission being granted him, his daughter, and son-in-law, occasionally to borrow this book from each other, Lord Guildford and Lady Jane, availing themselves of this license, wrote on the margin assurances of duty and affection to their dear relative, all personal intercourse or communication by letter being probably denied them. The first note which occurs is written by Lord Guildford to the duke. A few pages further on Lady Jane addresses to him the following note:—"The Lord comfort your grace, and that in his Word, wherein all creatures only are to be comforted; and though it hath pleased God to take away two of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech your grace, that you have lost them; but trust that we, by leaving this mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I, for my part, as I have honoured your grace in this life, will pray for you in another life.[2] Your grace's humble daughter, "JANE DUDDELEY."

This book, it is supposed, she had promised to leave at her death

[1] This MS., now in modern binding, is preserved in the British Museum, in the *Harleian Collection*, No. 2342.

[2] The doctrine that the saints in heaven pray for their friends on earth, Jane perhaps derived from the Apocrypha (2 Mac., chap xv. 12-14), which, if not held at that time to be strictly canonical, was treated with a high degree of veneration. It is a plausible doctrine, but it has no foundation in the Scriptures, and is at best a mere supposition. Yet Calvin, while arguing strongly against it, maintains that the angels in heaven pray for the saints on earth.—See his *Tracts*, Calvin Translation Soc., vol. iii, p. 318

as a present to Sir John Bridges, the lieutenant of the Tower, who was anxious to receive from her some last memorial; and in compliance with his request, she wrote in it a few sentences, of which the following is a copy:—"Forasmuch as you have desired so simple a woman to write in so worthy a book, good master lieutenant, therefore I shall, as a friend, desire you, and as a Christian require you, to call upon God to incline your heart to his laws, to quicken you in his way, and not to take the word of truth utterly out of your mouth. Live still to die, that by death you may purchase eternal life; and remember how Methuselah, though, as we read in the Scriptures, he was the longest liver that was of a man, died at last. For, as the preacher saith, 'There is a time to be born, and a time to die; and the day of death is better than the day of our birth.' Yours, as the Lord knoweth, as a friend,

"JANE DUDDELEY."[1]

The evening before her death she spent in the most becoming and Christian manner, employing herself in reading the Scriptures, in meditation, and prayer. On this evening she also wrote an affectionate and pious letter to her sister Katharine, on some pages of clean paper, bound up at the end of the Greek New Testament, which had been her daily companion in prison. Having finished the letter, she closed up the book, and delivered it to one of her attendants, Mrs. Tylney, or Mrs. Ellen, with instructions to convey it to her sister, as the last token of her affection. This interesting letter attests how wonderfully her thoughts were composed in circumstances which, it might be imagined, would have destroyed all power of reflection, and affords satisfactory evidence of the support and comfort which, even in the prospect of a death of cruelty and ignominy, she derived from the well-grounded hope of a better life, through the finished work of Christ.[2] Faith in the divine Saviour is indeed that Christian alchymy which, exerting its transmuting power upon everything, converts the most trying events into minis-

[1] Nicolas's *Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey*, pp. 54-59.
[2] See this letter in Appendix, No. IV.

ters of exalted good, educing, even from death itself, everlasting life.

After Lady Jane had finished this letter, and had sent it off to her sister by her servant, she was again assailed by two Popish bishops and other learned Popish doctors, who held her in deep conference for two hours, expending their utmost ingenuity and eloquence to persuade her to renounce the new opinions and die in the Popish faith. If they expected to make her a convert to Popery they egregiously mistook her character. Their arguments entirely failed in shaking her belief in the reformed principles. At length, hopeless of gaining their object, and chafed at her immovable constancy, "they left her (as they said) a lost and forsaken member;" in other words, a child of perdition; who, forsaken by God, and given over to Satan, would, the moment of her death, be consigned to hell. But Jane was not to be frightened with the figment of hypocritical and interested popes, Popish councils, and Popish priests, that there is no salvation beyond the pale of the Romish Church. She, on the contrary, believed that, so far from salvation being confined to the Church of Rome, the souls of such as remained within its pale were exposed to the utmost peril.[1] She desired no ghostly confessor, and no priestly absolution. To God alone she acknowledged her sins; and from him alone, through Christ, she sought forgiveness and salvation.

On the last evening of her life, probably after the Popish priests had left her, she also finished and corrected a prayer she had previously composed in prison.[2] This affords additional evidence of her mental composure, and of her fervid devotional spirit, as well as of her diligence in improving the short time she had to live in this world.

The fatal morning, 12th February, 1554, appointed for the execution of Lady Jane and her husband, at length arrived. It was originally intended to execute them together on Tower Hill, but,

[1] *The Phœnix*, vol. ii., p. 42.

[1] See this prayer in Nicolas's *Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey*, pp. 49-51.

afraid of too powerfully awakening the sympathies of the people towards the youthful pair, who were generally regarded as more unfortunate than criminal, the council changed their orders, and gave instructions that Lord Guildford should suffer on Tower Hill, and Lady Jane within the walls of the fortress. Guildford, on the morning of his execution, had requested permission to take farewell of the beloved partner of his bosom. This small favour the queen did not refuse. But Lady Jane, dreading it might destroy the fortitude of both, declined a parting interview, sending him word that the tenderness of their meeting and parting might be more than either of them could bear; but reminding him that their separation would be but for a moment, and that soon they would rejoin each other in a world where their affections would be for ever united; and into which afflictions, disappointments, and death, could not enter to disturb their eternal felicity.[1] As on leaving the prison, to go to the place of execution, he had to pass directly under the window of her cell, she had an opportunity of taking a final look, and of giving him from her window a token of her love. On the scaffold Guildford behaved with dignity and resolution. No minister of religion attended him. "He had probably refused the attendance of a Roman Catholic priest, and was not allowed one of his own choice." Kneeling down, he spent some time in prayer, and repeatedly held up his eyes and hands to heaven. In his address to the assembled crowd, he simply desired an interest in their prayers, after which, stretching himself along, and laying his head upon the block, he gave the fatal signal, and the executioner did his work at a single stroke.[2]

The scaffold for the execution of Lady Jane was erected upon the green opposite the White Tower. Her husband having thus paid the forfeit of his life, the officers shortly after announced to her that the sheriffs were ready to attend her to the scaffold. They found her engaged in the perusal of the book of prayers formerly referred

[1] Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 319.
[2] *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, pp. 54, 55.

to, and she received the awful summons with composure and fortitude. "She was called down," says a writer quoted before, "to go to the place of execution, to which she had prepared herself with more diligence than either the malice of her adversaries could desire, or the vigilance of any officer, for the discharge of his duty expect; and being come down and delivered into the hands of the sheriffs, they might behold in her a countenance so gravely settled with all modest and comely resolution, that not the least symptom, either of fear or grief, could be perceived to proceed either out of her speech or motions: but she was like one going to be united to her heart's best and longest beloved."[1] While "with this blessed and modest boldness of spirit, undaunted and unaltered," she went towards the scaffold, a circumstance occurred which, for a moment, shook her fortitude. Through the indiscretion of the officers, for we can hardly suppose that it was done from the malice of an enemy, she met on her way the headless corpse of her husband passing to the Tower for interment. This appalling spectacle "a little startled her, and many tears were seen to descend upon her cheeks;" but she said nothing, and soon recovered from the shock, and dried up her tears.[2]

[1] *Life, Death, and Actions of the most Chaste, &c., Lady Jane Grey.*

[2] *Ibid.*, and *The Phœnix*, vol. ii., p. 42, which appears to have copied from that work. The facts, as stated in the text, also agree with the narrative of Grafton, nearly a contemporary writer. Lord Guildford Dudley's "dead carkas," says he, "lying in a carre in strawe was againe brought into the Tower, at the same instant that the Ladie Jane, his wife, went to her death within the Tower, which miserable sight was to her a double sorow and griefe."—*Chronicle*, vol. ii., p. 544. According to other writers, it was from the window of her prison, and not on her way to the scaffold, that she saw the corpse of her husband. It is said that, when sitting in her prison awaiting the awful summons, she heard the cart passing, and rising, notwithstanding the attempts of her attendants to prevent her, walked steadily to the window under which it passed, so as to obtain a view of the corpse—an extremely natural expression of affectionate grief. The author of the *Chronicle of Queen Jane, &c.*, a contemporary, in mentioning the fact of her seeing the dead body of her husband, is too indeterminate to assist us in deciding as to the circumstances in which she saw it. Lord Guildford's "carcase," says he, "thrown into a car, and his head in a cloth, he was brought into the chapel within the Tower, where the Lady Jane, whose lodging was in Partridge's house, did see his dead carcase taken out of the cart, as well as she did see him before in life going to his death—a sight to her not less than death. . . . . Being nothing at all abashed,

She was conducted to the scaffold by Sir John Bridges, the lieutenant of the Tower, dressed in the gown which she wore at her trial, and attended by her two gentlewomen, Mrs. Elizabeth Tylney and Mrs. Ellen, who wept bitterly, while not a tear moistened her own cheeks. She brought with her the book of prayers she had with her in prison, and all the way to the scaffold she was engaged in reading it.[1] On reaching the place of execution, she saluted the lords and others in commission with unaltered mien and countenance. No Protestant minister was permitted to be present to assist her devotions. Feckenham had accompanied her professedly for that purpose; but though he treated her with all humanity, not having confidence in his religious sentiments, she was disturbed by his presence, and was observed not to give much heed to his discourse, her attention during it being apparently absorbed in reading the book of prayers she had brought with her from the prison. But she was not ungrateful for any kindness he had shown her. On taking him by the hand and bidding him farewell, she said to him, "God will abundantly requite you, good sir, for your humanity to me, though your discourses gave me more uneasiness than all the terrors of my approaching death." Turning round to the spectators, she addressed them in a short speech, declaring that in accepting the crown she had been rather constrained by the solicitations of others than governed by her own deliberate judgment and voluntary choice; expressing her exclusive dependence upon the merits of Christ for salvation; vindicating the justice of God in the death she was now to die, because of the many sins she had committed; and entreating the Christian people to pray for her so long as she was in life. "Good people," said she, "I am come hither to die, and by

neither with fear of her own death, which then approached, neither with the sight of the dead carcase of her husband, when he was brought into the chapel, she came forth, the lieutenant leading her."—P. 55. On beholding his remains, she is reported to have said, "O Guildford! Guildford! the antepast is not so bitter that you have tasted, and that I shall soon taste, as to make my flesh tremble; it is nothing compared to the feast that you and I shall this day partake of in heaven."

[1] *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 56.

a law I am condemned to the same. The fact, indeed, against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me:[1] but touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, on my half, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency, before God, and the face of you, good Christian people, this day;" and therewith she wrung her hands, in which she had her book. Then she said, "I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I look to be saved by none other means but only by the mercy of God, in the merits of the blood of his only Son, Jesus Christ: and I confess, when I did know the Word of God I neglected the same, loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague or punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God of his goodness, that he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you to assist me with your prayers."[2]

In this address, as the attentive reader will perceive, the Popish doctrines as to human merit, the invocation, mediation and intercession of saints, purgatory, and masses offered for the living and the dead, though not expressly mentioned, are evidently alluded to, and plainly though implicitly rejected; and seeing herself surrounded by Popish priests, who frequently circulated false reports that the martyrs at their death had abjured their errors and died in the Roman faith, she seems as if afraid lest her dying sentiments should be misrepresented.

Having concluded her address, she kneeled down, to engage in her devotions, and turning to Feckenham, said, "Shall I repeat this

[1] "Holinshed has amplified this into the following more explicit statement: 'My offence against the queen's highness was only in consent to the device of others, which now is deemed treason; but it was never my seeking, but by counsel of those who should seem to have further understanding of things than I, who knew little of the law, and much less of the titles to the crown.'"—*Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Note by editor, p. 52.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 52. Another report of this speech, "somewhat more verbose, but not so impressive," as the editor of *The Chronicle*, &c., observes, is to be found in *The Phœnix*, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43; and in Nicolas's *Remains of Lady Jane*.



J. GODWIN. W. L. THOMAS.

LADY JANE GREY AT THE PLACE OF EXECUTION.

psalm," referring to the 51st, beginning in the Vulgate with these words, "Misereri mei Deus." "Yes, madam," he replied; upon which she repeated it from beginning to end. Having done this she rose from her knees, and began to prepare for her fate by taking off her dress. First pulling off her gloves, she gave them and her handkerchief to one of her maids, Mrs. Ellen.[1] At the same time she gave the book of prayers she had brought with her to the scaffold to Mr. Thomas Bridges, the lieutenant's brother. On her proceeding to untie her gown, the executioner offered to assist her, but she desired him to let her alone, and turned towards her two gentlewomen, who assisted her in taking it off, and also in taking off her "frose paste"[2] and neckerchief, giving her, when this service was performed, a white handkerchief to tie about her eyes. At this moment the executioner fell on his knees before her, and begged her forgiveness. This request she most willingly granted. He next desired her to stand upon the straw; in doing which the block met her view, but the sight did not shake her fortitude, and she only requested that he would despatch her quickly. Again kneeling down, she asked him, "Will you take it off before I lay me down." "No, madam," he answered. She now bound the handkerchief round her eyes, and feeling for the block, exclaimed, "What shall I do? where is it? where is it?" Upon which one of the by-standers conducted her to the block; and immediately lying down, she laid her head upon it, and uttered, with an audible voice, the pious ejaculation—the last words she spoke, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." The axe fell, and in an instant her head was severed from her body.[3] All present, even the partizans of Mary,

[1] So Foxe. In *Archæologia*, it is "Tylney."

[2] Sir Harris Nicolas, in his *Life of Lady Jane* (p. xci.), is greatly puzzled as to the article of dress meant by this term, and is inclined to coincide with a literary friend, who suggested "fronts-piece." As, however, Foxe has spelt it "frowes-past," the editor of the *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary* (p. 58), is of opinion that probably "frow's paste," or matronly head-dress, is meant; the paste being a head attire worn by brides, as explained in the glossarial index to Machyn's *Diary*, p. 463.

[3] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., pp. 424, 425. Foxe's narrative of Lady Jane's execution is the same, almost *verbatim*, with an account in *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii., p. 407,

were deeply moved at the spectacle, and melted into tears. The news of her execution rapidly spread, and excited general commiseration among all parties. There was something exceedingly touching, to every mind of ordinary sensibility, in contemplating this unfortunate destiny of a young lady, illustrious by her high birth, but still more illustrious by her high virtue, her godlike sanctity, and her extraordinary attainments. Being in all respects worthy of an earthly crown, it almost seems, as Southey has observed with fine feeling, "as if she had been summoned in mercy to a heavenly one, lest the world should stain a spirit which no circumstances could render more fit for heaven."[1] Much as history has recorded of Lady Jane, it does not inform us where her corpse was interred. The presumption is, that both she and her husband were buried in the chapel of the Tower.

The day on which she suffered was long called *Black Monday*, as being the commencement of a bloody week, during which many new scaffolds were erected in London for the execution of such as had been concerned in Wyatt's rebellion, and on Wednesday, the 14th, not less than forty-seven were hanged, of whom three were hung in chains, and seven quartered, their bodies and heads being fixed upon the different gates of the city. Bishop Gardiner, who was now lord chancellor and chief adviser of the queen, in a sermon preached before her the day previous, breathed forth nothing but slaughter against the rebels, exhorting her to punish them without mercy; and his advice was acted upon with unmitigated ferocity. Knox, the Scottish Reformer, on hearing of these atrocities at Dieppe in France, whether he had fled from England in the beginning of 1554, could not withold the expression of his righteous indignation against their authors, and especially against Mary—without whom

said by the editor to be "a copy of an exceedingly rare (if not unique) printed tract," without date, but containing internal evidence of having been printed at the time. It is supposed to have been written by the author of the *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, from which we have repeatedly quoted. Note of Editor, in *Chronicle*, &c., p. 52.

[1] Southey's *Book of the Church*, vol. ii., p. 142.

they could not have been perpetrated—in whose breast the softer feelings of her sex seemed to be extinguished. "I find," says he, in his *Admonition to England*, written from that place, "that Jezebel, that accursed idolatress, caused the blood of the prophets to be shed, and Naboth to be martyred unjustly for his own vineyard, but I think she never erected half so many gallows in all Israel as Mary hath done within London alone. Under an English name," he adds, "she hath a Spaniard's heart."[1]

Only eleven days after Lady Jane and Lord Dudley fell victims to parental ambition, namely, on the 23d of February, her father was beheaded on Tower Hill, acknowledging on the scaffold the justice of his sentence, and calling the spectators to witness that he "died a faithful and true Christian, believing to be saved by none other but only by Almighty God, through the passion of his Son Jesus Christ." Attempts had been made to convert him when in prison to Popery, but he remained to the last as constant to the Protestant faith as his heroic daughter.[2] Her mother afterwards married Adrian Stokes, Esq., a gentleman of her domestic establishment, by whom she had no children, and died in 1559, as appears from the date of a warrant issued by Queen Elizabeth to the king of arms, to cause the royal ensigns to be borne at her funeral, and placed on her monument in honour of her relation to her majesty.[3] Her sister Katharine, who had been married, or rather betrothed to Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke, at a very tender age, was repudiated, simply because her family had sunk into ruin. She was afterwards privately married to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, son of Protector Somerset, without the knowledge of Queen Elizabeth, whose displeasure on hearing of the pregnancy of Lady Hertford was so excited, that she fined the earl a large sum, and committed them both to prison, in which Lady

[1] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part i., pp. 140-143, &c.—Calderwood's *History*, vol. i., p. 302.

[2] *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 64.—Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., pp. 425, and Note of Editor, in Appendix.—*Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 303-305.

[3] Howard and other writers are therefore incorrect in asserting that she died in 1563.

Hertford continued to her death.[1] From that illustrious pair some of the most noble families in England are descended. Lady Jane's younger sister, Mary, who was somewhat deformed, "frightened," as Fuller remarks, "with the infelicity of her two sisters, forgot her honour to remember her safety, and married one whom she could love, and none need fear, Martin Keyes, Esq., of Kent, who was a judge at court (but only of doubtful cast of dice, being sergeant-porter), and died without issue in 1578."

[1] See notice of this lady, in Appendix, No. V.





Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire.

KATHARINE WILLOUGHBY,

DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK.

KATHARINE WILLOUGHBY was the daughter of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby, by his wife, Mary of Salines or Salucci, a Spanish lady of illustrious descent, who had accompanied Katharine of Aragon into England on her marriage with Arthur, Prince of Wales, and was one of her maids of honour after her marriage with Henry VIII. Lord Willoughby had been previously married to Mary, daughter of Sir William Hussey, of Sleaford, in the county of Lincoln, knight, by whom he had no issue. His marriage to Mary of Salines, which probably took place about 1513, was one of those matches which had been brought about by the good offices of Queen

Katharine, who testified her friendship for her maids of honour by her zealous endeavours to secure for them prosperous matrimonial alliances. By the marriage contract his lordship settled upon her an ample jointure. By her he had two sons, Henry and Francis, who both died young during his lifetime, and a daughter, Katharine, the subject of this sketch. He died on the 19th of October, 1526, and was buried in the collegiate church of Nottingham.[1] Mary of Salines was devotedly attached to Queen Katharine, to whom she clung with unwavering fidelity and affection amidst all the fluctuations of the fortunes of that ill-treated queen. To evince attachment to Katharine after her disgrace was not without peril; it was to condemn Henry's conduct in disgracing her, and therefore to provoke his wrath. But this lady's affection for her mistress was stronger than her dread of the fury of the monarch. Hearing that Katharine was drawing near her last hour in this world, in the agony of grief, she made every effort to obtain permission to visit her, though Henry had interdicted the free intercourse of his divorced queen with her former friends. She wrote a letter to Cromwell, who was at that time the great favourite of Henry, humbly supplicating this permission. "And now, Mr. Secretary," says she, "need driveth me to put you to pain, for I heard say that my mistress is very sore sick again; wherefore, good Mr. Secretary, I pray you remember me of your goodness, for you did promise me to labour the king's grace to get me license to go to her grace afore God send for her; for, as I am informed, there is no other likelihood but it shall be shortly. And if so be that the king's grace of his goodness be content that I shall go thither, without I have a letter of his grace, or else of you, to show the officers of my mistress's house that his grace is content with my going, my license shall stand to none effect. And as touching that, there is nobody can help me so well as you. Mr. Secretary, under God and the king, all my trust is in you. I pray you remember me now at this time. And so Jesus have you in his keeping.

1 Playfair's *British Family Antiquity*, vol. ii., p. 626.

From the Barbican, the 30th day of December. By your beadwoman, MARY WILLOUGHBY."[1] In this letter she prudently styles Katharine simply "my mistress," and "her grace," not giving her the title of "queen," which would certainly have defeated her object, nor the title of "princess-dowager," a title which Katharine, though earnestly urged, had constantly refused to assume. The prayer of this petition, it would appear, was not granted, for on her arrival at Kimbolton, two days after the date of this letter, she could produce no official license for her admission. She, however, by her address and perseverance, succeeded in gaining access to Katharine, and an interesting interview took place between her and the queen, who expired in her presence on the following day.[2]

Katharine Willoughby was born about the year 1514. Being the only surviving child of her parents, she was her father's sole heiress. Being under age at the time of her father's death, her wardship was, in 1529, granted to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; a trust, the duties of which the duke appears to have faithfully performed. Much attention was then paid in England to the cultivation of the minds of young ladies of rank, and Katharine was instructed in the various branches of learning then considered essential to female accomplishment. Her education is said to have been conducted under the superintendence of Mary Tudor, the beautiful and beloved sister of Henry VIII., formerly second queen of Louis XII. of France, and at that time third wife of the Duke of Suffolk, an amiable and benevolent princess, who was ever "glad to exert her influence in behalf of the oppressed and the sorrowful."[3] After the duke's marriage with this princess, who had been the object of his tenderest affection in his younger days, they lived for many years in comparative seclusion at Weston Stow Hall, then a mansion of great extent,[4]

[1] Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Britain*, vol. ii., pp. 207-209.

[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. i., part i., p. 372.—Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. iv., p. 141.

[3] Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. i., p. 182, and ii., p. 310.

[4] This assertion rests on tradition, and it is supported by armorial bearings, which still exist, carved upon the stone over the porch. Of this once extensive pile, which,

within four miles north-west of the venerable town of Bury St. Edmunds, and here Katharine Willoughby passed some of her early years.



Weston Stow Hall.

On the death of Mary Tudor, which took place at the manor of Westhorpe, Suffolk, in the summer of the year 1534, Katharine became the fourth wife of her guardian, the Duke of Suffolk. The marriage was probably consummated in 1535, the bride being then only about twenty-one years of age, while her husband was advanced in life; but, notwithstanding their disparity of years, they lived together in the utmost harmony and affection.

The Duke of Suffolk, who had been the favourite companion of

in the palmy days of England, was classed among the stateliest of its "stately homes," only a small portion now remains.

Henry VIII. from his earliest years, enjoyed to the last the affection and friendship of that monarch. He was considered the handsomest man of his time, and was surpassed by none, save Henry himself, in the military exercises then considered indispensable to an accomplished courtier and a soldier. It was this duke who, on hearing the speech of Cardinal Campeggio, the Pope's legate, in opposition to the divorce of Henry from Katharine of Aragon, in the ecclesiastical court assembled in London in 1529, started to his feet, and, striking his hand violently on the table, exclaimed, as he cast an indignant glance at Campeggio, "By the mass, no legate or cardinal has ever brought good to England." This saying afterwards became proverbial.[1]

At what period of her life, or by what means the Duchess of Suffolk first became acquainted with the reformed principles is uncertain. But it is worthy of notice, as affording evidence that both she and the duke were friendly to the Reformation, that soon after their marriage they selected as their chaplain Alexander Seaton, a Scottish friar, and a man of learning and ingenuity, who had been confessor to King James V. of Scotland, but who had been under the necessity of fleeing from his native country about the year 1535 or 1536, to escape persecution, in consequence of his having imbibed and preached the reformed doctrines. In Scotland Seaton, following in the footsteps of Patrick Hamilton, who had been consigned to the flames at St. Andrews a few years before, had publicly taught these doctrines, had exposed with freedom the corruptions of the clergy, and had bearded the priests at St. Andrews, their head-quarters in that kingdom.[2] For the Duke and the Duchess of Suffolk to honour such a man with the situation of chaplain in their household, evinced a spirit of inquiry and a decided inclination to the new opinions. In England he preached the gospel sincerely and purely, to the edification of many who heard him; the great topic on which he delighted to expatiate being justification by faith in Christ in opposition to con-

[1] *Sanderus De Schism.*, p. 49.—Latimer's *Sermons*, Parker Soc. Pub., vol. i., p. 119.
[2] Calderwood's *History*, vol. i., pp. 92.—Knox's *History*, vol. i., pp. 46-52

fidence in good works.[1] He continued chaplain in the family of the duchess till his death, which took place in 1542. If Seaton did not lay the foundation of her belief in the reformed principles, there can be little doubt that he greatly strengthened it by his instructions and conversation.

The duchess was distinguished for liveliness of disposition, and had a natural turn for pleasantry, in which she often indulged. By her playful sallies of wit she enlivened the social circle, and she could employ irony and sarcasm with great effect. On one occasion the duke, having invited Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, together with a number of ladies and gentlemen to dinner, desired each lady to choose the gentleman whom she loved best, and so take their places. The duchess selected Gardiner, as her husband, the duke, would not have her to take himself, and said, that seeing she could not sit down with her lord, whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst. This, which was probably said half in jest and half in earnest, so deeply offended Gardiner that he never forgot it, the more especially as it exposed him to the laughter of the company. She had, in truth, little cordiality of feeling for Gardiner, from his large share in the guilt of the persecution of the Reformers. His close, subtle, deceitful character, too, which made his contemporaries say that he was to be traced like the fox, and read like Hebrew, backwards; that if you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not; that while intending one thing he professed to aim at the very opposite; that he never intended what he said, and never said what he intended;[2] this, so opposite to her own open, straightforward character, excited her contempt, and made her indifferent about hurting the feelings of a man who, whatever was his mental capacity, was so grievously deficient in truth, integrity, honour, and other moral qualities.

In 1545 the duchess sustained a heavy domestic affliction in the

[1] Calderwood's *History*, vol. i., p. 93.—Knox's *History*, vol. i., p. 533.—M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., p. 370.

[2] *Harleian MS.*, quoted in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., p. 368.

death of her husband, who died, after a short illness, on the 22d of August that year.[1] Hume represents him as "the most sincere and powerful friend that Archbishop Cranmer possessed at court." "This nobleman," adds the same historian, "is one instance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death, and he took the opportunity both to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to celebrate the merits of the deceased. He declared, that during the whole course of their friendship his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. 'Is there any of you, my lords, who can say as much?' When the king subjoined these words he looked round in all their faces, and saw that confusion which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw upon them."[2] Among the members of the council board who heard Henry thus give expression to his feelings were the Duke of Norfolk, Wriothesley, lord chancellor, and Stephen Gardiner, who had returned from Flanders in May that year; men who might well blush at the monarch's encomium on the Duke of Suffolk, and at his pointed interrogation and significant look, for at that very moment, as the king well knew, they were engaged in a plot for the destruction of Archbishop Cranmer.

In the reign of Henry VIII., when the persecuting statute of the six articles was enforced with great severity, the duchess was suspected of holding sentiments adverse to the six articles, and particularly to one of them, the doctrine of transubstantiation. It was attempted, as we have seen before,[3] by the persecutors of that period, among whom Bishop Gardiner was conspicuous, to extract from Anne Askew information as to the heretical sentiments of the Duchess of Suffolk and of other ladies, who had supplied that devoted martyr

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v., p. 496.
[2] *Hist. of England*, chap. xxxiii. He quotes from *Coke's Inst.*, cap. 99.
[3] See p. 165.

with money for her maintenance when in prison; and the answers of Anne not being judged satisfactory, she was subjected, but in vain, to the torture, with the view of extorting from her the desired disclosures. In the following proclamation, which strongly savours of the style and spirit of Gardiner, issued in the king's name, and dated 8th July, 1546, just eight days before the martyrdom of Anne Askew, the duchess and other ladies and gentlemen of rank in the country or about the court were specially aimed at:—"From henceforth no man, *woman*, or other person, of *what estate, condition, or degree he or they be*, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament of Tyndale's or Coverdale's, nor any other that is permitted by the act of Parliament, made in the session of the Parliament holden at Westminster in the 34th and 35th year of his majesty's most noble reign. Nor after the said day, shall receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which be, or shall be set forth in the names of Fryth, Tyndale, Wickliffe, Joye, Roye, Basil (*i. e.*, Becon), Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them; but shall, before the last day in August next coming, deliver the same English book or books to his master, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other; and the master or ruler of the house, and such others as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly to the sheriff, bishop's chancellor, or commissary, to the intent that they may cause them incontinently to be openly burned; which thing the king's majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and thereof make certificate to the king's majesty's most honourable council, before the first day of October next coming."[2]

The duchess, happily, had a powerful intercessor and protectress

[1] As this Parliament sat from January to May, 1542, it embraced both years Henry's regal year commenced with April 22.

[2] Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii., p. 202.

in Queen Katharine Parr. With that excellent queen, whom she loved and honoured for her many Christian virtues, she was on terms of intimate friendship; and to the duchess was intrusted the only child of Katharine, after the death of the father, the Lord Admiral of England. She has been reproached for having grudged a shelter and food to the child of her friend and protectress, instead of cherishing the orphan babe, as might have been expected, with not less than maternal tenderness. But this reproach, as we have seen before, is as gratuitous and unjust as it is uncharitable.[1]

In the reign of Edward VI. the duchess could avow her sentiments more freely than in the time of Henry VIII.; and she zealously encouraged the reforming measures which have rendered that reign so illustrious in the annals of the English Reformation. She is particularly commemorated for lending her aid to the efforts made by the government, towards the close of the year 1547, in Lincolnshire, to abolish superfluous holy days; to remove from the churches images and relics; to destroy shrines, coverings of shrines, and other monuments of idolatry and superstition; to put an end to pilgrimages; to reform the clergy; to see that every church had provided, in some convenient place, a copy of the large English Bible; to stir up bishops, vicars, and curates to diligence in preaching against the usurped authority and jurisdiction of the Pope, in inculcating upon all the reading of the Scriptures, and in teaching upon the Sabbath and at other times their parishioners, and especially the young, the Pater Noster, the Articles of Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English.[2]

To these reforming measures of the government her old acquaintance, Gardiner, made all the opposition in his power. The strenuous defender of image worship, he denounced the impiety of the people in pulling down and defacing images, and branded all such destructionists as "worse than hogs," and as, "having been ever so taken in England, being called Lollards." He gravely maintained "that the destruction of images contained an enterprise to subvert

[1] See p. 242.

[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., p. 83.

religion and the state of the world with it; and especially the nobility, who, by images, set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all men, their lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state and actions;" as if the Reformers waged war against statues, except in so far as they were abused to idolatrous purposes.[1] He was equally zealous in opposing the abolition of the mass, which called forth from the gospellers, as the Reformers were called, provoking lampoons, of which he complained to the lord protector.[2]

The duchess was the special friend and patroness of Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, who became the favourite preacher of Edward VI., to whom he preached from a pulpit placed in the privy-garden, the royal chapel being insufficient to contain the crowds which flocked to hear him; and the king listened from a window in the palace. A series of these sermons was published in 1549,[3] by Thomas Some, who had taken them down during the time of their delivery; and they were dedicated by him to the duchess. "I have gathered," says he, "writ, and brought to light the famous Friday Sermons of Mr. Hugh Latimer, which he preached in Lent last past, before our most noble King Edward VI., at the New Palace of Westminster, the third year of his reign; which sermons, most virtuous lady, I dedicate unto your honourable grace, nothing doubting but that you will gladly embrace them, not only because of their excellence, but chiefly for the profit which shall ensue through them unto the ignorant. For in them are fruitful and godly documents, directing ordinately not only the steps, conversation, and living of kings, but also of other ministers and subjects under him. . . . . Moses, Jeremiah, Elias, did never declare the true message of God unto their rulers and people with a more sincere spirit, faithful mind, and godly zeal, than godly Latimer doth now in our days unto our most noble king and unto the whole realm. Furthermore, also, Josiah received never the book of God's will at the hands of Huldah, that prophetess, with a more perfect and

[1] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., pp. 53, 54. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., part i., pp. 85, 86.
[3] Another edition appeared in 1562.

godly fear (2 Kings xxii.) than our most noble king doth most faithfully give credit unto the words of good father Latimer. And I have no doubt but all godly men will likewise receive gladly his godly sermons, and give credit unto the same. Therefore, this my rude labour of another man's sweat, most virtuous lady, I offer most humbly unto your grace; moved thereunto of godly zeal, through the godly fame that is dispersed universally of your most godly disposition, and unfeigned love towards the living, almighty, eternal God and his Holy Word; practised daily, both in your grace's most virtuous behaviour, and also godly charity towards the edification of every member grafted in Christ Jesus; most humbly desiring your grace to accept favourably this my timorous enterprise. And I, your most humble and faithful orator, shall pray unto Jehovah, the God which is of himself, by whom and in whom all things live, move, and be, that that good work, which he hath begun in you, he may perform unto your last ending, through our Lord Jesus Christ; who preserve and keep your grace now and for ever. So be it."[1]

At the invitation of the duchess, Latimer frequently preached in her hall at Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire.[2] None of the reformed ministers was, indeed, more highly esteemed by her than Latimer; and her correspondence affords incidental notices of the kind attentions she paid him. For example, in one of her letters to Cecil, written in June, 1552, she refers to her earnest desire of providing Latimer with a venison pasty at the feast of his wife's churching, by sending him a buck; but her keeper, even with her own assistance, did not succeed in killing one in time for the occasion. "By the late coming of this buck to you," says she, "you shall perceive that wild things be not ready at commandment, for truly I have caused my keeper, yea, and went forth with him myself on Saturday at night

[1] Latimer's *Sermons and Remains*, edited for the Parker Society, vol. i., pp. 79–83.

[2] The castle of Grimsthorpe is situated in the parish of Edenham, four miles and an half from Bourn, and is the seat of the present Lord Willoughby de Eresby. It is an irregular structure, and has been erected at different periods; some parts as early as the time of Henry III., others in the time of Henry VIII., and others at a later period. The view of the castle, prefixed to this Life, exhibits it as now existing.

after I came home (which was a marvel for me), but so desirous was I to have had one for Mr. Latimer to have sent after him to his wife's churching; but there is no remedy but she must be churched without it. For I have, ever since you wrote for yours, besides both my keepers, had . . . . .[1] about it, and yet could not prevail afore this morning; and now I pray God it be anything worth."[2]

Among the measures adopted in prosecuting the Reformation in



Gardiner in Confinement.

the reign of Edward VI., were the deprivation and imprisonment of those bishops who refused to abandon the old system. Bonner, who

[1] Some words are here illegible in *Original MS.*

[2] Tytler's *Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. i. 118. The letter closes thus: "From Grimsthorpe, this present Wednesday, at six o'clock in the morning; and, like a sluggard, in my bed. Your assured to my power, K. SUFFOLK."

held the see of London, was deprived and imprisoned in the Marshalsea during the whole of this reign. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, for censuring the Homily on Salvation and the Paraphrase of Erasmus, was committed to the Fleet in 1547; and refusing to sign twenty-two articles which embraced the leading reformed doctrines, he was deprived of his see, shut up in a cell in the Tower, denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, and none was allowed to visit him.[1] With respect to these two prelates they certainly merited punishment, and far greater than what was inflicted upon them, for their murderous cruelty in the former reign. They were, however, punished upon a different ground, and one less susceptible of defence—their refusal to submit to the ecclesiastical changes now introduced. It was wrong in principle to inflict upon them civil pains and penalties, simply for refusing to conform, so long as they remained peaceable and orderly subjects. At the same time it ought to be observed, that an instinctive feeling of self-preservation, an apprehension lest spirits so able and energetic might disturb the public tranquillity, seems to have been the impelling, though not the avowed motive of their punishment; and in those days, when so many of the nations of Europe were converted by the intolerance of Popery into fields of blood, active Popish emissaries could not but be regarded by Protestants as dangerous members of society. That the punishment of these chieftains of the Papacy was impolitic, experience certainly proved, as it exasperated their minds, exciting revengeful feelings, and furnished them, when the day of their power returned, with justifying precedents for fierce and vindictive retaliation.

The Duchess of Suffolk, it is evident, was not dissatisfied at the imprisonment of these persecuting bishops. Both of them had been instrumental in bringing to the stake her friend, Anne Askew, and one of them, Gardiner, had conspired to bring her more intimate friend, Katharine Parr, to the scaffold, as well as meditated mischief against herself for her heresy. This had roused her spirit, and she

[1] Turner's *Modern History of England*, vol. iii., pp. 238-240.

was not slow in letting them know, by her poignant invectives, that they were not to expect sympathy from her. As she was one day passing by the chamber of the Tower in which Gardiner was confined, the imprisoned bishop, on seeing her, courteously lifted his hat to her from his chamber window, looking sweet as summer, as humbly and gently in his present condition as if he could not have cherished a harsh thought, nor uttered a harsh word, nor done a harsh action against any human being. The duchess well knew the insincerity of this courtly deference; that, in truth, he cordially hated her; and making no effort to conceal her satisfaction at the imprisonment of a man whose hands were red with Protestant blood, she remarked, on observing his salutation, that it was merry with the lambs now when the wolf was shut up. Under this withering sarcasm Gardiner secretly writhed and was mightily enraged. It was also said, though the report was unfounded, that during some of her journeys through the country, the duchess had caused a dog to be clothed in a rochet, and that she carried it about with her, giving it the name of Bishop Gardiner. This humorous device in ridicule of Gardiner had originated with others, not with her, and the pantomime had been enacted by others, without their consulting or receiving any such orders from her; but the story had been told to Gardiner as one of her irreverent contrivances to bring him into contempt, and it had the effect of deepening his vindictive resentments against her, though, being shut up in a prison, and powerless, he deemed it prudent in the meantime to conceal his feelings.

The duchess had to the Duke of Suffolk two sons, Henry and Charles, both of them youths of excellent promise. They studied at King's College, Cambridge, and were placed under the tuition of that accomplished scholar, Dr. Walter Haddon, professor of civil law and university orator. The duchess accompanied them to Cambridge, and was residing there about the time when Martin Bucer, who had come from Strasburg to England upon the invitation of Edward VI., was made professor of divinity at Cambridge. To the inspection and counsel of that eminent man she commended her sons. Duke

Henry was much addicted to the study of letters, and such was his capacity, that he mastered in a short time, and with the greatest ease, what cost others long and laborious study. Yet his manners were modest and unassuming. He delighted in the conversation of learned men, by many of whom his mother had taken care to surround him, and others of whom he himself, attracted by their talents and acquirements, selected as his associates. On meeting with his learned friends his custom was to propound some question for mutual discussion. He had a ready and fluent utterance, which Haddon observing, strongly advised him to cultivate, by diligently studying the writings of Cicero, assuring him that by doing so for a year or two, he would become a more accomplished master of the Ciceronian style than himself, high as was his reputation as a successful imitator of the great Roman orator. This advice was punctually followed by Duke Henry. Similar were the talents and character of his brother Charles.[1]

According to Strype, the duchess intended to match Duke Henry with Lady Agnes Woodville, who was brought up in her house, and the wardship and marriage of whom she had obtained from the king.[2]

Whatever may be as to this, we know that her decided judgment was that children should be allowed freedom of choice in matrimonial engagements. On this point she displayed a soundness of judgment and a generosity of feeling by no means common in that age, when considerations of mere worldly interest were generally the determining elements in the formation of marriage alliances. The Duke of Somerset, lord protector, with whom she was on a very friendly footing, was desirous that one of his daughters should be united in

[1] These particulars are drawn from a high character of the two brothers, in Latin, contained in an eloquent oration delivered upon their funeral, by their tutor, Dr. Haddon, before the university of Cambridge. It is prefixed to Sir Thomas Wilson's *Epistola de vita et obitu duorum fratrum Suffolciensium, Henrici et Caroli Brandon*, printed at London in 1552; and is extracted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1825, vol. xcv., part ii., p. 206. Strype, in his *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., pp. 492, has given the substance in a translated form.

[2] *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., pp. 491, 492.

marriage to one of her sons, probably the eldest. Such a union, to the duchess personally, would have been quite agreeable, but the parties chiefly interested being too young for entering into that relation, she wished both of them to be left to their own choice, without any attempts being made to force their inclinations. She thus writes on the subject to William Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, with whom,[1] as well as with his learned lady, Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, she was on most familiar terms: —"And where it pleased my lord of Warwick,[2] for the better show of his friendship, to wish my lord of Somerset to go through with my son for his daughter, I trust the friendship between my Lord Somerset and me hath been tried such, and hath so good assurance upon the simple respects of our good-will only, that we shall not need to do anything rashly or unorderly to make the world to believe the better of our friendships; and for the one of us to think well of the other, no unadvised bond between a boy and girl can give such assurance of good-will as hath been tried already; and now, they marrying by our orders, and without their consents, or as they be yet without judgment to give such a consent as ought to be given in matrimony, I cannot tell what more unkindness one of us might show another, or wherein we might work more wickedly, than to bring our children into so miserable estate not to choose, by their own likings, such as they must profess so strait a bond and so great a love to for ever.

[1] "The duchess," says Tytler, "seems to have consulted Cecil upon every matter of importance concerning the management of her family and estates, and her correspondence with this great man might of itself form a small volume. Her letters are lively, and often humorous; full of domestic details, for she appears to have been a notable *housewife;* but occasionally throwing glimpses of light upon the history of the times." —*Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. i., p. 280. In one of these letters to Cecil, dated 27th April, 1550, she praises him as an arbiter or judge who could look solely to the equity of the case, and scorn "to break justice's head for friendship." In another to him, dated 18th May, 1550, she represents the privy council as a venal tribunal, whose favourable judgment, in a worldly affair of her own, could only be secured by bribery; or, in her own expressive language, when she "followed" the "onset" of her friends in her behalf "with her letters in battle, and her money in the rearward."—*Ibid.*

[2] John Dudley, afterwards Earl of Northumberland.

This, I promise you, I have said for my lord's daughter as well as for my son, and this more I say for myself, and I say it not but truly, I know none this day living that I rather wish my son than she, but I am not, because I like her best, therefore desirous that she should be constrained by her friends to have him, whom she might, peradventure, not like so well as I like her; neither can I yet assure myself of my son's liking, neither do I greatly mistrust it, for if he be ruled by right judgment, then shall he, I am sure, have no cause to mislike, except he think himself misliked; but to have this matter come best to pass were that we parents kept still our friendship, and suffer our children to follow our examples, and to begin their loves of themselves, without our forcing; for, although both might happen to be obedient to their parents, and marry at our pleasures, and so find no other cause to mislike, but that by our power they lost their free choice, whereby neither of them can think themselves so much bounden to the other, th [at] fault is sufficient to break the greatest love: wherefore I will make much of my lady's daughter, without the respect of my son's cause, and it may please my lord to love my son for his mother's sake, and so I doubt not, but if God do not mislike it, my son and his daughter shall much better like it to make up the matter themselves, and let them even alone with it, saying there can no good agreement happen between them that we shall mislike, and if it should not happen well, there is neither they nor none of us shall blame another. And so, my good Cecil, being weary, I leave you to the Lord.—From Kingston, the 9th of May, [1550]. Your assured, "K. SUFFOLK.

"To my friend Master Cecil."[1]

The duchess took much interest in the foreign Protestants who had betaken themselves to England during the reign of Edward VI. These refugees were numerous, and consisted of Germans, French, Italians, Spaniards, Poles, some of whom had come to England for commercial purposes, but the greater part of whom had fled hither to escape the persecutions then raging in their respective countries,

[1] Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Britain*, vol. iii., p. 246.

and to enjoy the liberty of professing the Protestant religion.[1] They formed themselves into distinct congregations, obtained suitable churches in which to assemble for divine worship, and chose pastors to instruct and preside over them. They were fostered by the English Reformers and government, from motives both of Christian charity and Christian policy, presenting, as they did, the prospect of becoming instrumental in diffusing among their own countrymen the reformed religion, in the event of their returning to their respective homes.[2] Of all the foreign Protestants, Martin Bucer, to whose care the duchess had recommended her sons when studying at the university of Cambridge, was the man, the lustre of whose talents and Christian graces had called forth her profoundest admiration and esteem. This eminent man, during the time of her residence at Cambridge with her sons, was seized with his last illness, and, during the whole period of its continuance, she watched by his sick-bed with unwearied care, administering every comfort which his situation required, performing every office and undergoing every fatigue which might be expected from the tender and self-denied affection of a mother; hoping that, by the blessing of God, she might be made the means of preserving a life so valuable to the church, or, if death was determined, that by her unremitting attentions she might contribute to mitigate his sufferings, till the fatal struggle was over.[3] The freedom of the duchess in launching the barbed shafts of her ridicule against Bishop Gardiner, may, to the superficial thinker, invest her character with the appearance of severity, though, in reality, this proceeded from an acute sensibility of heart, from an intense abhorrence of persecution, prompting her to employ a talent with which she was endued to brand with scorn the persecutor; but, when we enter the sick-chamber of the venerable

[1] At the time of the issuing of the proclamation by Queen Mary's government, in the beginning of her reign, commanding all foreigners to quit the kingdom, they numbered, according to the testimony of a Spanish Jesuit who was then in England, more than 30,000.—Turner's *Modern Hist. of England*, vol. iii., p. 463.

[2] Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 234.

[3] *Melchior Adam.*, p 221.

Bucer, and see her personally attending him by day and by night, relieving his wants by her assiduous ministry, reaching the healing draught, propping his head, smoothing his pillow, wiping from his pallid face the cold dews of death, whispering in his ears the consolations of the gospel, and doing everything that a fellow-creature could do to soften the agonies of his dying bed, all must admit that in these labours of love she displayed the deep tenderness of her affections. Bucer was, indeed, a man of such amiable character, that he gained upon the hearts of all the good. The beautiful letter written by Peter Martyr to Conrad Hubert, of Strasburg, on the occasion of Bucer's death, which took place February 28, 1551,[1] may be considered as expressing the sentiments and feelings of this lady, as well as the sentiments and feelings of all who knew that illustrious Reformer:—Bucer "has now departed in peace to our God and to Christ Jesus, to the universal regret of all good men, and to my incredible sorrow. I am so broken and dismayed by his death, as to seem mutilated of more than half of myself, and that the better half. . . . . This most estimable doctor and father was lent to us by God for a time, to be recalled at his good pleasure. It is our duty not to find fault with his judgments, but to appeal to his compassion, and diligently entreat him, by earnest and persevering prayer, that in the room of those soldiers who have finished their warfare, and whom he is, from time to time, continuing to discharge by death, he would again supply the now empty ranks with valiant warriors. O wretched me! as long as Bucer was in England, or while we lived together in Germany, I never felt myself to be in exile. But now I plainly seem to myself to be alone and desolate. Hitherto I have had a faithful companion in that road in which we were both of us so unitedly walking. I am now torn asunder from a man of the same mind with myself, and who was truly after my own heart, by this most bitter death which has taken him off. Truly the hand of the Lord has touched me. He still lives and is in the enjoyment of the most delightful fruits of his labours; he is trans-

[1] The letter is dated Oxford, March 8, 1551.

planted by God into a better state of existence; he has left those dear to him, but he is received by those still more dear into everlasting habitations. He has cast away that which was corrupt and perishable, and has put on the robe of an everlasting immortality." [1]

A few months after the death of Bucer the duchess was plunged into sorrow by the death of her two sons, who died of the sweating-sickness,[2] on the 16th of July that year. This mournful event took place at Bugden, the Bishop of Lincoln's palace, whither the two youths had retired to escape the sickness, which had broken out with great severity, and carried off multitudes, both rich and poor, in many parts of England, and especially in London. Soon after their arrival they were taken ill. It is remarkable that the eldest brother, Duke Henry, when at supper, being then in perfect health, said to a worthy lady sitting at the table, and who loved the two brothers with a maternal affection, "Where shall we sup to-morrow night?" "Either in this house, I hope, my lord," she answered, "or elsewhere

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 490, 491.

[2] This dreaded disease, so remarkable for the vast numbers it attacked, and for the rapidity of its fatal issue, first appeared in the army of Henry VII., upon his landing at Milford, out of France, on the 7th of August, 1485; next in 1506; again in 1517; a fourth time in 1528; and a fifth time in 1551. In some chronicles of the period it is called "the posting sweat," because it posted from town to town through England; "the hot sickness," and "stop-gallant," as it spared none; and it became so speedily mortal, that some who were dancing in the court at nine o'clock were dead at eleven. —Note of Editor of Henry Machyn's *Diary*, Camden Society Publications, pp. 319, 320. The manner of its attack was this: "It first affected some particular part, attended with inward heat and burning, unquenchable thirst, restlessness, sickness at stomach and heart (though seldom vomiting), headache, delirium, then faintness, and excessive drowsiness. The pulse became quick and vehement, and the breath short and labouring."—Dr. Friend's *History of Physic*, vol. ii., p. 335, quoted in Ballard's *Memoirs of Learned British Ladies*, p. 50. "We have a little pain in the head and heart," says the French ambassador, resident in London during the prevalence of this disease in 1528, "we suddenly begin to sweat, and need no physician, for whoever uncover themselves the least in the world, or cover themselves too much, are dead in four hours, and sometimes in two or three." But, though suddenly fatal where it issued in death, the greater proportion by far, according to him, recovered; for on the 30th of June he writes, that of 40,000 affected, only 2,000 died.—Quoted in Turner's *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., pp. 234, 235. The cure was to promote the sweating, which it was necessary to do for a long time; and sleep was by all means to be avoided.

with some friend of yours." "By no means," said he, as if he had got some premonition of his approaching death, "for never after this shall we sup here together." At these words the lady became alarmed, on observing which he, smiling, bade her not be dismayed. Late in the evening his mother, feeling upon her spirit a more than usual anxiety about her children, came to Bugden, immediately after which he fell ill of the sweating-sickness, and suffered greatly from the burning heat of the disease. With the assistance of a physician, she used every means for his recovery, but all was in vain; the raging malady was not to be arrested, and in five hours he was a corpse. Charles, the younger brother, had been similarly attacked, and he was placed in a bed-chamber distant from that in which his brother lay.[1] His brother's death was concealed from him, but from the manner of those about him, he suspected what had happened, and was observed to be more than usually thoughtful. Being asked by the physician upon what he was meditating, he replied, "I am thinking how hard it is to be deprived of one's dearest friend." Why do you say so?" said the physician. He answered, "How can you ask me? My brother is dead, but it matters not, I shall soon follow him." And so he did, having survived his brother only about half an hour.[2]

Under this severe bereavement, the loss of her only children, and that so suddenly and unexpectedly, the afflicted mother bore up with Christian fortitude, and displayed a becoming spirit of pious submission to the will of God. From many friends she received letters of kind condolence, and was very generally sympathized with. The death of these noblemen excited at the time extraordinary interest, partly in consequence of their youth and rank, their excellent character, and promising talents, and partly from the circum-

[1] Henry Machyn, in his *Diary*, p. 8, is mistaken in two particulars, when he says that they died "both in one bed," in Cambridgeshire. The Bishop of Lincoln's palace, at Bugden, at which they died, is in the county of Huntingdon; and they did not die "in one bed." Strype, in his *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., p. 491, also incorrectly says that they "died both in one bed."

[2] Sir Thomas Wilson's *Epistola de Vita*, &c., formerly quoted.

stance that their mother was a distinguished patroness of the English Reformers. Their tutor, Dr. Walter Haddon, as has been formerly observed, pronounced upon them an eloquent and affecting Latin eulogy, before the university of Cambridge, and dedicated some elegant Latin verses to their memory. Other commemorative tributes of respect, from the pens of accomplished scholars, were paid to them, all breathing a spirit of affectionate regret, and indulging in high encomiums.[1] Several weeks after the last mournful duties had been performed to her children's remains, the duchess thus expresses her resigned and pious feelings, in a letter which she wrote to her friend, William Cecil: "I give God thanks, good Master Cecil, for all His benefits which it hath pleased Him to heap upon me, and truly I take this, His last (and to the first sight most sharp and bitter) punishment, not for the least of His benefits, inasmuch as I have never been so well taught by any other before to know His power, His love and mercy, my own wickedness, and that wretched estate that without Him I should endure here. And, to ascertain you that I have received great comfort in Him, I would gladly do it by talk and sight of you; but, as I must confess myself no better than flesh, so I am not well able with quiet to behold my very friends without some part of those evil dregs of Adam, to seem sorry for that whereof I know I rather ought to rejoice; yet, notwithstanding, I would not spare my sorrow so much, but I would gladly endure it, were it not for far other causes that moveth me so to do, which I leave unwritten at this time, meaning to fulfil your last request to-morrow by seven o'clock in the morning. Then, if it please you, you may use him that I send you as if I stood

[1] Among these tributes, besides Sir Thomas Wilson's *Epistola de Vita*, &c, are various epigrams in Latin and Greek, by learned men both of Cambridge and Oxford, with which the *Epistola* is followed. "Sir Thomas Wilson, in his *Arte Rhetorique*, has also an interesting passage describing the characters of these young noblemen; and some Latin verses on their death were written by Michael Reniger, and printed in 1552, 4to. An engraving in Chamberlain's *Holbein Heads* is taken from two miniatures supposed to represent these brothers; but if the dates given in the inscription are compared, they will be found both to belong to the elder boy."—Note by Editor, in Henry Machyn's *Diary*, p. 319.

by. So, with many thanks for your lasting friendship, I betake you to Him that both can, and, I trust, will govern you to His glory and your best contentation.

"From Grimsthorpe, this present Monday, your poorest but assured friend, "K. SUFFOLK.

"To Master Secretary Cecil."[1]

Endorsed "September, 1551."

"In perpetual remembrance of her two sons," who had studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, the duchess appropriated £6, 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum*, towards the maintenance of four scholars in that college.[2]

Towards the close of the reign of Edward VI., or in the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, she married secondly Richard Bertie, a gentleman in her service, and, like herself, a Protestant. Though her inferior in rank, he was of a good family, and a man of excellent character, as well as of high accomplishments. His progenitors originally came from Bertiland, in Prussia, into England at the time of its first invasion by the Saxons, and in reward of their services received from one of the Saxon monarchs the gift of a castle and town, called, from the family name, Bertiestad, now Bersted, near Maidstone, in Kent; Sted or Stad denoting, in the Saxon tongue, a town. His father, Thomas Bertie, of Bersted, was captain of Hurst Castle, in the Isle of Wight, during the latter part of the reign of Henry VII., and was alive in the reign of Edward VI. Richard was educated in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and afterwards, under Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, Lord High Chancellor of England. In addition to his other acquirements, he was learned in the French, Italian, and Latin tongues.[3]

In the reign of Queen Mary, the duchess identified herself with the suffering Reformers, and relieved their wants by bountiful contributions. Bishop Ridley, who had been thrown into prison on the

[1] Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. iii, p. 253. In this collection several other letters of the duchess are inserted.

[2] Ackermann's *History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. ii., p. 87.

[3] Collins' *Peerage of England*, vol. ii., pp 1, 2.

accession of that princess, in a letter to Augustine Berneher,[1] gratefully acknowledges his having received a liberal sum of money sent to him by her, and says, that as he did not require it, he had handed it over to a "brother" in need, probably Bishop Latimer, who had also been imprisoned. "Brother Augustine, I thank you for your manifold kindness. I have received my lady's grace's alms,[2] six royals,[3] six shillings and eight pence. I have written a letter here unto her grace, but I have made no mention thereof; wherefore, I desire you to render her grace hearty thanks. Blessed be God, as for myself I want nothing, but my lady's alms cometh happily to relieve my poor brother's necessity, whom you know they have cast and keep in prison; as I suppose, you know the cause why. Farewell, brother Austin, and take good heed, I pray you, and let my brother's case make you the more wary. Read my letter to my lady's grace. I would Mrs. Wilkinson and Mrs. Warcup had a copy of it; for although the letter is directed to my lady's grace alone, yet the matter thereof pertaineth indifferently to her grace and to all good women, which love God and his Word in deed and truth.—Yours in Christ, N. R."

But not only did the duchess sympathize with the persecuted Reformers during Queen Mary's reign, and relieve their necessities by her pecuniary liberality; she also, by her personal sufferings in the same cause, became their "companion in tribulation and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ."

When Mary, upon her accession, re-established the mass, the duchess, who for many years past had ceased to countenance with her presence this idolatrous service, as well as other Popish rites, had

[1] The letter is in Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*. It is also printed among Ridley's *Letters*, Parker Society Publications, p. 382.

[2] "This alms was sent him by the Lady Katharine, Duchess of Suffolk, to whom he wrote again a worthy letter, which is lost, and many others, written both to her and others."—Mr. Coverdale's note on margin.

[3] Rial or royal, a gold coin worth, in 1 Henry VIII., 11*s.* 3*d.*; in 2 Ed. VI, 13*s.* 6*d.*; and 2 Elizabeth, 15*s.*—Ed. At the period referred to in the text, the value of money was fifteen times greater than at present. The sum communicated would therefore be equal to about £65, 15*s.* of our present money.

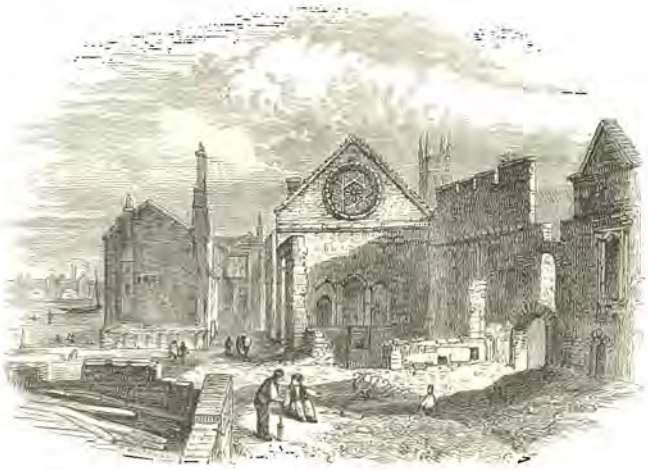
made up her mind not to attend the celebration of mass, at whatever hazard. This was a proof of no small heroism. Of the extent of the danger she would thus incur she was not ignorant. She anticipated the displeasure of the queen, who was universally known to be one of the most fanatical devotees of Popery, though at the commencement of her reign she was prevented, from various causes, from going the length to which she afterwards went, when, quenching every feeling of humanity in her breast, she relentlessly persecuted to the death the reformed confessors. Should the queen, however, be so tolerant as to permit her to act in conformity with her judgment and conscience, she had another ground for apprehension, arising from the hatred of Bishop Gardiner, her mortal enemy, whose sway at court was supreme. By her bitter sarcasms she had exasperated the bishop, who had often ruminated on them as on so many insults, chafed and mortified; and now, when he was exalted to power, she had every reason to expect that he would make her nonconformity the pretext for executing the long meditated vengeance. But these considerations did not subdue her resolution. She had counted the cost, and was prepared to make every sacrifice in the cause of truth. Hence the interest attaching to her subsequent life, the *real* story of which "out-romanced," to use the language of Fuller, "the fictions of many errant adventurers."

It may, perhaps, be supposed that from her high rank she would be secure from the malicious intentions of Gardiner. But a slight attention to the policy as well as the character of that prelate will show the groundlessness of such a supposition. Not only the spirit of revenge, but policy impelled him to meditate her ruin; for he conceived that the most effectual means of arresting the progress of heresy, or of extinguishing it altogether, was by striking down the Reformers most distinguished for rank or talent, or "the head deer" of the flock, as was the phrase at the time.

What increased the danger of the duchess from Gardiner's cruelty was his craft and dissimulation. "His malice," says Fuller, "was like what is commonly said of white powder, which surely discharged

the bullet, yet made no report, being secret in all his acts of cruelty. This made him often chide Bonner, calling him ass, though not so much for killing poor people as for not doing it more cunningly."[1]

Gardiner first resolved to be revenged upon the duchess in the person of her husband, Mr. Richard Bertie. In the time of Lent, 1554, being then lord chancellor, he sent strict orders to the sheriff of Lincolnshire to arrest him immediately, and, without accepting bail, to bring him up a prisoner to London. Mr. Bertie, unconscious of having committed any offence against the queen or the government, could conceive of no ground for this strange proceeding, except that



Remains of Winchester House.

of religion. The sheriff, however, who was favourably disposed towards him, notwithstanding the strict orders he had received, instead of sending him up to London a prisoner, required of him only a bond with two sureties, securing, under a penalty of a thousand pounds,

[1] *Worthies of England*, vol. ii., pp. 331, 332.

that he would appear before the bishop on the Good Friday following. Mr. Bertie proceeded on his journey to London, and, on the day appointed, made his appearance at Gardiner's residence.[1] The bishop, in a towering passion, at once accosted him thus:—"How could you, who are a subject, dare be so arrogant as to set at nought two citations of the queen?" Mr. Bertie denied that these citations had ever come to his hands. "Yea, truly," said Gardiner, "I have sent you two subpœnas to appear immediately, and I am sure you received them, for I intrusted them to the solicitor. I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire, for your obstinacy."

"I have not received any of them," said Bertie, "and I humbly pray your lordship to suspend your displeasure and the punishment till you have good evidence thereof, and then, if you please, you may double the penalty if any fault has been committed."

"Well," returned the bishop, "I have set apart this day, from its sanctity, for devotion, and I will not farther trouble myself with you; but I charge you, under the pain of a thousand pounds, not to depart without leave, and to be here again to-morrow morning at seven o'clock."

On the morrow Bertie was in waiting exactly at the appointed hour. Gardiner had with him at the time Sergeant Stampford, whom he interrogated concerning Bertie. The sergeant, who personally knew Bertie, from having been in the service of the late Lord Wriothesley, Chancellor of England, with whom Bertie was brought up, gave a highly favourable testimony to the excellence of his character. Gardiner then caused Bertie to be brought in, and though the real ground upon which he meant to fasten a quarrel upon him was the Protestant religion of the duchess, yet, as his manner was to endeavour to gain his ends, not directly, but by secret and circuitous methods—as "his strength and skill lay in fetching a compass, like the gyrations of a hawk before pouncing on his prey"—he at first professed to have an entirely different object in view. "The queen's pleasure," said he, "is that you shall make present payment of four

[1] Namely, Winchester House, in Southwark, where Gardiner lived in great style.

thousand pounds, due to her father by Duke Charles, late husband to the duchess, your wife, whose executor she was."

"May it please your lordship," replied Bertie, "that debt is estalled, and, according to that estallment, truly answered."

"Tush," rejoined Gardiner, contemptuously, "the queen will not be bound to estallments in the time of Kett's[1] government, for so I esteem the late government to have been." In other words, he reckoned the government of Edward VI. no better than rebellion.

"The estallment," returned Bertie, "was appointed by King Henry VIII., and it was confirmed by special commissioners in King Edward's time; the lord treasurer, who is executor also to the Duke Charles, solely and wholly taking upon him before the said commissioners to discharge the same."

Gardiner now artfully passes from the pretended object for which he had summoned Bertie, to the real one. "If what you say be true, I will show you favour. But of another thing, Mr. Bertie, I will admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your religion, yet I hardly can think evil of you whose mother I know to be as godly and catholic as any within all England, and who were brought up with a master staunch in the faith, and educated by myself. Besides, I partly know you myself, and partly have learned from my friends enough to make me your friend. I will not, therefore, doubt of you. But I pray you, if I may ask the question, as to my lady your wife, is she now as ready to set up the mass as she was lately to pull it down, when, in her progress, she caused a dog in a rochet to be carried and called by my name? Or does she think her lambs now safe enough, she who said to me, when I veiled my bonnet to her out of my chamber window in the Tower, that it was merry with

[1] Kett was a rich tanner, who headed a numerous body of insurgents in Norfolk on the accession of Edward VI. to the throne. Taking possession of Norwich, he fixed his station on a hill in the neighbourhood, and under an oak there, which he called the Oak of Reformation, he assumed the titles of King of Norfolk and Suffolk. After successfully repelling several attempts of the king's troops to force the city of Norwich, he was at last totally defeated, and, being taken prisoner, was hung in chains on the top of Norwich Castle.

the lambs now when the wolf was shut up? At another time, when my lord, her husband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, desired every lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place themselves; my lady, your wife, taking me by the hand, as my lord would not have her to take himself, said, that as she could not sit down with my lord, whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst." Here Gardiner brings out the chief cause of his bitter enmity against the duchess. His hatred of her for the keenness of her irony was, perhaps, a more intense and deadly feeling than his resentment against her on account of her Protestant principles.

"With respect to the device of the dog," answered Bertie, "it neither originated with her nor had her permission. And as to the setting up of mass, which she learned inwardly to abhor, by the strong arguments of divers learned men of worth, as well as by universal consent and order, during the past six years, were she outwardly to allow it, she should both show herself a false Christian to Christ and a dissembling subject to her prince. You know, my lord, that one reformed by judgment is more worth than a thousand temporizing conformists. To force a confession of religion from the mouth, contrary to what is in the heart, worketh damnation where salvation is pretended."

"Yea, truly," said Gardiner, "that reasoning would be cogent were she required to renounce an old religion for a new. But now she is to return from a new to an ancient religion, wherein, when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any."

"As to that, my lord," replied Bertie, "not long since she answered a friend of hers, using your lordship's words, that religion went not by age but by truth. She was, therefore, to be turned by persuasion, not by commandment."

"I pray you," asked Gardiner, insinuatingly, "do you think it possible to persuade her?"

"Yea, verily," answered Bertie, "with the truth, for she is reasonable enough."

"It will be exceedingly grieving to the Prince of Spain," said Gardiner, deploringly, "and to all the nobility who shall come with him to this country, when they shall find only two noble personages of the Spanish race within this kingdom, the queen, and my lady, your wife, and one of them departed from the faith."

"I trust," replied Bertie, "that they shall find no fruits of infidelity in her."

The bishop then strongly urged Bertie to labour earnestly to effect a change in the religious sentiments of the duchess, and, with high professions and promises of friendship, released him from his bond for further appearance.[1]

Bertie was too sincere a Protestant to attempt to make the duchess believe to be truth what he himself believed to be a lie; and she did not hold her religious principles so cheap as to renounce them at the dictation of a bishop, for whose character and integrity she had no respect.

Convinced from this examination that Gardiner had been contriving evil against her, and warned by her friends of his purpose to call her to account for her faith, whereby extremity might follow, she and Mr. Bertie resolved on making their escape to the continent. Mr. Bertie had a ready pretext for going abroad, namely, to recover large sums of money due to the late Duke of Suffolk (one of whose executors the duchess was) on the continent, Charles V. being one of these debtors. He communicated his intention to Gardiner, observing that he considered the present a very favourable opportunity for dealing with the emperor, who, to forward the projected marriage between the queen and his son, would not refuse to satisfy so reasonable a claim, in order to gain favour with the English. "I like your device well," said Gardiner, "but I think that it would be better for you to remain in England till the prince's arrival, for then I would procure you his letters also to his father." "Begging your lordship's pardon for my freedom of speech," returned Bertie, respectfully, "I think it will then be a less favourable time, for after the consumma-

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii., pp. 569, &c.

tion of the marriage, the emperor's wishes being accomplished, he will not have the same motive for pleasing the English." "By St. Mary," said Gardiner, smiling, "you guess shrewdly; well, proceed in your suit to the queen, and I shall not fail to lend you my assistance." Gardiner for once was outwitted. Never dreaming, it would appear, that this was a plan by which the duchess was to escape his fangs, he assisted Bertie in obtaining the queen's license, warranting him to pass to and return from the continent as often as he chose, till he had fully settled his business. This was obtained in a few days, and he sailed from Dover about the beginning of June, 1554, leaving the duchess, in the meantime, behind him.

As had been agreed between them, the duchess, with her infant daughter, who was a year old, attended by seven servants, namely, a groom, who was a Greek by birth, a joiner, a brewer, a fool, a cook, a gentlewoman, and a laundress, followed him in the beginning of January next year. These servants were the humblest in her house; for she did not ask the higher class of her servants to accompany her. doubtful whether they would be willing to share the perils of her journey. To prevent discovery, they were not made privy to her design till immediately before, and none was made privy to it with the exception of a trustworthy old gentleman, Mr. Robert Cranwell, whom Bertie, previously to his departure, had specially engaged to aid the duchess in her flight. Having got everything in readiness, she left her house in London, called the Barbican, between four and five o'clock in the morning, with her child and servants. At the moment of her issuing from the gate, one of the male servants, named Atkinson, whom some noise, caused by her preparation, had raised, came out with a torch in his hand. Afraid of detection, she left a portmanteau, containing food and clothes for her child, in the gate-house, and commanded all her attendants, with the exception of the gentlewoman and laundress, to proceed with haste before her to Sion Quay, where all were to take boat. They did so, leaving her and the two women, with the child, to follow.

Perceiving that Atkinson, though he saw nobody, was following

in the direction in which she was going, she hurried into Charter House, near by, to conceal herself, until, all being again quiet, he returned to the house, when she proceeded on her journey. She was habited in the garb of a mean merchant's wife, and her servants wore the dress of the lowest in their condition of life. Though none of them knew the way to Sion Quay, and the servants, who had gone before, having separated, were in great risk of losing one another, yet all of them happily met together, about the same time, within a short distance of Moorgate, whence they went directly to Sion Quay. The morning was so misty that the boatman was only prevailed upon to launch by urgent entreaties. On that very day the council received intelligence of her flight, and some of them immediately proceeded to her house to make inquiries, and took an inventory of her goods. Measures were also adopted for apprehending her before she should leave the country.

On her arrival at Leigh, a town at the Land's-end, that is, on the Essex shore, whither the report of her flight had spread before her, Cranwell brought her to the house of a London merchant, one of his old acquaintances, Mr. Gosling, to whom the whole secret was revealed. At this hospitable mansion, which was in the neighbourhood of the town, she remained for some time under a fictitious name, waiting for the sailing of the vessel, and employed herself in making new clothes for her daughter. The night before her embarkation she slept at an inn in Leigh, where she narrowly escaped discovery. Wind and tide being favourable, the fugitives embarked, but the weather afterwards becoming less propitious, they were twice carried into the open sea, almost to the coast of Zealand, and at last were driven back to the place whence they sailed. On this last occasion, it being suspected that the duchess was in the vessel, it was intended to search it; but one of her man-servants, who went ashore for fresh provisions, having been examined, he succeeded, by his apparently simple, ingenuous account, in producing the impression that the lady on board, who was suspected of being the duchess, was only a mean merchant's wife, and no search was made. Again setting

sail for the Netherlands, the vessel landed safely with its cargo in Brabant.[1]

Gardiner, who thought none equalled him in well-contrived circuitous stratagem, now found that even in this accomplishment he had been outmastered by Mr. Bertie and the duchess. By the success with which they had carried into effect their preconcerted design, they had fairly out-Gardinered Gardiner, leaving him mortified and boiling with wrath at the escape of a lady by whom he had been repeatedly snubbed for his persecuting cruelty.

Miss Strickland, in her *Queens of England*, expresses astonishment that the flight of the duchess to the continent should be attributed to her Protestant principles. She maintains that the duchess did not greatly deviate from the old religion, and that the real cause of her flight was the disfavour into which she had fallen with Mary in consequence of her marriage with Richard Bertie, a man much below her in rank. "This lady," says she, "is placed as a victim in the martyrologies! but there is something suppressed in that statement, since ladies who were farther from the ancient church than ever the Duchess of Suffolk was—such as Lady Bacon and her sisters, and the daughters of the Protector Somerset—were in offices about the queen's person; and it is plain, by the marginal notes in Katharine Parr's work, which she published, that she approved of the celibacy of the clergy! And if these were her tenets in the reign of Elizabeth, the inference is reasonable that love, not religion, was the cause of her quarrel with Queen Mary. Speed uses these words before the introduction of Foxe's narrative of this lady's exile: 'The Duchess of Suffolk was in disgrace with the queen for marrying Mr. Bertie, a man too inferior for her estate.'[2] The probable reason of Queen Mary's displeasure was because the Duchess of Suffolk was of royal descent, and was a relative of Katharine of Aragon by her mother, Lady Mary de Salines, a descendant of the house of De Foix." She therefore concludes, that "the flight of the Dowager of

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii., pp. 659-576.
[2] Speed's *History*, 1125.

Suffolk to the continent seems to have originated as much from her stolen match with Richard Bertie as on a religious account."[1]

Thus would Miss Strickland rob the duchess of the honour of suffering for the Protestant religion; but her attempt is without success. Her insinuation that the duchess had not receded far from the Popish Church cannot be admitted. There is no good ground for asserting that she was less removed from Popery than Lady Bacon and the other ladies referred to. We know that at least one of these ladies, namely, Lady Burghley,[2] conformed to Popery on the accession of Mary to the throne, which the Duchess of Suffolk never did. And, in regard to "the marginal notes," or rather *note*, as to clerical celibacy, inserted by or with the sanction of the duchess, in Katharine Parr's work, published in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we have formerly seen that this note affords no proof that she approved of clerical celibacy.[3] But were we even to grant that it did, this would only show that the whole truth had not beamed upon her mind; that, though she had shaken off and abhorred the system of Popery, still she was entangled by one of the Popish tenets, the falsehood of which, though branded in Scripture as the "doctrine of devils," she had not discovered, a case by no means uncommon.

Not less incorrect is Miss Strickland in affirming that this lady has obtained a place in the martyrology of the Protestant Church by the suppression of a part of the truth. So far is this from being the case, that it is, on the contrary, only by a suppression of a part of the truth that she can be excluded. In order to secure for her a place in Protestant martyrology, it is not necessary to conceal or to deny the fact that she had incurred the displeasure of the queen by her marrying a person inferior to herself in point of rank; but the royal displeasure against her on that account was not the main cause of her flight. This was her dread of her bitter enemy, Bishop Gardiner, who was now in power, and who was conspiring her destruction; a fact which Miss Strickland keeps altogether out of view, thus commit-

[1] *Queens of England*, vol. v., p. 420.
[2] See *Life of Lady Burghley*.
[3] See *Life of Katharine Parr*, p. 302.

ting the very fault which she blames in others. The duchess was not ignorant of the vindictive character of Gardiner; she had learned that he was plotting against her, and had determined to make her Protestantism the pretext for wreaking his vengeance upon her head; and, knowing this, she judged it prudent to make her escape, the more especially as the disgrace in which she was at the court of Mary, on account of her marriage, would give Gardiner a greater advantage against her, an advantage which a man like him, who could turn all circumstances to a positive account in furtherance of his own views, would not fail to take.

To return to our narrative: having landed in Brabant, the duchess and her servant-women provided themselves with apparel similar to that worn by the women of the country. She and Mr. Bertie then proceeded towards the territory of the Duke of Cleves, in a town of which, called Santon, they rented a house for a short time, until they had leisure to look out for a secure and permanent residence. They afterwards thought of settling at a town about five miles distant from Santon, named Wesel, situated on the Rhine, and also under the jurisdiction of the Duke of Cleves. This was one of the Hanse towns, which enjoyed the privileges of the Steel-yard Company in London. Thither numbers of the Walloons, professing the reformed religion, had fled to escape persecution; and they had for their minister Francis Perusell, who then went under the assumed name of Francis de Rivers. Through this minister, who had been for some time in England, where he had received kind attentions from the duchess, Mr. Bertie, while yet at Santon, obtained letters of protection from the magistrates of Wesel, in the prospect of his removing permanently to that town. The duchess was known only to the chief magistrate, who was her warm friend. Had she been known to the other magistrates, who were not very favourably disposed towards the reformed religion, the letters of protection would, on that account, have been less easily obtained.

Circumstances drove the strangers sooner from Santon than they contemplated, a report having got abroad in the town that the duchess

and her husband were greater personages than they gave themselves out to be. The magistrates and the Bishop of Arras, who was also dean of the great monastery, laying their heads together, it was concluded that the duchess and her husband should be immediately examined as to their condition and religion. Apprised of this resolution by a gentleman of that country, Mr. Bertie and the duchess, afraid of being involved in trouble, purposed to leave the town without delay for Wesel, but quietly, lest suspicion of their having fled should be excited. About three o'clock in the afternoon, in February, 1555, they left the house on foot, with their child and two servants—leaving the rest of their domestics behind them—as if going merely to take an airing, having neither horse nor waggon. Their object was to reach Wesel that night.



The Flight from Santon to Wesel.

The day was frosty, and the ground hard, from a long-continued frost; but they had not been more than an English mile out of Santon when there fell a heavy rain, by which the ground was thawed and the roads rendered almost impassable. Drenched with rain,

fatigued, and night overtaking them. Mr. Bertie and the duchess sent their two servants to the villages, as they passed, to hire a car, for their more speedy and comfortable conveyance, but none could be got, and the travellers had to make their way, as they best could, on foot. Mr. Bertie carried the child, while the duchess carried his cloak and rapier. They arrived at Wesel between six and seven o'clock in the evening, which was very dark. But their hardships were not yet ended. Every place of shelter seemed to be shut against them. They went from inn to inn, offering liberal payment for small accommodations, but were refused by all the innkeepers, who suspected Mr. Bertie of being a knight-errant, and the duchess of being his mistress. From cold and want of food the child cried piteously, and the mother wept bitterly, while the rain descended in torrents.

Thus inhospitably driven from every door, Mr. Bertie resolved to bring his wife, their child, and the servants, to the porch of the great church in the town, and to purchase coals, victuals, and straw, that there they might warm themselves and partake of some refreshment till he might provide them with better accommodation; or, if such could not be procured, that they might there spend that miserable night. He had then but a very imperfect knowledge of the German language, and, from the badness of the weather and the lateness of the night, he could not fall in with any individual able to speak English, French, Italian, or Latin. At last, however, in going towards the church-porch with his wife and their child, he heard two boys conversing together in Latin. He made up to them, and speaking in that language, offered them two stivers if they would conduct him to the house of a Walloon.

The first house to which, by the assistance of the youths, he and the duchess, with their daughter, were providentially brought, was that of a Walloon with whom Perusell, who had procured them letters of protection from the magistrates of the town, was supping that night. At the first knock the master of the house answered, and opening the door, inquired at Mr. Bertie who he was. "An English-

man," replied Bertie, "who am seeking for Mr. Perusell's house." The Walloon, desiring him to stay for a moment at the door, went into the house, and told Perusell that the very English gentleman of whom they had been talking at supper had sent a person, very probably his servant, to speak with him. Perusell, coming to the door, was surprised to see Mr. Bertie and the duchess in so wretched a plight, weather-beaten, fatigued, and cold, their faces and dress deformed with mud; and all of them were so affected that they could not for some time speak to one another for tears. At last recovering themselves, they interchanged mutual salutations. The strangers were set down at a good fire, food was placed before them, and everything done to make them comfortable. Mr. Bertie exchanged his apparel with the master of the house, the duchess with the mistress, and the infant daughter with the child of the house. We can easily conceive that the great theme of conversation, on this evening, would be the disastrous change which had come over the church and nation of England.

A few days after, by the good services of Mr. Perusell, the illustrious refugees hired a suitable house in the church-porch of Willebrode, in Wesel. The news of their inhospitable treatment by the innkeepers had by this time spread through the whole town, and on the Sabbath following a preacher from the pulpit openly and severely censured this instance of incivility towards strangers, quoting various passages from Scripture to show that the hospitable have sometimes been rewarded, not only by their entertaining princes under the disguise of private persons, but even angels, who had appeared in the form of men, and that God, as a punishment, might one day cause them to know from experience the afflicted heart of a stranger, by making them strangers in a foreign land.[1]

While residing at Wesel the duchess was delivered of a son, on the 12th of October, 1555. In token of their gratitude to God, for thus giving them a son when exiles in a foreign country, she and Mr. Bertie named him Peregrine—a name which, being associated

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii., pp. 569-576.

with the historic records of the family, with its fireside traditions, with the heroic virtues of illustrious ancestors, was borne by various of his descendants in after generations. His birth and baptism are entered in the register of the city of Wesel. The entry, which is in Latin, and dated 20th November, 1555, may be translated as follows: "In the year 1555 from the birth of Christ our Saviour, which is the 5523d from the beginning of the world, and the thirty-eighth from the restoration of the doctrine of the gospel by Mr. Martin Luther, on Saturday, the 12th of October, the most illustrious Lady Katharine, Baroness of Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, in the kingdom of England, wife of the most illustrious Mr. Richard Bertie, of Eresby, from England, was, by the Divine favour, in this our city of Wesel, in the duchy of Cleves, safely delivered of a son, who, on the first Monday thereafter, namely, on the 14th of the same month, was baptized in our church, in the suburbs called Upter Mathena, by Henry Bomelius, minister of that church, under the name of Peregine, because he was given by the Lord to his pious parents *in a foreign land*,[1] for the comfort of their exile."[2]

From Mary's ecclesiastical policy, upon her accession, in overthrowing the Reformation, and in re-establishing the Popish religion, her Protestant subjects foreboded times of severe persecution, and, to escape the threatened storm, many of them, both clergy and laity, followed the example of the duchess, by fleeing into foreign countries. Often with great difficulty did they effect their flight. Proclamations had been issued forbidding their removal, and officers appointed to intercept fugitives. But, by watching for opportuni-

[1] *in terra Peregrina.*

[2] Collins' *Peerage of England*, vol. ii., p. 5. A stone, with an inscription commemorative of the birth of this boy, who afterwards distinguished himself in the service of his country, and whose posterity increased in honours, was placed at the east entrance of the porch of the church of St. Willebrode, in Wesel. This stone having been defaced by the destroying hand of time, and by military violence, one of his descendants, who visited Germany as royal ambassador, towards the close of the reign of Charles II., in veneration of his memory, and proud of ancestors who had been honoured to suffer exile for the Protestant religion, caused another stone to be substituted in its place, bearing an appropriate Latin inscription.—See the inscription in Collins' *Peerage of England*, vol. ii., p. 6.

ties, and by the favour of several masters of small vessels upon the coasts, they eluded the vigilance of the government, and made good their escape. Many of them fled to Strasburg in France; Frankfort in Germany; Emden in Friesland; Duisburg, a town of Guelderland in Holland; Basle, Zurich, Berne, Lausanne, Araw, and Geneva in Switzerland, where they met with a generous reception, and obtained the liberty of their religious worship. In these asylums some prosecuted their studies, others became teachers in schools, some composed books, others found scope for their industry at the printing presses.[1] The settlement of the duchess and her husband at Wesel being known, this drew thither a considerable number of English Protestant refugees, not less than a hundred, it is believed. Myles Coverdale, celebrated for his translation of the Scriptures into English, who had lately left England for Denmark, appeared among them early in the spring of 1555, having come from Denmark, and continued to officiate as preacher to them till the beginning of September following.[2]

The only Protestant places where the English exiles were inhospitably treated were Denmark, Saxony, and other parts of Germany, in which Lutheranism was professed. It might have been expected that the Lutherans would have welcomed them as dearly beloved brethren in the Lord—as exiles "for the Word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ." But it was not so. Like the great Reformer, their founder, they maintained the untenable and unintelligible doctrine of consubstantiation, and clinging to it as pertinaciously as if it involved the very essence of Christianity, they would hold fellowship with none who hesitated to adopt this Shibboleth of their party. Such they scarcely would acknowledge as Christians at all, and, in expression of their hostility and contempt, branded them with the nicknames of heretics, false prophets, Suermeros, Sacrimentaries, Sacramentiperdas. The English exiles, denying the

[1] Strype's *Memorials of Arch. Cranmer*, pp. 353-356.

[2] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., p. 410.—Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii., pp. 287, 295.

doctrine of consubstantiation, and following the views of Zwingle as to the sacrament of the Supper, were on this account refused shelter by the Lutherans, who would not suffer them to land on their shores, and who rudely expelled from their cities such of them as had found their way thither. Such was the intolerance of the Lutherans towards the English exiles, that they were not in a disposition to listen to reason or remonstrance on this point. Should any of their ministers, influenced by more liberal views and by a more compassionate heart, inculcate lenity, forbearance, and sympathy, he became the object of clamour, reproach, and censure.[1] It is exceedingly painful to observe this exclusive, sectarian, and rancorous spirit of the Lutherans against their suffering fellow-Protestants, simply and solely for a difference of sentiment as to the sacrament of the Supper. Not only was this spirit utterly unamiable, and utterly alien to the spirit of genuine Christianity, but it was making war upon one of the essential principles of the Reformation—liberty of thought, the right of private judgment; it was the assumption of the infallibility which they condemned in the Pope; it was an attempt to deprive their fellow-Protestants of what they themselves claimed as a right, and to bring the reason and judgment of others into slavish subjection to their dictation.

The Duchess of Suffolk and other English refugees resident in Wesel, were in some danger of expulsion, because they could not subscribe to the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. The Senate, from their Lutheran propensities and Lutheran intolerance, were actually on the point of commanding them to depart, and were only prevented from doing so by the interposition of Philip Melancthon. "These poor exiles," said this amiable Reformer, in answer to the fierce denunciations of some against them, "are to be retained, succoured, and cherished, not afflicted and harassed by any harsh sentence. In the main articles of the Christian faith they are sound, and if they differ from us on certain points, as they certainly do, they

[1] Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, pp. 353, 354.—Ruchat, *Histoire de la Reformation de la Suisse*, tom. vi., pp. 549-552.

are to be instructed and informed, not rudely and forcibly expelled."[1]

Exactly a month after the birth of her son Peregrine, namely, on the 12th of November, 1555, the duchess's enemy, Gardiner, was removed by death. Under his last illness he clung fondly to life and office, unwilling to believe that death was near; but his days were numbered, and, from an awakened conscience, his mind was now ill at ease. At his request, the evangelical narrative of the sufferings of the Saviour being read to him, he desired the reader, on coming to the denial of Peter, to stop, and exclaimed, "Negavi cum Petro, exivi cum Petro, sed nondum flevi cum Petro" — "I have denied with Peter, I have gone out with Peter, but I have not yet wept like Peter." Gardiner's death, however, caused no abatement in the persecution of the Protestants in England. Cardinal Pole, who succeeded him as chief adviser of Queen Mary, served himself heir to the persecuting policy of his predecessor. Gardiner died only nine months after persecution to the death began, during which time he had succeeded in cutting off "the head deer" of the flock, Rogers, Saunders, Bradford, Hooper, Ferrar, Ridley, and Latimer. But after that prelate's death, the persecution continued three years, under the administration of Cardinal Pole, with a ferocity not less relentless—continued even to the death of the bigoted and infatuated queen, and of the inhuman cardinal, who survived her not many hours. Pole has often been praised for the mildness and suavity of his manners. Mild and engaging he may have been in his intercourse with his friends, as many remorseless persecutors have been; but his sanguinary policy, while he was Mary's prime minister, will render his memory infamous to the latest ages.

The Duchess of Suffolk, on hearing of Gardiner's death, did not think of returning to England. Knowing that she had other enemies there, believing that the persecution would go on with undiminished violence, and not choosing to expose herself to the risk

[1] Strype's *Mem. of Arch. Cranmer*, pp. 353, 354.

of being committed to the flames at Smithfield, she still remained on the continent, waiting till Providence should send more favourable times.

She soon discovered that in coming to this resolution she had acted wisely. Though Gardiner had now been called to his account, and his malice could no longer hurt her, yet other malignant spirits in England were conspiring her destruction. While she and Mr. Bertie were thinking themselves happily settled at Wesel, and while the time of their exile was agreeably and insensibly gliding away, they suddenly received a friendly communication from Sir John Mason, then Queen Mary's ambassador in the Netherlands, to the effect that a plot had been formed in England for arresting them; that Lord Paget, who had gone to the baths in the direction of Wesel, had done so with this intention, and not for the benefit of his health, as was pretended; that Henry, Duke of Brunswick, who was Luther's mortal enemy, and would permit none of his subjects to embrace Lutheranism, was shortly to pass by Wesel with his troops, for the assistance of Austria against the French king; and that the design was to intercept the duchess and her husband by means of this company. To escape the toils thus laid for them, they removed from Wesel to Windsheim Castle, in Upper Germany, in the Palgrave's dominions. In consequence of their departure from Wesel, the English Protestant congregation in that place, many of the members of which depended upon them, was broken up and dispersed, some following them, and others proceeding to Basle.[1] They staid at Windsheim Castle, under the Palgrave's protection, till, their provisions failing them, they had the prospect of suffering great privations.

In these distressing circumstances, when ready to sink into despair, relief was offered them from an unexpected quarter. Their situation becoming known to John A Lasco, a distinguished Protestant Polish nobleman, who had, during the reign of Edward VI., found refuge in England from persecution, and who was personally

[1] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., part i., p. 410.

acquainted with the duchess, this kind-hearted nobleman was, unknown to them, generously devising means by which he might secure their safety and comfort in their exile. He had represented their case to the Palatine of Wilna, a sincere friend of the Reformation, and to his own nephew, Sigismund II., King of Poland, who, though he had not embraced the reformed doctrines then spreading in Poland, was a liberal-minded monarch, and disposed to encourage the reformation of the church; and he had awakened the sympathy of these exalted personages.[1] At his suggestion they sent letters to Mr. Bertie and the duchess, affectionately inviting them to Poland, and promising them all the kindness in their power. This unlooked-for friendly invitation greatly revived their oppressed spirits; and though, by removing to Poland, a distant country, unfrequented by the English, they would be separated from many of their countrymen and acquaintances, whom they met with at Wesel, and might, perhaps, find a residence there less agreeable than they anticipated, yet they were inclined to accept the invitation. Before, however, accepting it, they wished to have letters under the king's official seal, confirming the assurances so generously given them in his private letters; and they despatched William Barlow, formerly Bishop of St. David's, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, and now an exile on account of his Protestant principles,[2] to the court of Poland to solicit this favour. He carried with him letters of thanks to the king, and to the Palatine of Wilna, together with a few valuable jewels, the only ones now remaining of many once in possession of the duchess.

Barlow proceeded without delay to the Polish court, and, by the promptitude of the Palatine of Wilna, the request was no sooner

[1] Encouraged by the favourable disposition of his nephew, the King of Poland, to a reformation in the church, A Lasco had returned to Poland in February, 1557, with the view of advancing evangelical truth in his native country.—*Zurich Original Letters*, first series, pp. 596-602.

[2] Returning to England on the accession of Elizabeth, Barlow was appointed by that queen to the bishopric of Chichester, which he retained till his death. He was the author of various works against Popery.

made than it was granted. Upon this assurance the duchess and Mr. Bertie, with their children and all their domestics, attended only by four horsemen to protect them, left Windsheim for Poland, in April, 1557, directing their steps towards Frankfort. In their way they encountered many hardships, and were even in danger of their lives from a party of the landgrave's soldiers. The captain, who was a man of a turbulent temper, forcing them into a quarrel about a spaniel belonging to Mr. Bertie, set upon our travellers on the highway with his horsemen, who thrust their boar-spears into the waggon in which the children and female servants were travelling. A struggle ensued, in which the captain's horse was slain under him. The rumour that the landgrave's captain was murdered by certain Walloons, immediately spread through the neighbouring towns and villages, and exasperated the people against Mr. Bertie, who, in passing through one of the towns, would have been taken and murdered by the townsmen and the captain's brother, had he not, availing himself of a ladder which he saw leaning on the window of a house, got up to the garret of the house, where he parried attack for some time with his dagger and rapier. The burgomaster at length making his appearance, Mr. Bertie offered to surrender himself for trial, on condition of his being defended by the magistrate from the fury of the multitude. Having received security to this effect, he yielded, and was taken into custody, to wait the issue of a judicial investigation.

Mr. Bertie then despatched letters to the landgrave and to the Earl of Erpach, explaining the whole circumstances. On the following day, early in the morning, the Earl of Erpach, who resided within a distance of eight miles, repaired to the town where Mr. Bertie was imprisoned, and whither the duchess had been brought with her waggon. He had been previously informed who the strangers were, and he showed the duchess all the courtesy due to her rank, which, when the townsmen observed, and understanding, besides, that the captain was alive, they, as well as the authors of the fray, were ashamed of their conduct, and wished the whole affair hushed up.

Matters being accommodated, the duchess and Mr. Bertie proceeded on their journey towards Poland, where, on their arrival, they were kindly welcomed and treated with a princely liberality by the king, who honoured them with the earldom of Crozan, in Sanogelia.[1] In this place they continued to reside in tranquillity and honour, exercising authority in name of the king, till the death of Queen Mary, when they returned to England.[2] On their return, how happy a change to the better had taken place! These ruthless persecutors, Gardiner, Mary, and Pole, were now in their graves. In their cases the triumphing of the wicked was short, and the accession of Elizabeth, a Protestant queen, put an end to the ascendency of Romanism in England.

In the year 1562, a series of her friend Latimer's sermons, which had been preached in her hall at Grimsthorpe Castle, in 1552, was collected and published by Augustine Bernher, a Swiss, who had been the faithful friend and attendant of Latimer. These sermons were published "by the instant request of the godly learned," "albeit, not so fully and perfectly as they were uttered," and they were dedicated by Bernher to the duchess. In the dedication, which is dated Southam, 2d October [1562], he dwells particularly upon her self-devotion to the Protestant faith, which had forced her to seek a sanctuary on foreign shores.[3] After adverting to the labours and sufferings of Latimer, and imploring God, by his Spirit, to excite every faithful Christian to earnest prayer that Queen Elizabeth, who then swayed the English sceptre, might be assisted, by Divine grace, in building the church, and in overthrowing wickedness,

[1] Such is the name in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments;* but "it may be supposed that Samogitia, called in Polish Hiestivo Zmudskie, is intended."—Note of Editor.

[2] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments,* vol. viii., pp. 569-576.

[3] This, by the way, is an additional evidence that the duchess's exile, during the reign of Mary, was caused by the danger to which her Protestant principles exposed her, and not, as Miss Strickland affirms, solely in consequence of her stolen match with Richard Bertie. It is the testimony of a contemporary who had ample means of knowing the truth, and who, from his manner, is evidently stating nothing but what was generally known at the time to be true.

superstition, and idolatry in all their forms, he adds, "To the which faithful prayers, that all they which fear God may be the better encouraged, I have set forth these sermons, made by this holy man of God, and dedicated them to your grace, partly because they were preached in your grace's house at Grimsthorpe by this reverend father and faithful prophet of God, whom you did nourish, and whose doctrine you did most faithfully embrace, to the praise of God, and unspeakable comfort of all godly hearts: the which did with great admiration marvel at the excellent gifts of God, bestowed upon your grace, in giving unto you such a princely spirit, by whose power and virtue you were able to overcome the world, to forsake your possessions, lands, and goods, your worldly friends and native country, your high estate and estimation, with the which you were adorned, and to become an exile for Christ and his gospel's sake; to choose rather to suffer adversity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of the world with a wicked conscience; esteeming the rebukes of Christ greater treasures than the riches of England. Whereas the worldlings are far otherwise minded; for they have their pleasures amongst the pots of Egypt; they eat, drink, and make merry, not passing what become of Christ or his gospel; they be so drunken with the sweet delicates of this miserable world, that they will not taste of the bitter morsels which the Lord hath appointed and prepared for his chosen children, and especially friends. Of the which he did make you most graciously to taste, giving unto your grace his Spirit, that you were able in all the turmoils and grievances the which you did receive, not only at the hands of those which were your professed enemies, but also at the hands of them which pretended friendship and good-will, but secretly wrought sorrow and mischief, to be quiet and patient, and in the end brought your grace home again into your native country; no doubt to no other end but that you should be a comfort unto the comfortless, and an instrument by the which his holy name should be praised, and his gospel propagated and spread abroad, to the glory of his holy name, and your eternal comfort in Christ Jesus: unto

whose merciful hands I commit your grace, with all yours, eternally. Amen."[1]

Nothing important in the subsequent history of the duchess has been recorded. She died September 19, 1580, and was buried at Spilsby, in Lincolnshire. Mr. Bertie died April 9, 1582, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.[2] The only children of this marriage were the daughter and the son already mentioned. The daughter, Susan, was married to Reginald Grey, Earl of Kent, and surviving him, to Sir John Wingfield. The son, Peregrine, was naturalized in the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, the patent being dated August 2, 1559. On the death of his mother he claimed the title and dignity of Lord Willoughby of Eresby, wearing his mourning apparel at her funeral in all respects as a baron; and on Friday, 11th November, 1580, he was admitted to this dignity and title, his father being then alive, by Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England, in name of the queen. He was distinguished for his personal courage and military talents. He is described by Sir Richard Naunton as "one of the queen's first swordsmen, and a great master of the military art."[3] In 1587, at the seige of Zutphen, in the Netherlands, he encountered the forces of that garrison, and defeated them, taking the commander-in-chief of the horse a prisoner. In the following year, upon the resignation of the Earl of Leicester, he was appointed general of the English auxiliary forces in the United Provinces, where he gathered fresh military laurels. In 1591 he was sent to France with an army of 4000 men, to assist Henry, King of Navarre, who, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, pronounces a high eulogium upon him, and upon the soldiers under his command. "You may, madam, be entirely satisfied," says he, "that I have been so

1 Latimer's *Sermons*, printed for Parker Society, vol. i., pp. 311-325.

2 "Whole-length portraits of the duchess and Mr. Bertie are to be seen at Wytham, near Oxford, the seat of the Earl of Abingdon, who possesses a curious old ballad, written in Queen Elizabeth's reign, entitled, *The most rare and excellent History of the Duchess of Suffolk, and her husband, Richard Bertie's calamities, to the tune of Queen Dido.*"—Nares's *Memoirs of Lord Burghley*, vol. i., p. 648.

3 *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 39.

effectually served by your troops, and have had such convincing proofs of the good conduct and courage of the Lord Willoughby, who is worthily seconded by all the other gentlemen, your subjects here, that they more and more do honour to your judgment in your choice of them, and increase the obligation I lie under already to your majesty." His lordship being at Spa, in Germany, for the recovery of his health, at the time of the threatened invasion of England by the Spanish "invincible armada," the queen wrote him, with her own hand, a friendly letter, urging him to return, that she and the country might have the benefit of his military skill. He returned to England in 1596, and was made governor of Berwick in 1598. From the queen's high opinion of him, he might have enjoyed a large share of her favour, had he cultivated it with the arts of a courtier. But from his temper and profession as a soldier, he had an aversion to the obsequiousness and assiduity necessary to a court life, and he used to say of himself that he was none of the *reptilia*.[1]

Peregrine steadfastly maintained the Protestant principles, for which his parents had suffered, and of which his very name was calculated to remind him. Trained up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, he exhibited the ornamental deportment of the Christian; and when the sun of his life was about to set, he looked forward with joyful and confident anticipation to an immediate admission, after death, into the blessed presence of God, and to a glorious resurrection at the great day. His last will and testament, made at Berwick, of which he was governor, and dated August 7, 1599, is remarkable, beginning thus:—"In the name of the blessed Divine Trinity in persons, and of omnipotent unity in godhead, who created, redeemed, and sanctified me, whom I steadfastly believe will glorify this sinful, corruptible, and fleshly body with eternal happiness, by a joyful resurrection at the general judgment, when, by his incomprehensible justice and mercy, having satisfied for my sinful soul, and stored it up in his heavenly treasure, his almighty voice shall call all flesh to be joined together with the soul to everlasting comfort or

[1] Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 24.

discomfort." He concludes with these words:—"For I am sure my Redeemer liveth, and he shall stand the last upon the earth, and, though after worms destroy this body, yet shall I see God in my flesh, whom I myself shall see, and mine eyes shall behold, and no other for me, though my reins are consumed within me."

His lordship died in 1601, and, according to the desire expressed in his will, was buried in the parish church of Spilsby, where a monument was erected to his memory. He was married to Mary, daughter to John Vere, Earl of Oxford, sister and heir to Edward, seventeenth Earl of Oxford. By this lady, who survived him thirteen years, he left issue, five sons and a daughter, Katharine, married to Sir Lewis Walson, of Rockingham Castle, in the county of Northampton, afterwards Lord Rockingham. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, who was created Earl of Lindsey in the reign of Charles I.[1]

[1] Collins' *Peerage*, vol. ii., pp. 9-11.



ANNE DE TSERCLAS,

WIFE OF BISHOP HOOPER.

A LEARNED friend, visiting Dr. Thomas Fuller, author of *British Church History* and of the *Worthies of England*, who was then residing at Cambridge, asked him the subject of his studies. "I am collecting," said Fuller, "the witnesses of the truth of the Protestant religion through all ages, even in the depth of Popery, conceiving it feasible, *though difficult, to evidence them.*" "It is needless pains," said his friend; "for I know that I am descended from Adam, though I cannot prove my pedigree from him."[1] The excellent lady of whom we now write was a witness to the truth of the Protestant religion, and under the reign of the bloody Mary suffered severely for it in her dearest earthly relative. Her maiden name was Anne de Tserclas; but in regard to her parentage, we are in Fuller's predicament as to some of his Protestant witnesses—this we find it *difficult to evidence.* Our historians and biographers are conflicting as to her native country, and they give us no information as to her parents. Were the observation of Fuller's friend a sound one, we might dismiss all such inquiries as superfluous, and simply remind the reader once for all, that our heroines sprung from the same original stock with the rest of mankind. But the observation was made

[1] *Anecdotes and Traditions illustrative of Early English History and Literature*, printed for Camden Society, p. 6.

more in jest than in sober earnest; for Fuller's friend was "an excellent scholar, who could be humorous, and would be serious, as he was himself disposed." No reflecting person would seriously maintain that the pains taken to ascertain the parentage of such as are entitled to the remembrance of posterity is useless labour. The knowledge of their parentage often throws light on the formation of their minds, and helps to explain how their talents and characters were developed and matured.

Foxe, the martyrologist, who knew that Mrs. Hooper was a lady of worth, desired to trace her descent; and, in a letter to Henry Bullinger, dated Basle, June 17, 1559, he says, "I wish to know whether Hooper married a wife from among you yonder, or here at Basle."[1] In his *Acts and Monuments* he makes her a native of Burgundy, a province of France;[2] but whether he derived this information from Bullinger, who, no doubt, could inform him correctly, is uncertain. Strype, in one part of his *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, states that she was "a Helvetian woman," or a native of Switzerland.[3] In another place he calls her "a discreet woman of the Low Countries."[4] From one of Hooper's letters to Bullinger, in 1549, afterwards quoted, we learn that her parents lived about fifteen miles from Antwerp, in the Netherlands; but whether that was their original place of residence or not, we are unable to determine. Whoever were her parents, and whatever was the country of their nativity, they were evidently in respectable circumstances. This may be concluded with certainty from her having received a liberal education, of which her beautiful handwriting and her knowledge of the Latin tongue, in which such of her letters as have been preserved are written, afford undoubted proofs.

On the continent she had met with John Hooper, afterwards Dr., Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, "a great scholar and linguist,"[5] who, upon the passing of the bloody act as to the six ar-

[1] *Zurich Letters*, second series, p. 36.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 637.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., part i., p. 399.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 170.
[5] Fuller's *Worthies of England*, vol. ii., p. 280.

ticles, in the reign of Henry VIII., being exposed to peril for his Protestant principles, had left England and travelled in France, Ireland, Holland, and Switzerland, in which latter country he lived partly at Basle and partly at Zurich, where he formed a lasting friendship with the excellent and learned Henry Bullinger. The precise date of her marriage with Hooper is uncertain. It must have taken place at least more than a year before they left Zurich for England, which was in the spring of 1549; as at that time they had a little daughter, named Rachel, who was "cutting her teeth." On their parting with Bullinger and his family, all were deeply affected, such was the endearing friendship that subsisted between them; and, what is remarkable, Hooper, on that occasion, though the throne of England was now filled by Edward VI., a reforming prince of high promise, and everything augured well for the Reformation in that country, anticipated and spoke in language prophetic of his future martyrdom. "In all probability," said Bullinger, "King Edward will raise you to a bishopric. If so, don't suffer your elevation to make you forgetful of your old friend in Switzerland. Let us, from time to time, have the satisfaction of hearing from you." Hooper answered, "No change of place nor of station, no accession of new friends, shall ever render me unmindful of yourself and my other benefactors here. You may depend on my carefully corresponding with you. But it will not be in my power to write you an account of the last news of all; for (taking Bullinger by the hand) others will inform you of my being burned to ashes in that very place where, in the meanwhile, I shall labour most for God and the gospel." [1]

A narrative of Mrs. Hooper's journey from Zurich to London, in company with Mr. Hooper, their infant daughter, and one or two attendants, is given in Hooper's letters to Bullinger.[2] On the 29th of March, 1549, they arrived at Strasburg, where they remained till the 2d of April, when they proceeded to Mayence, and

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol iii., p. 119.
[2] See *Zurich Letters*, first portion.

entered that city on the 5th, after encountering no small danger on sea, and finding from experience that the innkeepers between these two cities were "barbarous Scythians and harsh uncivilized Getæ." Leaving Mayence, they landed at Cologne, on the 11th of April; and on the 14th, starting from that city, they directed their course through the barren and sandy plains of Brabant to Antwerp, which they reached on the 18th of the same month. At Antwerp they rested for some days, in order to recruit Mrs. Hooper and the child, who were greatly exhausted by the fatigue of the journey. During their stay in that city, Mrs. Hooper wrote to her mother, who lived at the distance of about fifteen miles from it, sending the letter by a messenger. Her father had recently died; but, communication being much slower then than it is in our day, she knew nothing of that event till the messenger brought her the afflicting tidings. The manner in which her brother treated her letter affords an example of the power of false religion in extinguishing the tenderest feelings of the human heart. "Her mother," says Mr. Hooper, "received the letter, and gave it my wife's brother to read, who immediately threw it into the fire without reading it. You see the words of Christ are true, that the brother shall persecute the brother for the sake of the word of God."[1] This brother, in the depth of his fanatical blindness, was enraged that his sister had become a heretic, and the mistress of a heretical priest; for, according to the doctrines of his church, he would not allow that she could be the wife of a priest. He would probably have been much better contented had she retired to a convent, though a clerical seraglio, or, if it was better regulated, in which she would have led a useless life, manufacturing *Agnus Deis*, woollen palls for the shoulders of bishops, and other Popish trumpery; or practising self-imposed austerities, counting her beads, marking herself with numerous crossings, bowing to images, and worshipping Popish relics; while the proper duties of woman—her duties as a daughter, a wife, or a mother—were all set at nought. Mrs. Hooper and the child having tolerably recovered

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 63.

their strength, the small company proceeded to London, whither they arrived in health and safety before the close of May.

On his return to England, becoming chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, Hooper laboured with indefatigable diligence as a Christian minister, expounding the Scriptures to crowded and attentive auditories in and about London, once every day, often two or three times, and frequently preaching at court before the king and council, whom he exhorted with great freedom, in his Lent sermons on Jonah,[1] to effect a more thorough reformation of the church. In a letter to Bullinger, dated London, June 25 [1549], he says, "There are some persons here who read and expound the Holy Scriptures



Old St. Paul's, London.

at a public lecture, two of whom read in St. Paul's cathedral four times a-week. I myself, too, as my slender abilities will allow me, having compassion upon the ignorance of my brethren, read a public

[1] These have been printed by the Parker Society.

lecture twice in the day, to so numerous an audience that the church cannot contain them."[1] On the 7th of April, 1550, the king, by the chancellor, offered him the bishopric of Gloucester. Hooper declined to accept it, among other reasons, first, because, according to the form of the oath of supremacy,[2] exacted before consecration, he would have to swear by God, the saints, and the holy gospels; whereas he believed that in an oath God alone ought to be appealed to;[3] and, secondly, because of his scruples as to wearing the episcopal dress, the "Aaronical habits," as he termed it, enjoined by Parliament to be worn by whoever should be inaugurated a bishop at his consecration, and which were also to be worn, not only at the administration of the sacraments, but at public prayers. He regarded the vestments not indeed as evil in themselves, but neither as matters of indifference, as they appeared to him to obscure the dignity of Christ's priesthood, and to foster vanity, hypocrisy, and superstition. The king and the council would have yielded to his scruples, and, in compliance with his request, would have consecrated him without any other rite of consecration than what the apostles practised, namely, the imposition of hands. But the bishops, and particularly Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, "a most learned man, and in other respects a valiant defender of the gospel," as Peter Martyr describes him, were so strong against the adoption of any other form of consecration than what had been prescribed by Parliament, making light of the use of vestments and of other ceremonies as being mere matters of indifference, that Hooper, persevering in his objections, was, January 27, 1551, committed to prison by order of the privy council, who, on finding the bishops so pertinacious,

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 65.

[2] Fuller, when he wrote his *Ecclesiastical History*, had conceived the oath to have been that of canonical obedience, but he corrects the mistake in his *Worthies of England*, vol. ii., p. 280.

[3] This oath, in the *Prayer Book* of 1549, ended thus: "So help me God, all saints, and the holy evangelists." In the *Prayer Book* of 1552, it was altered to "So help me God, through Jesus Christ."—See *Liturgies of Edward VI.*, Parker Society edition, pp. 169, 339.

sided with them.[1] About a fortnight after, overcome by the obstinacy of the bishops, he submitted himself and his cause to the judgment of the privy council, the result of which was that, on the 8th of March following, he was consecrated at Lambeth in the usual manner, habited in a long scarlet chimere (furnished with sleeves of white lawn) down to the foot, having under it a white linen rochet, and wearing upon his head a square cap.[2]

The income of his bishopric was 2000 crowns *per annum*. In 1552 the diocese of Gloucester and that of Worcester were united into one by the king's letters-patent; and Hooper was constituted the first bishop of the united diocese.[3] "His adversaries will say," remarks Fuller, "that the refusing of *one* is the way to get *two* bishoprics. But be it known that as our Hooper had double dignity, he had treble diligence, painfully preaching God's Word, piously

[1] These bishops were all zealous against Popery, why, then, so keen sticklers for mere vestments, which could do nothing in the battle against Antichrist, the more especially as they called them matters of indifference? "We cannot fight the French," says Carlyle, "by three hundred thousand red uniforms; there must be *men* in the inside of them." Here was a brave-hearted, valiant, faithful, unconquerable man, prepared to fight to the death the battles of the Lord against the Papacy, and if he did not choose to fight in a chimere and rochet, which he thought would entangle his movements in wielding his armour, why not allow him to fight in the homely, rough, rustic stuff, which he deemed more seemly in a soldier of the cross? Ridley, who had been extremely violent against Hooper before the council, on account of the vestments, afterwards, when both were imprisoned in the reign of Queen Mary, took something like this reasonable view of the matter; for adversity tends powerfully to clear the mental perception on many points. Writing to Hooper from prison, in answer to a letter received from him, he thus speaks in a tone of Christian candour and affection, highly honourable to his character: "But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days; howsoever, in time past, in smaller matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I confess) have in some points varied; now I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and, I am persuaded, shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore." The letter was written in Latin.—Ridley's *Works*, Parker Soc. edit., pp. 355.

[2] See numerous letters on the subject of this paragraph among the *Zurich Letters*, first series.

[3] Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii, part ii., p. 170.

living as he preached, and patiently dying as he lived, being martyred at Gloucester, anno 1555."[1]

In less than a month after his consecration, Mrs. Hooper wrote a letter to her friend Bullinger. She says little about the troubles the bishop had met with on account of his opposition to vestments, but she expresses her deep obligations to the paternal interest Bullinger took in herself and in *Mr.* Hooper; for such is the humble designation she gives her husband, and always afterwards gave him, not venturing to apply to him the proud name of "my lord the bishop." Her letter evinces the pains she bestowed on the education, and especially on the religious education of her daughter. Nor does it less clearly show how delighted she was in the devoted ministerial labours of Hooper and in their success; but apprehensive lest he might impair his health by undue exertion, she earnestly requests Bullinger to urge him to beware of undertaking a greater amount of labour than his strength could bear.

"I have received your letter, most Christian sir, in which, as in a glass, I perceive how greatly you are interested for us. But though I acknowledge myself quite incapable of returning you the thanks I ought for your especial friendship towards us, I will not cease from offering them; and I heartily pray God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he may abundantly recompense you, as I am unable to do so myself. I will not acquaint you with the reason of Master Hooper's imprisonment, until I have communicated to him your letter, which at present is quite out of my power; for he went down to his see as soon as he was discharged. I doubt not but that he will satisfy your desire as soon as he is informed of it; and this seems to me far more convenient, than for me to make the attempt without consulting him. But as you inquire how my daughter Rachel is going on, I consider it my duty to give you some information concerning her. First, then, you must know that she is well acquainted with English, and that she has learned

[1] *Worthies of England,* vol. ii., p. 280.

by heart within these three months the form of giving thanks, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the apostles' creed, together with the first and second psalms of David. And now, as she knows almost all her letters, she is instructed in the catechism.[1] If I could write in German I should more frequently take pen in hand. But if your son should happen to come to England, I shall have a better opportunity both of writing, and also, in some measure, of repaying your paternal affection for us, and which I value more than the richest treasures of gold or silver. . . . . .

"I send you a small gold coin, in which the effigy of the King of England is very well expressed, as a return for the token you sent to Rachel, for which she thanks you in her childish prattle, and sends her best love. I entreat you to recommend Master Hooper to be more moderate in his labour; for he preaches four, or at least three times every day; and I am afraid lest these over-abundant exertions should occasion a premature decay, by which very many souls now hungering after the Word of God, and whose hunger is well known from the frequent anxiety to hear him, will be deprived both of their teacher and his doctrine. . . . I have forwarded your letter to Master Hooper, and will take care to send you his reply. Farewell. Salute Master Bibliander[2] and his wife, Master

[1] Bishop Hooper, in a letter to Bullinger, dated Gloucester, August 1, 1551, bears testimony to Mrs. Hooper's zeal in the religious education of their daughter. "She [Rachel] very frequently hears from her mother the great commendation of the country and place where she was born, and she is with great care and diligence instructed in the promises which she formerly made to the church, by means of your kindness and that of the wife of Master Bibliander. She sorely complains of my not more frequently saluting by letter so holy a church and such faithful ministers of Christ. She now sends an entire piece of cloth as a token of her reverence and respect, one-half to yourself, the other to the wife of Master Bibliander; and she heartily thanks her heavenly Father, that, by you as her sponsors, she has been received into the society of His holy church."—*Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 92.

[1] Theodore Bibliander or Buchman was born in 1504, at Bischoffzel, near St. Gall. He was professor of theology at Zurich, where he died in 1564. In the correspondence of the period he is termed "the most erudite Bibliander;" and four eminent English Protestant refugees, in writing to Bullinger, describe him as "that chief ornament of Switzerland, yea, rather, of the whole world, Theodore Bibliander."—*Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 11, 615, 623.

Gualter[1] and Pellican,[2] and their wives, Master Zuinglius, and his wife, to whom also I send a golden coin stamped with the king's effigy.—London, April 3 [1551]. Your most dutiful,

"ANNE DE TSERCLAS, now HOOPER.

"My maid Joanna[3] salutes you, as does her husband, the minister of the French church. When you write to Master Hooper or myself, take care that your letters are carefully sealed; for there are certain busy-bodies who are in the habit of opening and reading them, if by any means they can do it."[4]

In another letter written to Bullinger, and dated Gloucester, October 27, 1551, she says, "Greeting. When the bearer of this was with us, there were two reasons which prevented my answering your lettter; the one, because I am unable to express my sentiments in German; the other, because I was overwhelmed by so many and urgent engagements, that scarce any leisure was allowed me. Yet the regard I bear you drew me aside a little while from my employments, and compelled me altogether to put them off to another time. . . . . I justly lament your absence, who have stood forth as my most excellent friend, nay rather, I may say, my patron; and who have so obliged me by your favours, that were I even to pledge my life, much less my property, I should be unable to return your kindness. Wherefore, since my life and property are not sufficient to repay my obligations, I must still remain in debt. Oh! I wish that the distance of place did not separate us at

[1] Rodolph Gualter was an eminent Protestant minister of Zurich. He visited England in 1537; and his diary of that journey is still preserved at Zurich. He was the author of various theological works.—See Indices to *Zurich Letters*.

[2] Conrad Pellican held the chair of theology and Hebrew in the university of Zurich, and was a man of great learning. He died September 14, 1556, and was succeeded by Peter Martyr.—M'Crie's *Reformation in Italy*, p. 383.—*Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 138, 509. The celebrated Tigurine Latin translation of the Bible was completed by Pellican and Bibliander; Leo Juda, whose work it chiefly was, having died before it was finished. The apocrypha was translated from the Greek by P. Cholin; and the New Testament is Erasmus's translation, revised and corrected by Gualter and Cholin.

[3] Joanna was married, 2d June, 1550, to Richard Vauville, pastor of the French Protestants in London, "a worthy and learned man."—*Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 565.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

so long an interval, that we might enjoy the same intimacy as heretofore. But I hope that you will shortly visit England, which if you will accomplish, I shall then consider myself most fortunate in being again permitted to enjoy your long-wished-for society. I pray you, my father, to salute your wife, my mother, affectionately in my name, as also all my other friends. Farewell.

"Rachel, thank God, is in excellent health, and salutes you and your wife, and begs your blessing, and prays that in your blessing God may deign to bless her also.

"Ever your entire and obliged friend,

"ANNE HOOPER."[1]

Mrs. Hooper's friends were now afraid that both she and the bishop, from their prosperous worldly circumstances, might imagine that they had obtained an earthly paradise, and become proud, worldly, and perhaps forgetful of their old acquaintances. "I pray you," says Martin Micronius, in a letter to Bullinger, "to exert your influence in recommending to him [Hooper] meekness and gentleness. Exhort Mrs. Anne, his wife, not to entangle herself with the cares of this life. Let her beware of the thorns by which the Word of God is choked. It is a most dangerous thing for one who is in the service of Christ to hunt after riches and honours. Your admonitions will have much weight with them both."[2] Prosperity has no doubt made many forget themselves. But there is no evidence that either Mrs. Hooper or the bishop was spoiled by their elevation. Both of them conducted themselves humbly and meekly, cultivating piety towards God and beneficence towards men. They remembered and maintained ancient friendships. Neither worldly pomp nor idleness, much less rioting, was to be seen in their palace, which, from the good behaviour of all the inmates, and from the regular reading of the Scriptures, and the regular observance of devotional exercises within it, resembled a church. In the common hall, at dinner-time, a table was spread, covered with whole-

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 108.

[2] *Ibid*, second portion, p. 576.

some and substantial food, with which the poor of the place of their residence were amply supplied.[1]

But if there were moments in which they did feel disposed, in the height of prosperity, to say, "My mountain standeth strong, and I shall never be moved," or, "I shall die in my rest," the death of King Edward, and the accession of his sister Mary to the throne, dissipated all such flattering dreams, and darkened all their future earthly prospects. Mary's fanatical Popish bigotry being universally known, Mrs. Hooper and the bishop now anticipated being cast into the furnace of persecution, and [illegible]ed to look the evil full in the face. They frequently conversed together on what might be awaiting them, and it is pleasing to find them, while experiencing within a severe conflict between affection and duty, coming to the resolution to be true to the Protestant cause whatever might happen, to allow no considerations of private interest, no preferments or distinctions, and no sufferings, neither imprisonment, banishment, nor death, to shake their fidelity to it. They encouraged each other to an intrepid unwavering confession of Christ in the face of every peril, from the precious promises in which He secures to all his faithful servants a happy termination to all their trials, and a glorious reward to their fidelity at death and at the last day. Often did they derive comfort from repeating to one another and from studying these words of the Saviour: "Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his Lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season? Blessed is that servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he shall make him ruler over all his goods." "My good wife," says Hooper, in a letter to Mrs. Hooper, dated October 3, 1553, to be afterwards more largely quoted, after he had been for some time languishing in an abominable prison, and suffering the ill-usage of a brutal jailer, "the troubles are not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers' time, soon after the death and resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereof he spake in St. Matthew (chap. xxiv.), of which

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., p. 614.

place you and I have taken many times great consolation, and especially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the last day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for such as love the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment." Often, too, at the throne of grace, did they make their own perilous condition, and that of the Church of England, the matter of fervent prayer, beseeching the Lord in his mercy to weaken the power of the adversary, or should it be his will to give loose reins to the fury of persecution, to grant them and all the godly grace to suffer with patience and fortitude whatever their enemies might be left to inflict upon them.

In this way did they mutually endeavour to prepare themselves for dreaded impending evils. Their fears were but too speedily and fully realized. An abrupt termination was put to the unceasing Christian exertions which both of them, in their respective spheres, had been making to instruct the ignorant in the truths of God's Word, and to promote the temporal comfort of the poor and the afflicted around them. Not more than six weeks after Mary was proclaimed Queen of England, namely, September 1, 1553,[1] Mrs. Hooper had the trial of having the bishop torn from her embraces. On his being arrested and brought to London, Gardiner's first question to him was whether he was married. "Yea, my lord," answered Hooper, "and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me." During the reign of Mary the persecuting Popish bishops never failed to upbraid and insult the married Protestant ministers, who appeared before them, on this point. Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, a scholar and a man naturally of a mild pacific temper, but an example of the power of Popery in hardening the feelings of all who embrace it, notwithstanding their good natural disposition, and in spite of the humanizing influence of polite letters, treated Hooper with contumely for being married, calling him "beast," and telling him that this of itself was enough to condemn him. Other questions having been put to him and answered, he was committed close prisoner to the

[1] Mary was proclaimed queen on the 20th of July that year.

Fleet.[1] "And is our marriage a matter of reproach, a scandal, a crime," Mrs. Hooper might well say, on hearing of the bishop's examination; "has not our Lord expressly said, 'A man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife?' Has not an inspired apostle said, 'Marriage is honourable in all,' and enjoined a bishop to be 'the husband of one wife?' Is not 'forbidding to marry' given as a mark of Antichrist? Verily these men make void the law of God by their traditions and inventions."[2]

It was a great aggravation of Mrs. Hooper's distress to think of the wretched condition of the bishop in prison, how he had nothing allotted him for his bed but a little pad of straw, a rotten covering, with a tick containing only a few feathers, until some kind friends sent him bedding; while the foul air infected him with divers diseases, the receptacle of the filth of the whole establishment being on the one side of his cell, and the town ditch on the other.[3] Nor was she ignorant of the great barbarity with which Babbington, the warden of the Fleet, in particular treated him,[4] and how he reported to Gardiner the names of those benevolent individuals who contributed to her husband's necessities, that they might be afterwards proceeded against as heretics.

Advised by the bishop and her friends, who all augured the worst as to the future prospects of the Reformers in England, Mrs. Hooper now prepared to remove to the continent. Having taken a sorrowful farewell of her husband, not expecting to see him again in this world, as she never did, she embarked for Holland, taking with her Rachel, her eldest child, but leaving behind her in England her infant and only other child, Daniel, who had been born since she came to England. Arriving at Antwerp, she accompanied a party of Pro-

[1] Foxe, vol. vi., p. 646.

[2] In the reign of Edward VI. an act of Parliament was passed, permitting the marriage of the clergy, and legitimatizing their children. But in the reign of Mary, though subsequently to the period referred to in the text, this law was repealed, and the marriages contracted by priests were declared unlawful, and their children bastardized.

[3] Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 97, edit. 1844.

[4] Foxe, vol. vi., p. 647.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. iii., part i., p. 284.—Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 96.

testant friends from that city to Frankfort. At Frankfort she met with many Protestants from England and other lands, who had fled thither to escape persecution. From the love of their society, and to share in their religious advantages, she rented a house in that



The Römerberg and Church of St. Nicholas, Frankfort.

city, where she purposed to continue till she saw how Providence might be pleased to dispose of her husband. She connected herself with the foreign church there, under the pastoral superintendence of Valerandus Pollanus, who was married to one of her relatives.[1]

[1] During the reign of Edward VI., Valerandus Pollanus was minister of the French and Walloon church at Glastonbury, Somersetshire, which had fled from Strasburg by reason of the Interim. The Duke of Somerset, who, on the dissolution of the monasteries, had been gifted with the abbey of Glastonbury, one of the finest of those magnificent works of architecture, converted it into a woollen manufactory for the members of Pollanus's congregation, who were mostly woollen weavers, promising to purchase wool and other requisites to carry on their manufactures, and allotting them rooms for their dwellings, and plots of land for feeding their cows. The fall of the duke

The English government having permitted her and the bishop to correspond by letter, she was not ignorant of his condition and feelings when in prison. Of this correspondence, by which, in the circumstances, they perhaps comforted and encouraged each other more effectually than they could have done by personal intercourse, the only portion extant is one of Hooper's letters to her, formerly referred to, written October 13, 1553, about six weeks after his imprisonment. A few extracts will afford an idea of the beautiful apostolic spirit and sentiments of Hooper; and from the tone of the letter it is evident that he felt that he was writing to one whose spirit and sentiments had been cast in the same mould. "As he that was born after the flesh persecuted, in times past, him that was born after the spirit, even so it is now (Gen. xxi.). Therefore, forsomuch as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by God's Word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they are sent to us from God. We must also assure ourselves that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble than Christ himself hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment:—'Ye shall possess your lives in patience' (chap. xxi.). . . . . When troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient, and in no cause violently or seditiously to resist our persecutors (Rom. viii.), because God hath such care and charge of us that he will keep, in the midst of all troubles, the very hairs of our head, so that one of them shall not fall to the ground without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. And seeing he hath such care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life itself? Wherefore, let God's adversaries do what they list, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt;

put a stop for a time to their industry; but in November, 1551, receiving renewed encouragement from the privy council, they began again to prosper. Mary's accession to the throne threatened disaster to these foreign Protestants, and Pollanus, accompanied or followed by many of them, left England and settled at Frankfort. When in England he translated into Latin the liturgy used by his church, and published it in February, 1551.—*Zurich Letters*, pp. 82, 377, 378.—Strype's *Mem. Eccl.*, vol. I., pp. 378, 381.

for their cruelty hath no further power than God permitteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father can be no harm, no loss, neither destruction unto us; but rather gain, wealth, and felicity."

After recommending to her, when she found herself pressed down by affliction, to read the 6th, 22d, 30th, 31st, 38th, 69th, 77th, and 88th, psalms, as also Eccles. iv. and Col. iii., which were well fitted to produce patience and to impart comfort, he says—"Remember that although your life, as the life of all Christian men, is hid, and appeareth not what it is, yet it is safe (as St. Paul saith) with God in Christ; and when Christ shall appear, then shall our lives be made open [*i.e.*, rendered conspicuous] with him in glory. But in the meantime, while setting our affections upon the things above, we must patiently suffer whatever God shall send unto us in this mortal life." And in the close, after expressing his apprehension that his imprisonment would issue in his shortly being put to death, he adds, "God's will be done! I wish, in Christ Jesus, our only Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most blessed and painful passion, I commit you. Amen."[1]

From such communications as these, so overflowing with affection, so rich in Christian consolation, and so strong in Christian faith and fortitude, Mrs. Hooper derived great support. It was comforting to her to know that he had got so much above the fear of death. At the same time, his frequent allusions to his probably speedy martyrdom must have excited in her breast deep emotions of anguish; for she could not regard his fears as exaggerated. Unwilling as she might be to relinquish the hope of his liberation, she could hardly fail, the longer he lay in prison, especially as he was now kept in more close and severe confinement than when she left England, of seeing the more reason to contemplate the result with gloomy apprehensions. She knew that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, who now managed everything and had every-

[1] Foxe, vol. vi., pp 665-668.

thing their own way, were violent, sanguinary, ferocious, and that they hated her husband for his important services in behalf of the Reformation; though in the reign of Edward VI. their rancour against him, from their having fallen into disgrace, was venomless. She knew that, since the accession of Mary, these men, who had so fiercely and relentlessly persecuted the Protestants in the reign of Henry VIII., were giving indications, now that they had again risen to power, of an immensely increased ferocity, as if in revenge for the temporary ascendency of the Reformation in the reign of Edward VI. Had the bishop, indeed, recanted, and had he shown himself as ready to support restored Romanism as he had been zealous in advancing the Reformation, he might have disarmed their fury, saved his life and his bishopric, or have even, as the reward of apostasy, risen to higher dignity and wealth in the church; but she knew that he was too conscientious and too magnanimous to betray this unprincipled pliancy of disposition for any worldly consideration. She had learned, too, though none had yet been brought to the stake for the Protestant faith, that the Reformers in England, from the daily augmenting fury of Gardiner and his party, were constantly expecting to see the fires of Smithfield and other places lighted. Nor could the reflection escape her, that to bring such a man as Mr. Hooper to that horrible punishment would, by those miscreants, be accounted a masterly stroke of policy, as it would be cutting off one of "the head deer," a man eminently fitted for, and uncommonly zealous in, disseminating the reformed principles, and would be calculated to inspire more general terror than the execution of an obscure individual. All these things considered seemed to annihilate hope, and served to create a conviction, little short of certainty, that in prosecution of the measures now adopted for the extermination of heresy and of heretics, he had been marked out and doomed for destruction.

Under the agitation and sorrow caused by such reflections, Mrs. Hooper was sustained, not only by epistolary intercourse with the bishop, but also by the sympathy she experienced from many Christian friends, and especially from her venerated and much-respected

friend, Bullinger, who was deeply concerned on hearing accounts of the melancholy state of matters in England, and especially of the trying situation of the bishop and herself, with whom he had enjoyed such delightful intercourse during their stay at Zurich. Her present circumstances, and the state of her mind on account of the afflicted condition of herself and of the Reformers in England generally, may be gathered from a letter which she wrote to that excellent man, in answer to a very gratifying one she had received from him. The letter is as follows:—

"Much health. I recognized, my venerable friend, in the letter you lately wrote me, your wonted kindness. You show yourself so anxious about me that I could not expect more even if you were my father. And, indeed, that letter was doubly acceptable, both because I perceived that I was not neglected by you, and also because God had at that time visited me with a calamity, in which I was forced not only to lament the common condition of the church at large, but also my own individual affliction. My woman's mind being battered with these two engines, what wonder if it seemed immediately about to give way? But the Spirit of the Lord was with me, and raised up his ministers to give me comfort, among whom you were one, by whose letter I was especially refreshed. May the Lord Jesus repay you with his blessing! For after I had received and read it over, I began, by God's assistance, to bear myself up against such a weight of calamity; and I am hitherto supporting myself, as far as I am able, by the Word of God, often reading over again your letter to add spurs to this dull flesh. You will perform an act, therefore, worthy of your kindness, if you will continue in this manner, by more frequent letters, to uphold me whom you have in some degree already raised up.

"I thank you for expressing your wish that I were with you yonder; nor is there any other place I should prefer. But since the Lord, by my husband's bidding and the advice of my friends, has at length driven me from England, and conducted me safe to Antwerp, I availed myself of an opportunity of accompanying a party every

way suitable, and joined my female relative at Frankfort, where now, by the mercy of God, the senate has granted liberty to the foreign church for their whole ecclesiastical ministry, both of the Word and sacraments. On this account I shall prefer remaining here in my own hired house until I see how the Lord shall deal with my husband, concerning whom, as I have not yet received any intelligence, I am not a little anxious. But yet I know that he is under God's care, and I therefore acquiesce in the providence of my God; and although this burden of widowhood is very painful, yet I comfort myself, as far as I am able, by prayer and the Word of God. I entreat you, for Christ's sake, to aid me, both with your prayers and correspondence. Salute, I pray you, most dutifully, my very dear gossip, your wife, with all your family. I salute Masters Bibliander, Pellican, Gualter, Sebastian the schoolmaster, and all the brethren. I pray Almighty God continually to afford you an increase of his Spirit. Farewell, my much esteemed and revered friend in Christ.—Frankfort, April 20, the day after the opening of the church of the White Virgins to us, when Master Valerandus Pollanus, the husband of my relative, and the chief pastor of the church, preached a sermon, and baptized his young son in the Rhine. May God grant to this church a due increase, and worthy of his name! Do you pray for it. The pastor himself, my kinsman, earnestly entreated me to salute you in his name, and to commend his ministry to your prayers and those of your colleagues. Again, farewell in Christ. 1554.

"Your god-daughter, Rachel, salutes you and your wife. Daniel is still in England, and I shall send a certain most respectable matron, who has hitherto been living with me, to bring him hither. I commend my honoured husband to your prayers.—Your very loving friend, "ANNE HOOPER."[1]

In compliance with the desire expressed in this letter, Bullinger, who was ever ready to minister to the relief of the suffering Protestants, whether by hospitality towards such as had fled from other countries to Switzerland to escape persecution, or by friendly epistolary

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 110.

correspondence with such as were at a distance from him, did not neglect to continue to write, as he found opportunity, to a lady who held a very high place in his esteem, and in whose welfare he had, from the time he first knew her, taken a paternal interest. Nor was he unmindful of her and of her husband in his prayers. He testifies, that since he had heard of the bishop's imprisonment, it was his unceasing prayer at the throne of grace that their common heavenly Father, through their common only Mediator, Jesus Christ, would grant unto the bishop, and to his fellow-prisoners, faith and constancy unto the end. He had indeed refrained from corresponding with him, notwithstanding his having received from him two letters written from prison.[1] This, however, did not proceed from forgetfulness or diminished affection, but from his doubts of finding the means of a safe conveyance for his letters, or from an apprehension that their correspondence, if known to the government, might be made a pretext for imposing upon Hooper additional hardships. But having, in a subsequent communication to Mrs. Hooper, expressed his desire of writing to him, she earnestly urged him by all means to write, assuring him it would greatly oblige Mr. Hooper, who had often expressed to her how much he longed for an epistle from his old and much beloved friend, as well as complained of having never received from him the shortest answer in return to his many letters, and she directed him as to the mode of a safe conveyance. "Your letter," says she, "my loving friend, was very gratifying to me, and I thank you for continuing to be so anxious about me. I thank you, too, very much, for your anxiety about Master Hooper. By the grace of God he bears everything, even his threatened death, with constancy and fortitude. Your letter, I know, will be very acceptable to him, as he has already told me more than once.

[1] Hooper had sent to Bullinger other letters, which, however, with the exception of a third, do not appear to have reached him. It is worthy of notice, as a proof of Hooper's generous sympathy with his Protestant brethren, that these letters were sent with Protestant refugees, and with the special object of recommending the bearers to the hospitality and kindness of Bullinger, and of the Christian Protestant brethren of Zurich.—*Zurich Letters*, pp. 102, 104.—Foxe, vol. vi., p. 675.

I entreat you, for Christ's sake, deny him not this comfort. If I receive your letter, I will early take care that it shall be delivered. For hitherto, by the goodness of God, he has always been allowed to write to me, and to receive my letters; only take care that your letters are delivered at Strasburg, either to Master Burcher [1] or to Master John Garner, the minister of the French church." She adds, "I have been hitherto tolerably well, and bear this calamity as firmly as I can. The Lord will aid and succour my weakness. I have need of the prayers and sweet consolations of my good friends, wherefore I earnestly entreat you not to neglect me." [2]

In a subsequent letter to Bullinger, dated Frankfort, November 12, 1554, she expresses the same earnest solicitude as here for an interest in the continued sympathy and prayers of her Christian friends, and acknowledges that she was wonderfully supported, though she often felt her heart sinking under the pressure of grief, and almost ready to die within her. "I return you everlasting thanks," says she, "very dear and honoured friend, for your delightful letter, which has afforded me much comfort. I acknowledge and experience in myself, and perceive also in many others, what the Lord Christ foretold; [3] and I often soothe my mind, when wounded by anxiety, with the sweet reflection that our God is faithful. I earnestly entreat you, therefore, not to cease pleading for me with the Lord in your prayers, and by a letter from time to time to arouse my spirit, which, to say the truth, I very often feel to be all but dead through grief. And I now require the aid of all godly persons, although I am never entirely forsaken of the Lord, who sometimes refreshes me with the

1 John Burcher was an Englishman who, having embraced the gospel, had been driven by persecution, in the reign of Henry VIII., from his native land. He resided at Strasburg, and was a partner with Richard Hilles, another English Protestant refugee, as a cloth merchant.—*Zurich Letters*, pp. 246, 259.

2 The letter is dated Frankfort, September 22, 1554.—*Zurich Letters*, first series, p 111.

3 There seems here to be an allusion to what Bullinger had said in his letter to her. He had probably reminded her, as a means of confirming her patience, that Christ had forewarned his disciples:—"The servant is not greater than his Lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you;" and, "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

anticipation of a better life. But you yourself know how suitable to a diseased mind is the conversation of a sincere friend."[1]

In the same letter she expresses how much satisfaction it gave her to understand from his last that he was writing a letter to Mr. Hooper. "I trust in the Lord that the letter which you are writing to my dear husband will afford him no less consolation than the one to myself, and in his name I thank you for that service. He is indeed worthy of the kind attention of all godly persons. I wish indeed I may sometime have it in my power worthily to repay your kindness; my very readiness to do so would show that I am not wanting in gratitude. But you know me well."[2]

Bullinger's intended letter to Hooper, which was written in Latin, and dated Zurich, October 10, 1554, reached him in safety. It is a very affecting and a truly apostolic epistle. From its Christian pathos Hooper could hardly read it with dry eyes, and yet its powerfully persuasive spirit must have greatly confirmed his Christian resolution. "Now is that thing happened unto you," says Bullinger, "my brother, the which we did often times prophesy unto ourselves, at your being with us, should come to pass, especially when we did talk of the power of Antichrist, and of his success and victories. For you know the saying of Daniel (chap. viii.), 'His power shall be mighty, but not in his strength; and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havoc of all things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will.'" Having adduced various powerful encouragements to suffer for the sake of Christ, he thus concludes, "Therefore, seeing you have such a large promise, be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful unto the end. Consider that Christ, the Son of God, is your captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs are your fellow-soldiers. . . . . Happy are we if we depart in the Lord. May he grant unto you, and to all your fellow-prisoners, faith and constancy."[3]

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 112. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[3] Foxe, vol. vi., pp. 675, 676.—Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 126.

Hooper's reply was written on the same day on which he received the letter, namely, on the 11th of December, same year, and it breathes the spirit of a sublime and holy heroism, as will be seen by quoting a few sentences. "Grace and peace from the Lord! Your letter, my beloved brother, was very delightful to me, because it was full of comfort. . . . . In this country the wound which Antichrist received is entirely healed, and he is once more regarded as the head of the church, who is not even a member of the true church of Christ. You will learn from others both my own situation, and the state of public affairs. We are still involved in the greatest dangers, as we have been for almost the last eighteen months. The enemies of the gospel are every day giving us more and more annoyance; we are imprisoned apart from each other, and treated with every degree of ignominy. They are daily threatening us with death, which we are quite indifferent about; in Christ Jesus we boldly despise the sword and the flames. We know in whom we have believed, and we are sure that we shall lay down our lives in a good cause. Meanwhile aid us with your prayers, that He who hath begun a good work in us, will perform it even unto the end. We are the Lord's, let Him do what seemeth good in his eyes. I entreat you to comfort occasionally, by your letters, that most exemplary and godly woman, my wife; and exhort her to bring up our children carefully, Rachel your little god-daughter, an exceedingly well-disposed girl, and my son Daniel, and piously to educate them in the knowledge and fear of God."[1]

Here is no shrinking or recoiling—no blanching or quailing at the prospect of the stake. In looking forward to it, the earthly objects nearest his heart were his wife and his children; and yet the conjugal and parental ties, which naturally tended to strengthen his attachment to life, did not shake his courage, or cause him for a moment hesitate in his heroic resolve to sacrifice life for God and conscience. In one sense these ties may be said to have strengthened his courage and resolution; for had he recanted—the only

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 104-106.

condition on which he could escape the stake—the lawfulness of the marriage of priests would have been one of the articles he would have been required to abjure, and thus he would have acknowledged his wife to have been only his mistress, his children bastards, and himself to have been living in concubinage; confessions from which every sentiment of religion and of honour in his heart revolted. "During the persecution," as has been justly said, "the married clergy were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage, against the foul and unchristian aspersions of the Romish persecutors; the honour of their wives and children was at stake; the desire of leaving them an unsullied name and a virtuous example, combined with the sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it."[1]

Of the comfort which the bishop recommends Bullinger to administer to Mrs. Hooper, she had now more need than ever. The fate she had long dreaded as awaiting him was about to be realized, and this she was now anticipating. Things, as she learned from the intelligence which had reached her, continued to wear a darker aspect in England for the Protestants; and from what she knew of the men at the helm of public affairs, she was increasingly anxious as to what might befall him. "There has not been," says she in her letter to Bullinger, November, 12, 1554, quoted before, "of a long time any certain intelligence from England, except that those persons who arrived from thence on the 10th instant, assert that a meeting of Parliament had taken place respecting the coronation of the Spaniard;[2] and that the hand of an individual[3] had been burnt off, because he refused to hear mass, and chose rather to be brought to the stake; also that some godly persons had lately been thrown into prison for the sake of religion. If this be the case, I am more than commonly anxious about my husband. May the Lord Jesus preserve us both!"

[1] Southey's *Book of the Church*, vol. ii., p. 151.

[2] That is, Philip of Spain, Mary's consort.

[3] This probably was Thomas Jenkins, a weaver of Shoreditch, for an account of whose martyrdom, see Foxe, vol. vi., p. 71.

She was not long kept in suspense as to his fate; the bloody tragedy hastened apace to its catastrophe. It was now determined to close his long imprisonment by a violent death. The chief agents in this work of blood were Gardiner and Bonner.[1] Their sanguinary character, and their hatred of Hooper, would have inclined them to perpetrate the deed at a much earlier period; but it was not till the Parliament which met in November, 1554, had revived the laws against the Lollards and the law of the six articles, which had been repealed in the reign of Edward VI., and which the preceding Parliament had refused to revive, that they were armed with the power. Sentence was pronounced against him by Gardiner, who was then lord chancellor, condemning him to be burned alive at Gloucester, on the morning of the 9th of February, 1555.[2] Gloucester was fixed upon because it was the seat of his bishopric, and because there he was best known. On the same principle was the place of the execution of other martyrs selected. The persecutors meant to strike universal terror by exhibiting these terrible examples all over the country. But the policy was as short-sighted as it was cruel; for these spectacles, wherever exhibited, from the heroism displayed by the martyrs, made new converts to the Protestant faith, and rendered Popery an object of horror and detestation. For the awful issue Hooper was not unprepared. Long before, his course of action had been ripened into decision, and now, when the trying hour arrived, he was enabled by the grace of God to witness a good confession, undaunted by the terrors of a most appalling death.

[1] This was exactly what Hooper had long before anticipated from these men whenever they got the power. In a letter to Henry Bullinger, dated London, November 7, 1549, he says, "The Bishop [Bonner] of London, the most bitter enemy of the gospel, is now living in confinement, and deposed from his bishopric. This was done when the affairs and fortunes of the Duke of Somerset were more prosperous than they are at present. I had a sharp and dangerous contest with that bishop, both publicly from the pulpit, in my turns at Paul's Cross, and also before the king's council. Should he be again restored to his office and episcopal function, I shall, I doubt not, be restored to my country and my Father who is in heaven."—*Zurich Letters*, first series, pp. 69, 70.

[2] Foxe, vol. vi., p 652.

A few days previously to his execution, namely, on the 4th of that month, a preliminary step was taken, that of degrading him from his clerical office. The ceremony of degradation was conducted in the chapel in Newgate, by Bonner, at the request of Gardiner, in presence of a notary and other witnesses. Hooper, and Mr. John Rogers, prebendary and divinity lecturer of St. Paul's, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London, who was degraded at the same time, being brought into the chapel, Bonner, with great satisfaction, entered upon his task. He invested the two confessors with the dress, ornaments, and all the badges of distinction belonging to the order of a priest, as if they had been about to execute their function. He next proceeded to pull off the vestments, beginning with the outer robe, till by degrees, and in regular order, he had stripped them of their whole sacerdotal attire. This being done, he, with affected pious solemnity, declared them, "In nomine + Patris, + Filii, + et Spiritus Sancti," deprived of all clerical rank, and of all the privileges belonging thereto, and delivered them over to the secular power.[1] Rogers suffered at Smithfield on the same day, being the first who was burned for Protestantism during the reign of the bloody Mary.[2] Gloucester being the place fixed upon for Hooper's execution, this delayed his martyrdom for some days.

By the orders of the London sheriffs, the queen's guards carried him to Gloucester, there to be handed over to the sheriffs of that county, who, with Lord Chandos and other commissioners, were appointed to see the sentence which had been pronounced against him carried into effect. On being committed to the sheriffs of Gloucester, having expressed to them his thanks for the kindness shown him by the guards who had conducted him from London, and having

[1] This was the first time that the fires in Smithfield were lighted since the burning of Anne Askew, in July, 1546, between eight and nine years before. Considering the progress which the reformed principles had made during the reign of Edward VI., by the free circulation of the Scriptures, and the means taken by the government to enlighten the people, the death of Rogers must have excited in the minds of multitudes in London and in other parts of England, indescribable horror.

[2] Foxe, vol. vi., pp. 651, 652.

adverted to their being appointed to see him brought to-morrow to the place of execution, he added, "My sole request to you is, that there may be a quick fire, in order to put a speedy end to my life; and in the meantime I will be as obedient to you as you can desire. I am not come hither as one compelled to die (for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain), but as one willing to offer my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked Papistical religion of the Bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God and a true obedient subject to the queen." At the intercession of the guards, who declared that such was his mildness that a child might have held him in custody, he was not sent to the common jail of Gloucester, but kept in the house of a person named Robert Ingram.



Ingram's House, in Westgate Street, Gloucester.

About nine o'clock in the morning of the 9th of February, he was led forth from the house in which he had spent his last night,[1] to the

[1] This house, which still exists, is exhibited in its present state in the above engraving. "It is to the right of the picture, and the open window denotes the room supposed to be the one Hooper occupied. The house is now divided into two tenements, but the original doorway exists, in the centre, through which the procession issued. The door is very thick, and studded with large iron nails."—(Communicated by the artist.)

place of martyrdom.[1] On his arrival, and before being bound to the stake, a box, containing the queen's pardon, on condition of his recantation, was laid before him on a stool. But never for a moment did the martyr waver. At the sight of this pretended boon he cried out, "If you love my soul, away with it!" repeating the same words a second time. His death was lingering and his torments dreadful, an account of which is enough to make one's blood run cold. After he was bound to the stake and the fire lighted, it kindled very slowly, the morning being lowering and cold, and there being a large quantity of green fagots, not less than two horses could carry upon their backs. A considerable time elapsed before the fire caught the reeds upon the fagots; and, even when it began to burn, the wind, being violent, blew the flame from him, so that he was in a great mea-



Place of Hooper's Martyrdom, Gloucester.

[1] The site of the bishop's martyrdom, in its present state, is represented in the above engraving. Tradition had handed down, from generation to generation, the actual spot, and its accuracy was confirmed by the accidental discovery, not many years ago, of the charred stake, with some part of the iron-work which had been used on the sad occasion. An Irish gentleman, who happened to be passing through the city in September, 1826, when the stake was discovered, erected on the spot, which is in the church-yard of St. Mary de Lode, a neat monument in commemoration of the martyr, with a suitable inscription.—Counsel's *Life of Bishop Hooper*, pp. 47, 49. "This monument is in the foreground of the engraving. In the background is the western gate of the abbey, from which the priests witnessed the martyr's sufferings. It is a quaint specimen of early English architecture, and, though much dilapidated, has not been altered or restored in any way; and, together with many of the neighbouring

sure as yet unhurt. He was heard to pray with a collected, mild, and calm voice, and apparently without pain—"O Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy upon me, and save my soul!" Shortly after, a few dry fagots, there being no more reeds, were brought, and a new fire was kindled; but, kept down by the wind, it did little more to the upper part of his body than scorch the skin and burn the hair of his head. He again prayed as before, still apparently without pain, "O Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul!" The second fire being spent, he wiped both his eyes with his hands, and, his lower parts being now severely burned, though, from the small quantity of fagots, the flame had burned but slightly his upper parts, he looked upon the people, and cried out under the torment he now felt, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire!" The fire, being kindled a third time, now burned with greater violence, and the bladders of the gunpowder exploded; but from the manner in which they were placed, and from the strength of the wind, this did not terminate his sufferings by putting an end to his life. He again prayed, with a somewhat louder voice than before, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me!" a prayer which he repeated three times. These were the last words he was heard to utter. But when his mouth had become black with the fire, and his tongue swollen, so that he could not speak, his lips were observed to move as if in prayer, till they were shrunk to the gums. From the dreadful agony he beat upon his breast with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, after which he continued beating upon his breast with the other hand—the fat, water, and blood meanwhile dropping out at his fingers' ends—until at last, by the renewal of the fire, his strength being gone, his hand, which ceased to beat, clave fast to the iron upon his breast, and, bowing forward, he yielded up his spirit to God, having remained three quarters of an hour, or upwards, alive in the devouring element.[1]

houses, presents almost the same appearance it did in the time of Queen Mary."—(Communicated by the artist.)

[1] Foxe, vol. vi., pp. 652-659.

Such was the close of this dismal tragedy. Hundreds others of a similar kind are unhappily to be found in the story of the terrible oppression of this reign. Execution followed execution with appalling repetition, bidding fair, had Mary's life been prolonged, to exterminate Protestantism from the English soil. Surely the blood of these martyrs has not been shed in vain. Surely England's sympathy for their memory is too strong, and her gratitude to Providence for the merciful triumph of the principles of the Reformation too deep, for her to permit Popery ever to regain its ascendency, and to re-enact such horrible scenes in this land, so long the asylum of true religion and of freedom.

Harrowing to the feelings as is the description of the martyrdom of this holy man, there was something peculiarly engaging in the gentle, meek, unrepining spirit with which he suffered—a gentleness and meekness of spirit which might have made his enemies relent, had they not, by long repressing the sentiments of compassion in their hearts, become incapable of feeling them. Like his Divine Master, he was truly led as a lamb to the slaughter. Not one imbittered feeling did he harbour against the relentless sovereign and her savage counsellors, the authors of his dreadful death. Nor do we less admire that unconquerable constancy to the cause he had so zealously espoused, which no prospect of escape on condition of recantation could shake, and that ardent piety which streamed forth from his heart, as from a fountain, in fervent supplications to God. The object of his supreme solicitude was to honour Christ by his death; and he was sustained by the triumphant hope of reigning with him, a blessed martyr above, in the joys of that kingdom prepared for the faithful before the foundation of the world. Hooper, at his death, was in the sixtieth year of his age, and was the first of the English Protestant bishops who sealed the truth with their blood.

Mrs. Hooper, being now resident at Frankfort, was deprived of the painful gratification of seeing the bishop before his martyrdom. But, although she had been at that time in England, Gardiner and Bonner, with their usual inhumanity, would probably, as in the case

of Rogers' wife, have refused to allow her to speak with him; and, like the wives of other martyrs, she would have been able to see him, and perhaps to obtain a brief interview with him, only by watching, with her infant boy in her arms and her little daughter by her side, on the road, as he passed to the place of execution. Nor had she the melancholy satisfaction of making for him a garment in which he might suffer, a service performed to some of the martyrs by their wives,[1] and a service which, being all they could render to those dearest to their hearts for the fiery trial, yielded at the time, and afterwards, on reflection, a distressing satisfaction, similar, though far more agonizing, to what is felt from having smoothed the pillow of a dying friend, and administered to him the refreshing cordial.

Her distress on hearing of the bishop's death, in all its circumstances, it is impossible to describe. Familiarized though she had been with the event by long anticipation, the details of his barbarous execution were such as to lacerate her feelings to the uttermost. That tragedy, though she had not witnessed it, imagination vividly pictured to her view, and it never passed from her memory. Every night she lay down upon her widowed and lonely pillow—every morning she arose from her broken and disturbed slumbers—every time she sat down with her fatherless children to partake with them of their homely frugal meal, or knelt with them, and lifted up her voice and her heart to heaven in prayer—by a thousand mementoes—she was reminded of her loneliness; how he, who had made home to them all a paradise of delight, had been torn from their embraces, how he had expired in excruciating lingering torture, how his ashes

[1] This the wife of Laurence Saunders did. Knowing that his death was determined upon, he wrote to her, telling her that he was now ready to be offered up, and desiring her to send him a shirt. "You know," said he, "whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open." On which Southey beautifully remarks, "The crimes of those miserable days called forth virtues equal to the occasion. A wife who prepared the garment in which her husband was to suffer at the stake, must, indeed, have been a true helpmate, and one who possessed a heart which could feel and understand how much his fortitude would be confirmed and comforted by a reliance upon hers."—*The Book of the Church*, vol. ii., p. 154.

were scattered she knew not whither. But she sorrowed not as those who had no hope. She had the deep certainty that the spirit of him whom she mourned, released from its hard and mortal struggle in in this scene of misery, was now spotlessly pure and perfectly blessed in a better world; and her own hopes of reaching that world were blended with the memory of his virtues, and with the bright vision of meeting him there, in all the raptures of a renewed, perfected, and eternal friendship. Speaking of him as dead (April 11, 1555), two months after his martyrdom, she adds, turning her thoughts to the brighter side—"Indeed, he is alive with all the holy martyrs, and with his Christ, the head of the martyrs; and I am dead here till God shall again unite me to him."[1] She did not wish him to be brought down from his exalted abode to this world of sin and suffering. She rather longed to follow him, and derived comfort from the thought that the separation was only for a season. In regard to his ashes, whatever in the meantime might become of them, she believed that they were under the care of God, who at the last day would reproduce them, fashioned into an incorruptible, immortal, and glorious frame, the meet habitation of the glorified spirit.

Bullinger, her dear friend, no sooner heard of the bishop's violent and lingering death, than he sent her a letter, breathing deep sympathy and full of Christian consolation, which greatly supported her desolate widowed heart, and for which she was exceedingly grateful. "I thank you," says she, "for your most godly letter; I certainly stand much in need of such consolations, and of your prayers. I pray you, therefore, by the holy friendship of the most holy martyr, my husband, of whom being now deprived, I consider this life to be death, do not forsake me. I am not one who is able to return your kindness, but you will do an acceptable service to God, who especially commends widows to your protection. I and my Rachel return our thanks for the elegant new year's gift you sent us. Salute your excellent wife, my very dear gossip, and all friends. Frankfort, April 11, 1555." In a postscript she adds, "Your [god-daughter]

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 114.

Rachel sends you an English coin, on which are the effigies of Ahab and Jezebel."[1] The English money of this period bore the effigies of Philip of Spain and Queen Mary; and to these personages, whom she had just cause to execrate, who had made herself a widow and her children fatherless, she applies, under a deep sense of unmerited and irreparable injury, these names, unhappily but too descriptive of their character. These, indeed, were the epithets by which Philip and Mary were familiarly known among the Protestant exiles of Frankfort, where Mrs. Hooper was now residing. Knox, the illustrious Scottish Reformer, who, shortly before the date of this letter, had been for some time minister of the English congregation in that place, was wont to designate Mary of England "that wicked Jesebell," "that idolatress Jesabel, mischievous Marie, of the Spaynyardis bloode; a cruel persecutrix of Goddis people, as the actes of hir unhappy regne can sufficiently witnesse."[2] And the English exiles used still stronger language in speaking of her character, one of them calling her "Athalia, malicious Mary, unnatural woman: no, no woman, but a monster, and the devil of hell covered with the shape of a woman."[3]

Mrs. Hooper, now when the bishop had gone to his rest, was anxious to have his wishes gratified in regard to the publication of a certain work which, in consequence of the restraints imposed on the liberty of the press in England, he had sent over to be printed on the continent. In the letter last quoted she says, "When I received, most loving gossip, the book of my dear husband, I desired, as he bade me by his letter, that it should be published before this fair. For which reason I sent it to Mr. Peter Martyr, that he might get it done at Strasburg. He excused himself on account of the doctrine of the eucharist, which is not received there. It might be printed here by permission of the senate; but it is better that you

[1] *Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 114.

[2] Knox's *History*, Wod. Society edition, vol. i., p. 244; and vol. ii., p. 279.

[3] *Works* of the Rev. Samuel Johnston, p. 144, quoted in M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., p. 415.

should first of all revise the book, and procure it to be printed yonder. As I am well aware that his memory is most precious to you, you will, I doubt not, be equally ready to oblige him in this matter, as if he were now alive." To what work of the bishop's she here refers it is difficult to determine. He had sent along with his letter to Bullinger, dated 11th December, 1554, two small Latin treatises for the "perusal, consideration, and correction" of that eminent man, the one entitled, *An Hyperaspismus touching the true doctrines and use of the Lord's Supper*, dedicated to the Parliament of England, "that," says he, "we may publicly reply to our adversaries in the court of Parliament;" the other entitled, *A Tractate upon discerning and avoiding false religion*, requesting Bullinger to cause them to be printed as soon as possible. Mrs. Hooper probably has a reference to one or other of these treatises. But neither of them appears to have been printed; nor, though search has been made for the manuscript copies, has any trace of them been found. The epistle dedicatory to the latter is printed in Strype's *Memorials*.[1] Bale mentions them both as among Hooper's works, written in Latin, from prison, and he quotes the commencing sentence of each.[2]

Our narrative of the life of Mrs. Hooper must here abruptly close. Of her subsequent history we have been unable to discover any particulars, nor have we met with any information as to her children posterior to the execution of their father. But the preceding memorials concerning her, imperfect though they be, reflect the highest honour upon her memory, and claim for her a place among the "great cloud of witnesses," who "obtained a good report through faith," and who are entitled to the grateful remembrance and imitation of posterity.

[1] Vol. iii., part i., p. 283; and part ii., p. 267.
[2] Bale's *Script. Illustr.*, lib. i., Basil, 1559.



The High Street, Oxford (modern view).

KATHARINE VERMILIA.

WIFE OF PETER MARTYR.

BARBARITY towards the dead bodies of heretics is one of the countless forms in which Popish cruelty has displayed itself. To deposit the human body, when divested of life, with respect in the earth, is at once an act of decency and humanity. This recommends itself so strongly to the instinctive feelings of the mind of man that, even in heathen countries, he has shrunk with horror at the idea of depriving any of his fellow-creatures, even an enemy, of the honour of interment. But the Popish Church has shrunk neither from the idea nor from the practice of this atrocity. The canon law, an infallible authority with Papists, denies the rites of sepulture to the mortal remains of heretics,[1] and history tells us

[1] *Decr. Cap. Sacris de Sepultis.*

how well this law has been obeyed. How often has the wail of anguish proceeded from the Christian church, as from the Jews of old, while she thought, under her persecutions, of her murdered martyrs lying unburied, the prey of ravenous animals: "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; the dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth!" (Psalm lxxix. 1, 2). To this, as the fate of many of the Waldenses, Milton refers in his well-known and touching sonnet upon the persecutions they endured:

> "Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold."

In the reign of Queen Mary, "the bodies of those who died in prison, either of natural disease or in consequence of hunger, were cast out as carrion in the fields, all persons being forbidden to bury them."[1]

But Popish persecutors have carried their barbarity against the dead bodies of heretics even further than by leaving them to lie unburied, or not permitting their burial. They have treated them with every conceivable mark of indignity. They have cast them into ditches, or covered them with heaps of stones, dragged them about, kicked them, and trampled them under foot, mangled them, thrown them into pits, cast them forth to dogs and birds of prey, roasted them upon spits, yea, what is almost incredible and horrible to relate, some of these savage cannibals have fricasseed and actually eaten them. The French Papists, as we learn from a Roman Catholic historian, during the period of the league, made rosaries of the ears of slaughtered Huguenots, on which they might repeat their *Ave Marias* and *Pater Nosters*;[2] and in the time of the Irish massacre in the reign of Charles I., when cruelties almost unequalled in the history of depraved human nature were perpetrated, the Irish Papists carried their barbarities, in this respect, to a still greater extent.[3]

[1] Southey's *Book of the Church*, vol. ii., p. 243. [2] Mathieu, *Hist.*, liv. i., p. 119.
[3] Bruce's *Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery*, p. 123.

The frenzy of Popish persecutors has also driven them to open the graves of heretics, or of persons suspected of heresy, who had been fortunate enough during life to escape their fury, to take out their bones and burn them; an outrage which, though the dead body is insensible, excites almost as strong a sensation of horror as the casting of the living into the burning pile, for it evinces, as we at once feel, not less malignity and cruelty of heart. Councils and popes have decreed that such persons should be tried, condemned, excommunicated, and that their dust and bones should be committed to the flames; and often have these decrees been carried into effect. Many of the Waldenses, after having been interred twenty-five or thirty years, were dug up, and publicly burned, partly from malice, and partly as a pretext for confiscating their property. Thus also was the dead body of John Wickliffe treated, after it had lain many years in the grave. No man before his time had done so much to undermine the Papacy as Wickliffe, and we can easily imagine the "leer malign" with which his resurrectionists would, like the grave-digger in Hamlet, "jowl his skull to the ground, as if it had been Cain's jaw-bone that did the first murder," and when all the fragments were collected, cast them into the devouring element. Similar was the treatment of the dead bodies of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius (the former professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge, the latter professor of Hebrew in the same university), which, in the reign of Queen Mary, were dug up and publicly burned in the market-place at Cambridge, on the 6th of February, 1556-7. This scene was enacted at a time when the principal cities of England exhibited the horrible spectacle of the burning of living holy martyrs, and it showed that, had these learned Reformers been then alive, they would have shared the same fate as Rogers, Bradford, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer.

We have been led to make these remarks from their bearing upon the following narrative, which relates not to the life of Mrs. Martyr, but chiefly to the ignominious exhumation of her corpse by Cardinal Pole and his coadjutors, during the reign of Queen Mary, and to the

honourable re-interment of her remains in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.[1]

KATHARINE VERMILIA, who was originally a nun, was married to Peter Martyr, an Italian Reformer of honourable family, during his residence at Strasburg, whither he had gone upon the invitation of Bucer, and where he had obtained a situation as professor in the academy, on his being obliged, in 1542, to leave his native country to escape the dangers to which his heretical sentiments, and his useful labours in opening the eyes of many to the knowledge of the truth, particularly at Naples and Lucca, had exposed him. They continued at Strasburg till the end of the year 1547, when Martyr having received an invitation from Archbishop Cranmer to come to England, they came to this country, where Martyr was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Oxford. During her residence in England, Mrs. Martyr was distinguished for her good works, especially for her liberality towards the poor. But her life was not spared many years. She died on the 15th of February, 1553-4. "She was dangerously attacked by quartan ague," says Martyr, in a letter to a friend[2] after her death, "to which she had for a long time been subject, and departed to be with Christ. God enabled her to exercise such faith, piety, fortitude and constancy in the confession of the truth, even to the last hour, that it was in a manner a miracle to all who were present. Although I rejoice in her felicity,

[1] The source from which we chiefly derive our materials is a rare contemporary Latin volume, containing an account of the whole proceedings, written by James Calfhill, sub-dean of Christ Church College, and addressed to Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London. Calfhill was a learned man, and took a very active part in putting honour upon the memory of Mrs. Martyr. Foxe, in his *Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii., pp. 296, 297, and Strype, in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*, vol. i., pp. 198-201, have briefly noticed the circumstances. In the volume referred to there are also various documents illustrative of the life, death, burial, accusation, condemnation, exhumation, burning, and honourable restoration of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, collected by Conrad Hubert, a learned reformed minister of Strasburg. The whole work was printed at Strasburg, in 12mo, in 1561, by John Oporinus, under the superintendence of Hubert, whose dedication, which is addressed to Michael Dillerus, a learned divine, is dated 15th February, 1562.

[2] Conrad Hubert.

yet I cannot but feel great anguish of spirit in having been so unexpectedly left behind by her at this particular time. On account of the great charity which she always showed towards the poor, she was deeply regretted by almost all the citizens, who regarded her with no common affection; but to me her death has caused a desolation scarcely supportable." She was buried within the church belonging to Christ Church College, Oxford, near the tomb of St. Frideswide, to whom that church had been originally dedicated.

Cardinal Pole having appointed commissioners to visit the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, to restore to the colleges the Popish constitutions which had been made void in the time of Edward VI., to make diligent inquiry as to all in the colleges who had not conformed to the Romish religion, now the established faith of the kingdom, and, without delay, to eject every individual on whom the slightest suspicion of heresy rested; this appointment led to the exhumation and burning of the remains of Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge, and to the exhumation and ignominious treatment of Mrs. Martyr's at Oxford. In the work to which we have referred as our principal authority, it is not said that the commissioners had received instructions to perpetrate either of these barbarities. The Cambridge commissioners, as is asserted in that work, having taken up the case of Bucer and Fagius in consequence of a petition presented to them, praying that the dead bodies of these arch heretics, who during life had corrupted many by their pernicious doctrine, should be dug up, it may perhaps be inferred, though not with perfect certainty, that their commission did not contain specific instructions to that effect, but that they acted in the exercise of the large discretionary powers with which their commission invested them. The visitation of the university of Oxford being subsequently to the visitation of the university of Cambridge, the intention formed by the Oxford commissioners to exhumate the corpse of Mrs. Martyr and burn it, was perhaps suggested by the proceedings of the commissioners at Cambridge in reference to the dead bodies of Bucer and Fagius.

With the commissioners appointed to visit the university of Oxford we have here specially to do. Though varied in their character and attainments, they were all men abundantly inclined to enter with zeal upon the work of their mission. They are thus described by Calfhill:—"Brooks[1] was a man of no common learning nor of contemptible eloquence; he was of an acute understanding and of easy amiable manners, if the iniquity of those times and the company of bad men had not changed his nature. Ormaneto[2] was remarkable for nothing except intolerable arrogance, in which he so wonderfully excelled, that it is impossible to imagine it carried to greater excess. Cole[3] was unmatched for erudition in his own opinion, but, in the judgment of others, of ordinary attainments. His temper was so extremely severe, that though he had burnt the sacred books and greatly harassed the Reformers, he was dissatisfied with himself as unduly moderate. He could bear nothing with greater difficulty than to understand that any person read Cicero or Plato. The reason of this opposition to classical learning is not very well known, unless, perhaps, it proceeded from his overweening fondness for his own ingenious paradox, 'that ignorance is the mother of true piety.' Morven[4] was advanced in years, a frugal old man, who managed his household establishment with a parsimonious economy, and possessed little ability for maintaining controversies on theological questions, yet he was a most bitter defender of the ancient absurdities of his own religion. Wright[5] was and is adorned with a combination of natural talents and much acquired learning, nor would one desire more in that man except constancy, which it becomes all good men to preserve, and especially Christian pastors, who should have stable and certain, not erratic and vacillating sentiments on the subject of religion."

In coming to the resolution to dig up and burn the corpse of Mrs. Martyr, these commissioners, like those of Cambridge, were guided by the canon law, which enjoins that if any excommunicated or here-

[1] Bishop of Gloucester. [2] Nicholas Ormaneto. [3] Henry Cole.
[4] Robert Morven, president of Corpus Christi College. [5] A doctor of Civil Law.

tical person shall happen to be buried in a church or cemetery, the body shall be dug up.[1] This law was founded on the principle that the interment of heretics within Popish churches and church-yards polluted these consecrated places; and, whenever any such interment had taken place, they were to be shut up, while the performance of divine service in the churches, and the burial of the dead in the churches or cemeteries, were interdicted, till they were first reconciled and consecrated anew by a bishop, by the sprinkling of holy water, and other ceremonies usually observed on such occasions. It was maintained, that to allow heretics to partake of Christian sepulture was to put an open affront on the Divine honour; was to expose to danger the souls of others, who, seeing no mark of reprobation fixed upon heretics after their death, might think that heresy was a harmless thing; was an offence to the faithful, whose consciences were wounded by seeing holy places thus desecrated. But while guided in their purpose of exhumating and burning Mrs. Martyr's corpse by the canon law, the actors were also, doubtless, impelled by revenge for the important services her husband had rendered to the Reformation in England during the reign of Edward VI. They conceived that they could not otherwise sufficiently testify their abhorrence of the doctrines he had taught at Oxford, nor sufficiently hold them up to the detestation of the people. They would have looked with more exquisite pleasure on the flames enveloping Martyr himself, a fate to which he would, in all probability, have been subjected had he been in England, but, as he was happily in a safe asylum on the continent, the next desirable thing was to burn the remains of his wife, who, it was believed, was not less heretical than himself.

The work in which these commissioners were engaged belonging more to the brutal than to the intelligent part of their nature, they revelled and rioted, in the course of their visitation, like men who had brutal work to perform, or rather like men engaged in the work

[1] *Decr. Cap. Sacris de Sepultis.*

of the wicked one. With their blood inflamed by strong drink, and driven by violent, exasperated, and headlong passion, they collected as many Bibles and other books treating of scriptural evangelical truth as they could discover, brought them together in the market-place, and committed them to the flames. In the colleges they found many nonconformists, whom they punished by summary ejection. They next proceeded to carry into effect their purpose as to the burning of the dead body of Mrs. Martyr. To give the face of justice to their proceedings, they thought it necessary to go through some form of trial, as had been done in reference to the burning of the bodies of Bucer and Fagius. In the case of the latter, the Cambridge commissioners cited the dead Reformers three different times to appear to answer for themselves, or any others who might be willing to appear to answer for them; and after these three citations, the accused not rising from their graves to defend themselves, nor any person appearing in their defence, "for fear," as Burnet observes, "of being sent after them," the commissioners entered upon the trial by the examination of witnesses. Whether the Oxford commissioners went through the farce of citing Mrs. Martyr to appear to answer for herself, we are not informed; but they summoned all who, so far as they could learn, had any acquaintance or intimacy either with her or with Martyr, to appear before them, to be examined as to what they knew about her heretical principles. Many appeared in obedience to the summons, and they were closely questioned and cross-questioned upon oath as to her religious tenets, but no evidence of her heresy was extracted, all of them, without exception, having declared that, on account of the imperfect manner in which she spoke the English language, they knew not what were her religious sentiments.

Had the commissioners succeeded in proving her heretical pravity, they would have proceeded exactly as the Cambridge commissioners had done on their establishing the charge of heresy against Bucer and Fagius. They would have condemned her as an obstinate heretic, ordered her dead body to be dug up and delivered to the secular

power, as were living heretics, not mentioning, though it was well known, that it was for the purpose of being burned. Then they would have sent a messenger with the sentence to the court at London, in which Cardinal Pole was now the ruling spirit; and in the course of a few days the messenger would have returned, bringing with him orders to burn the dead body of the condemned heretic.

But having failed in proving her heresy, the commissioners had no authority from the canon law for passing sentence that her dead body should be dug up and delivered to the secular power to be burned. They therefore broke up their sittings without pronouncing upon her any condemning sentence whatever, a circumstance somewhat wonderful, for Popish persecutors have rarely hesitated to punish persons who had excited the suspicion of heresy, however lame the proofs to support the charge. On their return to London they informed the cardinal of all that they had done in the execution of their delegated powers; how they had thrust out many from the colleges for heresy, how they had burned the Bible, and how they had made a searching inquiry into the supposed heretical opinions of Mrs. Martyr, but that, eliciting no evidence against her, they had dropped the case. The cardinal, however, if he was pleased to forego the revenge of burning her body, was not inclined to allow her to escape without some indignity. Shortly after, he wrote a letter to Dr. Marshall, deacon of Christ Church, Oxford, instructing him "that he should cause the body of Katharine, wife of Peter Martyr, to be dug up, because it lay near the body of the most holy Frideswide." This surely was no proof of the gentleness of manners, and humanity of disposition, for which Pole's friends have eulogized him: it looks like cruelty of no ordinary kind thus to disgorge its venom, not only upon the living, but upon the dead in their graves. In giving these instructions to Marshall he would, had Mrs. Martyr been proved to be a heretic, have been yielding obedience to the canon law, but the proof of Mrs. Martyr's heresy had never been made out by his commissioners. He had not, therefore, the sanction

even of the canons of his own church for ordering her dead body to be thus contumeliously treated.

Pole could not have committed the business to a more fitting person than Marshall, a violent and furious man, quite familiarized with cruelty, and who entered with heart and soul into every persecuting measure. Delighted with the commission he had received, he was eager to carry it into execution, and he had many associates ready to lend him assistance in so grateful a service. He communicated the cardinal's command to his pot companions, with whom he had mingled in many a scene of wild and roaring debauchery, and they unitedly resolved to execute the task on an evening, for the sake of secrecy. On the evening appointed they were assembled together and carousing over their cups. The work in prospect was the great theme of their talk. A company of drunken jockeys could hardly have been more boisterous. The toasts went round; and while drinking each other's health, they did not forget to drink the extermination of heretics, and damnation to the soul of the old heretical dame whose rotten bones and mouldering dust they were going to disturb. "By the Virgin Mary, by St. Frideswide," said they, "we shall give her a surprise to-night; we shall awake Fustiluggs from her dreams; that we will." They gave her the name of Fustiluggs because she was somewhat corpulent. Late in the evening, when it was dark, leaving off their Bacchanalian orgies, Marshall and his associates, accompanied by workmen previously hired, who carried their spades and mattocks along with them, proceeded to the church, to the grave of Mrs. Martyr. The work of disinterment commenced; her remains were dug up, and, by the orders of Marshall, they were placed upon the shoulders of one of the workmen, and carried away to a dunghill in the neighbourhood of his stables. Here, as being unworthy of Christian sepulture, they were buried as unceremoniously, and with more malignity, than if they had been the carcass of a dog. "Such was the brutal scene," says Calfhill, "enacted by wicked men in those infamous times, when impiety had so taken possession of England that the baser and the more

cruel any one was, so much the better and the holier a man was he accounted." Even among heathen nations this revolting transaction would have excited general abhorrence, and those concerned in it would have been shunned as polluted, and regarded as just objects of the Divine vengeance.

> ——————————"What guilt
> Can equal violations of the dead?
> The dead, how sacred! sacred is the dust
> Of this heav'n-labour'd form, erect, divine!
> When ev'ry passion sleeps that can offend;
> When strikes us ev'ry motive that can melt;
> Then, spleen to dust! the dust of innocence,
> An angel's dust! this Lucifer transcends,
> When he contended for the patriarch's bones.
> 'Twas not the strife of malice, but of pride;
> The strife of pontiff pride, not pontiff gall."[1]

The remains of Mrs. Martyr continued to lie in this vile receptacle until the reign of Elizabeth, when they were restored to honourable sepulture. Shortly after Elizabeth's elevation to the throne, she appointed ecclesiastical commissioners, among whom were Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, and Richard Goodrich, a layman, investing them with full power and authority to adopt measures for more fully establishing the Protestant faith, and delivering the nation from the tyranny and superstition of Popery. These commissioners were not ignorant of the ignominious treatment of the corpse of Mrs. Martyr, by Cardinal Pole and his parasites, and they came to the resolution of rendering due honour to her memory by a public and honourable re-interment. In coming to this resolution they were influenced partly by reverence for her sex and her excellent character, partly by respect for her husband, Mr. Martyr, who, at the request of Edward VI., had come to England, and had laboured so assiduously and faithfully in instructing the youths of the university of Oxford in the Protestant faith, as to entitle him to the gratitude of that university and of the kingdom. They felt it to be a disgrace to their country that this

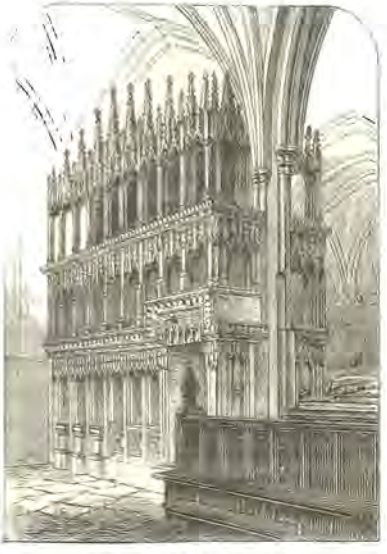
[1] Young's *Night Thoughts*, Night iii.

distinguished man should receive such "a recompense of ingratitude" as to have the corpse of his wife, who was a godly woman and a stranger, who was kind to many, especially to the poor, and injurious to none, either by word or deed, spitefully dug out of her grave and buried in a dunghill without any authority, even from the canon law or from the laws of England, bad as many of them were in the reign of Mary. "To all good natures," says Foxe, "the fact seemed odious, and of such as be imbued with humanity, utterly to be abhorred."

These commissioners sent instructions to certain trustworthy Protestants in the university of Oxford to make inquiry into the whole circumstances connected with Mrs. Martyr's exhumation, and to wash out this stain of infamy from Oxford by removing her body from the dunghill into which it had been thrown, and publicly burying it in some honourable place. The persons to whom this business was intrusted, called before them all who had been concerned in the execrable transaction, or who could communicate to them any particulars respecting it. By this means they succeeded in gaining the necessary information. They were shown, in the north part of Christ Church, not far from the tomb of Frideswide, the spot where Mrs. Martyr had been buried upon her death. They were next conducted to the dunghill, in the neighbourhood of the stables of Dr. Marshall, into which her body, when disinterred, had been cast. The corpse was dug up; and the disjoined members were carefully collected into a chest, carried to the church, and committed to the care of the church wardens, who were ordered to watch over them until an opportunity should be afforded, on one of the most celebrated holy days, for a large number of people to assemble, and re-inter them, with every mark of honour, in Christ Church.

While James Calfhill, sub-dean of Christ Church College, was sedulously making all the preparations requisite for an honourable funeral, he accidentally discovered, in the most concealed part of the church, two little silk bags, in which were carefully covered and wrapped up a parcel of bones, said to be the bones of St. Frides-

wide.[1] As this Popish saint, according to the tradition, lived so far back as the eighth century, it is very doubtful whether these were her bones. But the priests affirmed that they were hers, and by means of them practised the same impudent tricks and impositions which they systematically practised by means of the relics of other saints, thereby levying large contributions from the people, who, from their ignorance and superstition, eagerly believed in the virtues attributed to the bones of the saint, and in the miracles wrought by them. The canons of that church religiously preserved them, and on holy days were wont to take them out of the bags and place them upon the altar, in public view, that they might be worshipped by all with great reverence. The superstitious multitude might then be seen throwing themselves prostrate before the exhibited relics with their hands clasped together, and remaining in that posture as if in earnest



The Shrine of St. Frideswide.

[1] St. Frideswide is said to have lived in the first half of the eighth century, and to have been the daughter of Didane, a petty king in those parts, by his queen Saffride. About the year 730, Didane, according to the tradition, founded a nunnery at Oxford, to the honour of the Virgin Mary and All Saints, consisting of twelve nuns of noble birth, under the government of his own daughter, Frideswide. Upon her death, Frideswide being buried within the building, and afterwards canonized, the nunnery in process of time was dedicated to her memory, and generally called by her name. It gradually became enriched by the liberality of different monarchs, and continued to flourish until it was suppressed by Cardinal Wolsey, who obtained from Pope Clement

prayer. Among other delusions connected with this patron saint, the priests attributed to her such power and sanctity, that they affirmed that the church would fall into ruins were her bones removed from within the walls, and the gulls of the priests as fully believed this as they believed in their own existence. Calfhill, rightly judging that it would be unchristian to imitate the barbarity of the Papists, did not wish to offer any indignity to the bones of the Popish saint, notwithstanding the impious and blasphemous uses to which they were applied, for though they might not be her bones, yet they were probably those of some human being. He therefore ordered them to be mingled with the bones of Mrs. Martyr—a revolting idea to the Papists; but this mixture served, and was intended for, a twofold purpose. By rendering it impossible to distinguish between the bones of the saint and those of the heretic, it would secure Mrs. Martyr's from the subsequent indignity of disinterment, should Popery again triumph in England, and it would prevent in future the idolatrous worship of St. Frideswide's. The bones of the heretical lady could not be dishonoured by being taken up and cast into some vile place, without a similar degradation being done to the bones of the Popish saint; and should any attempt be afterwards made to dig up the bones of the latter for Popish idolatrous purposes, they might be mistaken for those of Mrs. Martyr, and thus the blunder committed

VII. two bulls, the one dated 1524, and the other 1525, for the dissolution of twenty-two religious houses, whose revenues, amounting to nearly £2000 per annum, might be appropriated to the establishment of two colleges which he proposed to erect, the one at Ipswich, the place of his birth, and the other at Oxford, the place of his education. The college at Oxford was built on the spot where St. Frideswide's convent stood, and it was dedicated to the praise, glory, and honour of the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, St. Frideswide, and All Saints. Its name at first was "Cardinal College," but it was afterwards changed into that of "Christ Church College." The church of the college is the same which belonged to the monastery of St. Frideswide, and in it both the saint and her parents lie entombed. "Prior Philip," says Ackermann, writing in 1814, "erected in the church the beautiful shrine of the patroness St. Frideswide, still remaining, into which he transferred her remains in 1180. It is a neat and elegant structure, erected over a tomb, which had on it the effigy of a man and woman in brass, now torn off, and are said to have been those of Didane and Saffride, the parents of the saint."—*Ackermann's History of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii., pp. 55-57, 72, 74.

of worshipping the bones of a heretic. An oration having been delivered to a numerous auditory, declaring the reasons of the present proceedings, the remains of Mrs. Martyr, with the bones of St. Frideswide enclosed in the same chest, were deposited in one common grave in the upper part of the church, towards the east, with great solemnity, amidst a large concourse of the principal inhabitants of Oxford, on January 11, 1561.

On the day following, which was the Sabbath, one of the fellows of the university, named Rogerson, delivered a pious, learned, and appropriate discourse to a numerous auditory. He dwelt upon the common destiny of mankind as subject to mortality, and upon the atoning blood and sacrifice of Him who hath brought life and immortality to light by the gospel. He took the opportunity, afforded by the occasion, of animadverting upon the oppression, injustice, and cruelty of the late reign, and of congratulating his hearers upon the happy change which a merciful Providence had brought about by the accession of the Princess Elizabeth to the throne. He made honourable mention of that noble army of martyrs who were committed to the flames for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ, eulogized their integrity and purity of life, their patience, fortitude, and faith in the prison and at the stake. He spoke in commendation, though not with exaggerated praise, of Mrs. Martyr, whose dead body, after being buried for the space of two full years, had been dug from the grave, and treated by Popish persecutors with greater ignominy than they would have done to the carcass of a brute beast. He proposed her life as an excellent pattern for imitation, and exposed Popish cruelty as a rock to be avoided. His object in bringing forward these facts was not to wound the hearts of the pious by reviving the memory of that tyrannical domination from which England had suffered so much, but rather to animate them to magnify God for having delivered them from it, and to stir them up to combine their energies for the utter overthrow of the antichristian interest.

To put farther honour upon Mrs. Martyr, Latin and Greek poems,

commemorative of her worth and condemnatory of the inhumanity exercised towards her dead body, composed by eminent scholars of the university of Oxford, were posted upon the church doors. As might be expected from men who had escaped, as from a shipwreck or earthquake, the barbarous and shocking cruelties of the preceding reign, these verses, which are printed in the work already referred to as our chief authority in this sketch, are written with something like sensations of shuddering horror at the persecuting and sanguinary spirit that had raged, and with strong feelings of gratitude to Providence for the deliverance of the nation, when brought to the brink of ruin by Popery and tyranny. The first of them, written by James Calfhill, begins thus:—"The Pope at that time ruling supreme, the violent herd of wolves entered and destroyed the pious flock of the Lord. The mitred leaders entered, tyrants entered, filling houses with slaughter and blood. Nor could the bodies of living saints, burned on the dreadful funeral pile, satisfy these savage beings; they cast out heretical corpses, not long buried, from their resting-places, and exercised their ferocity on rotten bones. Neither honourable feeling, nor reason, nor piety, could subdue their outrageous violence. A woman who, an exile from her native country, brought great honour and succour to our city—a woman on whose life there was no stain, and who, when on her death-bed, had given a clear testimony of her faith in God, being torn from her grave and despoiled of, what is above all, her honourable reputation, suffered the most shameful indignities, by being thrown into a filthy place." The writer next compares these cruel persecutors to Achilles, who, having slain Hector, dragged the dead body of the Trojan hero at his chariot round the walls of Troy, and only restored it to Priam, Hector's father, for honourable interment, on receiving a large pecuniary ransom.[1] Next passing to the altered auspicious state of affairs, he adds, "Nor could that truculent treading down power continue long, Christ being the avenger. Better fortune, exceeding their expectations, has now returned to the wretched, and fostering piety possesses

[1] Homer's *Iliad*, book xxii.

its ancient abode. Therefore, now receive, O Katharine, the honour of thy old sepulchre—now possess that to which thy piety entitles thee."

In another of these poems the author says, "The heathen dreaded violating an old sepulchre, whilst yet reason was their sole teacher. Romulus and Solon prohibited by law any even to speak ill of the dead. Darius, having dared to violate the tomb of Semiramis, did not find gold, but was met with this inscription, 'Ah miserable man! ah! you would be unwilling to disturb the hidden receptacles of the dead, were you not wickedly persuaded by idleness, the belly, and riches.' But ye Popish devotees, members of the tyrant Antichrist, commit crimes more hideous than Darius. He, pitifully laughed at, lost the gold; ye heap up wealth by means of disinterred bones. He was deceived; ye practice deception upon all, in giving putrid bones to be the objects of our worship. But, O ye shavelings, ye gave not the bones of Katharine Martyr to be honoured, ye dug them up to be dishonoured in a dunghill. Say, what has she deserved? What crimes has she, being dead, committed? If while in life she did mischief, she has done nothing of the kind since her death. 'She committed crimes,' you say, 'in not offering incense to Baal; when alive she was guilty of heresy.' O happy Mrs. Martyr! taken away by a propitious death; hadst thou, on whom, when dead, punishment has been inflicted for the heretical noxiousness of thy life, been forcibly taken, when living, out of the desolated flock, thou shouldst have been burned a martyr, even as thou wert Martyr by name." The author closes by exulting at the thought that the Papists had been unable, by fire and sword, and all their persecuting appliances, to prevail, God having interposed for the deliverance of the oppressed.

Thus did the Reformers, on the accession of Elizabeth, vindicate the dead, whose sepulchres the persecutors in their frantic rage had violated.

The Papists having been twitted by the Protestants for the base treatment of Mrs. Martyr's remains, as an apology for their conduct they laboured to bring discredit upon her reputation. This called

forth rejoinders, in which her honest name was amply vindicated. Dr. George Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in an excellent work against the Romanists, defends her memory from their malignant defamatory attacks. He testifies both to her worth and ingenuity, and his testimony is of greater value as resting on information derived from persons to whom she was personally known. "She was," says he, "reasonably corpulent, but of most matron-like modesty; for the which she was much reverenced by the most. She was of singular patience, and of excellent arts and qualities. And, among other things for her recreation, she delighted to cut plumb-stones into curious faces, of which, exceedingly artificially done, I once had one, with a woman's visage and head attire on the one side, and a bishop with his mitre on the other, which was the elegant work of her hands. By divers yet living in Oxford [1604] this good woman is remembered and commended, as for her other virtues so for her liberality to the poor, which by Mr. Foxe, writing how she was treated after her death, is rightly mentioned. For the love of true religion and the company of her husband, she left her own country to come into England in King Edward's days."[1]

[1] *Abbot against Hill*, p. 144.





Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S history is inseparably connected with the general history of the Reformation in her day. Whatever were the defects of her character and government, she was certainly an extraordinary woman, and the instrument, in the hand of Providence, of preserving the reformed cause from extermination, not only in England, but in all its European establishments. A full narrative of her life we do not, however, here propose. This would carry us far beyond the limits of the present undertaking. Only some of the most prominent points in her history can be glanced at.

Elizabeth, second daughter of Henry VIII., by his queen, Anne Boleyn, was born at the royal palace of Greenwich, on the 7th of September, 1533.[1] At her birth her fortune seemed bright and auspicious; but the frenzied temper of her father soon overclouded even her

[1] *State Papers*, vol. i., p. 407.

infancy with calamity; and in early life, till she ascended the throne, she was exposed to much mortification, suffering, and danger. She had not completed the third year of her age, when the cruel fate of her mother deprived her of the affection of her father, who became alienated from the daughter of the queen whom he had murdered; and by the Parliament which met in June, the month after her mother's execution, her father's divorce from her mother was ratified; and she, as well as Mary, daughter of Katharine of Aragon, was declared illegitimate, and excluded from the succession to the crown, which was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or by any subsequent wife he should marry. Henry, however, soon after the birth of Prince Edward, restored both her and Mary to the right of succession by his obedient Parliament, and he specially recognized their right in his will.

Upon her father's marriage with Katharine Parr, Elizabeth, as we have already seen, prosecuted her studies under the superintendence of that queen,[1] who was so eminently qualified to imbue her mind with the principles of virtue, piety, and wisdom, to develope her powers of understanding, and to give refinement to her manners. Upon her father's death she was committed to the care of Katharine, but within a short time, the conduct of the unprincipled Lord Admiral Seymour, Katharine's fourth husband, who had presumed to take unbecoming liberties with the young princess, rendered it necessary to remove Elizabeth from the house of her mother-in-law.[2] After Katharine's death he contemplated marrying Elizabeth, whose heart he had certainly succeeded in gaining; but the lords of council interposed their negative, and laid the princess under stricter *surveillance*.[3]

Elizabeth was first taught the Greek and Latin languages by William Grindal, an accomplished scholar, and the beloved friend of Roger Ascham, under whom he had prosecuted the study of classical learning at Cambridge during a period of seven years; and from an excellent capacity and steady application, aided by the assiduous ex-

1 See *Life of Katharine Parr*, chap. ii., p. 203. 2 *Ibid.*, chap. iii., p. 232.
3 *Ibid.*, chap. iii., p. 237.

ertions of her tutor, she made great progress in learning. Upon the death of Grindal, by whom her studies had been superintended for some years, Roger Ascham was appointed his successor, and the work which Grindal had so happily begun, he diligently laboured to complete. Under her new tutor she pursued the study of Greek and Latin for two years. From one of Ascham's letters to his friend, John Sturmius, rector of the Protestant academy of Strasburg, written in 1550, we are furnished with some interesting particulars as to the pains bestowed upon her early education, and as to her distinguished proficiency, and her promising excellence of character.

"Numberless honourable ladies of the present time surpass the daughters of Sir Thomas More in every kind of learning; but amongst them all, my illustrious mistress, the Lady Elizabeth, shines like a star, excelling them more by the splendour of her virtues, and her learning, than by the glory of her royal birth. . . . . She has accomplished her sixteenth year; and so much solidity of understanding, such courtesy, united with dignity, have never been observed at so early an age. She has the most ardent love of true religion, and of the best kind of literature. The constitution of her mind is exempt from female weakness, and she is endued with a masculine power of application. No apprehension can be quicker than hers, no memory more retentive. French and Italian she speaks like English; Latin with fluency, propriety, and judgment; she also spoke Greek with me frequently, willingly, and moderately well. Nothing can be more elegant than her handwriting, whether in the Greek or Roman character. In music she is very skilful, but does not greatly delight. . . . . She read with me almost the whole of Cicero and a great part of Livy: from these two authors, indeed, her knowledge of the Latin language has been almost exclusively derived. The beginning of the day was always devoted by her to the New Testament in Greek, after which she read select orations of Isocrates, and the tragedies of Sophocles, which I judged best adapted to supply her tongue with the purest diction, her mind with the most excellent precepts, and her exalted station with a de-

fence against the utmost power of fortune. For her religious instruction, she drew first from the fountains of Scripture, and afterwards from St. Cyprian, the *Common Places* of Melancthon, and similar works, which convey pure doctrine in elegant language."[1] Ascham's commendations are corroborated by other unexceptionable contemporary testimonies, and by Elizabeth's whole history.

Elizabeth was the great favourite of her brother Edward, and she tenderly loved him in return. Their similarity of talents and education, their devotion to the same kind of studies, their attachment to the reformed religion, conspired to endear them to each other. Besides, Katharine Parr, under whose superintendence both of them were placed, fostered in them the tender affections; and after Elizabeth left Katharine's roof, they appear to have been much together; and are said to have assisted each other in the joint prosecution of their studies. Edward was wont to call her, perhaps from her simple unostentatious dress and manners, his sweet sister, Temperance; and, with her reciprocation of tender sisterly affection, she combined that deferential respect due to his rank as the sovereign of England. During their absence from each other they frequently corresponded, and interchanged tokens of mutual affection.[2] Yet Edward, from his great facility of disposition, was prevailed upon, on his death-bed, to dispose of the crown to Lady Jane Grey, to the exclusion of both his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was not equally beloved by her sister Mary, who regarded her with a secret jealousy, and who, on ascending the throne, subjected her to not a little persecution. She had no good-will towards her as being the daughter of Anne Boleyn, who was the cause of her mother's divorce, and of the bitter mortification which

[1] Ascham's *Epistolæ*, quoted in Miss Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, fifth edition, pp. 93-95.

[2] A number of her letters to him, some in Latin and some in English, have been transmitted to our times: the former distinguished, in a high degree, for purity and elegance of diction; the latter for the quaint metaphorical style for which she seems to have had an early predeliction, and which she afterwards carried to a vicious excess. Several of them are printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, first series, vol. ii.; and in Miss Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain*, vol. iii.

she herself had been doomed to submit to during her father's lifetime. She, besides, became jealous of her as a rival in love; for the handsome and accomplished Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, to whom Mary was ardently attached, and whom she desired to marry, did not return her affection; but, slighting her, was enamoured of her more youthful and engaging sister, Elizabeth. The first act of her first Parliament, by declaring the validity of the marriage of her father and mother, and by annulling the sentence of their divorce, having virtually reduced Elizabeth again to the condition of a bastard, Mary treated her as such, assigning to the descendants of her father's sisters a precedency to her in court ceremonial. Many other indignities Elizabeth had to bear with from the queen; and having obtained the royal permission, to be free from such slights and affronts she was glad to retire into the country, where, however, she continued under the vigilant inspection of two principal servants in her household, in the confidence of the crown. Upon the breaking out of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, in 1554, the tranquillity of her retreat was disturbed. She was accused of having been privy to this insurrection, and her life was now exposed to imminent peril. To defeat the proposed marriage of Mary with Philip II. of Spain, to which there was a general aversion in the nation, appears to have been the sole object of Wyatt; and he still professed inviolable fidelity to the person of the reigning sovereign; but some, at least, of the insurgents had the farther object in view of dethroning Mary, and of bestowing the sovereign power upon Elizabeth, whom they proposed to marry to Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon. The reports in circulation, that these were the objects of the conspiracy, strongly excited the jealousy of Mary against her sister Elizabeth, whom she now hated on two additional grounds: first, as being the great favourite of the nation, and the chief hope of the Protestants; and secondly, as a conspirator against her throne; though, upon the strictest investigation, no evidence was discovered of Elizabeth's being a party in the insurrection, or giving it her approbation.

After the rising of Wyatt, Elizabeth, though in a state of severe

illness, was brought prisoner from Ashridge to London, whither she arrived on the 23d of February. Mary declined seeing her, and caused her to be accommodated in a part of the palace from which neither she nor her servants could go out, without passing through the guards. The only part of her suite permitted to wait on her were two gentlemen, six ladies, and four servants, the rest of her train being lodged in the city of London. She was conveyed prisoner to the Tower on Sabbath, the 21st of March.

Among all the enemies of Elizabeth none was more persevering in pushing on the prosecution against her and Courtenay, and none more intent upon bringing both of them to capital punishment, than Simon Renard, ambassador of Charles V. He was extremely dissatisfied at the slowness of the proceedings, and blamed Bishop Gardiner as the main cause of the delay, representing the bishop as intending thereby to save the lives of the two distinguished prisoners.[1] His letters to Charles evince throughout a spirit of intense hatred to Elizabeth, and an unmitigated desire to get rid of her as speedily as possible. This must have been in conformity with the counsels of Charles; for, had it not been so, Renard would hardly have dared, as he does, to dwell emphatically on the subject in his letters to his master. Charles hated Elizabeth because she was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, the cause of the divorce of his aunt from Henry VIII.; and if the death of this princess would tend to establish the authority of Mary, and remove the obstacles to the popularity of the marriage of his son Philip with that queen, as he was erroneously taught to believe, he was prepared to make the sacrifice. It was well for Elizabeth that at this time Mary's councillors were divided on the Spanish match, one party favouring it, and another, headed by Gardiner, opposing it. Gardiner's hostility to the Spanish faction, and not any attachment he felt towards Elizabeth, led him, for a short time, to thwart their intentions of involving her and Courtenay in destruction.[2]

[1] See his letter to the emperor, dated March 14, 1554, in Tytler's *Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. ii, p. 337.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 342.

Gardiner, however, finding that Mary was bent upon marrying Philip of Spain, soon yielded in his opposition to the match, and fell in with the Spanish faction, which greatly increased Elizabeth's danger. Not being disposed to sacrifice Mary's favour and the advantages of place for the praise of justice and moderation towards Elizabeth, he abandoned the protection of the princess, and concurred with her enemies in the proposal to put her to death. Renard was strenuous in urging this sanguinary deed, as a preliminary step to Philip's landing in England as the queen's consort. "I observed to the queen," writes he to Charles, "that it was of the utmost consequence that the trials and execution of the criminals, especially of Courtenay and of the Lady Elizabeth, should be concluded before the arrival of his highness."[1] To this the queen replied, "that she had neither rest nor sleep on account of her anxiety for the security of his highness at his coming." Gardiner, perceiving that Renard's proposition was not unacceptable to her majesty, recommended its adoption as a measure necessary for the public good. "As long," said he, "as Elizabeth is alive, there is no hope of the tranquillity of the kingdom. If every body went as roundly to work, in providing the necessary remedies as I do, things would go on better."[2] Gardiner's expressed apprehension that, from Elizabeth's popularity, new commotions might arise from renewed attempts to raise her to the throne, to the exclusion of her sister, who had lost the popular favour, was not unplausible, and Mary, who felt the force of his observation, was extremely desirous to find evidence of Elizabeth's being a party in Wyatt's rebellion, in order to bring her to the block. But, notwithstanding the most persevering efforts, no proof of her guilt could be discovered.

What, then, was to be done with a princess who had already eclipsed the queen in popular favour, and to whom many had begun

[1] "If they let her go," says Renard, in another letter to Charles, "it seems evident that the heretics will proclaim her queen." And in another he says, "Your majesty may well believe in what danger the queen is, so long as both [Elizabeth and Courtenay] are alive."—*Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 375, 400.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 365.

to look as the chief hope of the nation from the tyranny with which it was now threatened? This was a perplexing question to Mary and her councillors. Failing to find adequate ground for Elizabeth's condemnation, Gardiner proposed to have her declared incapable of inheriting the crown. "Behold he whom you wot of" [Gardiner], says Renard, in a letter to Charles, dated 28th April, 1554, "comes to me since dinner with a sudden and strange proposal; saying that, since matters against Madame Elizabeth do not take the turn which was wished, there should be an act brought into Parliament to disinherit her."[1] So determined was Gardiner upon this point, that he brought in a bill before the new Parliament for declaring her illegitimate and incapable of succeeding to the throne. The bill was rejected by a large majority. But still persisting in his object, and having recourse to his usual circuitous policy, he soon after brought in another bill for investing the queen with the power conferred upon her father by his servile Parliament—that of appointing a successor. In this again he was defeated. It being confidently believed that the queen, in default of children of her own body, would bequeath the crown to her husband Philip, the House of Commons, too just and patriotic to deprive Elizabeth of her rightful inheritance, and in dread of being brought under the yoke of a foreign despot, threw out the bill.

Another mode of disposing of Elizabeth was to send her out of the kingdom, and to marry her to some foreign prince. Taking their lesson from the proverb, "Out of sight, out of mind," her enemies judged that in that case she would soon be forgotten by the people, and might, without difficulty or danger, be excluded from the succession. "After having communicated at great length with Paget," says Renard, in a letter to Charles, dated 3d April, 1554, "on the subject of the said Elizabeth, he told me that if they could not find proof enough to bring her to death, he saw no surer expedient to secure her than to send her out of the kingdom, to be married to a stranger," and he suggested "the Prince of Piedmont" for her con-

[1] Tytler's *Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. ii., p. 382.

sort.[1] This suggestion being adopted, she was offered her liberty on condition of her engaging to marry the Duke of Savoy. But she had penetration enough to see that under the guise of providing for her happiness by a suitable marriage, the design was to send her into a kind of honourable banishment, and ultimately to deprive her of the English crown. Oppressed and persecuted, therefore, though she was, and hourly in dread of being brought to the scaffold, she had the resolution to refuse—which she did modestly but decidedly —the offered matrimonial alliance, which, probably, most women in her circumstances would have gladly accepted.[2]

In the Tower Elizabeth was kept under rigorous restraint; and when, a few weeks after her imprisonment, she obtained permission to walk in the royal apartments, the windows were to be shut, and she was not to be permitted to look out at them. When a further indulgence was granted her of walking in the garden of the Tower, strict orders were given that the gates should be barred, and that the keepers should watch the prisoners whose windows looked into the garden, in order to prevent them from interchanging any word or sign with the princess.[3]

After being imprisoned for two months in the Tower, Elizabeth was removed to Richmond Palace, where she was kept a prisoner for a short time,[4] and then to Woodstock, where she was committed to the custody of Sir Henry Beddingfield. Here, as in the Tower, she was closely shut up, guarded night and day by soldiers, and secluded from seeing any but the few attendants who were allowed to remain about her person. She was also so strictly interdicted all epistolary correspondence, that Sir John Harrington, for simply carrying a

[1] Tytler's *Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. ii., p. 367.

[2] There were afterwards some deliberations, though no resolution was come to about sending her to the court of the Queen of Hungary, provided that queen would receive her. This Renard states in a letter to Charles, dated 9th June, 1554.—Tytler's *Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. ii., p. 414.

[3] Renard grudged her even this small favour. "Already," says he in a letter to Charles, dated 22d April, 1554, "she has liberty to walk in the garden of the Tower."

[4] Lodge's *Shrewsbury Papers*, vol. i., p. 1.

letter to her, was, by the orders of Gardiner, thrown into the Tower, where he remained for twelve months. Nor was she particularly fortunate in her keeper, Sir Henry Beddingfield, who is said to have



Woodstock, A.D. 1714.

treated her with great rudeness and severity, using his office more like a jailer than a gentleman.[1] By this rigorous confinement her health became much impaired, and on the 8th of June, two physicians were sent from the court, who attended her for several days.

[1] What she said to him, upon her accession to the throne, on dismissing him from the court, has been adduced in proof of this: "God forgive you what is past, as we do; and if we have any prisoner whom we would have straitly kept and hardly handled, we will send for you." Some writers question the truth of Beddingfield's using her harshly, and affirm that these words were spoken to him in jest, resting, as their authority, upon the facts that he was afterwards frequently at her court, and that she honoured him with a visit on one of her progresses. But this is scarcely a sufficient vindication of Beddingfield; for Elizabeth, as is well known, is entitled to the praise of having generously forgiven such as had acted towards her with cruelty in the time of her sister; and she even placed some of them in honourable situations in or under her government.

Never is liberty felt to be so sweet as under the irksome and galling restraints of captivity. Hearing one day, out of her garden, a milkmaid singing cheerfully in the fields, Elizabeth wished herself in the same humble condition, saying that the life of that poor milkmaid was happier than hers. Yet her firmess of mind was not subdued. Neither the threatenings nor promises of Mary's council could extort from her an admission of any act or intention of disloyalty towards her sister. A friend having advised her to appease the queen's displeasure by submissive acknowledgments, she absolutely refused. "If I have offended," said she, "and am guilty, then I crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I should have had ere this, if guilt could be proved against me. But I know myself to be out of the danger of it, and wish I was as clean out of the peril of mine enemies, and then I am assured I should not be so locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am."[1]

During the last years of her sister's reign, Elizabeth, under the influence of fear, dissembled, by conforming to the Roman Catholic mode of worship. But she was, notwithstanding, suspected of being still a Protestant in sentiment. While she was a prisoner at Woodstock, Gardiner made repeated attempts to betray her into a declaration of her faith, examining her particularly upon the testing question of the real presence in the eucharist. But, though deprived of the counsel of friends, she proved herself in adroitness an overmatch for the wily prelate. When he interrogated her at one time as to the meaning of these words of the Saviour, "This is my body, which is broken for you," she gave the following ingenious equivocal answer:—

> "Christ was the word that spake it,
> He took the bread and brake it,
> And what that word did make it,
> That I believe and take it;"[2]

an answer from which it would puzzle Gardiner, by all his art in

[1] Foxe.

[2] Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 320.

twisting, to extract an opinion either for or against transubstantiation.

About the end of April, 1555, she was finally removed from Woodstock, and brought to Hampton Court, where she obtained an interview with her sister Mary. After being successively carried, during some time, to several of the royal seats in the neighbourhood of London, she was permitted to establish herself at the palace of Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, where she remained unmolested until the death of Mary; relieved from military guards, locked doors, and jealous inspection, her only restraints being that she could not change this residence for another, and that she was under the surveillance of Sir Thomas Pope, a humane man, who was appointed to reside with her.

Elizabeth was mainly indebted for her liberation from Woodstock to the interference of Philip, her sister's husband, who, after he came to this country, certainly acted towards her the part of a friend, and was, perhaps, the means of saving her life. Various considerations of state policy might inspire or strengthen his zeal for her protection and liberty. In the event of her being cut off, as the next heir to the throne was Mary Queen of Scots, who was betrothed to the Dauphin of France, it was easy for Philip to see that, should his present queen die childless, the kingdom of England would go to swell the greatness of France, which was already the most formidable rival of Spain. The interest he took in Elizabeth's cause may also have resulted from his anxiety to soften the prejudices of the English against him, and to acquire in the nation the reputation of uprightness and clemency, as a means of paving the way to his being crowned King of England, a consummation to which all his efforts had been directed ever since his marriage. Nor is it improbable that, calculating on the contingencies of the future, he secretly entertained the hope that, in the event of the death of his present queen, whose health was in a somewhat precarious state, he might obtain the hand of Elizabeth. But whatever were his motives in employing his good offices in her behalf, she cherished towards

him through life the deepest gratitude, and always attributed to his interposition the preservation of her life from the malice of her enemies.

Whilst resident at Hatfield, Elizabeth was permitted to make occasional excursions, on which occasions, from her increasing popularity, she was attended by a considerable retinue of nobility, knights, ladies, and gentlemen, on horseback. She was also sometimes permitted to indulge in the chase.[1] She was honoured, too, with a visit from the queen, who now somewhat relaxed her severity, and she occasionally appeared at court upon invitation, where she was treated with the distinction due to her rank. But during her residence at Hatfield her time was mostly spent in retirement and in literary pursuits. Playing on the lute or virginals, embroidering gold or silver, reading useful works in her native tongue, studying the Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages;[2] such were the exercises in which she was chiefly occupied, and by which her mind was trained and prepared for at length presiding, with singular ability and success, over the affairs of a great empire.

She was residing at Hatfield when Queen Mary died, November 17, 1558, and here her first privy council was held, of which the chief member was Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, whom she appointed secretary of state.[3] The appointment of Cecil to this office, which was in effect to that of prime minister, laid the foundation for the succeeding character and greatness of her extended reign. That illustrious and excellent man, than whom England has never produced a greater statesman, had been her secret correspondent and adviser during the period of her sister's reign, when she was harassed and persecuted; and on her elevation to the throne, her appreciation of his talents, together with a sense of gratitude, influenced her in her choice of him as her chief councillor. He directed her in the formation of her ministry, of which he continued the presiding genius to the close of his life, being a period of forty years, greatly contributing to give her government that vigour by which

[1] Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 88. [2] Ascham, *Epist.*, pp. 51–53, 94.
[3] Strype's *Annals*, vol. i., part i, p. 8.

it was distinguished, and to avert from her and from the kingdom the dangers by which they were often threatened. In no other statesman did she repose with such entire confidence.

On the 23d of November, Elizabeth, attended by a numerous train of noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and ladies, went from Hatfield to London, to take up her residence in the Tower, as had been the custom of the new sovereign from time immemorial. On her way through the capital she was greeted by the vast crowds of people who assembled with joyful acclamations, which she returned with that bland affability of manner of which she was so perfect a mistress, and which was one of the main causes of her popularity among her subjects during the whole of her reign. On entering the Tower in this new character, she could not forbear reflecting on the vicissitudes through which she had passed; how the fortress which was now her palace had a few years before been her dungeon, where she lay, a helpless prisoner, exposed to the fury of powerful enemies, who thirsted for her blood; and as she contrasted her hard lot in the past with the prosperous fortune of the present, her bosom swelled with devout emotions, and immediately on reaching the royal apartments, falling on her knees, she poured forth her grateful feelings to that merciful God who had brought her in safety through all dangers to her present exaltation, in these words: "O Lord, almighty and everlasting God, I give thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast been so merciful unto me as to spare me to behold this joyful day! And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me as thou didst with thy true and faithful servant Daniel, thy prophet, whom thou deliveredst out of the den, from the cruelty of the greedy and raging lions. Even so was I overwhelmed, and only by thee delivered. To thee, therefore, only, be thanks, honour, and praise for ever. Amen!"

Having spent a few days in the Tower, she passed by water to Somerset Palace. About a fortnight after, the funeral solemnities of her sister being performed, she proceeded to Westminster Palace, situated on the banks of the Thames. Preparations having been

made for her coronation, she was conducted by a splendid water procession from that palace to the Tower.

On the 14th of January she proceeded from the Tower in great state to Westminster Abbey, to her coronation, attended by a numerous retinue of lords and ladies on horseback, all arrayed in crimson velvet, the trappings of their horses being of the same material, and preceded by trumpeters clothed in scarlet, blowing their trumpets, and by all the heralds in their coat-armour. All the streets were covered with gravel. Gorgeous and sumptuous pageants were erected,[1] the devices of which formed no inconsiderable part of the attractions of that day. A particular description of the splendour of these pageants, and of the demonstrations of the people's enthusiastic loyalty in connection with them, is given in Holinshed.

Elizabeth was impelled by self-interest, as well as led by judgment, to take the side of the Reformation. The validity of her title to the English crown depended upon her following this course. Two popes, Clement VII. and Paul III., having long before pronounced the marriage between her parents to be null and void, and the offspring of that marriage to be illegitimate, had she acknowledged the Papal supremacy, she would, by the very act, have admitted the nullity of her mother's marriage and her own illegitimacy, and consequently that she had no title to the English crown; that she was a usurper, the sovereign of England *de facto* and by force, not *de jure* and by inheritance. In this case, Mary Queen of Scots, the grand-daughter of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., and sister of Henry VIII., would have been the lawful heir to the English crown, as was maintained by all the Papists in England and throughout the world, who stigmatized Elizabeth as the bastard daughter of Henry VIII. Of all this Elizabeth was fully aware; and her conviction that her submission to the Pope was incompatible with her

[1] "The pageants of those days were erections of wood, placed across the principal streets in the manner of triumphal arches; illustrative sentences in English and Latin were inscribed upon them; and a child was stationed in each, who explained to the queen, in English verse, the meaning of the whole."—Miss Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 246.

maintaining her legitimate right to the throne, was confirmed by the answer which Paul IV. returned to the written notification of her accession, which she transmitted to him upon her sister's death, through Sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome. His holiness "told Carne that England was a fief of the holy see; and that it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen: that being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom, nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage: that were he to proceed with rigour, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open to her: and that, if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see."[1] Upon receiving this answer, Elizabeth recalled her ambassador, and became the more fixed in her determination not to submit to the authority of the Roman pontiff. Here, as in other instances in the history of the English Reformation, is conspicuously to be seen the hand of a merciful Providence, in leading the sovereign, from policy or interest, to support or further the reformed cause.

Elizabeth's first Parliament assembled on the 23d of January, 1559. One of the most important objects which engaged its attention, was the settlement of religion. The Popish bishops and prelates sat and voted as in the time of Mary, the Protestant clergy not having as yet been admitted to a seat in the House. The principal act in reference to religion passed in the Parliament was that which restored to the crown its former jurisdiction over the church, and which abolished all foreign power repugnant thereto. This act, therefore, put an end to the Pope's authority over the Church of England, and conferred on Elizabeth the ecclesiastical supremacy, as claimed by her father, Henry VIII. The passing of the act was

[1] Hume.

opposed by several of the lords temporal, and by nine bishops and one abbot, who appear to have been all the prelates who sat in the House, a considerable number of that body having recently died, and others being absent.[1]

Yet Elizabeth, while restoring the Protestant religion, retained a belief in some of the doctrines of the Popish Church, and a fondness for much of the ceremonial of its gorgeous worship. She seems to have leaned to the doctrine of transubstantiation. She held the doctrine of clerical celibacy, and always spoke with strong feelings against the marriage of the clergy. At the solicitation of Lord Burghley she connived at such marriages, but could not be prevailed upon to sanction their legality, and the children which sprung from them were illegitimate till the accession of James I. She was dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical commissioners for their destroying images and other relics of Popery. An altar and a crucifix, with consecrated wax-candles burning around it by day, stood in her private chapel, greatly to the sorrow of the most distinguished of the English Reformers, as Jewel, Cox, Grindal and others.[2] Hence it has been said that she was little more than half a Protestant, and affected as much of the Popish religion as could consist with the maintenance of her own legitimacy and supreme headship over the church.

Scarcely had Elizabeth been invested with sovereign power, when a conspiracy was formed by the Cardinal of Lorrain, and his brother the Duke of Guise, the maternal uncles of Mary Queen of Scots, whose influence was almost omnipotent at the court of France, to dethrone the new queen, and to place upon the English throne their niece, Queen Mary. By their instigation Henry II. of France, soon after the death of Elizabeth's sister, persuaded Mary Queen of Scots and his son Francis, her husband, to assume the title of King and Queen of England, and to quarter the arms of England with those of Scotland; and after the death of that sovereign, which took place

[1] Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. part i., pp. 82-87.
[2] Strype's *Annals*, and his *Life of Archbishop Parker.*

on the 10th of July, 1559, Francis, who had succeeded to the French throne, and Mary, called themselves "King and Queen of France, Scotland, England, and Ireland," and quartered the arms of England with those of France on their coin, plate, chambers, chapels, wardrobes, &c., and bore them on all occasions.[1]

The plan of the Guises for raising Mary to the English throne, was to invade England; and France being unable to cope with that kingdom in naval power, they saw that they could only reach England through Scotland. But before Scotland could be serviceable to them, it was first necessary to suppress the Scottish Reformers, who would never join in any such attempt against a queen universally regarded as the protectress of the reformed faith; and to suppress them, an unrelenting persecution and the destruction of their leaders was resolved upon. This being once accomplished, it was concluded that England might be successfully invaded, and that as Mary Queen of Scots was well known to be a devoted Roman Catholic, all the English Roman Catholics, who were at that time numerous and zealous, would eagerly flock to her standard. But the plot was easier devised than executed. The preliminary step of subjugating the Scottish Reformers originated the civil war between the Queen Regent of Scotland, aided by the troops of France, and the Lords of the Congregation; and, with the assistance of Elizabeth, the Lords of the Congregation triumphed, after the war had lasted for twelve months. The French were necessitated to enter into a treaty with England, by which the Scottish Reformers obtained their reasonable demands. The treaty was signed at Edinburgh, on the 7th of July, 1560. Thus were the plans of the Guises for dethroning Elizabeth, and investing their niece with the English crown, defeated; and thus was the French power finally overthrown in Scotland, and the Reformation established in that kingdom.[2]

In all the efforts of her uncles to promote her elevation to the

1 Mignet's *History of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i., pp. 50, 51.

2 See Robertson's *History of Scotland*, book ii., where this plot of the Guises and its discomfiture are ably and at length detailed.

English throne, Mary Queen of Scots was an approving instrument. Unwilling to renounce so ambitious a prospect, she refused formally to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh between France and England, by one article of which it was stipulated that Francis and Mary should henceforth cease to assume the title and bear the arms of the King and Queen of England. But the death of her husband, Francis II., in December, 1560, having dissolved her connection with the kingdom of France, by the aid of which she hoped to give effect to her claims on the English crown, she, in the meantime, from prudential considerations, dissembled her pretensions, and discontinued the use of the royal arms of England.

Yet Elizabeth continued to regard her with jealousy and suspicion, which Mary reciprocated; and by degrees an implacable hatred sprung up between them, resembling the fabulous quarrel, described by the ancient classic poets, between Juno and Venus. Elizabeth's jealousy of Mary has been often attributed mainly to envy of the personal charms of the Scottish queen. It arose more, perhaps, from the dread of her as a dangerous competitor for the crown of England. She had reason for apprehension on this ground; but it was a blemish in her character to entertain an unreasonable jealousy of all who were of the blood-royal, even where she had no cause for alarm. A striking instance of this occurs in the harshness and cruelty with which, in the exercise of the prerogative claimed by the sovereigns of England, of controlling the marriages of the princes and princesses of the royal blood, she treated the Earl of Hertford, and the Lady Katharine Grey,[1] sister of Lady Jane Grey, on account of their marriage. As if she wished to occupy the throne for ever, she seemed to dislike whoever might by possibility succeed her.

Pius IV., who succeeded to the Roman see upon the death of Paul IV., who died in 1559, in his zeal to recover so important a kingdom as England to the Roman Catholic Church, soon turned his attention to Elizabeth. About four months after his consecra-

[1] Lady Katharine Grey being a descendant of Henry VII., by his second daughter, Mary, was a princess of the blood-royal.—See *Appendix*, No. V.

tion, he sent to her, by his nuncio, Vincent Parpalia, an insinuating and flattering letter, earnestly entreating her to remove from her presence all evil counsellors, and to follow his paternal admonitions, engaging that it she did this he would confirm her regal authority. The letter is dated St. Peter's Palace, May 5, 1560.[1]

What propositions were made to Elizabeth by the Pope, through Parpalia, is not recorded. The common report was that, upon condition of her joining the Romish Church, he promised to annul, as unjust, the sentence formerly pronounced by the Vatican against the marriage of her mother, to confirm by his authority the English Liturgy, and to allow in England the celebration of the Eucharist in both kinds.[2] It may be doubted whether he promised so large concessions, or, if he did so, whether he had any intention of granting them.

Holding the position of the protectress of Protestantism throughout Europe, Elizabeth, though with some reluctance, arising from her aversion to war, vigorously supported the oppressed Protestants in France, who were struggling for freedom of conscience, and who had taken up arms in self-defence. The Princes of Guise, with Philip of Spain, having entered into an alliance for the suppression of heresy in France, the Prince of Condé, the leader of the French Huguenots, solicited her aid. She sent a strong force, as well as large supplies of money, for the assistance of the prince, from whom she received, in return, the possession of Havre de Grace, which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was reckoned of greater importance than even Calais, which the English had lost in the reign of Queen Mary. At a subsequent period, namely, in 1568 or 1569, in answer to an appeal from Jane, Queen of Navarre, she sent to the French Huguenots money to the value of £50,000, several pieces of cannon, and a large supply of ammunition, cordially welcomed the French Protestant refugees into her kingdom, and encouraged her subjects to extend to them their assistance.[3]

[1] See it in Camden's *Elizabeth*, book i., pp. 61–63.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Histoire, de Thou*, tom. iv., liv., xliv., pp. 159, 160.

Partly to strengthen her title to the English crown, Mary Queen of Scots married Lord Darnley, her cousin-german, who, after herself and his mother, was next heir to the English throne.[1] Having obtained a dispensation from Rome, the marriage of cousins-german being within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, according to the regulations of the Romish Church, she and Lord Darnley were married on Sabbath, the 29th of July, 1565, in the chapel royal of Holyroodhouse. Had Mary acted with prudence, she might have proved an extremely formidable competitor for the English crown; but, from the violence and caprice of her passions, she soon after the marriage lost all affection for Darnley, and that fatal tragedy—his murder—(on the 9th of February, 1567) succeeded, which has entailed everlasting infamy on her memory. Her participation in this horrible deed, of which the evidence is too strong to be set aside, lost her the kingdom of Scotland, and rendered her much less powerful in maintaining her claims to the English throne against Elizabeth than she otherwise would have been. Still Elizabeth regarded her as a dangerous rival, low as her fortunes had now sunk; and therefore, after the defeat of Mary's forces at Langside, by Regent Moray, and her flight into England to Carlisle Castle, she made and kept her a prisoner in England, to deprive her of the means of soliciting the aid of other princes for her re-establishment on the Scottish throne, and for the prosecution of her claims upon the English crown. The wisdom of this policy, not to speak of its justice, may be doubted. It certainly had the effect of exciting the sympathy of all the Roman Catholics in England and throughout Europe for the sufferings of Mary; and it gave her and her partizans a plausible excuse for the numerous conspiracies, by which they were constantly exciting commotions in England, and involving even the personal safety of Elizabeth in imminent danger.

[1] He was the eldest surviving son of Matthew Stuart, fourth Earl of Lennox, and afterwards Regent of Scotland, by his wife, Lady Margaret Douglas, only daughter and heiress of Archibald Douglas, seventh Earl of Angus, by his wife Margaret, widow of James IV., eldest daughter of Henry VII., and sister of Henry VIII.

In Pius V., who succeeded to the pontificate in January, 1566, Elizabeth found a much more active and dangerous enemy than in his predecessor. To destroy her and to restore the Papal jurisdiction in England, to exterminate the Huguenots in France, and in every nation in Europe—these were the great objects of his ambition; and being energetic, enterprising, sanguinary, implacable, and persevering, he left unemployed no means which his plotting head could devise, to accomplish the objects on which his heart was set. Hence, short as was his pontifical reign, not extending in duration to quite six years, it was pre-eminently active and bloody; and during the whole of it Elizabeth was surrounded with perils, from which her destruction seemed almost inevitable.

About the year 1568, he formed a deep-laid and wide-spread conspiracy against her, the objects of which were, to cut her off, to restore Popery in England, and to liberate Mary Queen of Scots, and raise her to the English throne. In prosecution of this scheme, he suddenly despatched Mondovi as his nuncio to Scotland, with a large sum of money to be expended for the assistance of Queen Mary; but Mondovi was prevented, by the vigilant activity of Elizabeth, from getting farther than Paris. Roberto Ridolfo, a rich Florentine banker, a relative of the Medici family, and a bigoted Popish devotee, who was residing in England, under pretence of being engaged in mercantile pursuits, acted there as the agent of his holiness, secretly treating with the most influential of the Roman Catholics, whose full confidence he possessed, as well as with many professed Protestants, who, from different causes, were easily incited to join in an insurrection against their sovereign; and so successful were his machinations, that the greater part of the nobility entered into the Pope's conspiracy, and chose the Duke of Norfolk as their head, to whom they promised Mary Queen of Scots as his wife, should the plot succeed. The Pope had also, in 1569, despatched a secret envoy, in the person of a priest, called Nicolas Morton, to England, in furtherance of the same design. While Ridolfo was thus successfully stirring up the spirit of rebellion in England, some mis-

understanding having arisen between Elizabeth and Philip II. of Spain, the Pope had the address to engage that monarch to favour the cause of the English conspirators, by representing to him that the overthrow of Elizabeth would be the most effectual way of his obtaining secure possession of Flanders, and by reminding him of the paramount claims of religion. He also managed to draw the court of France to support, to a certain extent, his enterprise. Fénélon, the French ambassador at the English court, relates, in his despatches to the French court, that he had aided the plot by all means in his power.[1]

The plot being now matured, and preparations for its execution far advanced, his holiness urged the Duke of Alva, who was then governor of the Netherlands, and one of the most atrocious of persecutors, in a letter dated February 4, 1569-70, to aid the English insurgents, which the propinquity of Holland to England afforded him great facilities for doing. His holiness also poured oil upon the burning zeal of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most powerful, ardent, and impetuous of the conspirators, whom he styles "our beloved sons," "men dear to us and eminent, as well by the study of Catholic piety as by nobleness of birth."[2] And to excite the insurrectionary spirit of the Roman Catholics in England, he issued, on the 25th of the same month, his famous bull against Elizabeth, without having previously cited her to appear at Rome, or given her warning, declaring her to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ—to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom of England, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever—and her subjects to be freed from their oaths sworn unto her, and from all duty, fidelity, and obedience, interdicting them from obeying her laws, and warning them that whoever should act

[1] The authorities for this conspiracy are *Correspondance Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon*, edited by Cooper, in *Recueil des Dépêches*, &c.; and three contemporary biographers of Pius V., Catena and Gabutius, both Italians; Don Antonia Fuenmayor, a Spaniard; and Pollini, a Florentine and Dominican, also a contemporary, in his *Istoria Ecclesiastica*, published at Rome, in June, 1594.

[2] This letter to them is dated Feb. 20, 1569-70.

contrary to this injunction should fall under the same sentence.[1] Many copies of the bull were secretly dispersed in England.

Had the efforts made to elevate the Queen of Scots to the English throne succeeded, the Reformation, both in England and throughout Europe, would have been in the utmost danger of extermination; for then the courts of England, France, and Spain, would have been confederated in the resolute determination to crush it; and we know that no means, however dark and bloody, would have been shrunk from to achieve a consummation so devoutly wished for. But all these efforts failed of success.

The Duke of Norfolk, after being tried and convicted of high treason by his peers, was executed on the 2d of June, 1572, four and a half months after the pronouncing of his sentence; and his death inflicted a fatal blow on Mary Stuart's party in England.

Mary herself was deeply implicated in the conspiracy of Ridolfo and Norfolk, with whom, as well as with Pope Pius V., Philip II. of Spain, and the Duke of Alva, she maintained a secret correspondence on the subject.[2] This greatly irritated Elizabeth, who said, in one of those terse sentences in which she often expressed herself--for, though she frequently wrote confusedly, yet in speaking her sentences were singularly forcible—"I have tried to be a mother to the Queen of Scots, and, in return, she has formed conspiracies against me even in my own kingdom; she who ill-uses a mother deserves a stepdame."[3] But when the House of Commons came to the resolution that the execution of Mary was also necessary to Elizabeth's safety, saying that the axe must be laid at the root of the evil, she waived their requisition, by replying that she could not put to death

[1] It is dated 5 Kal. Martii, 1569 (*i.e.*, 25th February, 1570), and of our pontificate the 5th. It is printed in the original in Cheribini's *Bullarum*, and in Sanders' *De Schism.*, p. 423. A translation of it is given in Camden's *Elizabeth*, book ii., p. 245; and in M'Gavin's *Protestant*, vol. i., p. 158.

[2] Prince Lebanoff's Collection, quoted in Mignet's *History of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii., pp. 94, 131, 133, 136, 137.

[3] Fénélon's *Dépêches*, in Cooper's *Recueil des Dépêches*, tom. ii., p. 169.

the bird which, to escape the pursuit of the hawk, had fled to her for protection.[1]

A new source of danger to Elizabeth arose from the Popish seminaries, instituted for the education of English Popish students abroad. In the year 1568, the Popish priests, who had fled from England into Flanders, formed themselves into a collegiate body at Douay, under Dr. William Allen, afterwards cardinal,[2] with the sanction of the Pope, from whom they received a monthly pension. Their professed object was the education of English youths, who were exiles in the Netherlands, as well as of others whom the fame of their college might attract from England, that thus England might be provided with a perpetual supply of Popish clergy. But, in point of fact, the seminary was intended to be, what it actually became, a nursery of sedition and treason against the person and government of Queen Elizabeth; and the young priests who issued from it employed themselves in seditious and treasonable practices against her. Elizabeth having complained of this to Requesens, then the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, this collegiate body were ordered to quit the Low Countries. By the patronage of the Guises they found an asylum in France, and the Pope sanctioned their establishment at Rheims, as well as gave them another foundation at Rome, which he liberally supported, and placed under the direction of the Jesuits. A third institution of the same kind was formed in Spain. Within the course of a few years, and particularly in 1580, and several of the following years, swarms of priests issued from these seminaries, from which they were called "seminary priests," penetrated into England, traversed the kingdom under various fictitious names, acted as spies, stimulated the people to disaffection, sedition, and treason, made lists of such as would support the meditated Spanish invasion, distributed money in prosecution of such practices, and maintained those treasonable agitations, which were fraught

[1] Mignet, vol. ii., p. 162.

[2] He was created a cardinal on the 28th of July, 1587, and in 1589 consecrated Bishop of Mechlin.

with such danger to Elizabeth's person and government, and which resulted in the banishment or judicial execution of many of these incendiaries and traitors.[1] Elizabeth has been blamed, even by Protestant writers, for her severity in putting so many of them to death, and Popish writers, concealing or denying the treasonable practices pursued by these seminary priests and Jesuits, have stigmatized her as a persecutor, equalling or surpassing in cruelty the bloody Nero. But from a due consideration of her circumstances, it is manifest that, in the severe measures resorted to, and resorted to reluctantly, she was acting in self-defence. Her own safety laid her under the dire necessity of adopting vigorous measures against emissaries of such unceasing activity and desperate purpose, and who were the more active and desperate, knowing, as they did, that they were backed by formidable supporters on the continent, and by the faction of the Scottish queen in Elizabeth's own kingdom.

In the records of history there is perhaps no sovereign against whose life so numerous plots were formed, and so numerous attempts made, as against the life of Elizabeth. And yet none of these plots and attempts succeeded. The unseen protection of heaven never forsook her; for to what else but to this can we attribute the preservation of a life surrounded on every side by conspiracies, during a reign of more than forty years? and such was the state of Europe during that period, that the safety of the reformed cause seemed to depend upon her life. In the midst of these perils Elizabeth ever manifested calm, unshaken fortitude, partly arising from constitutional temperament, and partly from confidence in the protection of Providence. Even when her personal danger was greatest, her spirits never seem to have been agitated; she never concealed herself from the view of her subjects, nor ceased to perform her usual progresses through the country; a magnanimity which greatly increased the attachment of her subjects.[2] A particular account of these numerous conspiracies we must pass over. One of them, namely, that of

[1] Turner's *Modern History of England*, vol. iv., pp. 345-351.

[2] Bacon's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, p. 183.

Babington and his associates, in 1586, has acquired greater historical importance than the others, because Mary Queen of Scots was involved in it, and because it led to her trial and execution. Babington's plot originated with Ballard, one of the seminary priests of Rheims, who having, in co-operation with the Spanish ambassador, and Charles Paget, a devoted adherent of Mary's, formed a plan for the invasion of England, proceeded to England, where he passed himself off as a military officer, and concerted with Babington, a man of good family, the assassination of Elizabeth, as an essential prerequisite to the success of the contemplated invasion. Babington's fanaticism was inflamed by Ballard's representations of the meritoriousness of killing an excommunicated heretical queen. The conspiracy was discovered, and the conspirators were seized and executed.

The co-operation of Mary Queen of Scots in the secret plots of the governments of Spain and France, and of a formidable Popish party in England, against Elizabeth, and her concurrence in Babington's conspiracy, which was established by incontestable evidence, at last determined the government of Elizabeth to bring Mary to trial for high treason. On the 28th of October, 1586, the judges commissioned by the crown to try her unanimously pronounced her guilty of compassing and imagining the death of the English queen. After repeated delays, and with much reluctance, Elizabeth at last signed the warrant for the execution of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, which took place at Fotheringay, on the morning of the 8th[1] of February, 1587. "There is perhaps in all history," says Wright, "no greater moral lesson than that furnished by the history of these two queens—the one ascending the throne with the good-will of her own subjects, and supported by the Pope and the most powerful nations in Europe, lost her crown by her own crimes and vices, threw disgrace on the cause which she was expected to have made

[1] That is according to the old calendar, which was still in use in England, but the 18th, according to the reformed calendar of Gregory XIII. which was adopted by the Catholic states on the continent.

victorious, dragged on a large portion of her life in a prison, and ended it on a scaffold; while the other, surrounded on every side by the bitterest enemies, with none but God and her own comparatively weak resources to depend upon, by her virtues and prudence raised her kingdom to a high state of glory, made her subjects rich and happy, and lived to see all the schemes of her enemies broken."[1]

Henry III. of France, Mary's brother-in-law, and James VI. of Scotland, her son, had sent ambassadors to Elizabeth's court to remonstrate against the extreme measures resolved upon against the Queen of Scots. But Elizabeth's danger from the revengeful resentment of these sovereigns was not so formidable as at first sight might be supposed. The former was prevented, from various political reasons, from avenging Mary's death, dreading, as Mignet observes, "that the downfall of Elizabeth would pave the way for the aggrandizement of Philip II., the elevation of the house of Guise, and his own ruin."[2] Similar considerations restrained the latter, who was afraid of endangering his succession to the crown of England by going to war with Elizabeth. She was exposed to more serious danger from Philip II. of Spain, who, after Mary's death, laid claim to the English crown, which she had bequeathed to him—her son James VI. of Scotland, having, as she affirmed, forfeited his right by his heresy—and resolved, without delay, to invade England, which he did in 1588, the year after Mary's death, by his celebrated armada. He had been long conspiring to invade and conquer England, to which he had been urgently pressed by successive popes, by influential fanatical Spaniards, by English Popish fugitives, and by Mary's faction in England. The idea dazzled his imagination. By an achievement so glorious he would not only gratify his exorbitant ambition, but would revenge himself upon England, which he hated because the English people had opposed his marriage with their queen, Mary, and because they had never treated him very respectfully.

He was prevented for ten years, in consequence of his protracted

[1] Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times;* Introduction. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 378.

wars with Portugal, from taking active measures to carry the design into effect. Now, however, a more favourable conjuncture presented itself, Portugal having been subdued; and his exasperation against England being mightily increased, on account of the depredations committed by her privateers and fleets on the coast of his American possessions, and on account of her assisting the Dutch in their war against him, so effectually as to offer him little prospect of being able to subdue them, he was intently thirsting for vengeance. In these circumstances he determined to execute the long-meditated design, and the old counsels, presented in the most plausible form, were reiterated in his ears by the Pope, Sixtus V., the determined enemy of Elizabeth, but the admirer of her abilities,[1] and his confederate councillors. Among various plans suggested, that ultimately agreed upon was to provide a powerful navy for the transport of a numerous army to the mouth of the Thames, to surprise and seize upon the city of London, the key to the whole kingdom.

A fleet was accordingly fitted out in the ports of Spain, the best furnished with men and all sorts of military preparations which had ever ploughed the ocean before, and the proud Spaniards, not doubting of success, presumptuously termed it "The Invincible Armada."

To promote the success of the enterprise, Sixtus V. excommunicated anew Elizabeth, in a form of greater severity than even Pius V. had done, deposed her from her government, absolved her subjects from their allegiance, committed the invasion and conquest of her kingdom to his Catholic majesty, Philip of Spain, "to execute the same with his arms, and to take the crown to himself, or to limit it to such a potentate as the Pope and he should name;" and, as in the crusades against the Turks, bestowed, out of the treasury of the church, plenary indulgence upon all engaged in this holy war.[2] To excite the Roman Catholics of England to rebellion against their

[1] He was wont to say that he and she ought to have been married, and that a new Alexander the Great would have been the fruit of their union.

[2] Camden' *Elizabeth*, book iii., p. 255.—Turner's *Modern History of England*, vol. iv., p. 504.

queen, as the Armada was advancing, Cardinal Allen published his seditious and treasonable *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland*, which, for the audacity of its falsehood and vituperation, has hardly ever been surpassed. "So monstrous and pernicious an heretic, rebel, usurper, firebrand of all mischief;" "that wicked woman, the bane of Christendom and all their kingdoms; the scourge of God, and rebuke of woman kind;" "her heresy, sacrilege, and abominable life;" "the pretended queen; the present cause of perdition of millions of souls; the very bane of all Christian kingdoms and states;" "this tyrant;" "the infinite quantity and enormous quality of her most execrable wickedness;" "her horrible sacrileges, murthering of saints, and rebellion against God's church;" "incestuous bastard! born in sin, of an infamous courtesan, Anne Bullen;" such are the flowers of rhetoric by which this cardinal endeavoured, but happily without effect, to instigate the Roman Catholic nobility of England to insurrection and treason against their sovereign.

A hostile invasion from the monarch of the greatest empire then in the world, who possessed extensive dominions, a vast revenue, numerous well-disciplined armies, experienced and renowned generals, and who, besides, derived immense power from being the acknowledged head of the Popish faction throughout Europe, was sufficiently alarming. But the news of these terrible preparations only roused the resolution and patriotism of the English queen, her ministers, and all England. Elizabeth was a woman of no common courage. Dangers which would have unnerved most men, she encountered with tranquil magnanimity. The magnitude of the danger only served to give additional strength to her heroic spirit; and the intrepidity of the whole nation corresponded to the greatness of the crisis.

On this occasion Elizabeth received the support even of her Roman Catholic subjects. Had Mary Queen of Scots been alive, and had the invasion been undertaken professedly to place her upon the English throne, they would, not improbably, have zealously risen up in favour of the invader. But they felt very differently when Philip,

instead of contemplating an invasion to elevate a prince or princess of the blood-royal of England to the throne, now purposed to conquer England for himself, and to reduce it to a province of Spain. Great as was their irritation at the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, various considerations of personal interest, as well as natural love for the independence of their country, prevailed over the attachment of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry to the Romish faith, and led them to take the side of their native sovereign, and to call forth their numerous dependents for her defence against a foreign despot. Had he succeeded in laying England prostrate at his feet, they justly dreaded that they would be treated as the Anglo-Saxon nobility and gentry who supported William I. had been treated, whose honours and estates were seized upon by the Norman barons, while such as, animated by a more independent spirit, made resistance, being accounted rebels, were exposed to the penalties awarded to rebellion; and alarmed for the loss of their honours and estates, they were glad to combine for the protection of Elizabeth, as being a lesser evil, rather than assist a tyrant, who, if successful, would have deprived them of whatever they possessed, and made them his drudges—what the Gibeonites were to the Israelites, hewers of wood and drawers of water. An additional motive inducing them to join her standard, was an apprehension that the Pope, if the sword of Philip triumphed, would demand the restitution of all the monastery lands and property, a considerable portion of which was in possession of the leading Roman Catholic nobility and gentry. Only an insignificant portion of the Papists, consisting of the most bigoted, in whom patriotism was quenched by dominant fanaticism, and of such as, having little to lose, were impatient to become soldiers of fortune, were willing to see their country conquered and enslaved by the ruthless invader.

James, King of Scotland, deeply as his own interests were involved, displayed little energy in aiding Elizabeth in this great emergency.[1] He was, however, sensible of his danger, and when

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, first edition, vol. i., p. 373.

reminded that Philip's success would cut him off from the succession to the English crown, he facetiously answered, characteristically quoting, in learned fashion, from the prince of the Greek poets, "I expect no other courtesy of the Spaniard than such as Poliphemus promised to Ulysses, namely, that he would devour him the last of all his fellows."[1]

While Elizabeth and her people adopted the most vigorous means of defence, encouraged by the justice of their cause, they did not forget, amidst the excitement and tumult of military preparations, to betake themselves by prayer to Him who holds in his hand the destinies of armies and of nations. For guiding the devotions of the people, she composed a prayer, which was to be read in all the churches every Wednesday and Friday.[2] The homilies for fasting and alms-giving were also to be read, and the clergy were required to be active in promoting the devotional feelings of the people.

Had the Spaniards made good their landing, such was the chivalrous courage of the queen, that she resolved to be present in the battle fought between the invaders and her troops. Leicester, in a letter to her, dated 27th July, while he applauded "so princely and so rare a magnanimity," earnestly besought her not to expose her person to danger, which might involve the whole kingdom in confusion and ruin, but to betake herself to her palace at Havering, where she would be effectually defended by the principal army, to which her person and safety were committed. He, however, suggested that she might visit the encampment at Tilbury, which was not above fourteen miles distant from her palace of Havering, and "spend two or three days there, to see both the camps and forts," by which she would not be endangered; for should the Spaniards be even able to effect a landing, she could speedily retire to Havering, a place of greater security.

Conformably to this judicious advice, she visited the army at Tilbury on the 9th of August. The Armada had then been defeated by the English fleet, and though, from its distance and its torn and shat-

[1] Camden's *Elizabeth*, book iii., p. 287. [2] Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 15.

tered state, little apprehension was entertained of its returning, yet it was dreaded that the Duke of Parma might come up with the fleet and army under his command in Flanders, and renew the conflict.[1] On this occasion the assembled troops were drawn up to receive her on the hill near Tilbury Church. She presented herself to them mounted on a noble white charger, holding in her hand a marshal's truncheon, bareheaded, and wearing on her breast a polished steel corslet, below which descended a fardingale of large dimensions. She was attended only by the Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Ormond, who carried the sword of state before her, and was followed by a page bearing her white plumed helmet. Riding along the ranks, she was greeted with bursts of thundering acclamations, and she animated both officers and soldiers to do their duty, by her intrepidity of spirit, her smiling countenance, and her heart-stirring oratory. "My loving people," said she, in a spirit and tone of martial valour which would have done honour to the bravest commander, "we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery; but I do assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects; and, therefore, I am come amongst you, as you see at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all—to lay down for my God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body of a weak, feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England, too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or

1 On the 10th of August Sir Francis Drake, in a letter to Walsingham, says, "The Prince of Parma I take to be as a bear robbed of her whelps; and, no doubt, being so great a soldier as he is, he will presently, if he may, undertake some great matter, for his rest now standeth thereupon."—Hardwicke's *State Papers*, pp. 586, 587. The Duke of Parma was therefore watched by Lord Howard, who had returned to the channel from pursuing the Armada. He, however, never left Flanders.

any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardness, you have deserved rewards and crowns, and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over these enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people."

This popular oration of her majesty, who was now in the fifty-fifth year of her age, was received with bursts of enthusiastic loyalty, and raised to the utmost pitch the valour of the troops and of her people. Is our noble-hearted queen, said they, resolved to peril her life rather than submit to the loss of her kingdoms, and the enslavement of her people; and shall not we be ready to march under her banners, to death or victory, in defence of all that is dear to us, of our homes, our altars, the independence of our country, the honour of our sovereign?

But the danger was now past. The Spaniards, having lost all hopes of succeeding in their enterprise, were now attempting to make their way homeward, amidst great dangers and disasters, by doubling Scotland and the Orkney Isles. Out of 134 ships of all sorts only fifty-three succeeded in reaching Spain, and that in a very wretched condition. Not above fifteen of the English vessels bore the burden of the conflict, and were required to repel the invaders. Only one of them, and that a vessel of small size, fell into the hands of the enemy, and not above a hundred of their men were killed, the most of the shot of the Spanish fleet, from the height of their vessels, flying over the small English ships.

To commemorate the defeat of the Armada, two medals were struck, the one bearing the device of a fleet flying under full sail, with the

inscription, "Venit, vidit, fugit"—"It came, it saw, it fled," borrowed from the legend in reference to Cæsar, "Venit, vidit, vicit"—"He came, he saw, he conquered;" and the other, intended more especially in honour of the queen, representing fire-ships scattering and throwing into confusion the Spanish fleet, with the motto, "Dux fœmina facti"—"A woman conducted this action."[1] It is a fact worthy of being noted, that in the year of the Spanish Armada Elizabeth caused to be printed the first gazette that appeared in England.

After the death of Mary Stuart and the overthrow of the proud Armada, no attempts were made to deprive Elizabeth of her throne, though still some plots were formed against her life. In her closing years she rendered important services to the cause of Protestantism on the continent. Henry III. of France having been assassinated by a monk at St. Cloud, in the summer of 1589, she assisted Henry IV., son of Jane, Queen of Navarre, and the next heir to the crown of France, in vanquishing the leaguers, who endeavoured to exclude him from the throne because he was a Huguenot. And she assisted the republic of the United Provinces in achieving their independence against the might of Spain. She thus became greatly instrumental in preventing the extirpation of Protestantism in France, and in securing its triumph in Holland.

Elizabeth testified her Protestant zeal by the reproachful letter she wrote to Henry IV. of France, upon her hearing that he had abjured the Protestant faith, and professed himself a convert to the Church of Rome. "Ah, what grief! ah, what regret! ah, what pangs have seized my heart at the news which Mordant [Henry's ambassador] has communicated! My God! is it possible that any worldly considerations could render you regardless of the Divine displeasure? Can we reasonably expect any good result can follow such an iniquity? How could you imagine that He, whose hand has supported and upheld your cause so long, would fail you at your need? It is a perilous thing to do ill that good may come of it."[2]

1 Camden's *Elizabeth*, book iii. 2 The letter is dated Nov. 12, 1593.—Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. vii., p. 165.

It is, however, to be regretted that, acting on the intolerant principles of Romanism, and doing violence to one of the first principles of Protestantism, the right of private judgment, she should have exposed herself to the charge of persecuting her nonconforming fellow-Protestants, though it is extravagant to say, as has sometimes been done, that she was hardly less intolerant of religious innovations than her sister Mary. Her treatment of the Anabaptists and of the Puritans casts a shade on the glories of her reign. All the Anabaptists of that period, even such of them as were peaceably disposed, and held no principles which the order and peace of society made it necessary for civil government to put down, being confounded with the furious enthusiasts of Munster, were regarded with abhorrence by other Protestants; and this sect, not a few of whom having been driven from Holland and Germany by persecution, had betaken themselves to England, unhappily did not always find there the security they had sought. On the 23d of July, 1575, nine German Anabaptists were banished from England, and two burnt at Smithfield for maintaining "that Christ had not taken flesh of the Virgin Mary, that infants ought not to be baptized, that a Christian ought neither to be a magistrate, nor to bear the sword, nor to take an oath." "This was the first blood spilt by Elizabeth for religion, after a reign of seventeen years," says Sir James Mackintosh, and it "forms in the eye of posterity a dark spot upon a government hitherto distinguished, beyond that of any other European community, by a religious administration which, if not unstained, was at least bloodless."[1] Then as to the Puritans, who had appeared even during the reign of Edward VI., and whose numbers were increased by the returned Marian exiles from the continent, notwithstanding the persuasions of Lord Burghley, who strongly urged the impolicy of adopting severe measures against them,[2] she continued to persecute them in various forms. Fines and imprisonment were inflicted on such as refused to attend

[1] *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 170.

[2] See his reasonings addressed to her on this subject, in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vii., pp. 56–58.

their own parish churches. Such of the established clergy as discovered a tendency to Puritan principles, were deprived of their benefices, fined, and imprisoned. And in 1593, five of the Puritan leaders, chiefly for writing against Prelatic church government, were sentenced to death, and the sentence executed on all of them, except one, who died in prison.

In the microscopic examination to which the character of Elizabeth has been subjected, her personal foibles have furnished an ample topic for criticism. Among these was the evident pleasure she took in being addressed in the language of affected passion and admiring love. Yet she would never marry, numerous as were the candidates who aspired to the honour of becoming her husband; and many years before her death, while conversing freely on what should be the inscription on her tomb, she wished only one or two lines expressing her *virginity*, the period of her reign, her restoration of religion, and her preservation of peace.[1]

Another of her foibles was the more than female weakness which, after becoming queen, she evinced in the adornment of her person, strikingly contrasting with her former simplicity in this respect, which had drawn forth the commendations of Aylmer;[2] and in the sumptuousness of her apparel she became more vain and capricious as she advanced in years, dressing in her old age like a young girl. At her death her immense wardrobe contained three thousand dresses, in the fashions of every country; and she had delighted in appearing in these various costumes, giving them effect by the jewels, diamonds, and other precious stones which she wore.[3]

Her temper, too, was imperious and violent, as well as wilful, like that of her father, and though she often showed her power of commanding it, yet, in "the whirlwind of her passion," her maids of honour sometimes felt the weight of her hand.[4]

Yet Elizabeth was a queen of great ability and wisdom. Indepen-

[1] Lord Bacon's *Elizabeth*, p. 187. [2] See *Life of Lady Jane Grey*, p. 261.
[3] Beaumont's *Dép.*, quoted in Carte's *History of England*, vol. iii., pp. 699, 702.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 701.

dently of the testimony of her ablest minister, Lord Burghley, who always spoke of her as the wisest woman he had ever known, there is abundant evidence that in the councils of her renowned cabinet her capacity for government shone conspicuous. In her interviews with the ambassadors of foreign courts upon public business, she displayed an ability not inferior to that of the most experienced diplomatists in discussing questions of policy, questions often springing up in the course of conversation, as to which she could derive but little advantage from previous consultation with her ministers. These ambassadors were often struck at the fire and vigour of her language, a fire and vigour which entered essentially into her character, and which strikingly distinguished her administration. "I am of the race of the lions," said she to Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon, in his first interview with her, in 1568, "soon tamed if kindly used, and as easily roused if provoked." When informed that some of her subjects, who had been taken fighting in the ranks of the French Huguenots, had been instantly sent to the gallows, she exclaimed, in a tone of scorn and defiance, "That is the act not of soldiers but of butchers, and I shall be revenged."[1] This interview she conducted in French.

About the middle of November, 1602, Elizabeth began to feel her strength decay, though she endeavoured to conceal it. In the two following months she was confined a few days from cold, but otherwise her health seemed to be good. On the 31st[2] of January, 1603, which was a stormy day, she removed from Westminster to Richmond,[3] where she ended her days. Her last illness came on in the

[1] Fénélon's *Dépêches*, in Cooper's *Recueil des Dépêches*, tom. ii., p. 169.

[2] Carte's *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 696. Other accounts give 14th January — Somers's *Tracts*, vol. i., p. 246. Carte may have employed the new style, but still there is a week's difference.

[3] The name of this royal residence was originally Shene Palace. It was inhabited by the Edwards I., II., and III. The latter died in it, and likewise Anne, queen of Richard II. After her death, Richard, having demolished the apartments in which his beloved queen died, deserted the place. It was afterwards repaired by Henry V. In 1497 it was destroyed by fire, and rebuilt by Henry VII., who named it Richmond, from his earldom of Richmond, and died in it. Queen Elizabeth, as before observed,

beginning of March following. Rheumatic gout in her arms and fingers, great heat in her stomach, and a constant thirst and clamminess in her mouth, which made it necessary for her to be always drinking something, a settled nervous melancholy, want of appetite



Shene Palace, as now existing.

and of sleep, were the first symptoms of the approach of the last messenger; but for a fortnight there was no decided fever. The melancholy which accompanied her illness is said to have preceded it, greatly contributing to bring it on; and it is conjectured to have been caused by her having consented to the execution of her favourite, the Earl of Essex. Other causes may have combined to produce it, as the operation of disease, and concealed sorrow and resentment preying upon her mind at the conduct of her courtiers and ministers, who, she knew, were impatient for a new reign, and whose intrigues with the court of Scotland she shrewdly suspected. She sat upon

was for some time a prisoner here; and it was her favourite residence after her accession to the throne. The chamber in which she died was over the gate of the palace.

cushions at least four days and nights together, and could not be prevailed upon to go to bed, though, during more than the last fortnight of her life, she kept her bed. She wished to be alone, and sat silent, as if brooding on the thoughts which troubled her. She refused to take the remedies prescribed to her by her physicians, and when her physicians and councillors importuned her to take them, she became angry, and said that she knew her own strength and constitution better than they, and that she was not in so much danger as they imagined. She would sometimes say, "I am not sick; I feel no pain; and yet I pine away."

Four days before her death Elizabeth was somewhat better, took a little refreshment, and ordered some religious books to be read to her, one of which was Philip Mornay du Plessis's *Meditations*.[1] On Tuesday, 22d March, she was questioned by three of her most confidential ministers as to her successor, when, being feeble and exhausted, she briefly replied, "No base person, but a king;" evidently meaning James VI. of Scotland, the only king who had any pretensions to the English throne.[2] On the following day, Wednesday, 23d, the last change for the worse took place. She grew speechless, and in the afternoon of that day she made signs for her council to be called. They were immediately in attendance, and speaking to her about her successor, they desired her, if it was her will that the King of Scotland should succeed her, to hold up her hand in token of her assent, if she could not speak. She put her hand to her head, and turned it round in the form of a circle, plainly intimating her wish that he should succeed her in wearing the regal crown.[3]

The scene in her death-bed chamber on this the last evening of her life, is thus graphically described by an eye-witness, her relative, Sir Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, who had fought bravely against the Spanish Armada:—"About six at night she made

[1] Birch's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 507.

[2] Birch's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 508.—D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, second series, vol. iii., p. 107. Hitherto, even when old, she would not appoint her successor, but stormed when she was advised to do so, saying that this was "to pin up her winding-sheet before her face."

[3] Ellis's *MS.*, p. 195.

signs for the Archbishop of Canterbury [Whitgift] and her chaplains to come to her. At which time I went in with them, and sat upon my knees, full of tears, to see that heavy sight. Her majesty lay upon her back, with one hand in the bed and the other without. The bishop kneeled down by her, and examined her first of her faith, and she so punctually answered all his several questions, by lifting up her eyes and holding up her hand, that it was a comfort to all beholders. Then the good man told her plainly what she was, and what she was come to, and though she had been long a great queen here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the King of kings. After this he began to pray, and all that were by did answer him. After he had continued long in prayer, till the old man's knees were weary, he blessed her, and meant to rise and leave her. The queen made a sign with her hand. My sister, Scroop, knowing her meaning, told the bishop that the queen desired he would pray still. He did so for a long half-hour, and then sought to leave her. The second time she made signs to have him continue in prayer. He did so for half-an-hour more, with earnest cries to God for her soul's health; which he uttered with that fervency of spirit, that the queen, to all our sight, much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end. By this time it grew late, and every one departed, all but the women that attended her. This, that I heard with my ears and did see with my eyes, I thought it my duty to set down, and to affirm it for a truth, upon the faith of a Christian, because I know there have been many false lies reported of the end and death of that good lady." Elizabeth expired about three o'clock on the morning of Thursday, the 24th of March, 1603, so gently that her attendants knew not the exact moment when she ceased to breathe. She died in the 70th year of her age, and in the 45th of her reign.

On the 28th of March her corpse was removed from Richmond to Whitehall, a royal seat of no common splendour at that period.[1]

[1] Whitehall Palace was bounded on one side by the park which reaches to St. James's Palace, and on the other side by the Thames. It was originally called York

Thence it was conveyed, with great magnificence, for interment to the chapel of Henry VII., Westminster Abbey, on Thursday, April 28. It was interred in the same grave with her sister and predeces-



The Holbein Gate, Old Whitehall.

sor, Mary; and a munificent monument was erected to her memory, by her successor, James VI. of Scotland and I. of England.

Palace, from its being the palace of the Archbishop of York. Cardinal Wolsey was the last archbishop who resided in it, and when he lost the royal favour it was taken possession of by Henry VIII. After Henry had appropriated to himself this Episcopal residence, he built in front of it, opposite the entrance into the Tilt-yard, a magnificent Gate-house, of which an engraving is given in the text. He received the design of this Gate-house from Holbein, the celebrated painter, and a universal genius, who had been introduced to him by Sir Thomas More, and whom he immediately took into his service. It was "constructed of small square stones and flint boulders, presenting two different colours, glazed and disposed in a tesselated manner." Having been almost reduced to ruins by fire during the reign of James I., the palace was rebuilt by that monarch, and was the residence of Charles I, Cromwell, Charles II., and James II. From the carelessness of some of William the Third's Dutch soldiers, it was again burnt down in 1697, with the exception of the banqueting-house, which had been built by James VI. This room, through one of the windows of which Charles I. walked

Elizabeth was the last of the Tudor dynasty who occupied the English throne, a dynasty which, commencing with Henry VII., her grandfather, and extending through five reigns, had lasted 118 years; and during her reign England made immensely more progress in civilization, wealth, literature, and in all that constitutes the greatness of a nation, than during the reign of any preceding sovereign. This is doubtless to be attributed, in no small degree, to the able and wise councillors who formed her ministry; but she displayed singular penetration in selecting them, and possessing herself, in an uncommon degree, the qualities requisite for the government of a nation—qualities which she brought vigorously into operation—this gave her administration the impress of her own mind, made the glories of her reign her own, and has transmitted her name to posterity as one of the greatest sovereigns that ever filled the English throne.

to the scaffold on which he was executed, has been used, under the name of Whitehall Chapel, as a place of public worship since the time of George I. It is considered one of the most striking of the public buildings of the metropolis.—For a full account of Whitehall, see Knight's *London*, vol. i., pp. 333-364.



SIR ANTHONY COOKE INSTRUCTING HIS DAUGHTERS.

MILDRED COOKE,

LADY BURGHLEY.

MILDRED COOKE was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, by his wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Fitz-Williams, of Milton, knight. She was born in the year 1526, probably at Giddy Hall, in the county of Essex, her father's seat. Her father, Sir Anthony, who was great-grandson of Sir Thomas Cooke, Lord Mayor of London in 1462, was a man of superior talents, acquirements, and character; a perfect master of the Latin and Greek languages, an excellent critic and philologist, equally skilled in poetry, history, and mathematics, and not less distinguished for his piety, prudence, and cordial attachment to Protestant principles. These qualities recommended him to the guardians of Edward VI., by whom he was appointed preceptor to that prince, whose manners it was also his business to form; and the royal pupil always regarded him with much affection and respect. Besides Mildred he had four other daughters, all of them highly accomplished women. Upon their education he had bestowed great pains, providing them with able masters, and employing much of his own time in their instruction. Possessing a more than ordinary natural capacity, and applying themselves with diligence to the prosecution of literature and science, they became the most learned ladies of their day, particularly in the Latin and Greek languages. "Indeed," says Fuller, in his usual quaint manner,

"they were all most eminent scholars (the honour of their own and the shame of our sex), both in prose and poetry."[1] Nor was the pious discipline of their minds neglected. To train them up virtuous and religious, as well as intelligent and learned, was to both their parents an object of anxious solicitude. "There are three objects," said their father, "before which I am studious not to do wrong; my prince, my conscience, and my children;" and he was wont to say to his daughters, "My example is your inheritance, and my life is your portion." As to their excellent mother, she was far more concerned to see them imbued with the fear of God, and useful in the world, than that they should attain the highest distinction in mere literary acquirements.[2] Sir Anthony had no Erasmus to celebrate the wise and strict discipline under which these ladies were brought up; but the spectacle of this "man of antique gravity," as Camden describes him,[3] surrounded by his five daughters, and engaged in instilling into their minds by night the same lessons he had taught the prince by day, presented as delightful a family picture as that presented in the household of Sir Thomas More, which Erasmus so pleasingly portrays. In the extraordinary care he bestowed upon the education of his daughters, his object was not to make them mere literary characters, but to cultivate their reason and to form their hearts, that they might rightly perform their duties as wives and mothers. His sentiments on this subject were similar to those so beautifully expressed by Sir Thomas More in an elegant Latin poem, in which, addressing a friend as to the choice of a wife, he recommends him, if he desired a happy life, to overlook wealth and beauty, and to unite himself with a woman of virtue and knowledge. "May you meet with a wife," says he, "who is not always stupidly silent, not always prattling nonsense! May she be learned, if possible, or at least ca-

[1] *Worthies of England*, vol i., p. 347.

[2] See, in the subsequent Life, the testimony to this effect borne to her by her daughter, Lady Bacon.

[3] Bishop Jewel, who, in his correspondence, usually styles him Ἀρχιμάγειρος (master of the cooks), represents him as a man of "melancholy temperament."—*Zurich Original Letters*, second series, vol. i., p. 53.

pable of being made so! A woman thus accomplished will be always drawing sentences and maxims of virtue out of the best authors of antiquity. She will be herself, in all changes of fortune, neither blown up in prosperity nor broken with adversity. You will find in her an even, cheerful, good-humoured friend, and an agreeable companion for life. She will infuse knowledge into your children with their milk, and from their infancy train them up to wisdom. Whatever company you are engaged in you will long to be at home, and retire with delight from the society of men into the bosom of one who is so dear, so knowing, and so amiable. If she touches her lute, or sings to it any of her own compositions, her voice will soothe you in your solitudes, and sound more sweetly in your ear than that of the nightingale. You will spend with pleasure whole days and nights in her conversation, and be ever finding out new beauties in her discourse. She will keep your mind in perpetual serenity, restrain its mirth from being dissolute, and prevent its melancholy from being painful."[1] On Sir Anthony's daughters reaching womanhood, some of the greatest men of that time sighed to wed them, attracted more by their mental accomplishments, their virtuous character, and their personal charms, than by their portions.[2]

Mildred, the eldest, the subject of the present sketch, early evinced a predilection for learning, and her proficiency in the various branches then reckoned necessary to the accomplishment of ladies of the first rank, in embroidery, in music, and other liberal arts, in French and Italian, in Latin, and particularly in Greek, fully corresponded with the care bestowed upon her education by her father.[3]

[1] Ballard's *Learned Ladies*, pp. 38, 39.

[2] Of Mildred's marriage we shall afterwards speak. Anne, the second daughter, was married to Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper to Queen Elizabeth; Elizabeth was married, first to Sir Thomas Hobby, and secondly to Lord John Russel; Katharine to Sir Henry Killigrew; and Margaret to Sir Ralph Rowlet.

[3] In the inscription on her monument, it is said that her "uncommon acquaintance with the Latin and Greek languages was acquired solely from the instructions of her father." A contemporary authority, quoted by Strype, affirms, on the other hand, that she had Mr. Laurence, "a man in those times of great fame for his knowledge in the Greek language, for her preceptor in that tongue."—*Life of Archbishop Parker*, vol. ii., p 223.

During the later period of the reign of Henry VIII., and during the reign of Edward VI., the situation held by her father, as one of Prince Edward's preceptors, procured Mildred frequent access to the court. This afforded her an opportunity of meeting with a number of excellent ladies of a kindred spirit, with whom she came to be on intimate terms. She early contracted a friendship with Queen Katharine Parr, Katharine Duchess of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey, the daughters of Protector Somerset,[1] and other ladies eminent for learning, intelligence, virtue, and attachment to the Reformation. She was also the companion of Princess Elizabeth's youth, as she was the companion of her maturer years, when she became the wife of that minister of state, on whose judgment Elizabeth continued to repose through life, more than on the judgment of all her other statesmen. All these ladies were enthusiastic cultivators of literature. They especially paid uncommon attention to the Greek and Roman languages, and to the study of theology.

Mildred being educated in Protestant principles, made an open profession of the Protestant faith, if not during the closing period of the reign of Henry VIII., yet during the reign of Edward VI., when Popery was abolished and the Protestant religion established.

In 1546, shortly after the accession of Edward VI., being in the twentieth year of her age, she was married to William Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, privy councillor to Queen Elizabeth, and Lord High Treasurer of England.[2] She was his second wife.[3] This matrimonial alliance, like his first, greatly contributed to promote Cecil's political advancement, yet it was the result of ardent attachment, rather than of calculated worldly advantage.

[1] See some account of Somerset's daughters in Appendix, No. VI.

[2] He was created Lord Burghley in 1571, and in the subsequent year was appointed lord high treasurer, in which office he continued till his death.

[3] Cecil's first wife was Mary Cheke, sister of Sir John Cheke, professor of Greek in the university of Cambridge, and one of the tutors of Edward VI. He was married to this lady on the 8th of August, 1541, in the 21st year of his age. She gave birth to a son on the 5th of May, 1542, and died on the 22d of February, 1543, at Cambridge. Taking her youth into account, she is said to have been a lady of extraordinary acquirements in literature.—Clutterbuck's *History and Antiquities of Hertford*, p. 86.

The testimony borne, a few years after her marriage, to Lady Cecil's high literary acquirements, as well as to the distinguished talents and upright character of her husband, by Roger Ascham, the most competent of all men then living to judge upon such points, is entitled to special attention. Writing in 1550 to his friend, John Sturmius, the learned rector of the Protestant academy of Strasburg, after speaking of the proficiency of the Princess Elizabeth in learning, he says, "There are two English ladies whom I cannot omit to mention, nor would I have you, my Sturmius, omit them, if you meditate any celebration of your English friends, than which nothing could be more agreeable to me. One is Jane Grey, the other is Mildred Cecil, who understands and speaks Greek like English,[1] so that it may be doubted whether she is most happy in the possession of this surpassing degree of knowledge, or in having had for her preceptor and father Sir Anthony Cooke, whose singular erudition caused him to be joined with John Cheke in the office of tutor to the king, or finally, in having become the wife of William Cecil, lately appointed secretary of state; a young man, indeed, but mature in wisdom, and so deeply skilled both in letters and in affairs, and endued with such moderation in the exercise of public offices, that to him would be awarded, by the consenting voice of Englishmen, the fourfold praise attributed to Pericles by his rival Thucydides, 'To know all that is fitting, to be able to apply what he knows, to be a lover of his country, and superior to money.'"[2]

Lady Cecil early occupied a situation in the court of Queen Mary. On occasion of that queen's passing in splendid procession through the city of London, on the 30th of September, 1553, the day before her coronation, Lady Cecil and her sisters, dressed in crimson satin, and mounted on horses similarly attired, formed part of the brilliant

[1] This testimony of Ascham is corroborated by that of Mr. Laurence, her Greek tutor, who declared that she equalled, if not overmatched, any Greek professor in the universities in the knowledge of that language.—Preface to *Hist. of France*, translated into English, and printed in 1595, quoted by Strype in *Life of Archbishop Parker*, vol. ii., p. 222.

[2] Quoted in Miss Aiken's *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 96.

train of ladies who followed the royal carriage. She was present at the coronation, and during this reign continued to hold office in the palace.[1]

In attending upon the person of Queen Mary, Lady Cecil was exposed to great temptations to conform to the Popish religion, to please the queen, or to escape the dangers to which non-conformity might expose her from the queen's remorseless bigotry. In similar situations, some, resisting all the temptations which surrounded them, have persevered in maintaining their integrity, like Milton's Abdiel,

> ——"faithful found
> Among the faithless, faithful only he."

Daniel, while holding office in the court of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, a persecutor of the church, continued steadfast in the Jewish faith, and in the worship of the true God. Some of the early Christian converts, while occupying places in the household of the bloody and persecuting Nero, held fast the Christian faith. But Lady Cecil did not possess the decision of character, the moral courage of these early confessors, and of many, both male and female, in the reign of Queen Mary. Under that reign there were among the reformed in England three classes, each of which followed a different course. One class, soon after Mary's accession, fled to the continent to escape the storm, preferring exile to the renunciation of their faith. Another class, who could not, from various circumstances, make good their flight, or whose consciences, as in the case of Archbishop Cranmer, would not permit them to fly from the post of danger, remained at home, openly professing the reformed faith, and rather than abjure it, courageously submitting to the violence of persecution. The third class likewise remained at home, but for the time conformed to Romanism. To this last class Lady Cecil and her husband unhappily belonged; they swerved, at least towards the close of Queen Mary's reign, after the persecution began, from the Protestant faith, and attended both the confessional and mass; not

[1] Miss Strickland's Life of Queen Mary, in *Queens of England.*

that they had renounced in their hearts the Protestant doctrines, but they wanted sufficient fortitude to act upon their principles in these trying times.[1]

This was no doubt a great defection in two persons of such eminence, who had been noted in the reign of Edward VI. for their zeal in the cause of the Reformation; and to Romanists, who regarded the observance of the mass in particular as a symbol of the abjuration of the reformed religion, it gave much occasion for triumph, as well as grieved the hearts of many of their friends both at home and in exile. Sir John Cheke, who had fled to Strasburg, in writing to Cecil from that place, on the 18th of February, 1556, expresses the sorrow which reports of this nature had caused him, and exhorts him and his wife, in a strain of the most affectionate earnestness, to hold fast their faith, "to take heed how they did in the least warp or strain their consciences by any compliance for their worldly security." He concludes thus: "I commend [myself] to you and to my lady, and you both to God; wishing you that steadfastness in the truth, and that choice of doing well that I do desire of God for myself. Fare-ye-well, and bring up your son in the true fear of God."[2] Neither Lady Cecil nor her husband were ignorant of the errors, idolatry, and superstition of Popery. They were, indeed, better instructed on these points than many who, in the reign of

[1] This, which was before involved in doubt, has been placed beyond all dispute by the industrious historian, Tytler, from a paper which, after a careful search, he found in the State Paper Office, among a loose collection of notes and memoranda, which had been put up by themselves, as illustrating the private life of Lord Burghley. This paper, which contains a list of persons in the parish of Wymbleton who confessed and attended mass, amounting to 226, together with the amount of the offerings of each, was probably written by the priest of the parish, but it is endorsed in Sir William Cecil's hand, and the sum total of the offerings is calculated in his hand. It is, therefore, unquestionably authentic. It begins thus:—

"Easter Book, 1556.

"The names of them that dwelleth in the parish of Vembletoun that was confessed, and received the sacrament of the altar.

"My master, Sir William Cecil, and my Lady Mildred, his wife."—Tytler's *Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. ii., pp. 435-443, 445.

[2] Strype's *Life of Sir John Cheke.*

Mary, went boldly to the flames. But they were inferior to these confessors in faith, in self-denial, in submission to the authority of Him who has interdicted, in His Word, all fellowship with Antichrist, and required his disciples to be faithful in confessing him, though at the peril of death. It would be unbecoming in us, who sit in the lap of ease, severely to censure those whose courage has failed them at the sight of prisons, of racks, of flames; but still we must condemn them, though, were we placed in similar circumstances, we might incur the same condemnation; and from such instances of fainting in the day of trial, exhibited in the history of persecuting times, in striking contrast with examples of unwavering resolution in the face of torture and death, we should learn the weakness of human nature, when left to itself, even in those who, in other respects, from the virtues with which they may be adorned, are worthy of our esteem and imitation.[1]

"My thoughts are with the dead; with them
I live in long pass'd years;
Their virtues love, their faults condemn,
Partake their hopes and fears;
And from their lessons seek and find
Instruction with an humble mind."[2]

On the death of Queen Mary, who, happily for the country, did not reign long, and the accession of Elizabeth, Popery being again abolished and the Protestant religion restored, Lady Cecil was released from the temptation to continue to conform to a system which in heart she abhorred. Her father, who had been an exile for the Protestant religion, also now returned to England, and fixing his

[1] Even Sir John Cheke, notwithstanding his earnest admonitions to Sir William Cecil and Lady Cecil to remain steadfast to the Protestant cause, shrunk himself from the fiery trial of persecution. Soon after the date of the above letter, having privately repaired to Brussels, he was, by the orders of King Philip, arrested, bound hand and foot, thrown into a cart, and so conveyed on board a vessel sailing for England. The humiliating recantation exacted from him, to which he submitted, but which so preyed upon his mind that he died within a few months after, is affectingly told by Miss Aiken, in her *Court of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., pp. 222-224.

[2] Southey.

residence at Giddy Hall, where he was born, he there spent the remainder of his days in peace and honour.[1]

Lady Cecil is even believed to have had a leaning towards the Puritans during the reign of Elizabeth, though she did not connect herself with that party. Her education had favoured this Puritanical tendency. Her father belonged to the strictest class of the English Reformers, who, in the reign of Edward VI., had done much in removing the grosser absurdities of the Romish Church, which Henry VIII. had tenaciously retained, and who, in a preface to one of the service books published by royal authority, observed, "that they had gone as far as they could in reforming the church, considering the times they lived in, and hoped that they who came after them would, as they might, do more."[2] After his return from exile, at the close of the Marian persecution, he became still more tinctured with Puritanism. Lady Cecil's early training and respect for her venerated father's sentiments, thus led her to look with a friendly eye on the Puritans. Her views as to the impolicy of persecuting them were the same as those of her husband; and applications were frequently made to her, as well as to her other sisters, Lady Bacon, and Lady Russel, by the persecuted Puritans, to exert her influence in their behalf, though both she and Lord Burghley, had but imperfect success in their endeavours to restrain Queen Elizabeth from proceeding to extremes against such as refused to conform to the obnoxious prescribed forms.

Yet from her admirable understanding, exemplary virtue, engaging manners, and refined taste, Lady Burghley was much respected by Elizabeth, and gained no inconsiderable influence over the mind of that sovereign. It is, indeed, believed that she greatly contributed to baffle the attempts and intrigues of her husband's enemies, and particularly of his rival, Leicester, so that all the arts of that noble-

[1] He departed this life 11th June, 1576, at the age of seventy, and, according to his last will and testament, was interred in the chapel of Rumford, in Essex, where a monument was erected to his memory.—Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 86.

[2] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, edit. 1793, vol. i., p. 73.

man, though the queen's favourite, could never lessen the confidence which her majesty reposed in Burghley, or prevail upon her to adopt any measures in the affairs of the state in his absence, or during his illness, without first receiving his advice. This, no doubt, was also greatly owing to the high opinion she had formed of his great abilities and fidelity. But she seems to have formed a no less favourable opinion of the mental endowments and good qualities of Lady Burghley, whose masculine vigour of mind was indeed such, that it has been said, "if a judgment may be formed from her letters, she was as good a politician as Burghley himself."[1]

Lord and Lady Burghley, during Elizabeth's reign, had four places



Burghley House, Northamptonshire.

of residence; their lodgings at court, their house in the Strand, their favourite seat at Theobalds, and their family residence, called Burgh-

[1] Carte's *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 670. Ballard, in his *Memoirs of Learned Ladies*, in giving her the credit of being a good politician, refers to a letter from her to Sir William Fitz-Williams, Deputy of Ireland, containing excellent advice. It is certain that Maitland of Lethington corresponded with her in the early part of Elizabeth's reign.—Nare's *Memoirs of Lord Burghley*, vol. iii., p. 366.

ley House, in Northamptonshire. This last was one of the most magnificent mansions of that period;[1] and here they were often visited by Queen Elizabeth and her court.

Few ladies in the court possessed a deeper sense of piety than Lady Burghley, and as she advanced in years, the more deeply was the importance of divine and eternal things impressed upon her mind. Not only was she regular in her attendance upon the public ordinances of religion, but, what afforded a still more unequivocal testimony to the sincerity of her piety, she was much employed in private in reading the Scriptures, and in prayer.[2] She used, for her assistance in her prayers and meditations, a small pocket volume in Latin, entitled, *Psalmi seu Precationes Johannis Episcopi Roffensis.* On this book of devotions she wrote her name thus: "Mildreda Cicillia, 1565."[3] In watching over the education of her children, it was her anxious care to imbue their young minds with the principles of true religion. Lord Burghley, in his *Advices to his Son, Robert,* commends her exemplary pains in this respect. "The virtuous inclinations of thy matchless mother," says he, "by whose tender and godly care thy infancy was governed, together with thy education under so zealous and excellent a tutor, puts me in rather assurance than hope that thou art not ignorant of that *summum bonum* which is only able to make thee happy, as well in thy death as in thy life; I mean the true knowledge and worship of thy

[1] This mansion, the princely seat of the Marquis of Exeter, a lineal descendant of Burghley's eldest son, Thomas, who was created Earl of Exeter in 1605, "has come down to us intact, and is perhaps more interesting from its associations with 'the glorious days' than any other edifice now remaining in the kingdom. The halls are still standing where the famous lord treasurer entertained his sovereign and her dazzling court. . . It is one of the noblest monuments of British architecture in the time of Queen Elizabeth; . . . and at the present time few seats, either in England or on the continent, can vie with Burghley House."—*Baronial Halls of England,* London, Chapman, 1848, vol. ii.

[2] This is stated in the inscription on her monument.

[3] Strype's *Annals,* vol. iii., part ii., p. 129. "A beautiful copy of the *O Mirificam* Greek Testament of R. Stephens is said also to be still extant, with the name 'Mildreda Cecilia,' in her own handwriting, in Greek characters."—Nare's *Memoirs of Lord Burghley.*

Creator and Redeemer, without which all other things are vain and miserable."[1]

During the whole of her life, Lady Burghley retained her devotion to elegant and useful studies; she continued to cultivate the learned languages, to read the most celebrated Greek and Roman orators, historians, and poets, in the original. But she did not confine herself to the ancient classic models, as in early life, when her ardent thirst for learning may have been more prominent than the fervour of her piety. In the latter period of her life, her piety predominating over her taste for intellectual and learned pursuits, she aimed at making her skill in the Greek language subservient to her improvement in religious knowledge. With this view she read most of the Greek fathers, as Basil the Great, Cyril, Chrysostome, Gregory Nazianzen, and others.[2] In perusing these works, which were more admired then than they are now, and from which Luther, Calvin, and other learned Reformers derived lessons of wisdom, she took great delight, and doubtless derived from them no small instruction, though it must be owned that much dross is mingled with the gold; that in respect of solidity of judgment, apostolic soundness of doctrine, and even of learning, they are greatly inferior to the writings of the master-spirits of the Reformation. She is said to have translated a piece of St. Chrysostome from Greek into English, and when she presented the University Library of Cambridge with the Great Bible in Hebrew and four other tongues, she accompanied it with a Greek epistle of her own composition, and in her own handwriting.[3]

[1] Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv., p. 475.

[2] These facts are stated in the inscription on her monument.

[3] Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 129. Such was her reputation as a scholar, that Christopher Ockland, a learned schoolmaster, sometime of the free school in Southwark, afterwards of Cheltenham school, dedicated to her a work he published in 1582, in elegant Latin heroic verse, consisting of two parts, the first entitled *Anglorum Prælia*, beginning at the year 1327, and ending at the year 1558, the year of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, where begins the second part, entitled *Elizabetha*, describing her life and happy reign unto the year 1582. This book was so highly approved, that it was by the queen's privy council ordered to be taught in all grammar and free schools within the realm.—*Ibid.*, vol. iii., part i., pp. 223-225.

Experience having taught her the advantages of mental cultivation, she was one of the greatest patronesses of learning in her day. Promising youths in poor circumstances were the objects of her special sympathy, and by her interest or generous contributions, many such were furnished with the means of obtaining a liberal education. During her lifetime she regularly maintained, for several years, two scholars at St. John's College, Cambridge,[1] and that this blessing might be extended to future generations, she afterwards purchased lands in name of the dean of Westminster, and conveyed them in perpetuity for the support of two students at that college. "All which was done without any signification of her act or charge to any manner of person, but only of the dean, and of William Walter of Wymbleton, whose advice was used for the writing of the purchase and insurance." Her husband, Lord Burghley, in a tribute to her memory, written after her death, which beautifully illustrates her Christian excellence of character, has recorded these acts of beneficence,[2] to which he has added other proofs of her zeal in behalf of the interests of education. She "likewise provided four merks yearly for four sermons, to be preached quarterly, by one of the preachers of St. John's College." "She also gave a sum of money to the master of St. John's College, to provide fires in the hall of that college, upon all Sundays and holy-days, betwixt the feasts of All-Saints and Candlemas, when there were no ordinary fires of the charge of the college. She gave also a sum of money secretly towards a building, for a new way at Cambridge to the common schools. She also provided a great number of books, whereof she gave some to the university of Cambridge, namely, the Great Bible in Hebrew and four other tongues. And to the college of St. John very many books in Greek, of divinity and physic, and of other sciences. The like she did to Christ's Church, and St. John's College in Oxford. The like she did to the college of Westminster."

[1] The college of St. John, in the university of Cambridge, was founded by Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. It was at this college that Lord Burghley had been educated.

[2] Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., pp. 125-128.

Nor was she less distinguished for her benevolence and charity in relieving the wants of the poor than for her love and patronage of learning. In her eagerness to find opportunities of doing good, she sought out for herself cases of distress, not waiting till they were forced upon her attention by others. In the tribute to her memory already referred to, Lord Burghley has recorded some of the numerous instances in which she endeavoured to alleviate the sufferings of poverty, by giving loans of money to industrious mechanics, by providing employment for the poor, or by a gratuitous distribution of clothing, food, and fire, especially to destitute widows and orphans. At that period the failure of the crop was of frequent occurrence; and in such cases, the price of corn becoming so exorbitant as to place it beyond the pecuniary means of the poor, all the calamities of famine were widely felt. In such times of scarcity Lady Burghley's liberality was especially exercised. "Not long before her death she caused secretly to be bought a large quantity of wheat and rye, to be disposed amongst the poor in time of dearth; which remained unspent at her death; but the same confessed by such as provided it secretly; and, therefore, in conscience so to be distributed according to her mind." And as to criminals in the London prisons, though the noble idea of Mrs. Fry, of personally visiting the cells of the prisoners, to teach them the way to eternal life, to instruct them in the arts of reading and writing, to inculcate upon them morality, cleanliness, and self-respect, and to employ them in useful avocations, had not dawned upon her mind, as it had not dawned upon the mind of any philanthropist of her day, yet she did not forget these wretched outcasts of society. Four times in the year she sent to all the prisons of London money to purchase bread, cheese, and drink, commonly for 400 prisoners, and often for a larger number, concealing from those for whom this beneficence was intended, as well as from the public, the benevolent hand by which it had been bestowed.

It is impossible not to admire the humble, unostentatious Christian spirit with which she performed all these acts of beneficence. So secretly did she distribute her charity, that she concealed it even

from Lord Burghley himself, who did not know its extent till after her death. "She did of late years," says he, "sundry charitable deeds; whereof she determined to have no outward knowledge whilst she lived; insomuch as, when I had some little understanding thereof, and asked her wherein she had disposed any charitable gifts (according to her often wishing that she were able to do some special act for maintenance of learning, and relief of the poor), she would always only show herself rather desirous so to do, than ever confess any such act; as since her death is manifestly known now to me, and confessed by sundry good men (whose names and ministries she secretly used), that she did charge them most strictly, that while she lived they should never declare the same to me nor to any other. And so now have I seen her earnest writings to that purpose of her own hand." Her concealing so many of her benefactions from Lord Burghley could hardly arise from an apprehension that, had they been known to him, he would have been dissatisfied; for he was himself remarkably charitable, appropriating £500 annually to charitable purposes, besides other large sums which he distributed on extraordinary occasions.

In a character given of her not long after her death, she is described as "another Dorcas, full of piety and good works," among which, besides those already specified, is mentioned "her readiness in soliciting for poor and distressed suitors unto her dear lord," and "her bountifulness to exiled strangers."[1]

Lady Burghley met with many trials in the deaths of her offspring. She had been blessed with numerous children, but all of them died young, with the exception of three, Anne, born 5th December, 1556, who was married, in the 15th year of her age, to Edward Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford of that name, and Lord High Chamberlain of England, a nobleman of bad character, who treated her cruelly;[2] Elizabeth, who was married to William, eldest son of

[1] Epistle dedicatory, by the translator of the *History of France* into English, published in 1595, to Lady Anne, Countess of Warwick, and Lady Katharine, Baroness Howard of Effingham; quoted in Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 130.

[2] Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 70; and vol. iii. part i., pp. 81, 82.

Thomas Lord Wentworth; and Robert, born 1st June, 1563, who did not marry till after his mother's death. In the year 1588 she lost her daughter Anne, who died on the 5th of June that year, in the palace of Queen Elizabeth, at Greenwich, in the thirty-second year of her age, leaving, of the numerous children she had to the Earl of Oxford, only three daughters, Elizabeth, Briget, and Susanna, all young. With bitterness of spirit, and with many tears, Lady Burghley resigned to death this beloved daughter, whose accomplishments and Christian worth much endeared her to both her parents, as we learn from the testimony of her father, who, in the inscription, of his own composition, which he caused to be engraven on her tombstone, thus records her worth:—"This, my daughter Anne, lived from her tenderest years, highly spoken of by all, both in the court and at home. As a virgin, she was uniformly modest and chaste; as a wife, steadfast in her affections, and entirely faithful to her husband; as a daughter, obedient in all things to her parents, and eminently diligent and devout in worshipping God. Seized with a burning fever, she yielded up her last breath and her spirit with most fervent prayers to God, her Creator and Redeemer, in the assured hope of the heavenly kingdom."

Lady Burghley did not long survive her daughter. The tragic scene of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, to which Lord Burghley had, from political considerations, urged Queen Elizabeth[1]—the defeat of the threatened invasion of England by the Spanish Armada, more by the wonderful hand of Providence than by the means of defence, devised and carried into execution by Lord Burghley—these were the last great public events in the nation which she lived to witness. She died in her own house at Westminster, on the 4th of April, 1589, at the age of sixty-three, after living with her husband forty-three years, during which she enjoyed a more than common degree of domestic happiness. The death of this amiable and ex-

[1] His earnestness in urging the trial and condemnation of Mary Queen of Scots, as necessary to the safety of Elizabeth's person and government, has never been forgiven by the chivalrous partizans of that unfortunate queen.

cellent lady, whose Christian virtues were as solid as her talents were shining, was deeply regretted by all who knew her. Many of the poor thereby lost a benefactor. To Lord Burghley, in particular, this was a severe affliction. As a means of inspiring resignation, and soothing his sorrow under the desolating stroke, he wrote a paper consisting of meditations on her death and of a delineation of her character. This paper is the more to be depended on, as it is written, not in a style of exaggerated panegyric, but in the form of a plain, unadorned statement of her beneficent actions.[1] He gives no particular account of the circumstances of her last illness and closing hour, but we learn from his narrative that she looked to the atoning blood of Jesus, and to his everlasting love, as what alone could give a sinner hope, could make her tranquil in her departing moments, and secure for her a sure entrance into heavenly glory. He comforted himself by such a train of thought as the following: "There is no cogitation to be used with an intent to recover that which never can be had again, that is, to have my dear wife to live again in her mortal body, which is separated from the soul, and resteth in the earth, dead, and the soul taken up to heaven, and there to remain in the fruition of blessedness unspeakable, until the general resurrection of all flesh, when, by the almighty power of God (who made all things of nothing), her body shall be raised up and joined with her soul in an everlasting, unspeakable joy, such as no tongue can express nor heart conceive.

"Therefore my cogitations ought to be occupied in these things following:—

"I ought to thank Almighty God for his favour in permitting her to have lived so many years together with me, and to have given her grace to have had the true knowledge of her salvation, by the death of his Son Jesus, opened to her by the knowledge of the gospel, whereof she was a professor from her youth.

"I ought to comfort myself with the remembrance of her many

[1] It was written only five days after her death, being dated and concluding thus:—"April 9th, 1589. Written at Colling's Lodge, by me in sorrow, W. B."

virtuous and godly actions, wherein she continued all her life. . . . . The particulars of many of these hereafter do follow, which I do with mine own handwriting recite for my comfort in the memory thereof, with assurance that God hath accepted the same in such favourable sort as she findeth now the fruits thereof in heaven." He then proceeds to enumerate some of her various benefactions, already noticed, for the maintenance of scholars at the university, and for the relief of the poor, as proofs of the patronage she extended to learning, and of her remarkable charitable disposition.

On the 25th of April she was interred in the abbey church of Westminster, towards the south-east angle of St. Nicholas Chapel. The pomp of her funeral was suitable to her high station, as the wife of the first statesman of England, and a sermon was preached on the occasion by the dean of St. Paul's. In a letter to the dean, Lord Burghley, while explaining that he did not desire the performance of that religious service from motives of superstition, nor was governed by vanity, but by respect, in the splendour of her obsequies, dwells with the tenderest affection upon the sanctity of her life and the piety of her death. "April 21, 1589. I am desirous to have it declared, for the satisfaction of the godly, that I do not celebrate this funeral in this sort with any intention thereby, as the corrupt abuse hath been in the church, to procure of God the relief or the amendment of the state of her soul, who is dead in body only. For I am fully persuaded, by many certain arguments of God's grace bestowed upon her in this life, and of her continual virtuous life and godly death, that God, of his infinite goodness, hath received her soul into a place of blessedness, where it shall remain with the souls of the faithful until the general day of judgment, when it shall be joined with her body. And with that persuasion I do humbly thank Almighty God, by his Son Christ, for his unspeakable goodness towards the salvation of her soul, so as I know no action on earth can amend the same. But yet I do otherwise most willingly celebrate this funeral, as a testimony of my hearty love which I did bear her. . . . . Further, this that is here done for

the assembly of our friends, is to testify to the world what estimation, love, and reverence, God bears to the stock whereof she did come, both by her father and mother, as manifestly may be seen about her hearse, by the sundry coats of noble houses joined by blood with her. Which is not done for any vain pomp of the world, but for civil duty towards her body, that is to be with honour regarded for the assured hope of the resurrection thereof at the last day."[1]

How deeply Lord Burghley was affected with this bereavement may be seen from his letters to his friends, as well as from the documents now quoted. In a letter to Lord Shrewsbury, written about a month after Lady Burghley's funeral, he intimates that it was impossible for him to shake off the remembrance of his great loss, which still disturbed him night and day. He had then, it would appear, left his mansion for a time, as this letter is dated "From a poore lodge neare my howss at Theobald's, 27 Maij, 1589;" and in the P.S. he says, "The queen is at Barn Elms (the seat of Sir Francis Walsingham), but this night I will attend on hir at Westminster, for I am no man mete for feastings."[2]

A sumptuous monument was erected to Lady Burghley's memory, and to the memory of their daughter, Lady Anne, Countess of Oxford, by Lord Burghley. The monument is twenty-four feet high, with divers arches and canopies, supported by pillars of the Corinthian order, and adorned with pyramids of porphyry, Touch, Lydian, and various coloured marble, most curiously carved, and gilt with gold. On the upper part of this monument, under a neat arch, is a small image of an old man kneeling, in his robes of state, with a collar and jewel of the order of St. George about his neck, being the statue of Lord Burghley. The statues of Lady Burghley and the daughter, of the finest alabaster, are of full length, in a cumbent posture, in their robes, the furthermost representing Lady Burghley, and the one on this side the daughter. At the head of the pedestal is a canopy, supported by small columns of the Corinthian order,

[1] Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., pp. 128, 129. [2] Lodge's *Portraits*.

and painted with azure, and another of the same construction and materials at the feet, underneath each of which is a death's head, enclosed in crystal, with these words, MORS JANUA VITÆ,[1] and MORS



Lady Burghley's Monument.

MIHI LUCRUM.[2] At the head of Lady Burghley, and her daughter, the Countess of Oxford, are three small female figures kneeling, representing Ladies Elizabeth, Briget, and Susanna, daughters of the countess, who, however, were alive when the monument was erected; and at the feet of Lady Burghley and her daughter is a statue of a youth kneeling, representing Robert Cecil, her only son, who was also then alive. The lengthened inscription, which is in Latin,

[1] *i. e.*, death, the gate of life.

[2] *i. e.*, death to me is gain.

was no doubt composed by Lord Burghley himself. It commences thus:—

"If it is asked who is this old man in a kneeling posture, venerable from his gray hairs, arrayed in robes of state, knight of the order of the garter; who also are these two noble ladies, splendidly attired in their robes, and who are those at the heads and feet of these ladies kneeling? you will learn all these particulars from the following discourse of the old man:—

"'She whose image is farthest off was—alas! *was*—my Mildred, a wife exceedingly endeared to me, the other was my most beloved daughter, Anne. Mildred, my wife, lived with me most affectionately for a period of forty-three years, and was a sharer of all my fortunes, both in prosperity and in adversity, during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, who now most happily sways the sceptre.'"

In a similar strain, which partakes somewhat of the garrulity of old age, he goes on, at great length for a monumental inscription, describing his wife; his daughter Anne, with her children; his son Thomas,[1] afterwards Earl of Exeter, with his children; his son Robert, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Salisbury, who had been recently married;[2] and his daughter Elizabeth, who, as stated in the inscription, died immediately on the death of her husband, William Wentworth; the whole pervaded by a tone of deep, solemn feeling, and of ardent, conjugal and paternal affection—of affection particularly towards his deceased wife and his daughter Anne.[3] Having described the virtues of Anne, he adds, "At length, to the great grief of myself and of her mother, being snatched away from us, she yielded up the spirit to God who gave it, upon which I and my wife,

[1] Thomas was Burghley's son by his first wife, Mary Cheke. He was born 5th May, 1542.

[2] Robert was married in August, 1589, about four months after his mother's death, with his father's consent, to Lady Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Lord Cobham, and one of the ladies of the queen's privy chamber.

[3] The entire inscription is printed in Crull's *Antiquities of Abbey Church of Westminster*, vol. i., pp. 71-78.

with many tears, caused her body to be placed under this monumental stone. Not long after, the mother followed the daughter, and although I never seriously think of her without tears, yet some things present themselves which seem somewhat to mitigate my grief." He then proceeds to specify her devotion to the study of the Scriptures and of the Greek fathers, her liberality in encouraging learning, her charity to the poor, and her worth as a wife and mother. Having next described the three small female figures at the heads of Lady Burghley and her daughter, and the statue of the youth at their feet in the attitude of kneeling, he says, "But to what purpose is it for me to go on? I will make an end of speaking and lamenting, and will affirm this only, that this spectacle is to me so full of grief, that although the sweet children of fairest promise that are left me, offer some mixed consolation, yet neither these four, exceedingly dear as they are to me, nor my beloved eldest son Thomas, nor all who have sprung from him, and who are now alive, grandsons and grand-daughters to the number of eleven, to whom also I add the sweet little boy, William Paulet, son of my grand-daughter, Lucy Cecil, by William Paulet, son and heir of the Marquis of Winton, will ever efface the sadness which cleaves to me from these distressing events." As a striking proof of the intensity of his affection for his deceased wife, and daughter Anne, he again and again, in the remaining part of the inscription, returns to speak of their virtues, as if, in his sorrow, he could find no greater luxury than in lingering, in melancholy thought, upon these objects of his attachment, and in constantly speaking about them.

The virtues and talents of his wife in particular were never erased from his memory. About two years after her death, still feeling the vacancy she had left in his heart and house, and that, from his advanced age, he must soon be called to follow her, he expressed a wish—as, after such a lengthened period of laborious and anxious service he was well entitled to do—to resign his office, and to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. The queen, who had afforded him such decisive and long-continued proofs of confidence

and attachment, could not think, without the deepest regret, of the final loss of his invaluable services, the more especially as she could discern in him no traces of impaired mental vigour, and, at her earnest solicitation, he was diverted from his purpose, and continued to his death to direct, with the same ability and success as ever, the affairs of government, maintaining the authority of the sovereign and the public tranquillity, notwithstanding the opposition of a powerful Roman Catholic faction.



ANNE COOKE,

LADY BACON.

ANNE COOKE was the second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, by his wife, Anne Fitz-Williams. She was born about the year 1528, probably at Giddy Hall, in Essex. Under the eye of her parents she received the same learned and religious education as her sister, Lady Burghley; nor was she inferior to her sister in natural talents, in acquired accomplishments, and in Christian worth. She was, in particular, exquisitely skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Italian tongues. These qualifications procured her, at an early age, the honourable appointment of governess to Edward VI., whose education, in co-operation with her father and Sir John Cheke, she superintended; and to her instructions may not unreasonably be attributed, in part at least, the early piety and uncommon attainments of that young prince. The care taken by his preceptors to imbue his mind with the principles of the Protestant religion, has, indeed, been made a ground of reproach by writers of a certain class,[1] who have congratulated themselves on his early death, from the apprehension that, judging from the papers on religious questions which he left behind him, had his reign been prolonged, England would have been cursed with the calamity of a polemical monarch.

[1] D'Israeli, in his *Amenities of Literature*, vol. ii., p. 145.

Passing the early part of her life amidst the conflict between Popery and Protestantism, which was agitating England, the new system seeking to overthrow the old, and the old seeking to exterminate the new, and having been instructed by her parents in the reformed faith, she had her attention early turned to theological inquiries; and entering, with all the ardour of a strong and active mind, into the study of the great points in dispute between Protestants and Romanists, she mastered that controversy. In these inquiries she had ample assistance from numerous publications then in circulation, from the sermons preached in defence of the truth, from the New Testament in the original Greek, which she was able to read, from the whole Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and from intercourse with learned men.

Her father's house being the resort of the most eminent Reformers of that period, both English and foreign, she had thus an opportunity of meeting with many personages celebrated for learning, eloquence, and piety. Among the foreign Reformers who frequented her father's house was Bernardino Ochino, an Italian divine,[1] whom persecution had driven from his native country, and who, after various wanderings in Switzerland, Germany, and France, had repaired to England in the end of the year 1547, being then in the sixtieth year of his age, on the invitation of Archbishop Cranmer, and exercised his talents as a preacher among the Italian Protestant refugees in London. This divine, who possessed highly popular gifts as a preacher, having published a volume, consisting of twenty-five short sermons, in Italian, about the half of which relate to the abstruse doctrine of election, treated, however, in a popular form, and the rest to miscellaneous subjects, Anne displayed her industry and skill in the Italian language by translating the sermons into English. In undertaking this task, she was partly influenced by the reputation which Ochino had acquired as a pulpit orator in his own country, where persons of all ranks and sexes, monarchs, bishops, and cardinals, some of them frenzied persecutors of the Protestants, had listened with almost un-

[1] His birthplace was Siena, a city of Tuscany.

bounded admiration to his powerful eloquence; partly by her veneration for his character, from his sufferings in the Protestant cause, from the sanctity of his life, and from the winning suavity of his manners; and partly by the desire of promoting her own improvement in the Italian language, and in the knowledge of divine truth. At first she does not appear to have had the least thought of giving her translation to the public; but after she had finished it, some of her friends who perused it were so much pleased with its elegance, as well as with the excellence of the matter, that they strongly recommended its publication. She yielded to their entreaties, though with a degree of modest diffidence, encouraged by the hope that her translation might be useful to her countrymen and countrywomen, by enabling them to read in their own tongue these excellent addresses. It was published with a preface "To the Christian Reader," written by G. B.; and with becoming filial piety, though living in the circle of the court, overlooking great men and great ladies, the translator sought no other patroness than her beloved mother, to whom she dedicated her performance.[1]

In the preface "To the Christian Reader," some of the circum-

[1] There were at least two editions; but the volume is now rarely to be met with. The copy which we have consulted, probably the first edition, is, like many works in the age of Queen Elizabeth, printed in black letter. It is small 12mo, consisting of 244 pages, though the pages are not numbered; and the title-page is as follows:—

"SERMONS

"Of Barnardine Ochyne (to the number of 25), concerning the predestination and election of God; very expedient to the setting forth of his glory among his creatures. Translated out of Italian into our native tongue, by A. C.

[Then there is a quotation from Tobit xii. 7, and another from Isaiah xliii. 6, 7.]

"Printed by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath S. Martins."

The date of publication is not given. Strype conjectures that it was about the year 1550.—*Mem. Eccl.*, vol. ii., p. 265. Another edition, also without date of publication, was afterwards printed in 12mo, accompanied with twenty-five additional sermons by the same author, translated from Italian into English. The title-page, which is different from that of the former edition, is as follows:—

"Certain Sermons of the right famous and excellent clerk, Master Bernardine Ochino, born within the famous university of Sienna, in Italy, now also an example in this life for the faithful testimony of Jesus Christ. Twenty-five Sermons, translated into English from the Italian, by a gentleman, and the last twenty-five translated by a young lady."—*Typographical Antiquities*, p. 244.

stances connected with the translation are explained. "When these translated sermons of the famous Bernardine," says the writer, "were come to mine hand, gentle reader, I thought it meet to publish them, to the end so godly apostolic doctrine should not be private to those only who understand the Italian tongue, since they speak in English, through the honest labour of a well occupied gentlewoman and virtuous maiden, whose shamefastness would rather have suppressed them, had not I, to whose hands they were committed, half against her will, put them forth, bidding them blush that deserve blame; for this of her part, I dare safely affirm, craveth perpetual praise. . . . . If ought be erred in the translation, remember it is a woman's, yea, a gentlewoman's, who are wont to live idly, a maiden's that never gadded farther than her father's house to learn the language. Farewell, and use her labour to the amendment of thy life."

Anne's dedication, from the testimony it bears to the excellent Christian character of her mother, as well as from its explaining the laudable motives—the desire of reaping personal advantage and of benefiting others—which induced her to engage in this undertaking, is worthy of being given entire.

"To the right worshipful and worthily beloved Mother, the Lady F.,[1] her humble Daughter wisheth increase of spiritual knowledge, with full fruition of the fruits thereof.

"Since the original of whatsoever is, or may be converted to any good use in me, hath freely proceeded (though as the minister of God) of your ladyship's mere careful and motherly goodness, as well in procuring all things thereunto belonging, as in your many and most godly exhortations, wherein, among the rest, it hath pleased you often to reprove my vain study in the Italian tongue, accounting the seed thereof to have been sown in barren, unfruitful ground (since God thereby is no whit magnified), I have at the last perceived it my duty to prove how much the understanding of your will could work in me towards the accomplishing of the same. And for that

[1] Fitz-Williams. Anne, as was not uncommon at that period, gives her mother her maiden name.

I have well known your chief delight to rest in the destroying of man's glory, and exalting wholly the glory of God; which may not be unless we acknowledge that He doth foresee and determine from without beginning all things, and cannot alter or reward after our deserved works, but remains steadfast, according to his immutable will, I have taken in hand to dedicate unto your ladyship this small number of sermons (for the excellent fruit's sake in them contained, proceeding from the happy spirit of the sanctified Barnardine), which treat of the election and predestination of God, with the rest (although not of the self title) appertaining to the same effect, to the end it might appear, that your so many worthy sentences touching the same have not utterly been without some note in my weak memory; and albeit they be not done in such perfection as the dignity of the matter doth require, yet I trust and know ye will accept the humble will of the presenter, not weighing so much the excellency of the translation, although of right it ought to be such as should not, by the grossness thereof, deprive the author of his worthiness. But not meaning to take upon me the reach to his high style of theology, and fearing also lest, in enterprising to set forth the brightness of his eloquence, I should manifest myself unapt to attain unto the lowest degree thereof, I descend, therefore, to the understanding of mine own debility; only requiring, that it may please your ladyship to vouchsafe that this my small labour may be allowed at your hands, under whose protection only it is committed, with humble reverence, as yielding some part of the fruit of your motherly admonitions, in this my willing service.

"Your Ladyship's Daughter, most boundenly obedient, A. C."

The religious sentiments embodied in these sermons were precisely those taught Anne by her parents in her childhood, and embraced by her, in the full maturity of her understanding, as the truth revealed by God in his Word. One extract may suffice as a specimen of the English style of the translation, which will not suffer by a comparison with English writers of the period of higher pretensions, and of the vein of evangelical doctrine pervading these

discourses. It relates to the cardinal article of justification through faith in the blood of Christ, strongly set forth in the monologue put into the mouth of the Christian, in the prospect of his entering the eternal world:—"Considering that the treasures and merits of Christ are infinite, and able to enrich a thousand worlds, I intend not to carry with me any other merits or spiritual riches, save those that Christ hath provided for me; for they be not only sufficient for me, but also over-abundant and unmeasurable. Then should I do no small injury to Christ, if I should search to store myself by any other mean or shift, although I might do it never so easily. Nay, rather with Paul will I reckon all other things as mire and dirt, so that I have Christ, with whom alone I will appear before God, and of and by him will I glory and make boast; yea, God forbid that I should make my avaunt of anything save of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, on whom only hangeth all our salvation. And albeit all the saints be rich by means of Christ; nevertheless, if they had means of their own most plenteous, and would give them to me, yet would I none: my Christ is enough for me: with him had I rather suffer than take pleasure and joy without him. . . . . I am well assured that in purgatory I shall not come; both because there is found no other purgatory but Christ, in whom at the full God purged and punished all the sins of the elected, and also because in case there were one, yet Christ, not by my merits, but by his mere goodness, doth satisfy for all my sins, trespasses, and pains."[1]

Anne was subsequently married to Sir Nicholas Bacon, knight,[2] afterwards lord keeper of the great seal, an office to which he was appointed in 1558, the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who is said to have relied on him as her oracle of law. He is described by Fuller as having a subtile genius; and such was his corpulency, especially in his old age, that the exertion of going from Westminster Hall to the Star Chamber, rendered him so breathless,

[1] Sermon xxi.

[2] The date of the marriage has not been exactly ascertained. Her eldest son, Anthony, was born in 1558.—Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 11.

that on taking his seat some time elapsed before he could recover from his exhaustion. Having sufficiently recovered, as a signal to the lawyer of the day to begin, he held up his staff, before which the pleadings never commenced. His motto was *mediocria firma;* and, acting on the former part of it, he neither sought vast wealth nor erected splendid mansions. When Queen Elizabeth, in her progresses, visited him at his house at Gorhambury, in Hertfordshire, she said to him, "My lord, your house is too little for you." "Not so, madam," he replied, "it is your highness that hath made me too great for my house."

After her marriage Lady Bacon did not relinquish the prosecution of her literary pursuits; and, mindful of the lesson her mother had carefully taught her, that learning is only valuable when turned to some useful purpose, she endeavoured to exercise her talents in behalf of the reformed religion, by translating into English a much abler and more useful work than Ochino's *Sermons*, namely, Bishop John Jewel's celebrated *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,[1] which he published in 1562. Jewel[2] wrote this work at the recommendation of Archbishop Parker and his colleagues, to vindicate the Church of England in renouncing the Papal authority and embracing the reformed religion, chiefly from the attacks of English Romish fugitives, who were industriously plying all the arts of learned ingenuity and malignity to defame the English Reformers and the Church of England. The *Apologia*, which may still be read with advantage, was, from its learning and eloquence, as well as from the spirit and point of its argumentation, so highly estimated at home that it was published under her majesty's sanction, with the approbation of the

[1] *i.e.*, apology for the Church of England.

[2] This excellent man, who had studied in Christ Church College, Oxford, was a zealous promoter of the Reformation in the reign of Edward VI. In the reign of Mary he escaped to Frankfort. On the happy accession of Elizabeth, returning to England, he was preferred to the bishopric of Salisbury in 1560. He was one of the most learned among the Reformers, and was the author of numerous works, of which his *Apologia* was the most popular. He died at Monkton Farley, September 23, 1571, in the fiftieth year of his age, and was interred in the choir of his cathedral at Salisbury.

bishops and others; and by the reformed abroad it was received with the highest encomiums. It was, therefore, speedily translated into various languages, and thus made accessible to the most of Europe. An English translation was printed the very year in which the original work was published. But this translation, though executed with the assistance of Archbishop Parker, being in many respects defective, Lady Bacon, impressed with a conviction of the value of Jewel's work, and of the powerful impression it was calculated to make on the public mind in favour of the reformed faith, engaged in the task of executing a new version. This she did with much success, her version being more perfect than the other, and for the period remarkably elegant, a proof that she had cultivated her maternal tongue, and could write it with a vigour and purity scarcely inferior to any in her day. Having completed the translation, she sent the copy to Archbishop Parker[1] for examination. She sent it also to Bishop Jewel, to see whether in any part she had mistaken his meaning, accompanied with a letter to him in Greek, which the bishop, it is said, answered in the same language. The translation was examined by the two prelates, who found it so accurate that they did not make even a single correction. Parker, without delay, sent the work to the press, without asking her consent, and returned to her in print what he had received from her in manuscript. It was published in 1564, with a prefatory letter by Parker, addressed to Lady Bacon, and with an appendix, probably written by the archbishop, consisting of a brief sketch of the constitution of the Church of England, with a table of the bishoprics and an account of the universities. In his letter to her, in which he addresses her as "the right honour-

[1] Matthew Parker, who, though a reformed minister, escaped persecution during the reign of Queen Mary by living in seclusion, was, upon the accession of Elizabeth, appointed, in 1559, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a learned man, and Calvinistic in doctrine. The great blot in his life is the severity with which he treated the Puritan clergy, suspending them from their ministry, and sequestrating their livings. Her majesty having determined to enforce the use of clerical vestments, and the observance of the peculiar forms of religious worship which she chose to prescribe, Parker became a ready instrument in carrying her views into effect, though her chief adviser, Lord Burghley, was decidedly averse to this course.

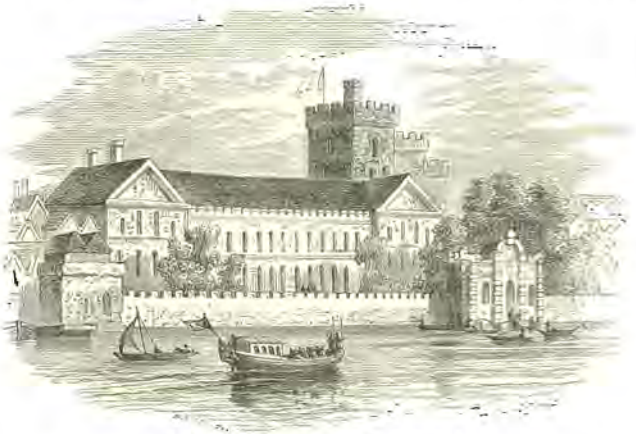
able, learned, and virtuous lady, Anne Bacon," he says, "Whereas the chief author of the Latin work and I, severally perusing and comparing your whole translation, have without alteration allowed of it, I must both desire your ladyship, and advertise the readers, to think that we have not therein given anything to any dissembling affection towards you, as being contented to wink at faults to please you, or to make you without cause to please yourself; for there be sundry respects to draw us from so doing, although we were so evil-minded, as there is no cause why we should be so thought of. Your own judgment in discerning flattery, your modesty in misliking it, the laying open of our opinion to the world, the truth of our friendship towards you, the unwillingness of us both (in respect of our vocations) to have this public work not truly and well translated, are good causes to persuade that our allowance is of sincere truth and understanding. By which your travail, madam, you have expressed an acceptable duty to the glory of God, deserved well of this church of Christ, honourably defended the good fame and estimation of your own native tongue, showing it so able to contend with a work originally written in the most praised speech; and beside the honour ye have done to your own sex, and to the degree of ladies, ye have done pleasure to the author of the Latin book, in delivering him by your clear translation from the perils of ambiguous and doubtful constructions, and in making his good work more publicly beneficial; whereby ye have raised up great comfort to your friends, and have furnished your own conscience joyfully with the fruit of your labour in so occupying your time; which must needs redound to the encouragement of noble youth in their good education, and to spend their time and knowledge in godly exercise, having delivered them by you so singular a precedent. . . . . And now to the end both to acknowledge my good approbation, and to spread the benefit more largely, where your ladyship hath sent me your book *written*, I have, with most hearty thanks, returned it to you (as you see) *printed;* knowing that I have therein done the best, and in this point used a reasonable policy, that is, to prevent such excuses as your modesty

would have made in stay of publishing it. And thus at this time I leave further to trouble your good ladyship.

"M [ATTHEW] C [ANTUARIENSIS]."[1]

The pains she had bestowed upon this undertaking was not thrown away. The translation met with a highly favourable reception, which doubtless gratified her much; and it was still more pleasing to her to reflect on the benefit which the thousands who eagerly read it, or heard it read, would derive from its telling pages. This was certainly one of the most effectual means she could have employed for undermining in the popular mind a belief in the Popish doctrines and worship; and it procured her the honour of being abused by the vile tongues of malignant Jesuits.[2]

Lady Bacon had issue by Sir Nicholas, two sons, Anthony and Francis. Francis, the youngest, afterwards the celebrated Lord Veru-



York House, from the River, time of Charles I.

lam, Viscount of St. Albans, the father of experimental philosophy, was born at York House, in the Strand, London, on the 22d of

[1] Jewel's *Works*, printed for Parker Society, third portion, p. 51.

[2] Father Parsons' *Relation of a Conference between Henry IV. of France*, &c., p. 197.

January, 1560–61. From her literary acquirements, and from her efficiency in presiding over the education of Edward VI., Lady Bacon, it is evident, was admirably qualified to superintend the education of her own children; a duty which she assiduously performed, and with much success, at least in regard to the cultivation of their understandings, particularly as to Francis; though her endeavours were not equally successful in forming their minds to the principles of piety and virtue.

"Like several other extraordinary men," says Lord Campbell, "Francis is supposed to have inherited his genius from his mother,[1] and he certainly was indebted to her for the early culture of his mind, and the love of books, for which during life he was distinguished. Young Francis was sickly, and unable to join in the rough sports suited for boys of robust constitution. The lord keeper was too much occupied with his official duties to be able to do more than kiss him, hear him occasionally recite a little piece he had learned by heart, and give him his blessing. But Lady Bacon, who was not only a tender mother, but a woman of a highly cultivated mind, after the manner of her age, devoted herself assiduously to her youngest child, who, along with bodily weakness, exhibited from early infancy the dawnings of extraordinary intellect. . . . Under her care, assisted by a domestic tutor, Francis continued till he reached his thirteenth year. He took most kindly to his book, and made extraordinary proficiency in the studies prescribed to him."[2] She particularly directed his attention to the languages and philosophy, the pursuits most congenial to her own taste. Francis studied at Trinity College, Cambridge. "It has often been said, that while still at college he planned that great intellectual revolution with which his name is

[1] Lord Campbell here adds, in a foot-note, "Anthony, the elder brother, not being by any means distinguished, the case of the Bacon family might be cited to illustrate the retort upon the late Earl of Buchan, who was eldest brother to Lord Erskine, and the famous Henry Erskine, dean of faculty, but very unequal to them in abilities, and who observing, boastfully, 'We inherit all our genius from our mother,' was answered, 'Yes (and as the mother's fortune generally is), it seems to have been all settled on the *younger* children.'"

[2] *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. ii., pp. 268, 269.

inseparably connected. The evidence on this subject, however, is hardly sufficient to prove, what is in itself so improbable, as that any definite system of that kind should have been so early formed, even by so powerful and active a mind. But it is certain that, after a residence of three years at Cambridge, Bacon departed, carrying with him a profound contempt for the course of studies pursued there, a fixed conviction that the system of academic education in England was radically vicious, a just scorn for the trifles on which the followers of Aristotle had wasted their powers, and no great reverence for Aristotle himself."[1]

There is reason to think that Francis's veneration for Aristotle had been weakened by the teaching of his mother, who, from the sermons of Ochino which she translated, and from private intercourse with that Reformer and others, had been led to direct her attention to the uselessness of the subtle sophistry and miserable wrangling about trifling and often unintelligible questions, engendered by the Aristotelian philosophy. One of Ochino's sermons is specially devoted to combating the opinion of such as asserted the impossibility of attaining the perfection of theology without having first learned dialectics, metaphysics, and all the subtleties, sophisms, and quibbles of the Stagirite's contentious logic—without having first become conversant with Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, and others of the same school. In this sermon it is said, "I confess myself to have been in that error, and therefore am now moved to compassionate those who rest blinded therewith. If it were as they say, we should be most bounden unto the inventors of those sciences, since that by them we may be good divines, and without them not. And then, I pray you, if they happened to perish, or those authors to be lost, should it not follow that also the world should lack divinity?" It is next argued that if the learned men in these sciences be only good divines, then the Apostles were not so, notwithstanding their being the first divinely inspired teachers of Christianity, nor even Christ himself, who never learned these sciences, and yet was the

[1] Macaulay's *Essays*, vol. ii., p. 297.

most excellent of all divines; that by the reading of the Scriptures, and the teaching of the Spirit, it is possible for a simple old woman to have more of the true theology than the greatest proficients in these sciences; that those are blind who would build the true theology upon philosophy and human sciences, since Christ alone is the true foundation, upon which it behoves us to build, not wood, straw, or hay, but silver, gold, and precious stones, that is, not the inventions of men, but the true revelations of God; that John the Baptist, and not Aristotle, was the forerunner of Christ; and that, as it is impossible to augment the light of the sun by the light of a small candle, so Christ, who is the light of the world, has no need of the light of Aristotle.[1] Such were the sentiments as to scholastic theology, with which the mother of Francis was familiarized, and with which, it can hardly be doubted, from her great care in instructing her son in religion and philosophy, as well as in languages, she endeavoured to imbue his mind. It is not easy to say to what extent his copious erudition, the elegance and spirit of his diction, his zealous cultivation of philosophy, and particularly his success in striking out a new path for the investigation of truth, which has rendered him the ornament of his age and country, are to be attributed to the judicious attention bestowed upon his education by his erudite and accomplished mother. And if his serious lapses as a courtier from the path of integrity, caused by his yielding himself up to a selfish ambition and a grovelling avarice, are dark spots on the splendour of his fame as a philosopher, so that he has been called

"The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind,"

this teaches us the important lesson, that great abilities, that genius and intellectual faculties of the highest order, will never compensate for the want of strict uncompromising virtue. But his mother, though she had witnessed enough to fill her heart with sorrow, was spared, by the friendly hand of death, the agony of witnessing the final infamy of her son.

[1] Sermon xx.

About three years after Archbishop Parker had addressed Lady Bacon in reference to her translation of Bishop Jewel's *Apologia*, we find him writing to her a long and earnest letter on a less agreeable subject, namely, concerning some differences which had arisen between him and her husband, his old acquaintance and friend. Parker, having learned that many irregularities existed in the diocese of Norwich—disgraceful simony and flagrant misapplication of ecclesiastical property—had made a visitation of that diocese. With the view of correcting these irregularities he also wrote to the lord keeper, strongly complaining on the subject, counselling him as to the proper course to be pursued, and, as Strype supposes, "very likely laying some of the blame upon the lord keeper himself." Proud and passionate, Bacon became deeply irritated at this freedom, and in his answer to the archbishop's letter used violent language, sending, at the same time, an offensive verbal message by the archbishop's man-servant. To these unpleasing communications the archbishop made no reply; but, unwilling that any variance should continue to exist between him and the lord keeper, he endeavoured to engage Lady Bacon to act as umpire between them, though, at the same time, he did not mean to apologize for the steps he had taken to impose a check on the misapplication of ecclesiastical property. He therefore soon after expressed to her at length, in writing, his sentiments and feelings in the matter, and solicited her friendly mediation, which he did the more especially as he knew that she had deeply at heart the welfare of the Protestant Church of England.

"I understand," says he, "that ye use otherwhiles to be a good solicitor to my lord your husband in the causes of the poor for justice, and I doubt not ye remember the Christian duty ye bear to him, as well in respect of conscience to Almighty God, as for his honourable estimation and fame to the world. Upon which ground I thought fit now, in the end of the term, to write a few words to you. To my lord I perceive I may not write, except they be *placentissima;* and therefore I shall stay my hand." After expressing the grief it would cause him should others, from anything the lord

keeper had done, take encouragement in the spoilation of ecclesiastical property, which ought to be sacredly devoted to the support of "the ministry, that office of men's salvation, that office of Christ's crucified mysteries, howsoever the carnal princes of the world do deride God and all things sacred," he exhorts her, for "God's love," to do what she could to induce her husband to help to remove out of the church this offence, that he might not bring a stain upon the glory of his old age. He then proceeds: "What shall be hoped for in friendship, if the advertising of one another in true faithful friendship, and to Godwards, shall stir up enmity and disliking. Let the blind world say, 'Sweeter are the deceitful kisses of an enemy than the wounds of a friend.' Let the wise man say, on the contrary, 'Better are the wounds of a friend than the deceitful kisses of an enemy.' . . . . I would be loth to break friendship with any mean body, much less with my lord; and yet either king or Cæsar, contrary to my duty to God, I will not, and intend not [to obey], God being my good lord. . . . . I am now grown into a better consideration by mine age, than to be afraid or dismayed with such vain terrors of the world. I am not now to learn how to fawn upon man, 'whose breath is in his nostrils,' nor have I to learn how to repose myself quietly, under God's protection, against all displeasure of friends, and against all malignity of the enemy. I have oft said and expounded, 'A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee.'" He concludes with these words: "And thus reposing myself in a good and steadfast conscience in this brittle time, I commit your ladyship to God, as myself. Because ye be another self to him, one spirit, one flesh, I make you judge. And therefore I transmit the very copy of my letter sent to him, to expound the matter of my writing, whereby ye may take occasion to work, as God shall move you. And thus I leave you.—From my house at Lambeth, the 6th of February, 1567. Your friend, unfeigned in Christ, "MATTHEW CANT."[1]

[1] Strype's *Life of Archbishop Parker*, vol. i., pp. 514-517; and vol. ii., pp. 163-168.

How Lady Bacon acted in this affair is not recorded. In the dispute between the archbishop and Sir Nicholas Bacon, the former was certainly in the right. There is no reason to deny him what



Archbishop's Palace, Lambeth, time of George II.*

he claims, the credit of acting according to his conscience in his opposition to the spoliation of ecclesiastical property. But while claiming this credit to himself, why did he not give the Puritans credit for acting according to their consciences in their opposition to the imposed clerical habits and ceremonies in divine worship? In this the archbishop, like many others, forgot the golden rule of the

* Lambeth, which is situated on the Thames, was in earlier times a manor, possibly a royal one. In 1197 it became the property of the see of Canterbury. Its buildings afterwards were neglected, and became ruinous; but Boniface, a wrathful and turbulent primate, elected in 1244, rebuilt it with great magnificence. In the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, it suffered greatly. It was restored by Archbishop Morton. Its architecture is the work of different periods. Among the many objects of interest connected with this palace, the part of it called "The Lollard's Tower," containing the prison in which the followers of Wickliffe were confined during the Papal ascendency, especially invites the attention of the student of the history of the Reformation. This portion was built by Chicheley, who enjoyed the primacy from 1414 to 1443.

Saviour, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Twelve years after this Lady Bacon became a widow, her husband, Sir Nicholas, having died on February 20, 1578–9. He was buried in St. Paul's Church, London, where an elegant monument was erected to his memory.[1] During her widowhood Lady Bacon lived in seclusion at Gorhambury, near St. Albans, in Hertfordshire.

In the same year her eldest son, Anthony, who had a strong propensity to travel, having taken possession of his paternal inheritance, began his travels, being at the age of twenty-one. He resided for some time at Paris, from whence he went to Bourges, and thence to Geneva, where he lodged in the house of Theodore Beza, professor of theology in the university of that city, with whom he contracted an intimate friendship, and who, at his persuasion, presented to the library of Cambridge a very ancient copy of the Pentateuch, in six languages. From Geneva he successively removed to Montpellier, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Montauban, and again to Bordeaux, where he resided the longest.[2]

Anthony's long continuance on the continent was not a little displeasing to his mother; and in her letters to him she often urged him to return home, partly from her anxiety to see him, and partly from the expense attending his residence abroad. Her anxiety about him was latterly increased, from some representations, probably exaggerated, which she had received from English merchants, of an intimacy formed at Bordeaux between him and Mr. Anthony Standen, a zealous Papist, and a man of no principle, as is evident from his readiness to act as a spy to any government which would liberally pay him for doing so.[3] From this she began even to suspect that

[1] Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 210.

[2] These facts are gathered from Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

[3] Standen's zeal for the Roman Catholic religion led him to leave England about the year 1563, and to retire into Scotland, where he entered into the service of Queen Mary. Upon her misfortunes he quitted that country, and became a pensioned emissary of the King of Spain. He was at last secretly engaged in the service of Queen Elizabeth, by Sir Francis Walsingham, who procured him, from her majesty, a pension of £100 *per annum.*—Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., pp. 66, 67.

his faith in the Protestant religion had been shaken, and that he had some design of attaching himself to the Roman Catholic Church, and this increased her dissatisfaction at him for remaining abroad. To remove her feelings of distress and displeasure arising from this source, he sent to her a letter strongly setting forth the groundlessness of such suspicions, and complaining of her for indulging them. Before sending it off he showed it to Standen, who highly approved of it, commending him for his being plain, "especially," says he, "with a woman, which is a vessel so frail and variable as every wind wavereth, as you know. And although I well know my lady, your mother, to be one of the sufficientest without comparison of that sex, yet, at the end of the career, *il y a tousjours de la femme*,[1] with the perfectest of them all, according to a sentence of the late Queen of Scotland, once alleged to me, when, in a talking of the queen's majesty, our present mistress, and I extolling to the said queen our sovereign's rare parts, she said, in these words, 'Sir, when you set out in praise of our sex, by praising any of us, never say that this is a discreet and wise woman, but say that she is less foolish than the rest; for all think us possessed with folly.'"[2]

Anthony having returned to England in the beginning of the year 1591–92, his mother's resentment against him immediately subsided, and she wrote a long letter to him on the 3d of February that year, full of maternal anxiety, in reference especially to his best interests. She expresses great concern that he had sent before for his servant, Mr. Lawson, against whom she had long entertained an insuperable prejudice; but she speaks in terms of high approbation of Mr. Nicholas Faunt, the bearer of the letter, whom she had requested to take a journey to meet Anthony, and to conduct him to London, where his brother Francis was preparing his lodgings at Gray's Inn for his reception. She describes Faunt as "not only an honest gentleman in civil behaviour, but one that feareth God, and indeed is wise withal, having experience of the state, and is able to advise you

[1] *i.e.*, there is always the woman.

[2] Birch's *Memoirs*, &c., vol. i, pp. 55, 56, 67, 68.

both very wisely and friendly; for he loveth yourself, and needeth not yours, as others, who yet despise you." She then proceeds to give him advice with regard to his religious conduct. "This one chiefest counsel," says she, "your Christian and natural mother doth give you even before the Lord, that above all worldly respects you carry yourself, even at your first coming, as one that doth unfeignedly profess the true religion of Christ, and hath the love of truth now by long continuance fast settled in your heart, and that with judgment, wisdom, and discretion; and are not afraid or ashamed to testify the same by hearing and delighting in those religious exercises of the sincere sort, be they French or English. *In hoc noli adhibere fratrem tuum ad consilium aut exemplum.*"[1] Lady Bacon was no bigoted worshipper of the doctrine of apostolical succession. A minister of earnest piety, whether he belonged to the Church of England, or to the Puritans, or to a foreign church, was in her estimation a minister of Christ. Though a member of the Church of England, she was inclined to the principles of the Puritans, to which her husband, while alive, was also thought to have been not unfavourable. In a subsequent letter she assures Anthony that it would be his "best credit to serve the Lord duly and reverently;" and she adds, that his brother Francis "was too negligent therein."[2]

Reference has previously been made to the friendship formed at Geneva between her son Anthony and Theodore Beza. In expression of his esteem for Anthony, and of respect for the learning and piety of Lady Bacon, whose literary reputation extended beyond her own country, this eminent divine dedicated to her his *Meditations*, of which he transmitted to her a copy. In acknowledgment of this mark of honour, and "to revive his ancient acquaintance with the good old father," as he expresses it, Anthony sent Beza, in his mother's name and in his own, a present to the value of twenty marks,

[1] *i.e.*, "In this I would not refer you to your brother for counsel or example." In her letters she frequently introduces Latin and also Greek words and sentences, sometimes with a view to secrecy, but more commonly after the fashion of the age. This had therefore less the air of pedantry then than it would have at the present day.

[2] Birch's *Memoirs, &c.*, vol. i., pp. 71, 72.

for which he received from Beza a letter of thanks, dated Geneva, 20th August, 1593.[1]

About the end of April, or in the beginning of May, 1594, Anthony removed from Redburne, in Hertfordshire, which was too remote from the capital for carrying on his numerous correspondences; and he settled in London, in a house in Bishopgate Street. The situation of his new residence his mother highly disliked; in the first place, on account of its neighbourhood to the Bull Inn, where plays and interludes were continually acted, which she imagined would corrupt his servants; and, in the second place, from zeal for his religious improvement, as to which he would labour under disadvantage in a parish, the minister of which was both ignorant and negligent of his duty. These circumstances she represented to him very strongly in one of her letters.[2]

In others of her letters she expresses her solicitude, and is earnest



Gorhambury, Hertfordshire.

in her inculcations that both Anthony and Francis should avoid intimacy and openness of communication with disreputable characters in high places, and especially with Papists, by whom they might

[1] Birch's *Memoirs*, &c., vol. i., pp. 16, 106, 118. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 173.

be betrayed, or seduced from the true religion, or corrupted in their moral integrity. In a letter to Anthony, from Gorhambury, of the 26th June, 1593, she gives him some cautions with respect to Standen, who was then in England, not being at all pleased with the intimacy between them, and wishing it to be broken off. "Be not too frank," says she, "with that Papist; such having seducing spirits to snare the godly. Be not too open."[1] In another letter to Anthony she expresses in strong terms her dissatisfaction at the familiarity between Francis and Antonio Perez, the ex-secretary of war to Philip II. of Spain, who, having lost the favour of his sovereign, which he had enjoyed in the highest degree for many years, had come to England about the close of the year 1592. "Though I pity your brother," says she, "yet, so long as he pities not himself, but keepeth that bloody Perez, yea, as a coach companion and bed companion, a proud, profane, costly fellow, whose being about him I verily fear the Lord God doth mislike, and doth less bless your brother in credit and otherwise in his health, surely I am utterly discouraged, and make conscience farther to undo myself to maintain such wretches as he is, that never loved your brother, but for his own credit, living upon him."[2] Again, writing to Anthony, 1st April, 1595, she warns him to beware of Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton and Lord Privy Seal, a nobleman whom she regarded as dangerous, both from his suspected secret leaning to the Popish Spanish faction, and from his character as a deep political intriguer. "He is," says she, "a dangerous intelligencing man; no doubt a subtle Papist inwardly, and lieth in wait. Peradventure he hath some close working with Standen, and the Spaniard,[3] and τοιῦτοις.[4] He will betray you to divers, and to your aunt Russel among others. The duke[5] had been alive, but by his practising and still soliciting him, to the duke's ruin and the Earl of

[1] Birch's *Memoirs*, &c., vol. i., p. 107.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 143.
[3] Antonio Perez.
[4] *i.e.*, persons of that stamp.
[5] Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, elder brother to Lord Henry, beheaded on account of his intrigues with the Queen of Scots, June 2, 1572.

Arundel.[1] Avoid his familiarity, as you love the truth and yourself. A very instrument of the Spanish Papists. For he pretending courtesy, worketh mischief perilously. I have long known him and observed him. His workings have been stark naught. *Procul esto.*"[2] On the 14th of April she renews her advice to him to be "wary of Lord Howard as of a subtle serpent."[3] And in another letter to him, 20th August, 1595, when he was offered by the Earl of Essex apartments in his house, near the Temple, in representing to him the inconveniences of parting with his own house and removing to the earl's, grounded upon her own long experience of courts, she says, "Standen being there and Lawson, and such, you verily will be counted for a practiser, and more misliked and suspected.—God keep you from Spanish subtleties and Popery."[4]

Her tendering these prudential advices to Anthony mainly proceeded from an idea that, whatever were his abilities, yet in consequence of his long residence abroad, and of his being confined mostly to his chamber from his lameness and indifferent health, he had less opportunity of acquiring experience of mankind, by mingling and conversing with them, than he otherwise would have had. "You are said to be wise," says she to him, "and to my comfort I think so. But surely, son, on the other side, for want of home experience by action, and your tedious unacquaintance with your own country by continual chamber and bed-keeping, you must needs miss of considerate judgment in your verbal only travelling."[5] She even cautioned him against the insinuating arts of *female* intriguing talebearers. In a letter to him of the 5th of August, 1595, after declaring her satisfaction that the two countesses, sisters, who she found were coming to reside in his neighbourhood, were both ladies "who feared God, and loved His Word zealously, especially the younger sister," she adds, "Yet upon advice and home-experience I would earnestly counsel you to be wary and circumspect, and not be too

[1] The Earl of Arundel was condemned by Philip, in 1589, for treason, but his life was spared, and he died in the Tower in 1595.

[2] *i.e.*, keep at a distance.

[3] Birch's *Memoirs*, &c., vol. i., p. 227.

[4] Birch's *Memoirs*, &c., vol. i., p. 278.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 61.

open in wishing to prolong speech with the Countess of Warwick.[1] She, after her father's fashion, will search and sound, and lay up with diligent marking, *quæ nec sentias aulica perferre ad reginam, et patrissat in illâ re nimis.*"[2]

From these quotations from her letters, it appears that Lady Bacon was a woman of strong feelings, and that she was accustomed to express herself strongly. Her advices and remonstrances were, indeed, not unfrequently delivered to her sons, especially towards the close of her life, with an undue asperity of language, which, by creating irritation, rendered them less effectual than if they had been delivered in a more gentle tone. Her temper, it is probable, was naturally severe; and ill health, in her advanced years, had increased this infirmity. But the sincerity and ardour of her affection for her sons is manifest even when she censures them most roughly; it is ever their good, both temporal and spiritual, particularly the latter, she is aiming to promote, her main object being that they might be virtuous, upright, God-fearing men; and the wisdom of her counsels, the profound knowledge they display of courts and of human nature, the deep sense of Christian duty always pervading them, do equal honour to the penetration of her judgment, the acuteness of her observation, and her high-toned Christian character. Her intense hatred of Popery is a marked feature in her correspondence, as will appear to the reader from the few specimens we have given. Her knowledge of the character of the system, and the whole history of her time—the Popish persecution under Queen Mary, and the incessant plots of the Papists against Elizabeth and her Protestant government, all contributed to foster this sentiment in her mind.

The Earl of Essex was to Lady Bacon an object of deep interest. The many noble qualities which distinguished him, "generosity,

[1] Anne, eldest daughter of Francis, second Earl of Bedford, and widow of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. She died 9th February, 160¾. She had two younger sisters, Elizabeth, wife of William Bourchier, Earl of Bath, and Margaret, married to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.

[2] Birch's *Memoirs, &c.*, vol. i., p. 270.

sincerity, friendship, valour, eloquence, and industry," as Hume describes him; the intimacy existing between him and her two sons; the great liberality with which he treated them, giving Anthony a handsome yearly salary, and bestowing upon Francis, when he failed to procure for him the office of solicitor-general, a present of land to the value of £1800—though Francis was afterwards so base as to plead at the bar against his benefactor when on trial for his life—all these united in exciting in the breast of Lady Bacon an affectionate concern about whatever related to the welfare of that nobleman, and especially about what related to his best interests, his spiritual and eternal well-being. Since his return from the expedition to Cadiz, which he had taken by assault, Essex had assumed an appearance of greater strictness in his manner of life, as well as in his observance of the public offices of religion, than before; but he did not escape the suspicions and report of relapsing into conjugal infidelity. This having reached the ears of Lady Bacon, she wrote to him a letter, dated 1st December, 1596, remarkable for its freedom of remonstrance. She expresses her gratification at the fame he had acquired by his military achievements, and at his recently improved decorum of deportment. "But," adds she, "*proh dolor!* my good lord," and after informing him of her having heard that of late he had been chargeable with "a backsliding to the foul impudent," she proceeds, "You, my good lord, have not so learned Christ, and heard His Holy Word in the 3d, 4th, and 5th verses of the fourth chapter of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. It is written, 'This is the will of God, that ye should be holy and abstain from fornication, and every one know how to keep his own vessel in holiness and honour; and not in the lust of concupiscence, as do the Gentiles, which know not God.' And more, if it please you to read and mark well, it is a heavy threat, 'that fornicators and adulterers God will judge,' and that they shall be shut out: for such things, saith the apostle, commonly cometh the wrath of God upon us. Good lord, remember and consider your great danger hereby, both of soul and body. Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, but honour

God, that honoured you, and reward him not with such evil for his great kindness towards you. My good lord, sin not against your own soul.

"My Lady Stafford said, upon one occasion, in her talk, the good virtuous countess,[1] your wife, was with child. O honourable and valiant noble, make great account of this God's blessing to you both, and make not her heart sorrowful, to the hinderance of her young fruit within her; for it is thought she took before to heart, and that her last did not comfortably prosper.

"If you be with the Lord indeed, he will be with you, and make your very enemies to reverence you. Be strong in the Lord, your and our good patient God. Fear him and walk privately in truth; and for his promise in Christ he will assist you, and look favourably upon you and yours, prosper and increase his blessing upon you and yours; which mercy and grace I humbly do, as I am most bound, call upon him to grant you ever, my dear and worthy lord, in Christ Jesus. With my very inward affection have I thus presumed, ill favouredly to scribble, I confess, being sickly and weak many ways. *Boni consulas, te vehementer oro, et quam optime vivas et valeas, vir insignissime, et quantum decet, mihi charissime. In Christo ex animo.*[2]

"Primo, Decemb. "A. BACON, χῆρά [widow]."[3]

This letter she sent to her son Anthony, to be conveyed to the earl. Having received and read it, the earl immediately wrote an answer, which Anthony transmitted to his mother, along with a letter of his own, in which he expressed his hope "that God had blessed her Christian and yet most respectful endeavours with due kind acceptance and effectual impressions." The earl's answer,

[1] Frances, daughter and only child of Sir Francis Walsingham. When married by the Earl of Essex she was the widow of Sir Philip Sidney. After the earl's execution she married, thirdly, the Earl of Clan-Richard, an Irish noblemen.—Camden's *Hist. of Elizabeth*, London, 1688, pp. 444, 624.

[2] *i.e.*, "Take this in good part, I earnestly beseech you, and may you live in the enjoyment of good health and of all felicity, most illustrious nobleman, and, as is becoming, most dear to me. In Christ from the heart."

[3] Birch's *Memoirs*, &c., vol. ii., p. 218.

which is highly courteous, certainly does credit to the generosity of his spirit, in receiving, without irritation, the well-meant reproofs and admonitions of this venerable lady.

"Madam," says he, "that it pleased you to deal thus freely with me, in letting me know the worst you hear of me, I take it as an argument of God's favour, in sending so good an angel to admonish me; and of no small care in your ladyship of my welldoing. I know how needful these summonses are to all men, especially to those that live in this place; and I had rather, with the poor publican, knock my breast, and be prostrate, or with the [servant in the gospel], confess, when I have done all I can, I am an unprofitable servant, than Pharisaically to justify myself; but what I write now is for the truth's sake, and not for mine own. I protest before the majesty of God, and my protestation is voluntary and advised, that this charge which is newly laid upon me, is false and unjust. . . . But I live in a place where I am hourly conspired against and practised upon. . . . Worthy lady, think me a weak man, full of imperfections; but be assured I do endeavour to be good, and had rather mend my faults than cover them. I wish your ladyship all true happiness and rest, at your ladyship's commandment. Burn, I pray you.

"1st of December, —96. "ESSEX."[1]

To this letter from his lordship, Lady Bacon replied as follows:—"My honourable good Lord,—In your incessant and careful affairs to vouchsafe me, as one almost forgotten in the world, a letter even with your own hand, is far more than my poor estate or ill parts can reach unto. God doth divers ways make manifest his love towards you, whereof his church here and our state do reap sweet benefit, to the praise of his name and your own honourable fame, and the rejoicing in a good conscience. Yet such excellent persons never want *æmulatores malignos cum fastu*.[2] But yet, for all that, true godly virtue in the people of God doth, with the palm, rise and increase still, though men strive to suppress and oppress it; and they still shall flourish in the court of the God of glorious majesty,

[1] Birch's *Memoirs*, &c., vol. ii., p. 219. [2] *i.e.*, rivals malignant with pride.

and their seed shall be blessed. *Ab imis præcordiis*,[1] as I am most bound, I beseech the living Lord to direct continually with his Holy Spirit your lordship's heart, to the love of him and of his eternal truth, and fortify you through the love of both to live in his reverent fear, and to approve that which is pleasant in his sight. And, my good lord, walk circumspectly, for the days [are evil]. God grant you safety from all crafty subtle snares whatsoever; and in battle, by sea or by land, His mighty arm be your invincible puissance, and make you victorious, and send His holy angels to pitch round about you and your army, and watch over you for your safeguard; and with fulness of good days and years in this life, preserve you to his heavenly kingdom for ever and ever. The God of peace give you peace always by all means, my very good lord, "A. B."[2]

These are the principal memorials transmitted to us with respect to the life of this lady. The exact time of her death is uncertain; but she is supposed to have died about the year 1604, at Gorhambury ("where," says Ballard, "her picture still remains"), having reached the venerable age of seventy-six. She was buried in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, but has no monument with an inscription to record her memory. This is the more remarkable, as Francis, her celebrated son, who lies near her, is commemorated by a very fine statue, with an inscription beneath. His lordship is represented seated in a contemplative posture, in an arm-chair, placed in a niche. Some others of the family were buried in the same place.[3]

[1] *i.e.*, from the bottom of my heart.

[2] Birch's *Memoirs, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 220.

[3] Granger's *Biograph. Hist. of England*, vol. ii., p. 179.—Ballard's *Learned Ladies*, p. 193.

Ladies of the Reformation

IN SCOTLAND.



"At midnight mirke they [the persecutors] will us take,
And into prison will us fling,
There mon we ly quhile [*i.e.*, till] we forsake
The name of God, quhilk is our king.

"Then faggots man we burne or beir,
Or to the deid they will us bring:
It does them gude to do us deir,
And to confusion us down thring."

Wedderburne's *Gude and Godly Ballates*.

"But hald you at my Testment fast,
And be not quhite of them aghast,
For I sall bring downe at the last
Their pride and cruelitie."—*Ibid.*



INTRODUCTION.

FERTILE as is the field of the Reformation of the sixteenth century in Scotland in materials of great and enduring interest, it presents only a few scattered gleanings in regard to the reformed ladies. This poverty of materials arises mainly from two causes—from the defective state of female education in Scotland at that period, and from the fact that the ladies attached to the Reformation in Scotland were not called, to any great extent, to suffer persecution and martyrdom.

At the time of the Reformation, and even before it, the ladies of Italy, Spain, France, and England, enjoyed distinguished advantages of mental culture. The dispersion of the Greeks, consequent upon the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks, about the year 1443, had the happiest effects upon the revival of letters in these countries. Italy, which, during the darkest periods of Papal domination, had preserved a degree of refinement and knowledge to which the other nations of Europe were strangers, was the first to experience this intellectual resuscitation. In that country the learned Greek refugees, upon the overthrow of their empire, found an asylum; and bringing with them the works of their ancient orators, poets, and historians, they taught these models of eloquence and taste to the Italian

scholars, who studied them with enthusiastic ardour; and these studies, by refining their taste, increased their relish for the classic writings of their own scarcely less illustrious authors of antiquity. Similar were the advantages derived by Spain, France, and England, from the destruction of the Constantinopolitan empire. Their students or learned men, resorting to Italy, were instructed in the Greek language by some of the most illustrious Greek refugees; they besides acquired a pure Latin style under the first Italian masters; and returning home, they industriously laboured to introduce among their countrymen a taste for the Greek and Roman classics, in opposition to the scholastic and barbarous systems of education then prevalent. So strong was the passion for the cultivation of classical literature in these countries, that the daughters of the nobility and gentry were carefully taught the Greek and Roman languages under skilful masters, and in these languages many of them attained to great proficiency. But Scotland was somewhat later in deriving these advantages; and when Scotsmen who had travelled in Italy, Germany, and England, to acquire the learning not to be obtained in their own country, on returning home, introduced the cultivation of elegant and humanizing literature, the extension of a high education to the daughters of Scotland, even to those of rank, was little thought of. Hence in the history of the Scottish Reformation we have no ladies who can vie in learning and accomplishments with Renée of Ferrara, Olympia Morata, Margaret of Valois, Katharine Parr, Lady Jane Grey, the Ladies Seymour, and the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke. Had the Scottish ladies enjoyed opportunities of cultivating their minds similar to those enjoyed by these illustrious ladies, numbers of them would, doubtless, have left behind them lasting traces of their genius and talents; and there would not have been wanting, among the Scottish Reformers, enough of learned gallantry to do justice to their merits. Henry VIII., depraved as he became when advanced in life, patronized learning in his early days, and was ambitious to bestow upon his daughters a finished education; an example which the nobility and gentry emulously

followed. Had the Scottish throne been filled by a sovereign with a rising family of daughters, of whose mental culture he was equally solicitous, his example would, no doubt, have had a similar effect upon the Scottish nobility, gentry, and people.

The other cause of the scantiness of our information respecting the ladies attached to the Reformation in Scotland, is the circumstance that Popish persecutors were not permitted, in the providence of God, to visit them, in very many instances, with the penalties of heresy. The most powerful of the Scottish nobility, and ultimately the Scottish government itself, having early become favourable to the Reformation, the Scottish Popish priesthood was soon deprived of the power of wielding the sword of the state for the extermination of heretics. It was different in most of the other countries of Europe where the Reformation took footing. In England, for example, though Henry cast off the Papal supremacy, yet still continuing in all other respects a dogmatic Papist, he ceased not to persecute the Reformers; and his bigoted, fanatical daughter, Mary, offered them up in whole hecatombs to the Roman Moloch. Thus England furnishes a much more numerous list of martyrs, of both sexes, for the reformed sentiments than Scotland, the number of whose martyrs under Popery is comparatively small.

In the 17th century, the intrepidity of the ladies of Scotland prompting them to become fearless confessors and devoted martyrs, was conspicuous. Sir Walter Scott, in his *Old Mortality*, describing the resolute firmness of the Scottish character during the persecution of Charles II. and James VII., observes—and the observation applies to the tender as well as to the hardier sex, as is evident from numerous examples in the history of that period—"It seems akin to the native sycamore of their hills, which scorns to be biased in its mode of growth, even by the influence of the prevailing wind, but shooting its branches with equal boldness in every direction, shows no weather-side to the storm, and may be broken, but can never be bended." And if the examples of the heroism of the Scottish ladies who had embraced the reformed sentiments, are less

numerous in the 16th century than in the 17th, this did not arise from their want of a self-denying, self-immolating spirit, disposing them to hold fast the truth even in death, but from their not being subjected to the same extent to the fiery ordeal of persecution.

The courageous resolution of the Scottish female character may, indeed, be traced back to a much earlier period than the Reformation. It was called forth by the struggles in which Scotland, for ages before, had been engaged, in maintaining its independence against the more powerful kingdom of England; and it was nursed by historic and heroic ballads, which have so powerful an influence on the character of a rude and semi-barbarous people. These songs, sung not only by travelling minstrels, accompanied with musical instruments, but by the maidens of Scotland, at their convivial meetings, after the labours of the day were over, gave a touch of the heroic to the Scottish female character, as well as contributed to inspire the young men with an adventurous, intrepid spirit, in which chivalry and patriotism were combined. One of these rhymes, composed on the occasion of the defeat of the English at Bannockburn, was the following:—

'Maydens of Englande, sore may ye morne,
For your lemmans[1] ye have lost at Bannockysborne,
With heue a lowe.
What! weneth the King of England
So soone to have wone Scotlande?
With rumbylowe."[2]

"This song," says Fabyan, "was, after many days, sung in dances in the carols of the maidens and minstrels of Scotland, to the reproof and disdain of Englishmen, with divers others, which I overpass." In the same century Sir John de Soulis, the Scottish governor of Eskdale, having, with fifty men, defeated a body of 300, commanded by Sir Andrew Hercla, who was taken prisoner, this

[1] Lovers or sweethearts.

[2] With heue a lowe—with rumbylowe, appears to have been formerly the ordinary burden of a ballad, as "Derrydown" is at present.

formed a new theme for the lyric poet; and the rhyming historian, Barbour, forbears to "rehearse the manner" of the victory; as, says he—

> "———— quhasa likes thai may hear
> Young wemen, quhen thai will play,
> Syng it amang thaim ilk day."[1]

Ladies of rank appear to have imbibed the prevailing martial spirit in this age. In the 14th century, when, during the war which Edward III. of England maintained in Scotland, the town of Dunbar was besieged by part of the English army, led on by Montague, the Countess of March, commonly designated "Black Agnes," defended that place with uncommon courage and perseverance. In scornful contempt of the besiegers, she ordered her waiting-maids to brush from the walls the dust produced by their battering engines, and this in sight of the English; and when a tremendous warlike engine, called a sow, approached the walls, she called out, "Montague, beware! your sow shall soon cast her pigs;" which she verified, for an immense mass of rock, thrown from a lofty tower, accompanied her threat, and crushed the ponderous machine and the besiegers which it contained.[2]

When, by the Reformation, the light of uncorrupted Christianity dawned upon Scotland, a nobler, a more thrilling heroism was superadded to this heroic love of country; for, sublime as is the spectacle presented by the hero or the heroine who suffers for the sake of country, it is outrivalled in sublimity by the spectacle of the hero or the heroine who suffers in the cause of God.

Previously to the Reformation, whilst the Popish religion still flourished in Scotland, many of the Lollards, or followers of John Wickliffe, were to be found in the west, and among them we meet with the names of some distinguished females. In 1494, in the reign of James IV., when thirty of "the Lollards of Kyle," so called because resident in Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, Ayrshire, were summoned before the king and his privy council for heresy, by

[1] Ritson's *Historical Essay on Scottish Song*, pp. xxvi–xxviii.

[2] Pyne's *Hist. of Royal Residences*, vol. ii., Kensington Palace, p. 50.

Robert Blackader, Archbishop of Glasgow, several females were included in the list; as Helen Chalmers, daughter of John Chalmers, son and heir of Sir John Chalmers of Galdgirth, and wife of Robert Mure of Polkellie; and Marion Chalmers, her sister, and wife of William Dalrymple of Stair. The leading articles of which they were accused were, that neither images nor the relics of saints are to be worshipped; that after consecration the bread of the eucharist remains bread, and is not transubstantiated into the body of Christ; that to worship it is idolatry; that the mass profits not souls in purgatory; that the Pope is not the successor of Peter; that he deceives the people by his bulls and indulgences; that he cannot remit the pains of purgatory, nor forgive sins, which is the prerogative of God alone; that he is the head of the Kirk of Antichrist, and that he exalts himself against and above God; that it is lawful for priests to marry; and that we should not pray to the Virgin Mary, but to God only. Such were the free opinions embraced by these bold proselytes of the new school, who had acquired them partly from disciples of Wickliffe visiting Scotland, and partly from reading his translation of the Scriptures in their private concealed meetings; and, like all ardent proselytes, they had been zealous in disseminating their deep hatred of the doctrines and practices of the Romish Church. "Yet God," says Knox, "so assisted his servants, partly by inclining the king's heart to gentleness (for divers of them were his great familiars), and partly by giving bold and godly answers to their accusers, that the enemies in the end were frustrate of their purpose."[1]

It appears to have been at or about this time that the wife of John Campbell of Cesnock, Janet Montgomery, the seventh daughter of Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton, and Campbell himself,[2] were in peril of their lives on account of their having embraced the doctrines of Wickliffe. Both of them were persons of exalted piety, and

[1] Knox's *History*, Wodrow Society edition, vol. i., pp. 7-11.

[2] He was the first of the Campbells of Cesnock, and was the son of Sir George Campbell of Loudoun, Sheriff of Ayr, the seventh in the genealogical table of that family.—Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. ii., p. 207.

their house was a school of Christian instruction; for they kept a priest, who read to them and their family the New Testament in their vernacular tongue; and the deportment of the whole household corresponded with the spirit of that sacred book. They also assisted the poor by all kind offices; and although convinced from the gospel that superstition and hypocrisy are displeasing to God, yet such was their benevolent disposition, that they still continued to receive the monks into their house, and to treat them hospitably. At times they would familiarly converse with their guests upon Christian doctrine, and condemn the almost universally prevailing superstitions. Taking advantage of this, and violating the laws of hospitality, the monks brought before the bishop an accusation of heresy against the lady, her husband, and the priest. The accused being in danger of their lives, Campbell appealed to the king, James IV., who graciously heard the cause on both sides, notwithstanding the displeasure of the ecclesiastics, who claimed the exclusive power of trying cases of this nature. Campbell, not a little agitated by fear of the monks, and unwilling to commit himself, answered with caution. Upon this the king, having commanded the wife to adduce what she had to say in self-defence, she pled the cause of them all with such ability and boldness, readily and appropriately quoting from the Scriptures in support of her statements, as to astonish the sovereign, who not only acquitted all the defendants—Campbell, his wife, and the priest—but also, rising up, heartily shook Mrs. Campbell by the hand, and highly commended her acquaintance with Christian doctrine. Having severely reproved the monks, he threatened that if ever after they should, in this manner, harass such honourable and innocent persons, he would inflict upon them exemplary punishment; and he presented to Campbell certain villages as a memorial of this honourable acquittal, and of the high place which Campbell held in the royal favour. These facts are recorded by a nearly contemporary author, Alexander Ales.[1] They

[1] In the dedication of his work, entitled *Responsio ad Cochlei calumias*, 1534, to King James V., quoted in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii., p. 400.

are also celebrated by Mr. John Davidson, afterwards minister of Prestonpans, in his poem commemorative of Mr. and Mrs. Campbell of Kinyeancleuch. After informing us, as he had been told by honest aged men of Kyle, that the laird of Cesnock, "eightie yeares sensyne and mare,"[1] had been doomed to public execution at Edinburgh, by the ecclesiastics, "for Christ's evangell, which he read," but rescued by James IV., he adds:—

"Some sayes death was alswel prepard,
For priest and lady as the lard:
This story I could not passe by,
Being so well worth memory:
Whereby most clearlie we may see,
How that the Papists loudly lie,
Who our religion so oft cald,
A faith but of fiftie yeare ald."

It was then little dreamed of that these Lollards were laying the train for that explosion of opinion which was afterwards to shake the Papacy to its foundations in Scotland, and to establish the Reformation.

None of the Scottish queens or princesses, at the period of the Reformation, had the honour of supporting that great cause. Hopes were entertained that the first queen of James V., the beautiful, amiable, and accomplished Princess Magdalene, eldest surviving daughter of Francis I. of France, by his excellent queen, Claude, sister of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, would patronize the new opinions, or at least throw the weight of her influence on the side of toleration. Having, when only four years of age, lost her mother, who died on the 20th of July, 1524, she was brought up under the care of her aunt, Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon, afterwards Queen of Navarre, a well known patroness of the French Reformers, many of whose doctrines she had embraced; and it was believed that the mind of Magdalene had been imbued, by the instructions of her relative, with the same enlightened and liberal principles. But she did not long survive her union with James,

[1] *i.e.*, from the date of the composition of the poem, which was in 1574.

which was solemnized on the 1st of January, 1537, in the church of Notre Dame, Paris. The fatal disease of consumption, derived from her mother, had begun to undermine her health before her marriage, and she died on the 10th of July, forty days after her arrival in Scotland,[1] having nearly completed her seventeenth year, to the sincere regret of all classes of subjects, with the exception of the priests and prelates, who dreaded the overthrow of their pomp and power, from the influence of a queen who had been educated under the inspection of a person of such suspicious orthodoxy as Margaret of Valois.[2] It was on this occasion, observes Buchanan, that "mourning dresses were first worn by the Scots, which," adds he, "now after forty years, are not very common, although public fashions have greatly increased for the worse."

The second queen of James V., namely, Mary of Guise, who upon the death of James became queen regent, was hostile to the Reformation. And her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, who was educated at the French court, was trained up in a blind devotion to the Popish Church, and taught by her uncles, the Guises, to believe that it would be the glory of her reign to restore her kingdom to the jurisdiction of the Pope. This, which could not have been accomplished without rekindling the flames of persecution, it was her purpose to achieve, whenever a fit opportunity offered itself. But happily she had never the means of doing serious injury to the reformed cause in Scotland. On her arrival at Edinburgh, on the 20th of August, 1561, to assume the reins of government, finding the Protestants in possession of the power of the state, she had meanwhile to yield to circumstances; and a few years after, her conduct, particularly her participation in the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley, entirely and for ever stripped her of the sovereign power, which fell into the hands of the Reformers.

[1] Drummond.—Holinshed's *Chronicles, &c.*, London, 1808, vol. v., p. 513.
[2] Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, book xiv.


Let us hail
profession
our guild

KATHARINE HAMILTON.

SISTER OF PATRICK HAMILTON, THE MARTYR.

KATHARINE HAMILTON, the first of the Scottish female representatives of the Reformation to which we introduce the reader, was the daughter of Sir Patrick Hamilton, of Kincavil, Linlithgowshire, by his wife, who was a daughter of John, Duke of Albany, brother to James III. Her father was a natural son of James, first Lord Hamilton,[1] the father of James, second Lord Hamilton, and first Earl of Arran, whose son James, second Earl of Arran, and Regent of Scotland, was, next to Mary Queen of Scots, nearest heir to the Scottish crown. Thus, on the father's side, she was nobly though not royally descended; and on the mother's side she was related to the royal family of Scotland. She was sister to the famous Patrick Hamilton, the first native who suffered martyrdom in Scotland for the Protestant faith;

[1] Pinkerton affirms his legitimacy, supposing that he was a son of Lord Hamilton, by his second wife, Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of King James II., and relict of Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran.—*History of Scotland* under the house of Stuart, vol. ii., pp. 45, 46. But Douglas has proved, from charters, that he was an illegitimate son of that nobleman.—*Peerage of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 697.

and she had another brother, Sir James, who also embraced the reformed sentiments. On the 2d of May, 1520, she lost her father, who fell on the High Street of Edinburgh, in a feud between the Earls of Arran and Angus, when about seventy men were slain, and James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, narrowly escaped with his life. Beaton was at that time one of the Hamilton party, though he afterwards, when Archbishop of St. Andrews,[1] made her brothers and herself feel the power of his wrath.[2]

The chief means by which Katharine was brought to the knowledge and belief of the reformed doctrines, were the instructions of her brother Patrick and the reading of the New Testament in English; for copies of Tyndale's New Testament had by this time been brought into Scotland. Her brother Patrick, after he had returned to Scotland from Germany, in 1527, inflamed with an unquenchable desire to communicate to his blinded countrymen the knowledge of the true way of salvation which had dawned upon his own mind, taught her the same divine and saving truths.

The burning of her brother, on the last day of February, 1528, shortly after his arrival in Scotland, made a deep impression on her mind, and confirmed her convictions of the truth of the principles which he had taught her, and for which he had suffered.

About six years after his martyrdom she was exposed to no small danger of sharing the same fate. Her relation to him had made her an object of suspicion to James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had brought her brother to the stake, and to other ecclesiastics, who were waiting for an opportunity of proceeding against her for heresy.

At length she, with several others, were cited to appear before an ecclesiastical court, to be held in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, in August, 1534, to answer to the charge of maintaining heresies repugnant to the faith of the Holy Catholic Church, and condemned by general councils and by the most famous universities. On the

[1] He succeeded to the metropolitan see in 1522.

[2] Pinkerton's *Hist. of Scot.* under the house of Stuart, vol. ii., pp. 180-183.

day appointed, several of those summoned appeared before the court, in which James Hay, Bishop of Ross, presided as commissioner for Beaton, the metropolitan archbishop; and refusing to abjure, were sentenced to the flames—as David Straiton, a gentleman of the house of Laurieston, and Norman Gourlay. Others who appeared having abjured and publicly burned their bills, were pardoned. Others sought safety in flight, as Katharine's brother, Sir James, of Kincavil, Sheriff of Linlithgowshire, who was condemned in his absence as a heretic, and his goods and lands confiscated. Katharine made her appearance, and the special charge brought against her was her maintaining that none could be saved by their own works, and that justification is to be obtained exclusively through faith in the righteousness of Christ. She admitted that these were her sentiments. Upon this, Mr. John Spence, lawyer, and afterwards king's advocate, one of those who had sat in judgment on her brother Patrick in 1528, began to argue the question with her. To enlighten her mind on the doctrine of the merit of good works, he proceeded to a lengthened discussion of the subject, telling her that there were divers sorts of good works—"works of congruity and works of condignity"—each of which had attached to them a peculiar kind of merit. "Works of congruity," said he, "are those done antecedently to justification, which prepare for the reception of grace, and which it is congruous for God, in his goodness, to reward, by infusing his grace. Works of condignity are those performed after justification, from freewill, assisted by the grace infused at justification, which are meritorious, not only because God has promised a reward to them, but likewise on account of the intrinsic value of the works themselves." To Katharine, who had not studied dialectics, the abstruse distinctions, with which Spence seemed so familiar, were probably new, and served only to perplex her mind. At last, her patience being exhausted with the tediousness and subtilty of his argumentation, which entirely failed to convince her, she cried out, "Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no kind of

works can save me but only the works of Christ, my Lord and Saviour." King James V., who was present in the court during that day, clothed in red apparel, on hearing the very summary manner in which she had disposed of the lawyer's learned casuistry, was much amused, and turning about, he laughed heartily. By the entreaties and blandishments of the monarch, who was, doubtless, actuated by a humane solicitude to save her life, she was prevailed upon to retract her sentiments. "He called her unto him," says Calderwood, "and caused her to recant, because she was his aunt; and so she escaped."[1] Had she remained inflexible, she would probably have been doomed, like Straiton and Gourlay, to perish at the stake

But if she had not the resolution of her brother Patrick, who preferred an honourable death to an abandonment of the truth, she was not long in repenting of the concessions which she had been induced to make, and dreading the wrath of Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, she left Scotland in the close of the year 1535; and, like her brother, Sir James,[2] proceeded to England, where she was introduced to Jane Seymour, queen of Henry VIII. In the spring of the year 1539, she was residing at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and had been there a considerable time before, being still afraid to return to

[1] *History*, vol. i., p. 109.

[2] Various allusions to Sir James, while in England, occur in the state correspondence of the period. On the 3d of March, 1535, Sir Adam Otterburn had written to Cromwell respecting him. In August, Cranmer introduced him to Cromwell as a gentleman who had left his country for no other cause but "that he favoured the truth of God's Word." On the 26th of February, 1536, Cranmer again wrote to Cromwell, requesting him "to move the king for somewhat to be given him to live on here in England." On the 24th of April, Sir James sent to Cromwell a copy of the sentence pronounced against him by the court held in Holyrood Abbey, praying that Henry VIII. would interpose with the Scottish monarch in his behalf. Cromwell, in the name of his royal master, did so by letter, and the reply from Stewart, the lord treasurer, dated 19th May, was, "that while the lady of Sir James and his children wanted nothing necessary for their maintenance, his highness (though his relation) could not help him, neither direct nor indirect, without danger to his conscience, except the gentleman be first reconciled to and by the pontiff."—*State Papers*, vol. v., pp. 21, 41, 49. Sir James, however, was permitted by his sovereign to return to Scotland in 1540.—Calderwood's *History*, vol. i., p. 139.

Scotland, from the danger to which the adherents of the reformed sentiments were exposed. These facts, which close the scanty notices of her life which time has preserved, are recorded by the Duke of Norfolk, in a letter to Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal, dated 29th March, 1539. "Daily cometh unto me," says Norfolk, "some gentlemen and some clerks, which do flee out of Scotland, as they say, for reading of Scripture in English; saying that if they were taken they should be put to execution. I give them gentle words, and to some money. Here is now, in this town, and hath been a good season, she that was wife to the late Captain of Dunbar, and dare not return for holding *our* ways, as she saith. She was in England, and saw Queen Jane. She is Sir Patrick Hamilton's daughter, and her brother was burnt in Scotland three or four years ago."[1]

Katharine had, indeed, at present much reason for apprehension in the event of her returning to Scotland. Between the years 1534 and 1537, many persons were prosecuted for heresy; but towards the close of the year 1538, when David Beaton was raised to the dignity of a cardinal, and made assistant and successor to his uncle, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the persecution was carried on with aggravated fury. On the 1st of the month in which the Duke of Norfolk wrote that letter containing the allusion to her, just quoted, five Reformers—Friar Kyllor, Friar Beveridge, Sir Duncan Simson, a regular clergyman, Robert Forrester, a gentleman, and Thomas Forrest, Vicar of Dollar—were committed to the flames, upon the Castle Hill of Edinburgh.[2] If, therefore, before, she was afraid to return to Scotland, lest she might be involved in the punishment, as she was involved in the guilt of heresy, this alarming intelligence increased her fears, the more especially as Cardinal Beaton, who was now high in power, was a man of more remorseless cruelty than even his uncle.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v., p. 155. Norfolk, who did not interest himself much in matters of this kind, is incorrect as to the date of her brother's martyrdom, which took place eleven years before this.

[2] Knox's *History*, vol. i., pp. 61-63.

HELEN STARK,

WIFE OF JAMES RANOLDSON.

UPON the death of James V., a few days after the birth of his daughter and successor, Mary, who was born December 8, 1542, a regency was necessary during the minority of the infant queen. Cardinal David Beaton, who for many years had been, to all intents and purposes, prime minister to James V., claimed and assumed the dignity of regent, solely upon the authority of a testament which he himself had forged in the name of the deceased king. But, by the unanimous choice of the nobility, James Hamilton, second Earl of Arran, who, after Mary, was next heir to the throne, was appointed regent, greatly to the public satisfaction. Arran, however, who was feeble and vacillating, was ill qualified to preside at the helm of government in such stormy times; and having, in the beginning of September, 1543, from the terror of Cardinal Beaton and his faction, publicly recanted the reformed faith, which he had previously professed and patronized, and returned to the bosom of the Romish Church, he was now so entirely governed by Beaton that he had only the title of regent, Beaton possessing all the power of that office, without the envy of the name. The apostasy of Arran was the origin of that unrelenting persecution of the Protestants which, after the lapse of a few months, was unexpectedly renewed, and in which Helen Stark, the subject of the present notice, fell a victim. At the solicitation of the cardi-

nal, he carried through Parliament, on the 15th of December, 1543, a resolution in which, after adverting to the great complaints made of the increase of heretics within the realm, he exhorts all prelates and ordinaries, within their respective dioceses and jurisdictions, to inquire after all such persons, and to proceed against them according to the laws of the church, assuring the bishops that he should be ready at all times to do therein as became his office,[1] in other words, that he would sanction by his authority the punishment of heretics, even by death.

The cardinal immediately proceeded to give effect to this persecuting act. With this for his object, in the beginning of the year 1543-4, he first made an ecclesiastical progress to Perth, where the reformed opinions were openly professed by some of the citizens, accompanied by the regent and other persons of distinction.[2] On his arrival, which was on St. Paul's day, the 25th of January, he commenced his bloody work. Many were accused of heresy, but only Helen Stark, with five others, were, on the information of a friar, named Spence, apprehended. These other five were Robert Lamb, merchant; William Anderson, maltman; James Finlayson; James Hunter, flesher; and James Ranoldson, skinner, Helen's husband. They were all arrested on the very day of the cardinal's arrival in Perth, and imprisoned in the Spey Tower, that on the morrow they might be arraigned as heretics.

Upon the morrow Helen and the rest were brought before their judges, and something like the form of a trial was gone through. All

[1] *Acta Parl. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 443.

[2] We follow Knox, Foxe, and Calderwood in the chronology of the progress. Knox says it was on "St. Paul's day before the first burning of Edinburgh," by the English troops under the Earl of Hertford. Now the first burning was in May, 1544.—*History*, Wodrow Soc. edition, vol. i., p. 117. Foxe gives the same date, upon the authority of extracts from the registers of the court sent from Scotland.—*Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., p. 623. Calderwood confirms the accuracy of this chronology (*History*, vol. i., p. 137), and it is farther corroborated, from various documents, by the editor of Knox's *History*. Buchanan is therefore incorrect in referring this progress to the end of the year 1545. Keith, in a very unsatisfactory note, disputes the commonly assigned date, and adopts that of Buchanan.—*History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, pp. 40, 41.

of them, in general, were charged with holding meetings for conversing upon and explaining the Sacred Scriptures, contrary to the act of Parliament 1542-3, whereby the lieges were forbidden to argue or dispute concerning the sense of the Holy Scriptures. Other offences were imputed to one or more of them in particular. Robert Lamb and James Ranoldson were charged with having interrupted Friar Spence while teaching, in a sermon at Perth, upon All-Hallow Day last, 1st November, that a man could not be saved without praying to the saints, and with having declared in the face of the audience that his doctrine was false, and contrary to the Holy Scriptures. William Anderson, James Finlayson, and James Ranoldson were charged with having treated disrespectfully the image of St. Francis, by hanging it up on a cord, nailing two ram's horns on its head, and putting a cow's rump to its tail; and with having eaten a goose upon All-Hallow-e'en. James Hunter was a man of weak understanding, and had little religious knowledge, but, having kept company with these persons, he was accused of heresy. The specific charges brought against Helen Stark were, that in childbed she had refused to call upon the Virgin Mary, the special patroness of lying-in women, according to the legends of the Popish Church, though exhorted to do so by her neighbours, declaring that she would pray to God alone, in the name of Christ; and that she had said "that had she lived in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have shown respect to her low estate, as he had done to the Virgin's, by making her the mother of Christ;" by which she simply meant that it was not from any merit of her own that the Virgin Mary obtained, in preference to other women, the honour of being made the mother of Christ, but that this was solely owing to the free undeserved goodness of God. These words, which the clergy and the whole Popish multitude accounted most execrable, and her refusal to place herself under the special protection of the blessed Virgin, the mother of the Redeemer, as was the fashion throughout Christendom for women under their confinement, were considered undoubted proofs of heresy.

The six prisoners were pronounced guilty of violating the act of

Parliament formerly referred to, by the verdict of a jury, and were condemned to die, the men to be hanged at the common place of execution, and Helen Stark to be drowned in a pool in the neighbourhood. After the sentence was pronounced, the male prisoners had their hands bound, which, when Helen witnessed, she requested to be bound also by the officers with her husband. The town of Perth, strongly sympathizing with Helen and the other condemned prisoners, interceded with the governor in their behalf, and he would willingly have saved their lives, had he not been overawed by the cardinal and the cruel priests, to whose persecuting policy he was now committed, and who, he dreaded, might assist his enemies in deposing him from the regency, provided he failed to sanction their sanguinary measures for putting down heresy. Certain priests in the town, who had been accustomed to visit Helen's house, and the houses of her fellow-sufferers in the days of their ignorance, and who had partaken of their hospitality, were earnestly entreated to interpose with the cardinal to prevent the execution of the sentence, but they absolutely refused. Thereafter the male prisoners, attended by a numerous body of soldiers to prevent a tumult, which the persecutors, from the unpopularity of their proceedings, dreaded, were conducted to the place of execution, which was under the windows of the Spey Tower. All of them comforted one another, expressing their assurance that they would sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, and, commending their spirits to God, they surrendered their lives with fortitude and constancy.

Helen and her husband had lived together in the tenderest union, and in the ardour of her affection she implored, as a last request, that she might be permitted to die with him; but she had been sentenced to undergo a different kind of death, and the affecting request was denied. Being allowed to accompany him to the place of execution, she ministered to him consolation by the way, exhorting him to patience and constancy in the cause of Christ, and parting from him with a kiss, she expressed her feelings in these singularly touching words, the sincere effusion of the heart, for the occasion was too

serious for mere theatrical display of sentiment: "Husband, be glad; we have lived together many joyful days, but this day, on which we must die, ought to be the most joyful of all to us both, because now we shall have joy for ever. Therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven."

Immediately after his execution, and the execution of his fellow-martyrs, she was led forth to a pool of water in the neighbourhood, to undergo the death to which she had been condemned. On her way, passing by the monastery of the Franciscans or Gray Friars, which was situated on the south-east corner of the town, near the river, she said, "They sit in that place quietly who are the cause of our death this day, but they who witness this execution upon us shall, by the grace of God, shortly see their nest shaken;"[1] words which were fully verified in 1559, when that monastery, together with the Dominican or Black Friars' monastery, and the Charter House or Carthusian monastery, were completely demolished in a tumult of the excited populace.[2] Upon reaching the pool she prepared for her fate. Having several children, one of whom was an infant hanging upon her breast, a scene of the most affecting nature was exhibited, which strongly moved the spectators, many of whom could not refrain from shedding tears. Her affections being now strongly excited towards her orphan children, the thought of separation from them seemed for a moment to disturb the serenity of her mind, and she commended them to the compassion of her neighbours. But the most powerfully exciting cause of agitation and agony, was her parting with her sucking child. This beloved object, at whose couch she had often sung, in the joyousness of her heart, her favourite airs, she took from her bosom, and after fixing upon it a last look, full of the tender yearnings of a mother's heart, gave it to the friend who had undertaken to become its nurse. This struggle with parental affection made the sacrifice of her life the more trying, but it made it

[1] Calderwood's *History*, vol. i., p. 175.

[2] Besides these three monasteries, there was another in Perth, that of the Carmelites or White Friars.

also the more magnanimous, the more sacred, the more acceptable to God. Recovering from the shock, she yielded herself to death with unwavering faith, calm tranquillity, and heroic fortitude. With-



Helen Stark parting with her Child.

out any change of countenance, she saw her hands and her feet bound by the executioner. Thus secured, and being tied in a sack, she was plunged into the water.[1] After a momentary struggle her redeemed spirit, emancipated from all its sorrows, was rejoicing before the throne of God; and may we not affirm that, next to the Saviour, among the first to welcome her into that happier state of being were her own husband and his fellow-sufferers, who had reached it, perhaps, hardly an hour before?

Whether Helen Stark and the other martyrs were offered their lives upon condition of recantation, we are not informed. The probability is that they were not; that the inexorable cardinal was determined, under whatever circumstances, to make a terrible example of these heretics, thereby to arrest the progress of heresy by inspiring universal terror, and to set a pattern for the other prelates

[1] Spottiswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, London, 1655, book ii., p. 75.

to copy in their respective dioceses. The cardinal's cruelty was as short-sighted as it was atrocious. It produced effects the very opposite of those intended. These and other deeds of Popish barbarity perpetrated in the neighbourhood, as the burning alive of Mr. George Wishart, at St. Andrews, in 1546, strengthened the convictions which they were intended to extinguish, increased the hatred of the people against priests and Popery, and diffused throughout the country a favourable disposition towards the reformed religion.



ISABEL SCRIMGER,

WIFE OF RICHARD MELVILLE.

ISABEL SCRIMGER, was a daughter of Walter Scrimger, of Glaswell, "a branch of the honourable family of Diddup, in which the office of royal standard-bearer, and of constable of Dundee, had been long hereditary." She was sister to Henry Scrimger, professor of Civil Law in the Protestant university of Geneva, a man "whose exertions for the revival of letters reflected great honour on Scotland, although his name is now known to few of his countrymen." Her husband, Richard Melville, was proprietor of Baldovy, a small estate situated on the banks of the South Esk, about a mile to the south-west of the town of Montrose; and, after the Reformation, minister of the kirk of Maritoun, which was adjacent to his own house.[1] Like him she was "godly, faithful, and honest, lightened with the light of the gospel, at the first dawning of the day thereof within Scotland." The reformed sentiments had early made considerable progress in Angus and Mearns, and she was among their first converts in these counties. She had profited from the instructions of John Erskine, of Dun, and of the reformed preachers who were brought to her neighbourhood by that excellent man, in whose castle, where they were hospitably received and protected, meetings were held for hearing the Scriptures read and ex-

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. i., pp. 5, 39, 41, 421.

pounded. She was also indebted for confirmation in the truth to George Wishart, who had returned in 1544 to Scotland, from the prosecution of his studies at Cambridge, full of zeal for the pure gospel, and had opened a school at Montrose.

Mrs. Melville was a very amiable, kind-hearted woman, as well as of a contemplative turn of mind, and much given to the exercises of devotion; on which account she was "exceedingly beloved by her husband, friends, and neighbours." Her husband had eight brothers, and their father having fallen in the battle of Pinkie, near Musselburgh, fought between the Scots and the English under the command of the Duke of Somerset, in the year 1547, and their mother having died in the same year, the younger of them, being unprovided for, became dependent upon him. His Christian principle and his warm fraternal affection did not permit him to neglect his duty, and he acted towards them in all respects the part of a father; nor was she less attentive in promoting their comfort and welfare than if they had been her own children. Towards Andrew, the youngest—afterwards so celebrated in the ecclesiastical and literary annals of his country—who, when little more than two years of age, was brought home to her house, she was especially kind, nursing him with all the tenderness of a mother. These brothers, and Andrew in particular, who, from his tender age, had enjoyed a larger share of her maternal sympathy than the others, ever after remembered her with heart-felt gratitude, and delighted to speak of the overflowing goodness of her benevolent heart, and of the endearing acts of kindness she had conferred upon them in their early years. "I have divers times heard," says her youngest son, James, "when my father's brothers, Roger, John, Mr. James, and Robert, could not satisfy themselves in commending her godliness, honesty, virtue, and affection towards them. And I have often heard Mr. Andrew say, that he being a bairn very sickly, was most lovingly and tenderly treated and cared for by her, embracing him and kissing him oftentimes, with these words, 'God give me another lad like thee, and syne tak me to his rest!' Now she had had two

laddies before me, whereof the eldest was dead; and betwixt him and the second she bore three lasses; so, in end, God granted her desire, and gave her ane, who would to God he were as like to Mr. Andrew in gifts of mind as he is thought to be in proportion of body and lineaments of face; for there is none that is not otherwise particularly informed, but takes me for Andrew's brother."[1]

"There is something peculiarly interesting," says Dr. M'Crie, "though it does not always meet with the attention which it merits, in the reciprocations of duty and affection between persons placed in the relation and circumstances now described. By means of instinct, and by identifying the interests of parent and child, Providence has wisely secured the performance of duties which are equally necessary to the happiness of the individual and of the species. But without wishing to detract from the amiable virtue of parental attachment, we may say, that its kind offices, when performed by those who stand in a remoter degree of relationship, may be presumed to partake less of the character of selfishness. And they are calculated to excite, in the generous breast of the cherished orphan, a feeling which may be viewed as purer and more enthusiastic than that which is merely filial—a feeling of a mixed kind, in which the affection borne to a parent is finely combined with the admiration and the gratitude due to a disinterested benefactor."[2]

Mrs. Melville died in the year 1557, within a year after the birth of her son James, who became only second in celebrity to his uncle Andrew, in the ecclesiastical transactions of his country in his day. Thus this lady was honoured to stand in very close relationship to two men, to whose exertions, in the close of the 16th century, and in the beginning of the 17th, in defending her ecclesiastical liberties, Scotland must ever lie under a deep debt of gratitude. She was the foster-mother of the one, and the natural mother of the other.

Her eldest daughter, Isabel, who had been trained up under her own eye, possessed much of her own excellence of character; but

[1] James Melville's *Diary*, Wodrow Soc. edition, p 15.
[2] *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. i., p. 5.

her earthly course was even shorter, for she died of her first-born child, in 1574, the year after her marriage. Of this young lady her brother James has left some interesting notices, which we subjoin in his own graphic language: "My eldest sister, Isabel," says he, writing under the year 1567, when he was about eleven years of age, "would read and sing David Lindsay's book, namely, concerning the latter judgment, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven; whereby she would cause me both greet and be glad. I loved her, therefore, exceeding dearly, and she me more than the rest. She showed me one day, amongst others, a ballad set out in print against ministers that, for want of stipend, left their charge, beginning:—

'Whoso do pŭt hand to the pleuche,
And therefra bakward goes;
The Scripture maks it plean aneuche,
My kingdom is nocht for those,' &c.

"With this she burst forth in tears, and says, 'Alas! what will come of these at that latter day? God keep my father, and Mr. James Melville, and Mr. James Balfour from this!'[1] And after cries out the verses of David Lindsay:—

'Alas! I trimble for to tell
The terrible torments of the hell;
That peanful pit who can deplore?
Quhilk sall endure for evermore.'

"With her speeches and tears she made me to quake and chout bitterly, which left the deepest stamp of God's fear in my heart of any thing that ever I had heard before. I was given to a bairnly, evil and dangerous use of pyking;[2] the which she perceiving, of purpose gave me the credit of the key of her chest, and having some small silver in a little schottle, I took some of it, thinking she should not have missed it. But by that occasion she entered so upon me with so sore threatenings, and therewithal so sweet and loving admo-

[1] Mr. James Melville was her uncle, and Mr. James Balfour her cousin-german, "both ministers and stipendless."

[2] Committing petty thefts, pilfering.

nition and exhortations, that I thank thee, my God, I abstained from it all my days thereafter; and wherever I was, if I could have gotten any thing to buy, worthy of her, I was accustomed to send it her in token of our affection, so long as she lived. This benefit I had of God, by her means, that winter, for increase of his fear, and honesty of life."[1] He thus affectionately records her death:—"The beginning of this year [1574] was most dulfull to me, by the departure of my dearest sister Isabel, who died of her first-born; in whom I lost my natural mother the second time."[2]

[1] James Melville's *Diary*, p. 18. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 28.





John Knox's House, Edinburgh, where Marjory Bowes died.

ELIZABETH ASKE,

AND

MARJORY BOWES,

MOTHER-IN-LAW, AND WIFE OF JOHN KNOX.

BY birth these two ladies were English; but we include them among our notices of the reformed ladies of Scotland, from their relation to the illustrious Scottish Reformer, John Knox, the one having been his mother-in-law, and the other his wife. We shall combine into one narrative such memorials of their lives as have come down to our time.

Elizabeth Aske was a daughter and co-heiress of Sir Roger Aske, of Aske, in Yorkshire; and her husband, Richard Bowes, was the

youngest son of Sir Ralph Bowes, of Streatlam. She had to Bowes a family of two sons and ten daughters, of which Marjory was the fifth daughter.[1]

These two ladies became acquainted with Knox during the period of his officiating as a preacher in the town of Berwick, in 1549 and 1550, by appointment of the Privy Council of England. The mother, a woman of deep piety, highly appreciated his talents and character; she had derived from his sermons much instruction and pleasure; and she contracted with him an intimate friendship, which remained unbroken till her death. At the same time, a mutual attachment sprung up between him and her daughter Marjory, which ultimately issued in their union.[2]

Mrs. Bowes had been educated in the Popish religion, and continued in the profession of it during the first part of her life; but, having been brought to the knowledge of the reformed principles, she embraced them with ardent zeal, and, though constitutionally timid, adhered to them with unshaken firmness of purpose, in the face of much temptation and opposition. These facts we learn from a letter written to her by Knox in 1554. "God," says he, "has given unto you many probations of his fatherly love and care which he bears towards you; for what love was that which God did show unto you when he called you from the bondage of idolatry, after that so long ye had been plunged in the same, to the brightness of his mercy, and to the liberty of his chosen children to serve him in spirit and verity. How mercifully did God look upon you, when he gave you boldness rather to forsake friends, country, possession, children, and husband, than to forsake God, Christ Jesus his Son, and his religion known and professed! Was it not an assured sign of God's favour towards you, that in the time of blasphemous idolatry, he brought you into the bosom of his kirk, and there fed you with the sweet promises of his mercy? and now, in the end, hath he brought you home again to your native country, in which, I trust, ye shall be compelled to do nothing against your

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 407. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 88.

conscience, which ought and must be ruled by God's Word only."[1] In another communication to her he says, "I write this to the praise of God. I have wondered at that bold constancy which I have found in you, at such time as mine own heart was faint."[2]

Mrs. Bowes was much afflicted with melancholy, the result, in a great measure, of ill health and physical temperament; and this exerted a powerful influence over her religious exercise and feelings. It led her to occupy her thoughts more with her own unworthiness and defilement in the eyes of infinite purity, than with the unbounded love and mercy of God towards the chief of sinners. Hence the predominance of self-abasement, sorrow of spirit for sin, and apprehensions of the wrath of God, in the frame of her mind, depriving her of the joy to be derived from the consoling truths of religion. Into her emotions of sorrow no one could enter with a truer and deeper sympathy than Knox, as his correspondence with her abundantly shows. His *Fort for the Afflicted, in an Exposition of the Sixth Psalm*, was undertaken to alleviate her inward troubles.[3] Yet by all his efforts he could never altogether remove from her mind the painful dejection to which it was subject.

Before Knox left Berwick, he and Marjory Bowes interchanged mutual pledges of fidelity. In a note to a letter to Mrs. Bowes, which he added to the answer he published to the Jesuit Tyrie, he says, "I had made faithful promise, before witnesses, to Marjory Bowes, her daughter." The mother was friendly to the intended union; and hence, after this, Knox always addresses her, in his letters, by the name of mother. The father, and some relatives on his side were, on the other hand, opposed to the match, partly from family pride, not thinking the Scottish ecclesiastic of sufficiently honourable condition to form an alliance with a member of their family; and partly, it would appear, from want of sympathy with the Reformation, if not from direct and open hostility to it. This

[1] Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 392.
[2] Knox's *Select Practical Writings*, Free Church publications, p. 132.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 105, &c.

opposition deeply wounded the feelings of the young lady, and of her mother, as well as of Knox. In a letter to Mrs. Bowes, Knox gives expression to his bitterness of spirit on this account in these words:—"Dear mother, so may and will I call you, not only for the tender affection I bear unto you in Christ, but also for the motherly kindness ye have shown unto me, at all times, since our first acquaintance; albeit, such things as I have desired (if it had pleased God), and ye and others have long desired, are never like to come to pass, yet shall ye be sure that my love and care towards you shall never abate, so long as I can care for any earthly creature. Ye shall understand that, this 6th of November, I spake with Sir Robert Bowes[1] on the matter ye know, according to your request; whose disdainful, yea, despiteful words, have so pierced my heart, that my life is bitter unto me. I bear a good countenance with a sore troubled heart; while he that ought to consider matters with a deep judgment is become not only a despiser, but also a taunter of God's messengers. God be merciful unto him! Among other his most unpleasing words, while that I was about to have declared my heart in the whole matter, he said, 'Away with your rhetorical reasons! for I will not be persuaded with them.' God knows I did use no rhetoric or coloured speech, but would have spoken the truth, and that in most simple manner. I am not a good orator in my own cause, but what he would not be content to hear of me, God shall declare to him one day, to his displeasure, unless he repent. It is supposed that all the matter comes by you and me."[2]

The marriage was therefore, in the meantime, postponed, in the hope that the father and other obstinate relatives might relent. At last, when the prospect of this appeared hopeless, the union was solemnized about the summer of the year 1553, soon after the accession of Queen Mary to the English throne.[3]

Mrs. Knox and her mother were anxious that Knox should settle in Berwick, or in its neighbourhood, though it was extremely

[1] Mrs. Bowes's brother-in-law.

[2] Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 378.

[3] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., pp. 112, 114.

doubtful now, when Mary was swaying the English sceptre, whether a man who had been so zealous a preacher in England in the reign of Edward VI., would be allowed to remain there in peace, even though he should live in privacy. Her father was abundantly able to give her and her husband a sufficient establishment; and Mrs. Bowes, who cherished towards Knox a deep unchanging affection, as if he had been her own son, did what she could to remove the unkind feelings which her husband had conceived against him, and to obtain some arrangement by which her daughter and son-in-law might take up their residence in Berwick, but without success. To these, her friendly endeavours to realize what she herself and her own daughter so earnestly desired, and to which Knox appears not to have been disinclined, he gratefully refers in a letter to her, written from London, on the 20th of September, 1553. "My great labours," says he, "wherein I desire your daily prayers, will not suffer me to satisfy my mind touching all the process between your husband and you, touching my matter concerning his daughter. I praise God heartily both for your boldness and constancy. But I beseech you, mother, trouble not yourself too much therewith. It becomes me now to jeopard my life for the comfort and deliverance of my own flesh [his wife], as that I will do by God's grace; both fear and friendship of all earthly creature laid aside. I have written to your husband, the contents whereof I trust our brother Henry will declare to you and to my wife. If I escape sickness and imprisonment [you may] be sure to see me soon."[1]

Besides the painful feelings she experienced from her father's displeasure at her marriage, Mrs. Knox was, immediately after it, kept in a state of distressing anxiety from the persecution to which Knox was exposed, from his indefatigable diligence in preaching the truth in various parts of England. He was obliged to conceal himself; and his enemies continuing the search for him with unrelaxing diligence, he set sail for France, and landed safely at Dieppe, a part of Normandy, in that kingdom, on the 20th January, 1554, his wife

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., pp. 114, 115.—Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 376.

having had no opportunity of seeing him previously to his leaving the country.[1]

During his absence at this time, which was nearly two years,[2] she did not follow him to the continent, but remained at Berwick with her parents. She and her mother were now assailed by the importunities of her father to conform to the Popish religion, which Mary had re-established in England. Whatever were his own sentiments, he had no hesitation in accommodating himself to the times, and he seems to have thought that it was foolish scrupulosity for them to refuse to conform and to expose themselves to the penalties of heresy. But neither of them would yield to his solicitations. Casting aside worldly hopes and fears, and listening only to the dictates of conscience, they evinced, in the most decided manner, their determination not to forsake, upon any consideration, the faith which they had embraced from full conviction of its truth.[3] Knox, in his correspondence with them, confirmed them in their good resolutions. Writing to Mrs. Bowes, he thus exhorts her in reference to this subject, and the advices which he tenders to her were equally intended for his wife:—"If man or angel shall labour to bring you back from the confession that once ye have given, let them in that behalf be accursed, and in no part (concerning your faith and religion) obeyed of you. If any trouble you above measure, whether they be magistrates or carnal friends, they shall bear their just condemnation unless they speedily repent. But whosoever it be that shall solicit or provoke you to that abominable idol, resist you all such boldly unto the end; learning of the Holy Ghost not to defile the temple of God with idols; neither yet to give your bodily presence unto them; but obeying God more than man, avoid all appearance of iniquity. . . . Continue stoutly to the end, and bow you never before that idol, and so will the rest of worldly troubles

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., pp. 118-120.—Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., pp. 370, 371.

[2] He spent some time in Switzerland, where he contracted an intimate friendship with Calvin, officiated for some time as minister to the English exiles at Frankfort, till he was driven from them by the dissensions about the Liturgy.

[3] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., p. 133.—Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 345.

be unto me more tolerable. With my own heart I oft commune, yea, and as it were comforting myself, I appear to triumph, that God shall never suffer you to fall in that rebuke."[1]

In this period of trial and persecution, Mrs. Knox and her mother, while deprived of the preaching of the Word, were in the habit of meeting together for religious exercises, with several individuals in the city of Berwick, who, like themselves, refused, at whatever peril, to countenance with their presence the Popish worship. When Knox, after his return from the continent, about the close of harvest, 1555, had the pleasure of seeing them again, it was a mutual congratulation that none of them had polluted themselves by bowing the knee to the established idolatry, or entering within the precincts of a Popish temple.[2]

Mrs. Knox enjoyed his society only for a short time, in consequence of a secret journey which he undertook, to visit the Protestants of the Scottish capital; and the ardent thirst for the Word excited among his countrymen having induced him to remain longer than he expected, she, with her mother, who was now a widow,[3] at last joined him at Edinburgh. In the following year they left Edinburgh for Geneva, upon his accepting an invitation given him by the English congregation of that city to become their pastor. Having bidden adieu to their friends, "with no small dolor to their hearts and unto many of us," says Knox, they set sail before him in a vessel proceeding to Dieppe; while, after having again visited and taken farewell of the brethren in different places, he followed them in the month of July that same year.[4]

On the 13th of September, Mrs. Knox and her mother were, along with Knox, formally admitted members of the English congregation

[1] Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 345. This letter is dated, "At Dieppe, the 20th of July 1554; after I had visited Geneva and other parts, and returned to Dieppe to learn the estate of England and Scotland."

[2] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., p. 172.

[3] "The particular time of Mr. Bowes's death I have not ascertained, but it seems to have been between 1554 and 1556."—M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol i., p. 282.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol i., pp. 173, 187.—Knox's *History*, vol. i., p. 253.

at Geneva. While she was resident in that city her two sons were born. Nathaniel was born in May, 1557, and was baptized on the 23d; Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, being godfather. Eleazar was born in November, 1558, and was baptized on the 29th, Myles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter, being godfather.[1]

When Knox, on the 7th of January, 1559, left Geneva for his native country, upon an invitation which he had received from the Scottish Protestant nobles, Mrs. Knox, with her two children and mother, in the meantime remained behind him, it being uncertain whether they could live with safety in Scotland. But in the summer of the same year, in compliance with the wishes expressed by him in letters to them, they left that city for Scotland. In June they were at Paris, and they made application to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador at the French court, through some of their Scottish friends, who were at that time in Paris, for a passport, permitting them to proceed through England. Throckmorton, besides granting this request, wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated 13th June, 1559, in which he endeavoured to allay her majesty's resentment against Knox, on account of his treatise against female government, and besought her, by the exercise of generosity towards his wife, to conciliate the good-will of a man who was the master-spirit of the ecclesiastical revolution then going on in Scotland, and who, from his great influence, had the power to do important service to her majesty.[2]

Having left France, Mrs. Knox, with her children and her mother, reached England in safety; and, after a short stay with her relatives, she proceeded on her journey to Scotland with her children, leaving her mother behind her. She was accompanied by Christopher Goodman, who had been Knox's colleague at Geneva, and who was afterwards successively minister of Ayr and St. Andrews; and she reached her husband on the 20th of September.[3] It being her

1 Knox's *Works*, notes by editor, vol. i., pp. xvii, xviii.

2 See his letter in Forbes's *Public Transactions in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., pp. 129, 130.

3 M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., p. 282.

mother's intention soon to follow her, Knox, at her request, on the day after her arrival wrote a letter to Sir James Croft, asking permission for Mrs. Bowes to repair to Scotland, and explaining the motives which induced her to purpose residing in that country, if not permanently, at least for some time. "One thing," says he, "must I suit of you, to wit, that either by yourself, or else by Sir Ralph Sadler, to whom I could not write, because no acquaintance hath been betwixt us, you would procure a license for my mother, Elizabeth Bowes, to visit me, and to remain with me for a season; the comfort of her conscience, which cannot be quiet without God's Word truly preached, and his sacraments rightly ministered, is the cause of her request, and of my care. . . . . From St. Andrews, the 21st of September, 1559."[1] Having obtained letters of license about the month of October,[2] Mrs. Bowes left her friends in England, and joined her daughter in Scotland, where she remained until her death.

Mrs. Knox did not live long subsequently to her return to Scotland, having died in the close of the year 1560, shortly after Knox was settled as minister of Edinburgh, and had obtained a comfortable establishment for her and her children. On her death-bed, sensible of her approaching dissolution, she was resigned and peaceful, supported by the hope of a better world; and to her two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, she left this benediction, "that God, for his Son Christ Jesus' sake, would of his mercy make them his true fearers, and as upright worshippers of him as any that ever sprang out of Abraham's loins;" to which her husband responded in the affirmative with all his heart.[3]

She was probably buried in St. Giles's church-yard, in the grave afterwards occupied by Knox himself, which, according to tradition, is the spot in the Parliament Square where the statue of Charles II. now stands.

The loss of this excellent woman was a severe affliction to Knox,

[1] Sadler's *State Papers*, vol. i., p. 456.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 17, 47.
[3] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 415.

and he endeavoured to mitigate his anguish by an assiduous attention to his duties. In his history only an incidental allusion to this bereavement, and to the wound which it inflicted on his heart, occurs, when he says that "he was in no small grief by reason of the late death of his dear bedfellow, Marjory Bowes."[1] She was much respected and beloved by all who knew her abroad; and Calvin, on hearing of her death, wrote to Knox a letter, dated Geneva, April 23, 1561, in which expressions of much esteem for the departed are mingled with expressions of cordial sympathy with him in his loss and grief. "Your widowhood," says he, "as it ought, is sad and distressing to me. You had obtained a wife whose equal is not everywhere to be found. But as you have been well taught whence consolation under sorrow is to be derived, I doubt not that you patiently bear this affliction." And in a letter to Christopher Goodman, of the same date, he says, "I am not a little sorry that our brother Knox has been deprived of his most amiable wife."[2] Time, while it gradually lightened, and ultimately removed the pressure of this affliction, never extinguished in Knox's mind the remembrance of the dear departed, who had shared the hardships of his exile. He fondly recalled her memory in his closing days, delighting to retrace the first affections of his heart; and it is observable that in speaking of her in his last will, his language is more tender and endearing than when he speaks of his second wife, who was then alive, though he sincerely loved her, as she was in every respect worthy of his affection. In this document, executed on the 13th of May, 1572, not quite six months before his death, when leaving various legacies to his two sons by his first wife, he says, "To my two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar Knox, I unfeignedly leave the same benediction that their dearest mother, Marjory Bowes, left unto them. . . . . Further, I have delivered by Master Randolph to Mr. Robert Bowes, sheriff of the bishopric, and brother to the said Marjory, my umquhile[3] dearest spouse, the sum of five hundred pounds of Scots money, to

[1] *Calvini Opera*, tom. ix., p. 150

[2] Knox's *History*, vol. ii., p. 138

[3] *i.e.*, late, deceased.

the utility and profit of my said two sons; the which money is that part of substance that fell or pertained to them by the decease of Marjory Bowes, their mother, of blessed memory."[1]

Mrs. Knox appears never to have had more children than her two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar. In 1566 they were sent by their father to England, to reside with their relations. They received their education at St. John's College, in the university of Cambridge, their names being enrolled in the matriculation book only eight days after their father's death. Nathaniel, the eldest, after obtaining the degrees of bachelor and master of arts, and being admitted fellow of the college, died in 1580. Eleazar, the youngest, in addition to the honours attained by his brother, was created bachelor of divinity, ordained one of the preachers of the university, and admitted to the vicarage of Clacton-Magna. He died in 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St. John's College.[2]

Mrs. Bowes survived her daughter, Mrs. Knox, several years. This appears from an advertisement prefixed to one of Knox's letters to her, published in 1572, in his vindication of the reformed religion, in answer to a letter written by Tyrie, a Scottish Jesuit. In this advertisement he informs us that Mrs. Bowes had lately departed this life, and that he had published that letter to let the world know the intimate Christian friendship which had so long subsisted between them.[3] She was probably interred in the same grave with her daughter.

1 M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 415.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 147, 268.
3 *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 208.





Remains of the Castle of Kinyeancleuch.

ELIZABETH CAMPBELL,

WIFE OF ROBERT CAMPBELL OF KINYEANCLEUCH.

ELIZABETH CAMPBELL was probably, as Robertson, in his *Ayrshire Families*, conjectures,[1] the daughter of John Campbell, of Cesnock, the second representative of the Campbells of Cesnock, by his wife Janet, third daughter of Sir Hugh Campbell, of Loudoun, the eighth representative of the Campbells of Loudoun, to whom, as stated by Crawford in his *Peerage*,[2] he was married in 1533. She was thus descended from the Loudoun Campbell family, and on the father's side from a distinguished branch of it which had early connected itself with the Lollards of Kyle. Her ancestors, John Campbell, of Cesnock, and his lady, Janet Montgomery, to whose attachment to Wickliffe's doctrines we have already adverted,[3] were apparently her grandfather and grandmother.

Robert Campbell, of Kinyeancleuch, to whom this lady was mar-

[1] Vol iii., Supplement. [2] P. 284 [3] See p. 519.

ried, was the son of Hugh Campbell, of Kinyeancleuch, who was the first of that family, and a younger son of Sir George Campbell, of Loudoun, the sixth in the genealogy of that house. Thus both of them were cadets of the ancient family of Loudoun, which held the office of sheriff of Ayr so early as the 13th century, and which was afterwards elevated to the peerage of Loudoun. This is noted by Mr. John Davidson, in his poem commemorative of their life and death, a work from which we derive the most of our materials for the present sketch.[1]

> "But to be plainer is no skaith,
> Of surname they were Campbells baith:
> Of ancient blood of this cuntrie,
> They were baith of genealogie:
> He of the shiress house of Air,
> Long noble, famous, and preclair:
> Sho of a gude and godly stok,
> Came of the old house of Cesnok."

His father, Hugh, like her ancestors, had ardently embraced the reformed doctrines, and hospitably entertained at his residence at Kinyeancleuch, and given all the encouragement in his power, to the fervid and apostolic George Wishart when in Ayrshire.[2] Robert, following in his father's footsteps, maintained the reformed principles from an early period of life with uncommon zeal and activity, and from his sincere piety, from the soundness of his understanding, the disinterestedness of his spirit, the decision of his character, and the consistent part which he uniformly acted, he acquired much personal influence, and proved of great service to the reformed cause. He was the intimate friend of John Knox, Regent Murray, and the

[1] It is entitled, "A Memorial of the Life and Death of two Worthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his wife, Elizabeth Campbel. In English meter. Edinburgh: printed by Robert Walde-graue, printer to the king's majestie, 1595. *Cum Privilegio Regali.*" It was written by Davidson in 1574, but not published till 1595. So rare did that, the only edition, become, that only one copy of it was known to exist, when, in 1829, it was reprinted at Edinburgh among "The Poetical Remains of Mr. John Davidson, Regent in St. Leonard's College, and afterwards minister of Salt Preston."

[2] Calderwood's *History*, vol. i., p. 188.

leading Reformers of his day, who greatly valued his counsel, and reposed with entire confidence in his integrity. In the beginning of the year 1556 he conveyed Knox to Kyle, where the Reformer preached in the castle of Kinyeancleuch, which stood on the margin of a *cleugh*, or deep ravine, near the confluence of a small streamlet with the water of Ayr, about a mile southward from the town of Mauchline,[1] and in the houses of other gentlemen in those parts who adhered to the Reformation, dispensing in some of them the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He then accompanied Knox to Castle Campbell, the seat of the Earl of Argyle, in the parish of Dollar, Clackmannanshire, where the Reformer preached for some days.[2] In 1562 he attended Knox on the occasion of the famous disputation between the Reformer and Quintin Kennedy, of Maybole. The family traditions relate that on the resignation of Mary Queen of Scots, he was chosen by the burghs to represent them at the coronation of her son, James VI., and that in that character he had the honour of handing the crown to Knox, who placed it on the head of the first Protestant king of Scotland, at Stirling, on the 29th of July, 1567.[3] He visited Knox on his death-bed, 24th November, 1572, and the Reformer left to him the care of his wife and children.[4]

Educated in the same religious principles, nearly of the same age, and possessing much similarity of character, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell were models of conjugal affection, and their household a model of a well regulated Christian family.

> "Sic twa I knowe not where to finde,
> In all Scotland left them behinde:

[1] "The ancient castle is now in ruins. The scenery around it is at once wild, picturesque, and beautiful in the extreme."—Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. iii., Supplement, p. 85.

[2] Knox's *History*, vol. i., pp. 250, 253.

[3] These, and many other circumstances highly honourable to his character, were, it is said, recorded among the family papers; but the most of these documents were barbarously destroyed by Claverhouse and his troopers, in 1684, when they plundered Mauchline and the castle of Kinyeancleuch.—Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. iii., Supplement.

[4] Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii, p. 237.

Of sa great faith and charitie,
With mutuall loue and amitie:
That I wat an mair heauenly life
Was neuer between man and wife:
As all that kend them can declair,
Within the shiresdome of Air."[1]

At the time of their union the Protestant religion was but in its infancy, and from the tyranny of the government and priesthood, it was perilous for Protestants openly to profess the truth. In these circumstances the reformed ministers resorted to the house of this excellent pair, where they privately preached the new doctrines, and were hospitably entertained. By these meetings for prayer and the exposition of the Scriptures, such as attended them were greatly confirmed in their attachment to the reformed faith, and the way was prepared for its ultimate triumph in Scotland.

Mrs. Campbell was a diligent student of the Scriptures, and few women of her time surpassed or equalled her in the knowledge of them. Endowed with a retentive memory, a sound judgment, and readiness of utterance, she expressed herself with great propriety on religious questions, much to the edification and comfort of others, and her whole deportment did honour to the religion which she professed. These, and other good qualities by which she was distinguished, Davidson thus celebrates:—

"And as for her the trueth to tell,
Among women she bure the bell:
During her daies in her degrie,
In godliness and honestie:
Of judgement rypest in God's law,
Of any woman that I knaw:
In God's buke she was so verseit,
That scarce wald men trow to rehearse it:
Of so excellent memorie,
And als of sic dexteritie,
God's Word to vse to her comfort,
And theirs who did to her resort,
That her to heare it was delyte,
In Scriptures she was so perfyte:

[1] Davidson's Poem.

Quhilk was not words and babling vaine,
Bot words with knawledge joyned certaine:
Quhilk in her life she did expresse,
By doing as she did professe:
All God's true seruants far and neir,
She did esteim as freinds most deir:
And neuer loued societie,
With any godlesse companie:
Baith wise and prouident was sho
In houshold things she had ado:
Quhat should I say, this woman od,
Was his great comfort vnder God:
And doubtles was of God a blessing,
Of speciall gifts after his wishing."

She was eminent, too, for her disinterestedness in supporting the reformed cause. After describing the self-denied exertions of Mr. Campbell, who rode early and late through all parts of the country, north and south, east and west, through Angus, Fife, Lothian, and Argyle, to stimulate the zeal of such as favoured and supported "the liberty of Christ's kirk and the gospel," Davidson eulogizes Mrs. Campbell for having encouraged his pious and patriotic zeal, instead of grudging the time and money thus expended, and giving him the ungracious reception at his home-coming, which some wives would have done, even though they had not been of the race of the Norwegian Amazons, who, the poet tells us, had, by the agency of the Evil One, found their way into Scotland.

"Bot yet or I passe further mair,
I man speak something of his wife,
Quha neuer made barrat nor strife:
Nor this his doing did disdaine,
Was neuer man heard her complaine,
As many wiues in the cuntrie,
I trow had luked angerlie
On her gude-man, who at all tyde
Was ay so reddy for to ryde:
For so oft ryding could not misse,
Bot to procure great expensis:
He might look as they tell the tale,
When he came hame for euill cooled kail:

Ze haue so meikle gear to spend,
Ze trow neuer it will haue end:
This will make you full bare there ben,
Lat see (says she) what other men,
So oft ryding a field ye finde,
Leauing thair owne labour behinde:
This and farre mare had oft bene told,
Be many wiues, yea that we hold
Not of the worst in all the land.
I speak not of that baleful band,
That Sathan hes sent heir away,
Witli the black fleete of Norroway,
Of whom ane with her tyger's tong,
Had able met him with a rong,
And reaked him a rebegeastor,
Calling him many warlds weastor;
Bot latting their euil wiues alane,
This gude wife murmuring made nane,
Bot ay maist gladly did consent,
To that wherewith he was content:
Rejoysing that he had sic hart,
For Christis kirk to take that part."

Mrs. Campbell, in like manner, co-operated with her husband in a lenient and generous treatment of their tenants. They were ever ready to counsel them in difficulty and to comfort them in distress. He took payment of their rents as they were able to make it, and never pressed them to the uttermost, nor "set their rooms over their heads," "nor made them poor with great grassums." Sloth, impiety, and wickedness, were the only causes on account of which he would warn any of them to remove, the 101st Psalm being his rule in the management of his estate as well as of his family; and, as Davidson testifies—

"His wife also was of his minde,
Though many be not of her kinde:
Bot on their husbands daylie harp,
That to their tennants they be sharp:
Thinking their state can na wayes lest,
Except their pure-anes be opprest."

Like Mr. Campbell, she was also noted for her liberality in relieving the wants of the poor. Many of this class obtained lodgings

nightly at the castle of Kinyeancleuch, and she treated them with kindness and compassion. Nor were their religious interests neglected. After supper they were brought into the hall and examined on the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which had the good effect of stimulating the ignorant to diligence in acquiring some measure of Christian knowledge, that, on returning to Kinyeancleuch, they might be able, by their answers to the questions put to them, to please the laird and his lady.

Among those of the reformed who shared in Mr. and Mrs. Campbell's kindness and hospitality at their house at Kinyeancleuch, was Mr. John Davidson, then regent of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, afterwards minister of Prestonpans. What brought him to their residence was the trouble in which he was involved on account of a poem of his composition, which was printed without his knowledge, entitled, *Ane Dialog, or Mutuall Talking, betwix a Clerk and ane Courteour, concerning four Parishe Kirks till ane Minister*, in which he exposed the avaricious policy of Regent Morton, who, with the view of seizing upon a large portion of the revenues of the church, obtained, in 1573, an order of the privy council for uniting two, three, or even four parishes, and placing them under the care of one minister. For this offence he was summoned before a justice-air at Haddington, and a sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him. He was, however, liberated on bail. By the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in March, 1573-4,[1] he was tried for this performance; but afraid of offending the regent, the Assembly, though of the same sentiments with Davidson, would neither approve nor condemn it. Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, who was at the Assembly, being dissatisfied with the timid temporizing conduct of the supreme ecclesiastical court in shrinking from their duty, took Davidson along with him to Kinyeancleuch, where, being introduced to Mrs. Campbell, he found her a person of not less intelligence, devotion, and public spirit, than her husband. "Such a good example of piety and holy

[1] The poem was printed in the January preceding.

exercise," says he, "I saw in that family, that methought all my lifetime before but a profane passing of the time."[1]

Campbell was seized with fever at Rusco. He had accompanied, by special request, Sir Hugh Campbell, of Loudoun, the young sheriff of Ayr, on a journey to his father-in-law, Sir John Gordon, of Lochinvar.[2] In this journey, having come to Rusco, where they staid with Lochinvar all night, Campbell on the following morning complained, after prayers were ended, of pain in the head, and was forced to return to bed. His illness turned out to be fever. Lochinvar and his lady paid him every attention, frequently visiting him, and commanding everything to be brought to him which he needed. The sheriff was much distressed at the illness of his friend, and

> "The shireff's wife with hart full sare
> Him visited also late and are."

Believing that his end was approaching, Campbell desired Davidson, who had accompanied him in this journey, and who since his illness had read to him, at his request, passages from the Scriptures, particularly the Psalms of David, to go to Kinyeancleuch, to Mrs. Campbell, on a twofold errand, first, to obtain from her for himself what was requisite in order to his safe and comfortable escape into England, from the vengeance of Regent Morton; and, secondly, to convey to her intelligence of her husband's sickness, that, after having despatched her business, she might come to him. "Brother," said Campbell to him, in reference to the first of these objects, "I see I must depart out of this life, which time I have long looked for. Therefore ye shall go with expedition to my wife, and cause her furnish you, and send some to convoy you a gateward to England, where ye shall address yourself to Mr. Goodman,[3] and he will find you a convoy to

[1] Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii., p. 312.

[2] Sir Hugh was married to Lochinvar's daughter, Margaret, in 1572. Like his father, Sir Matthew, he was a promoter of the Reformation.—Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. ii., p. 209.

[3] Mr. Christopher Goodman, formerly successively minister of Ayr and St. Andrews, had returned to England, his native country, in 1565, where he remained till his death, which took place at Chester, in 1601.

Rochelle. Take my best horse with you, and ride your way with my blessing." Having taken farewell of his friend, Davidson, on the 17th of April, proceeded to Kinyeancleuch, where he arrived on the same day, and communicated the tidings with which he was intrusted. Mrs. Campbell would gladly have done everything in her power to assist him on his way to England, but he was dissuaded by some of his friends from fleeing in the meantime, lest his brethren should be discouraged. On the following day she hurried off on horseback for Rusco, and

> "She raid that wilsome wearie way,
> Neir fourtie myles on Law Sunday;"

the journey being rendered still more arduous from the badness of the roads. After her arrival she did all that the assiduous and affectionate ministry of woman could do to mitigate Mr. Campbell's sufferings; and though death was to all appearance near, it was comforting to her to hear him expressing his confidence of victory, and his desire to depart and to be with Christ. She had been with him only three days when death terminated his earthly course. He died in the prime of life, not having completed the forty-third year of his age; and his corpse being brought from Galloway by an honourable attendance, it was interred in the church-yard of Mauchline, on the 24th of April.[1]

Mrs. Campbell did not survive him two months. A few weeks after his death she went to Ayr, to reside for some time with his much esteemed and pious relative, James Bannatyne,

> "Thinking to live most quietly,
> Among that godly company:
> For the hale race of all that hous,
> Of Kinyeancleuch are right zealous:
> And of lang tyme hes sa bene kend,
> The Lord assist them to the end:
> For Robert and this James of Air,
> Sister and brother barnis were:
> And sa nane meeter she could finde,
> For to remaine withall behinde."

[1] Davidson's Poem.

But her appointed time on earth was also now nearly completed. She had not been long under her friend's roof when she was taken ill of a fever, and she obtained the desire which she had heartily expressed—to follow her husband if it was the will of God—having died, after a short illness, about the middle of June, also in the prime of life, being only about forty years of age. She was buried in the church-yard of Mauchline, close by Mr. Campbell.

Having recorded the death and burial of both of them, Davidson, in summing up their character, says—

"Lang may ye seek to finde sic tway,
As God there nowe hes tane away."

And after expressing his doubts whether a man and woman of "such rare and heavenly qualities" were left behind in Scotland, he adds that their "away-taking"

"Should make vs clearlie vnderstand,
That God's just judgements are at hand,
To punish the rebellion,
Of this maist stubborne nation:
Who to God's will dois not attend,
For no punition he dois send:
For we may easilie considder,
The way taking of thir together,
Of so excellent behaveours,
And that almost bot in their flowers,—
For nane of them was past throughlie,
The age of fourtie yeares and thrie,—
Is not for nought what euer it be,
That is to followe hastelie:
For why sic as the Lord God loues,
Before the plague he oft remoues:
According as the Scripture sayes,
Quhilk shortned good *Josias'* dayes."

Mrs. Campbell had by her husband a son and a daughter, Nathaniel and Elizabeth. Nathaniel having died young and without issue, before his parents' death, Elizabeth inherited her father's estate.[1] She was married about the year 1574, to Robert Camp-

[1] This is evident from the Commissary Records of Edinburgh, MS. in her majesty's

bell, her cousin-german, the son of Hugh, the younger brother of her father, who had obtained the lands of Mongarswood, in Kyle, a considerable and pleasant property, situated about half-way between Mauchline and Sorn, by marriage with a daughter of Mungo Campbell, of Brownside, and who thus became the founder of the family of Mongarswood. Upon marrying her he renounced his right to his paternal estate, carrying on the line of the Kinyeancleuch family; and Mongarswood fell into the hands of his next younger brother, who carried on the line of the Mongarswood family.[1] Davidson, on publishing his poem commemorative of her parents' worth, from which we have so largely quoted, dedicated it to this lady, who appears to have inherited her parents' spirit. In the dedication he says:—"Finding this little treatise (sister, dearly beloved in Christ) of late years amongst my other papers, which I made about twenty years and one ago, immediately after the death of your godly parents of good memory, with whom I was most dearly acquainted in Christ, by reason of the trouble I suffered in those days for the good cause, wherein God made them chief comforters unto me, till death separated us. As I viewed it over, and read it before some godly persons of late, they were most instant with me, that I would suffer it to come to light to the stirring up of the zeal of God's people amongst us, which now beginneth almost to be quenched in all estates, none excepted. . . . . To their request at length I yielded, although long unwilling, in respect of the baseness of the form of writing, which yet, at the time of the making thereof, I thought most familiar, according to the old manner of our country, to move our people to follow the example of these godly persons according to their calling and estate. And so being yet put in good hope that it would profit, I was contented it

General Register House, from which we learn that "the testament dative and inventar of the goods, gear, and sums of money, and debts pertaining to" her father, were "faithfully made and given up" by her, "their daughter and executrix," as the "decreet of the Commissary of Edinburgh, of the date the 25th April, the year 1585, at length purports."

[2] Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. iii., Supplement, pp. 79, 80.

should be after this manner published. . . . . The saying also of Gregory Nazianzen, writing of Basil the Great after his death, did not a little encourage me, it being by God's providence in my hands when I was about to write this, the sense whereof followeth: 'It is a thing of most dutiful affection to commend the memory of holy persons that are departed, especially of such as have been of most excellent virtues, whether it be by friends or strangers.' I have directed it unto you, dear sister, by name, that ye may make your profit of it in particular, for confirming you by the worthy example of your parents, in these evil and declining days, in that godly course of Christianity, wherein it hath pleased God to make you succeed unto them, no less than to the worldly heritage, proceeding rightly from them to you, after the death of their only son Nathaniel, your brother. . . . . From Edinburgh, the 24th of May, 1595. Your assured friend in Christ, "J. D."

This lady lived to an advanced age, having died in 1627, as may be inferred from her son, John Campbell's being returned her heir in the lands of Kinyeancleuch, on the 20th of October that year.[1] The lands remained in the family till towards the close of the 18th century, when they were sold to Claud Alexander, Esq., of Ballochmyle.

[1] *Inquisitionum Retornatarum Abbreviatio*, vol. i., Ayr, No. 249.



ELIZABETH KNOX,

WIFE OF JOHN WELSH.

ELIZABETH KNOX was the youngest daughter of the celebrated John Knox, by his second wife, Margaret Stewart, youngest daughter of Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, a nobleman who, under all circumstances, had proved Knox's faithful and constant friend. The marriage between Knox and this lady was contracted in March, 1564. Popish writers, unable to dissemble their malice and envy, that the man who had overthrown the Papacy in Scotland had succeeded in forming a matrimonial alliance with one of the noble houses of his country, and a house, too, allied to the royal family, represent him as actuated by the ambition of raising his family to the Scottish throne; and they attribute his success in gaining the affections of the young lady to sorcery, and the assistance of no less a personage than the devil. "To the end that his seed, being of the blood-royal, and guided by their father's spirit, might have aspired to the crown, . . . he did pursue to have alliance with the honourable house of Ochiltree of the king's majesty's own blood. Riding there with a great court, on a trim gelding, not like a prophet or an old decrepit priest, as he was, but like as he had been one of the blood-royal, with his bands of taffeta fastened with gold rings and precious stones: And as is plainly reported in the

country, by sorcery and witchcraft did so allure that poor gentlewoman, that she could not live without him; which appears to be of great probability, she being a damsel of noble blood, and he an old decrepit creature of most base degree of any that could be found in the country: So that such a noble house could not have degenerated so far, except John Knox had interposed the power of his master, the devil; who, as he transfigures himself sometimes in an angel of light, so he caused John Knox appear one of the most noble and lusty men that could be found in the world."[1] We have better authority for affirming that Knox rather owed this honourable matrimonial alliance to the high reputation he had acquired as a man of Christian worth and ability, and as the reformer of Scotland.[2] Another Popish writer, equally veracious, informs us that the young lady, soon after the nuptials, observing Knox and the devil engaged in earnest conversation, was thrown into such terror that she immediately fell sick and died. "For as the common and constant bruit of the people reported, as writeth Reginaldus and others, it chanced, not long after the marriage, that she lying in her bed, and perceiving a black, ugly, ill-favoured man, busily talking with him in the same chamber, was suddenly amazed, that she took sickness and died; as she revealed to two of her friends, being ladies, come thither to visit her a little before her decease."[3] "It is unfortunate," remarks Dr. M'Crie, "for the credit of this 'true information,' that the Reformer's wife not only lived to bear him several children, but survived him many years." Notwithstanding their disparity of years, she lived very happily with Knox till his death, cheerfully bearing her share in the trials of his life, and ministering to his comfort with affectionate assiduity.

Her children by Knox were three daughters, Martha, Margaret, and Elizabeth. Martha, the eldest, was married to Mr. James

[1] Nicol Burne's *Disputation*, pp. 143, 144, quoted in M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 329.

[2] See *Ladies of the Covenant*, p. xvii.

[3] Father A. Baillie's *True Information*, p. 41, quoted in M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 330.

Fleming, minister of Bathans, now called Yester, in the Presbytery of Haddington, East Lothian.[1] Margaret was married to Zachary Pont, minister of Bower, in Caithness, and son of the celebrated Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh.[2] And Elizabeth, the youngest, the subject of this notice, became the wife of the famous John Welsh, minister of Ayr.

Elizabeth was probably born about the year 1568 or 1569. At her father's death, which took place on the 24th of November, 1572, she would be only about three or four years old, and therefore of an age too tender to have derived much advantage from his instructions. After her mother's marriage, secondly to Andrew Ker, Fadounside, in Roxburghshire, a zealous Reformer, which took place before the 25th of May, 1574,[3] she probably resided for the most part at Fadounside, and received such education as it was customary for ladies in her rank to receive at that time in Scotland.

Her first acquaintanceship with John Welsh is not recorded. It was probably after his settlement as minister of Selkirk, which took place in the course of the year 1589, when he had an opportunity of frequently meeting with her in his intercourse with the family of Andrew Ker, who probably attended his ministry. A mutual affection sprung up between him and her, which ultimately issued in their happy wedlock. The precise date of their union is uncertain. In the year 1594 Welsh was translated from Selkirk to Kirkcudbright, but whether their marriage was solemnized while he was incumbent of the former place, or after his removal to the latter, we are without the means of determining. It is, however, certain that

[1] Mr. Robert Fleming, author of the *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, was a son of this minister, but by a second marriage.—Steven's *Hist. of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam*, p. 83.

[2] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 356.

[3] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 353. One of her children by this second marriage was Mr. John Ker, who succeeded Mr. John Davidson, who died in 1604, as minister of Prestonpans. He was the father of Mr. Andrew Ker, who became clerk to the General Assembly upon the resignation of Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, and continued to fill this office till the restoration.—Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd*, printed for Maitland Club, p. 89.

they were married before the 8th of April, 1596.[1] In 1600[2] Welsh was translated to Ayr.

If, during the first years of her wedded life, Mrs. Welsh's days were not altogether unclouded, she met with nothing peculiarly trying. But when James VI., upon his accession to the throne of England, in pursuance of his resolution to bring the Church of Scotland into conformity with the Church of England in its government and discipline, first endeavoured to destroy the freedom of the General Assembly, the most formidable barrier, from its popular constitution, to the consummation of his purpose, this subjected her to a series of afflictions, first in Scotland and afterwards in exile, on account of her husband's fidelity in maintaining the liberties of the Scottish Church.

To accomplish his object James dissolved and prorogued the meetings of the Assembly, threatened and bribed its members, and had recourse to all the arts of kingcraft, of which he thought himself a perfect master. Mr. Welsh resisted these proceedings, and, in consequence, incurred the royal displeasure. In July, 1605, a general assembly, which had been legally appointed, having been kept at Aberdeen by several ministers of the church, contrary to the expressed wishes of the monarch, who was afraid of their passing some acts against the bishops, Mr. Welsh, who had been appointed a member of that assembly, but at which he was not present, it having been abruptly dissolved before his arrival in Aberdeen, was, on the 26th July, brought before the privy council at Edinburgh, where he then was; and refusing to answer the questions put to him, he was committed prisoner to the Tolbooth, and on the same day was trans-

[1] This appears from the following extract from *Particular Register of Inhibitions*, vol. v. "11 Feb., 1602. Said Mr. Zach. Pont and spouse inhibited by Mr. Johne Velsche, minister of Godis word at our bust of Kirckcudbryt, and Elizabeth Knox his spous." Pont owes complainers 1000^{m}, as per contract between parties at Schyrismylne, 8th April, 1596.—M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 356.

[2] For this and the two first dates in this paragraph, the author is indebted to his friend, the Rev. James Young, Edinburgh, who is about to publish a very interesting Life of Welsh.

ported by the guard to Blackness Castle.[1] In January, 1606, he and five other ministers who had kept the assembly, were brought to trial before the court of justiciary, held in the palace of Linlithgow, under a charge of high treason.



Linlithgow Palace—the Quadrangle.

On this occasion Mrs. Welsh, leaving her children at Ayr, set out for Linlithgow in the depth of winter, and through roads almost impassable. The wives of the other ministers also came to that town. She and these other ladies were doubtless present in the court on the day of trial, but they had retired before the close, and all of them were anxiously waiting the issue, which did not take place till eleven o'clock at night. On hearing that the prisoners had been found guilty of high treason, a crime inferring the punishment of death, by the verdict of the majority of a packed and overawed jury, instead of lamenting their condition, they rejoiced, and thanked the Lord Jesus that their husbands had received strength and courage to stand to their Master's cause, saying that, like him, they had been tried and con-

[1] Forbes's *Records*, Wod. Soc. pub., pp. 4 3, 404, 406.

demned under covert of night.[1] The ministers at their trial had declared before the judges and jury, "As for the matter whereof we are to be accused, and ye are to be our judges this day, we are fully resolved of it that it is the undoubted truth of God, and belongs essentially to Christ's crown and kingdom; . . . and through the Lord's grace we are resolved to seal it up with the testimony of our blood, if it shall please him to call us thereto."[2] And these intrepid women were prepared to see those dearest to them suffer death rather than desert what they believed to be the cause of Christ, and to be left, with their fatherless children, destitute upon the world. Thus it is that persecution calls forth the noblest sentiments, and inspires for the noblest deeds of heroic self-sacrifice. But the tyranny which calls them forth is thereby rendered only the more hateful, and the tyrant only the more overwhelmingly exposed to the execration of man and the retribution of heaven.

> "Power to the oppressors of the world is given,
> A might of which they dream not. Oh! the curse
> To be the awakener of divinest thoughts,
> Father and founder of exalted deeds."[3]

The pronouncing of the sentence upon the condemned ministers was delayed till his majesty's pleasure should be known. The king at length resolved to banish them out of all his dominions for life, never again to return without license, under pain of death and all the penalties due to convicted traitors. The sentence was formally pronounced upon them on the 23d of October, a month being allowed them to prepare for their departure; and on the 7th of November they embarked at Leith for France.

Mrs. Welsh accompanied her husband and the other banished ministers to the pier of Leith, and joined in the solemn religious exercises engaged in before their embarkation.[4] Having taken farewell of him—for she did not intend to follow him for a few months—she returned to her children at Ayr, with conflicting

[1] Row's *History*, Wod. Soc. edition, p. 240.
[2] Forbes's *Records*, p. 486.
[3] Wordsworth.
[4] Melville's *Diary*, p. 669.

emotions of joy and sorrow; of joy, at the constancy and courage in the cause of Christ she had witnessed; of sorrow, at the thought of being driven from the land of her birth, destitute and unprotected, into a land of strangers. On his arrival in France Welsh remained for some time at Rochelle; he then removed to Bordeaux, and ultimately became minister of Jonsack, in Angoumois. In the following year Mrs. Welsh joined him, as we learn from his letters to Robert Boyd, of Trochrig, who was then minister and professor of theology in the college of Saumur. In one of these, dated Rochelle, March 16, 1607, he says—"I look for my wife with the first fair wind, if it please God; pray for his blessing therein."[1] In another, to the same friend, dated Bordeaux, June 26, 1607, he says—"My wife salutes you after the most hearty manner, and longs greatly to see you, and is greatly sorry that that occasion offers not."[2]

At Jonsack the circumstances of Mrs. Welsh and her family were very uncomfortable, and their health far from good. They suffered much from the rude and unfeeling character of the people, who, instead of condoling with so illustrious exiles, who were expelled their country for the testimony of Jesus, and showing how sincerely they sympathized with them in their afflictions, were so destitute of the sentiments of justice and generosity, that they neither paid Welsh the stipend they promised him, nor evinced the smallest desire to promote the comfort of himself and of his family; and he was, besides, often treated with much disrespect and contumely. This we learn from various passages in his letters to Robert Boyd. In a letter to him, dated Jonsack, September 17, 1611, he says—"Brother, trust me in one thing, day nor night I have no repose here; and think now the Lord is opening a door to me, for want of payment; whereof I have made plaint both to the consistory and colloquy, who have granted me the liberty of the discipline, that if within three months they pay me not, that shall be in my liberty. Brother, I cannot show you the particulars of my grief here, unless

[1] Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd*, printed for Maitland Club, p. 287.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 308.

I had occasion to see you. . . . My wife salutes you heartily; she has been sick of a continual fever this month and more. We are here in a miserable hole, without pity or compassion, among, as it were, barbares; and notwithstanding that our lodging be [such] for unwholesomeness, that ever since I came here my family has been sick, yet they would never show me that mekle favour as to provide for a lodging to me that was contenable for my health and the health of my family. The indignities I receive, and have received here, are intolerable; but I have learned to bear them for Christ's sake."[1] In the course of Welsh's correspondence with Boyd, frequent references are made to Mrs. Welsh's illness, caused, doubtless, by the privations and hardships she endured at Jonsack. But she bore all her afflictions with tranquillity and fortitude, which greatly encouraged and sustained Welsh, who was sometimes ready to sink under accumulated bodily and family distresses. "I thank my God," says he, "my wife bears her cross with comfort and contentation, the which to me is no small comfort."[2]

On Sabbath, September 14, 1614, Mrs. Welsh lost her eldest daughter, who died of sickness on the seventh day of her illness. In reference to this bereavement, and to the deep affliction of the mother and of himself under it, Welsh, in a letter to Boyd, written on the day of his daughter's death, says—"I am extremely sorry that I cannot keep the tryst as I promised to you by my letter; for I am so sore afflicted, through the death of my eldest daughter, who took sickness upon Monday and died this Sunday, as the bearer can tell you. Also my wife is in sic an estate that I dare not leave her, by no means, lest that doleur and langeur get the upper hand of her. . . . She is in very great distress, more than can be expressed. My soul is in anguish; but the God of consolation, who comforts them that are cast down, knows how to comfort us. I would beseech you to come this length, though you should find little but subject of sorrow. We are at present, indeed, in case for

[1] Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd*, printed for Maitland Club, p. 320.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

little thing but mourning. Let us have a room in your most ardent prayers."

Mrs. Welsh was much tried from her husband's ill health during the whole period of his exile. He originally possessed an iron frame; but the climate of the parts of France where he settled did not agree with his constitution, and what he had suffered before he left Scotland, by an imprisonment of about fifteen months in the dungeon of Blackness, and in the castle of Edinburgh, rendered him a more easy victim to the influence of an insalubrious atmosphere and uncomfortable dwelling. Having left Jonsack, he became minister of St. Jean d'Angely, a town in Lower Charente, in France; but his constitution was broken, and at last serious pulmonary symptoms began to make their appearance. After the reduction of St. Jean d'Angely, in 1621, by Louis XIII., war having broken out between that monarch and his Protestant subjects, Welsh sent a supplication from Zealand, whither he had removed, to James VI., praying that he might have liberty to return to Scotland, his physicians having recommended his native air as the only remedy offering the prospect of recovery.[2] Permission having been granted him to come to London, he and Mrs. Welsh set out on their journey for the English capital. On their arrival they consulted with their friends, and it was thought that the most likely way of succeeding in their object, was for Mrs. Welsh personally to make an appeal to the compassion of the sovereign; and from the rank of her relatives on the mother's side, she obtained access to his majesty. She laid her case before him; but James, who regarded Welsh with something of the same antipathy felt by his mother towards John Knox, would not allow him to return to Scotland except on conditions with which he could not conscientiously comply. The particulars of the interview have been preserved, and they are strikingly characteristic both of Mrs. Welsh and of King James. He asked her who was her father? "John Knox" was her reply. "Knox and Welsh!" he exclaimed, pronouncing an oath, after his

[1] Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd*, printed for Maitland Club, p. 330.
[2] Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii., p. 511.

usual manner, "the devil never made such a match as that." "It's right-like, sir," she returned, "for we never speired[1] his advice." He then asked her how many children her father had left, and whether they were lads or lasses. "Three," she answered, "and they are all lasses."[2] "God be thanked!" he profanely cried, lifting up both his hands, "for an they had been three lads, I had never bruiked[3] my three kingdoms in peace." She again renewed her suit that his majesty would be pleased to give her husband his native air. "Give him his native air!" replied James, again uttering an oath, "give him the devil." "Give that to your hungry courtiers," she instantly retorted, in a tone of stern reprehension, little concerned, in her zeal against profanity, about provoking his wrath. The utmost limits to which his condescension would go, was to promise to grant her request, provided she would persuade Mr. Welsh to submit to the bishops. This heroic woman, who, resembling her father, stood fast to her principles, like a pillar of brass, lifting up her apron and holding it towards the king, replied, "Please your majesty, I'd rather kep[4] his head there."[5] She withdrew from his presence, doubtless repeating in her own mind that inspired text, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help" (Psalm cxlvi. 3), and leaving James, if we may venture to guess his feelings, astonished at her boldness, her inflexible adherence to her principles, and her uncommon readiness and sarcastic power of reply.

Had this matron been the wife of a Popish ecclesiastic of Mr. Welsh's energy of character, she would probably have obtained all she sought. Not that James had any love for Papists, but he greatly dreaded them. He knew that regicide, or the killing of heretical and excommunicated princes, was the doctrine, not only of the Jesuits, but of all the Popish orders, and of almost all the Popish clergy, and the dread of the pistol or dagger of some fanatical Popish

[1] *i.e.*, asked. [2] The other two, besides Mrs. Welsh, were Martha and Margaret. See p. 564. Knox had two sons by his first wife, but they were both dead by this time, and had died without issue. See p. 574.

[3] *i.e.*, enjoyed. [4] *i.e.*, receive. [5] M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 273.



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H. VIZETELLY.

MRS. WALSH'S INTERVIEW WITH KING JAMES.

assassin would have extorted from him concessions which he would never have granted from a sense of justice. He had pronounced the Papists to be dexterous king-killers. The numerous attempts made upon the life of his predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, and the fate of Henry IV. of France, whom Ravaillac, so recently as 1610, had stabbed in his coach in open day in the streets of Paris, were fresh in his memory. But he knew the Presbyterians too well to have any apprehension of their having recourse to such desperate means of redress, and he therefore rudely denied the suit of the humble presbyter's wife, because he could do it with impunity.

In refusing Mrs. Welsh's petition, James was probably influenced by private views and resentments; for he had often been reproved by Mr. Welsh for his habit of profane swearing, and he so shrunk from the reproofs of this venerable man, that if he had been swearing in a public place, he would turn round and inquire whether Mr. Welsh was present.

Soon after her unsuccessful interview with the king, Mrs. Welsh had the affliction to lose her husband, who died in May that year, in London, after upwards of fifteen years banishment—"one of the fathers and pillars of this church, and the light of his age; . . . . a man filled with the Holy Spirit, zeal, love, and of incredible labour and diligence in the duties of his vocation," as Robert Boyd of Trochrig, in his obituary, describes him in recording his death.[1] He was interred in one of the church-yards of London. Having performed to him the last offices of respect, she returned to Scotland, and spent the remainder of her days in Ayr, where she had many Christian friends. She survived him little more than two and a half years, having died in January, 1625. Her death is thus recorded by her relative, Robert Boyd of Trochrig: "In the month of January, 1625, died at Ayr, my cousin, Mrs. Welsh, daughter of that great servant of God, the late Mr. John Knox, and wife to that holy man

[1] Bannatyne *Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 291, where Boyd's obituary is given in the original French. Wodrow, in his *Life of Robert Boyd*, printed for the Maitland Club, p. 263, has given an English translation of it.

of God, Mr. John Welsh, above mentioned, a daughter and spouse worthy of such a father and husband. God bring us with them to a holy and happy end in his own time by the way he hath prepared in his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."[1]

From Mrs. Welsh's last will and testament, subscribed by her on the 8th of January, 1625,[2] we learn that she left behind her two sons, Josias and Nathaniel, and a daughter, Louise. She had another daughter, her eldest, who, as we have seen before, died in France. If Louise is the daughter whose birth is referred to in her father's letter to Robert Boyd, dated Jonsack, May 20, 1613, "My wife, thank God, is safely delivered of a daughter,"[3] she would be at the death of her mother in the twelfth year of her age. Mrs. Welsh had given birth to three sons. But the eldest, whose name is not given, who studied medicine, and took his degree of M.D., had been accidentally killed in the Low Countries.[4] Josias, the second, who inherited much of his father's talents, energy of character, and piety, was educated at Geneva, and on his return to Scotland was appointed professor of Humanity in the university of Glasgow.[5] Upon the introduction of Prelacy, being expelled from this situation, he went to Ireland, where he became minister at Templepatrick, and one of the distinguished founders of the Presbyterian Church in Ulster. He died of consumption, in early life, on the 23d of June, 1634.[6] His son John, minister of Irongray, in Galloway, is well known as one of the most intrepid of the persecuted ministers during the reign of Charles II. Nathaniel, Mrs. Welsh's third and youngest son, afterwards perished at sea. The vessel in which he had embarked having been shipwrecked, he swam to a rock, but was there starved to death, and his body, when found upon the rock some time afterwards, was in the prayerful attitude of kneeling, with the hands stretched out.[7]

1 Bannatyne's *Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 291.
2 See this document in M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 417.
3 Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd*, p. 326.
4 Kirkton's *Life of Welsh*.
5 Reid's *Hist. of Presb. in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 112.
6 *Life of Robert Blair*, Wodrow Society edition, p. 135.
7 Kirkton's *Life of Welsh*

Ladies of the Reformation

IN THE NETHERLANDS.



"And I saw a woman, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and, when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration" (Revelation XVII. 3, 6).



INTRODUCTION.

UNDER this division of our undertaking, the female supporters of the Reformation, as in Scotland, are, with two exceptions, of an humbler order than those in England, and, it may be added, than those in Germany, France, and even Italy. The two exceptions are Charlotte de Bourbon and Louise de Colligny, successively wives of William, Prince of Orange, the celebrated founder of the commonwealth of the United Provinces. These exceptions were natives of France; but having become connected with the Netherlands by marriage, their subsequent history is involved in the history of these provinces, and they may therefore properly enough take the place and designation we have assigned them, though the circumstance that France, together with Germany, were the scenes of the story of their early life, unavoidably breaks in upon unity of subject. The deficiency of native female characters of peculiar mark in the 16th century in the Netherlands, as in Scotland, may be attributed to the imperfection of female education in that country; but, unlike Scotland, which suffered Popish persecution to a comparatively limited extent, the Netherlands were doomed to endure it through a long series of years, in its utmost severity; and under it many Christian females displayed an exalted faith, and an intrepid courage, not

surpassed by the brightest names recorded in Christian martyrology.

To enable the reader the better to understand our notices of the female worthies in the Netherlands, and to sympathize with them, not only in their martyrdom, but in the trying circumstances under which they had embraced and maintained the truth before falling into the hands of their persecutors, it may be necessary to take a general view of the terrible ordeal through which the supporters of the Reformation had to pass in that country.

The Netherlands formed part of the hereditary dominions of Charles V., the government of which he assumed in 1515, when only fifteen years of age. Charles from the first took up an attitude hostile to the Reformation, and the doctrines of Luther having, in the early part of his reign, found their way from Germany into these provinces, where they threatened to spread rapidly, he immediately had recourse to violent measures against such as embraced them; and until he resigned his crown, he persecuted them with relentless, unrelaxing severity. In 1521 was published the first placard which he issued against Luther's doctrine, books, and followers, in the Low Countries, dated 8th May. This was followed by numerous other placards, denouncing penalties of various sorts, from the more moderate to the most extreme; and all these edicts were executed with the utmost rigour. Strict searches were made in houses for prohibited books, and for suspected persons. The more surely to apprehend the reformed preachers, their portraits were drawn and set up at the gates of the cities and other public places, while liberal rewards were promised to such as arrested them, or gave such information as led to their arrest. Many sought safety in flight; and those seized were bound with cords, and hurried to prison. Multitudes, to compel them to discover their brethren in the faith, were put to the rack, under which, however, they generally displayed astonishing resolution, refusing to accuse any, though, when questioned concerning their faith, they freely answered. Multitudes were beheaded, burned, or first strangled and then burned, roasted before slow fires, drowned,

buried alive, massacred.[1] Women, near the time of their confinement, were drowned or burned, and some of them, when just expiring at the stake, were delivered of their offspring.

Terrified by these severe proceedings, some abjured the reformed sentiments. The penance imposed upon such was to walk in procession before the host, with lighted tapers in their hands, till they came to the Town House, where they were to throw their Lutheran books into the fire; to wear a yellow cross upon their upper garments; not to stir out of the town within a year; and to attend all processions with wax tapers in their hands.[2] But the number of this class was small, compared with the hundreds and thousands who steadfastly maintained their principles to the death. The heroic faith of the martyrs, who on their way to execution sung psalms, and comforting one another, called upon the name of Jesus with their latest breath, having produced a powerful impression upon the spectators, exciting sympathy and awakening to inquiry, which issued in the best results; to prevent this salutary public sympathy, as well as to inspire others with the greater terror, the magistrates were authorized, according to their discretion, to execute—to behead, strangle, or put to the sword, obstinate heretics in private.

The Anabaptists, who were very numerous in the Netherlands, were persecuted with peculiar severity. Many edicts were published against them in particular; and the disturbances created in 1534 and 1535, throughout Germany and in the Low Countries, by a new sect claiming that name, who pretended to be stirred up by the Spirit of God, as the peasants' war, the tumults at Munster, the riots at Amsterdam, and the insurrections in other places, in which this fanatical sect was concerned, gave a colour of justice to these severe edicts, while they greatly increased the prejudices entertained against the whole body of the Anabaptists. But, though many simple well-

[1] Women were very often buried alive or drowned, in which last case they were put into sacks, and a large stone being tied to their necks or bodies, they were thrown into the sea or into lakes. This rule, however, was not uniform, for many of them were burned. The men were generally beheaded or burned.

[2] Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, vol. i, p. 60.

meaning people among the Anabaptists were at first drawn to join in communion with this sect, on account of its professing the same opinions about baptism and some other points, and were in consequence involved in great troubles, yet many of them had no connection with it, disavowed it, and entertained sentiments as to the use of the sword which must have led them to condemn the proceedings of these wild enthusiasts. The fury of the government was, however, extended against all the Anabaptists. In apprehending, condemning, and putting them to death, hardly any distinction was made between those who approved, or were guilty of the disorders now referred to, and the innocent and well-disposed. If a man or a woman had been rebaptized, for this alone they were put to death, the man being beheaded or burned, and the woman burned or buried alive.[1] Hundreds and thousands of Anabaptists, both male and female, who had no concern in any outbreak against the state, who held no principles leading to insubordination or rebellion, whose lives were irreproachable, who were possessed of sincere and fervent piety, were, for their attachment to the doctrines of the gospel, as well as for their belief in their peculiar principles, subjected to the most excruciating tortures, and to the most agonizing of deaths.

During the course of his reign, Charles V. had sacrificed in the Netherlands, for their religious sentiments, about 100,000 of his subjects, who perished by the hands of the executioner;[2] and yet after this great slaughter, the suppression of heresy in these provinces seemed as far distant and as difficult as ever.

When, in the month of October, 1555, Charles divested himself of his imperial and royal dignities, resigning the Low Countries, Spain, and the Indies, to his son Philip, but the imperial crown of Germany to his own brother Ferdinand, this brought no mitigation to the persecution of the Reformers in the Netherlands. While in the monastery of St. Justus, into which he entered on February 24, 1557, and where he purposed to spend the remainder of his days, he

[1] Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, vol. i., pp. 61-69.
[2] Grotius's *Annal.*, lib. i., p. 12.

is indeed said, when, alas! too late, to have seen the folly of compulsory interference with men's consciences in matters of religion. Having a mechanical genius, he sometimes amused himself in this retreat by constructing works of mechanism, as clocks and watches; and finding himself unable, by all his ingenuity, to bring any two of these instruments to go exactly alike, the thought struck him that it was not less impossible to make men think precisely in the same way on the profound and mysterious questions of religion, and he could not help feeling astonishment and regret that he should have expended so much effort, and shed so much blood, in the vain attempt to achieve a result so impracticable. But the just and tolerant sentiments awakened by his clocks and watches, made no lasting impression on his mind. He had surrendered himself entirely into the hands of his ghostly confessor, who, by the fears of purgatory, and the hopes of heaven, as by the wand of a conjurer, succeeded in stifling them. Twelve days before his death he added a codicil to his will, in which he "begs and commands" his son to inflict signal and severe punishment on heretics without exception, and without regard to the prayers or to the rank of the persons. "It is dangerous," says he, "to dispute with heretics. I always refused to argue with them, and referred them to my theologians; alleging with truth my own ignorance, for I had scarcely begun to read a grammar when I was called to the government of great nations."[1] Thus does Popery pervert the moral sense, and thus do men become hardened by familiarity with cruelty. So far from expressing or feeling compunction for the cruelties he had committed in the Netherlands, Charles, with his dying breath, recommends his son Philip to re-enact the same black, bloody, and revolting scenes.

From his severe, gloomy, bigoted temper,[2] Philip was abundantly

[1] Llorente, quoted by Sir James Mackintosh.—See also M'Crie's *Reformation in Spain*, pp. 246-250.

[2] So deeply seated was his constitutional gloomy and stolid temper, that when his father on one occasion made his entry into Antwerp, and was received with great respect and honour by the magistrates and all the people, Philip beheld it all unexcited, and without once moving his bonnet, which so provoked the emperor that he publicly

disposed to act upon his father's dying advice in reference to religion. He issued new placards against heresy in the Netherlands, renewing, confirming, and converting into perpetual edicts those of his father, and adopting more stringent measures for the discovery, punishment, and suppression of heretics. The more effectually to suppress them, he determined to establish the Spanish Inquisition, in its most horrible form, in that country. Into the details of the measures he adopted, and the cruelties he perpetrated, we cannot here enter. But he proved himself a greater persecutor than his father. When, in 1559, on his resolving to leave the Netherlands for Spain, among other reasons to check the growth of heresy which had taken root and was springing up in the Spanish soil, he committed the government of the Netherlands, during his absence, to his illegitimate sister, Margaret of Austria, wife of Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, he strictly charged her and the privy council to put in execution all the placards or decrees emitted both by his father and by himself. He also personally recommended to the great council, and to the states in Flanders, the extirpation of heresy;[1] and he despatched letters to all the stadtholders and governors of provinces, commanding them not to admit any excuses tending to exempt men from the rigour of the placards, of which he had not constituted them judges in order to explain or moderate them, but punctually and literally to put them in execution; declaring farther, that coolness or remissness in this matter would expose them to suspicion, and render them liable to be proceeded

gave him a box on the ear, saying, "Did Vives* teach you these manners?" On this account he never gained the popularity of his father in the Netherlands. While he resided in that country, during the commencement of his government, "there appeared," says Maurier, "such a vast difference between the father and the son, that all the people, and particularly the nobility, conceived as much aversion and contempt for the one, as they had love and adoration for the other. The emperor was good-natured, easy of access, treated all sorts of nations familiarly, and talked to them in their own language, which won him an universal respect and veneration. King Philip rarely appeared in public, wore his clothes always in the Spanish fashion, talked little, and only Spanish, which procured him the general hatred of the nobility and the people of the Netherlands."—*Lives of the Princes of Orange*, p. 13.

[1] Le Clerc, *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, tom. i., p. 4.

* Johannes Ludovicus Vives, a learned scholar of Erasmus', who had been Philip's preceptor.

against. As he embarked for Spain he ordered the Prince of Orange, whom he had appointed stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, to put to death certain honourable persons suspected of heresy, orders which the prince evaded by giving private warning to the parties. From Spain he often wrote to the governess, enjoining her to extirpate heresy; showing her how to discover heretics, and how to worry them when discovered; sending her lists of their names, with such information concerning their residence, condition in life, age, personal appearance, and other circumstances as might assist in their detection and apprehension.[1] And when the Count of Egmont, whom he had appointed stadtholder of Flanders and Artois, went to Spain as commissioner from the council of state to represent to the king the condition of affairs in the Netherlands, Philip's answer to him, which was approved by the Spanish divines, was, "that he would rather die a hundred thousand deaths than consent to the least change in religion; that he by no means intended to suspend the prosecution of heretics, which his duty to God and the commonwealth imperatively demanded; that he would rather have a new and more adequate punishment substituted for the old and usual method, so as the more effectually to curb their insolence, and pluck up the tares even by the roots;" and he suggested to the count whether private execution might not be preferable to public, as that would take away the honour the heretics fancied themselves to acquire by dying publicly for their religion.[2]

In executing their bloody sentences, the government met with a gradually increasing opposition from the people, who openly expressed their sympathy for the sufferers, comforted them as they were led forth and bound to the stake, joined them in singing psalms at the highest pitch of their voices, and in such numbers as rendered it unsafe to apprehend them. At last the feelings of opposition became so intense that whole communities, rising in tumult, attempted

[1] Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, tom. i., lib. iv., pp. 102, 103. This historian states that he had in his possession more than a hundred of these letters, written either in Philip's own hand or in the hand of his secretary.

[2] *Ibid.*, tom. i., lib. iv., pp. 110-112.

in several places to force the condemned out of the hands of the executioner—in which they succeeded in various instances—broke open the prisons, and relieved such as were in confinement for religion. To avoid the concourse of the people and the danger of a tumult, some were executed early in the morning; and at length the inquisitors, not daring any longer to bring forth heretics to public execution, despatched them privately, as the king had ordered, which they commonly did by binding their victim neck and heels, and then throwing him into a tub of water, where he was left to lie till he was dead. No sooner was it known that the martyrs were thus privately made away with in prisons, than increased endeavours were everywhere made to liberate the imprisoned.

Even many of the citizens, gentry, and nobility, who had no design of altering or renouncing the established Roman Catholic religion, abhorred the cruelties committed, trembled at the name of the inquisition, and strenuously opposed its introduction. "There can be no viler slavery," said some, "than to lead a trembling life in the midst of spies and informers, who register every word, action, look, and even every thought, which they pretend to read from the look, upon which they put the very worst construction." At the close of the year 1565 a number of the chief nobility entered into a confederacy for opposing the establishment of the inquisition and the placards relating thereto; and on the 3d of April the following year, 300 noblemen and gentlemen[1] having assembled in the Hotel de Culemburg, at Brussels, proceeded to the palace, marching two by two, to present a petition to the governess, beseeching her to put a stop to these persecuting measures, which threatened to issue in riot, insurrection, bloodshed, and the ruin of their country. On this occasion the Count of Barlemont, it is related, seeing them coming in such numbers into court that the governess was alarmed, said to her, "Madam, why are you afraid of these *Gueuses?*" a French word, which signifies vagabonds or beggars.[2] Hence the name

[1] Brandt's *Hist. of Reformation, &c*, vol. i., p. 165. Maurier says 400.

[2] According to others he exclaimed, "See what a brave company of *Gueuses* are

Gueux was applied to them, just as the French Reformers obtained the nickname of *Huguenots.* But the confederates, so far from feeling this to be a term of reproach, gloried in it as a badge of honour, saying, "It is no shame to be beggars for our country's good." At festivals the toast by which they pledged mutual fidelity in the cause of freedom was, "*Vive les Gueux,*" "Live the Gueuses." They dressed themselves and their families in the beggars' costume of gray cloth. They wore medals upon their necks, made at first of wax and wood, afterwards of gold and silver, on one side of which was engraved the king's image, on the other, two right hands joined together, holding between them a beggar's wallet, with the following motto, in which, while struggling for liberty, they emphatically testified their loyalty to their sovereign, "*Fideles au roi, jusques à la Besace,*" "Faithful to the king, even to the wallet." Some fastened on their breasts, or hung upon their caps, a small beggar's wooden dish or bowl, on which was engraved in silver "*Vive le Gueux;*" and the greatest lords embroidered on their footmen's liveries dishes, bottles, and beggars' wallets.[1]

But the power and ruthlessness of the oppressor were too great for these demonstrations in behalf of toleration and freedom to be successful. To crush the spirit of reform and of liberty, Philip despatched into the Netherlands Ferdinando Alvarez, Duke of Alva—a man after Philip's own heart, cruel, inexorable, and, from the time of Charles V., accounted by the Netherlanders their implacable enemy—with an army consisting of between 8000 and 9000 foot, and 1200 horse, being the best of the Spanish and Italian soldiers, not only committing to him the supreme command of the forces, but appointing him to take cognizance of all causes in religion, and investing him with full power to pardon or to punish. The direction

there." "Because he saw a great many in the company," says Maurier, "not so rich as himself, he told the governess, by way of contempt, that they were a troop of beggars, and that she ought to take no notice of, or have any regard to them."—*Lives of the Princes of Orange,* p. 17.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.—Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation,* &c., vol. i., p. 167.—Strada, *De Bello Belgico,* tom. i., lib. v., p. 135.

of civil affairs remained, as before, in the hands of the Duchess of Parma, as governess.

Before Alva's arrival, William, Prince of Orange, foreseeing the calamities likely to befall his country, to which, in the meantime, he saw no prospect of being able to render effectual assistance, had retired to his estates in Germany, where he renounced Romanism, and made an open profession of the reformed faith.[1] Multitudes, following his example, fled, and Germany was filled with exiles.

From the terror inspired by his very name, Alva met with no opposition from the Dutch on the frontiers; and on the 28th of August, 1567, he arrived at Brussels with his troops. One of his first acts after his arrival was the erection of a tribunal, consisting of twelve persons, which he called "The Council of Disturbances," but which, from its cruelty, was styled by the Netherlanders "The Council of Blood." The members of this council were all lawyers, and, with the exception of two, who were gentlemen of quality, were recommended neither by birth nor merit. At the head of it was placed John de Vargas, a Spaniard, who surpassed all men living in brutal cruelty, in the estimation of even his own countrymen, who were wont to say that the cankered wounds of the Netherlands had need of such a sharp knife (as Vargas was) to cut away their dead flesh;[2] and all its sentences were to be confirmed and signed by Alva. From this court there was no appeal to a superior one, nor was there any revision of causes. Being once established, all matters were drawn to it, the ordinary courts being passed by; and it proceeded without delay to business by apprehending, banishing, executing, and confiscating the property of multitudes, of all sexes, ages, and conditions. not only of those concerned in the late insurrections, or

[1] The prince, though his father, William of Nassau, had embraced the reformed religion, and banished the Popish out of his dominions, having been early placed near the person of Charles V., who had contracted a great liking for him, and much desired his conversion to Catholicism, had first made a public profession of that religion in which he had hitherto continued.—*Maurier*, p. 12.—Davies's *Hist. of Holland*, vol. i., p. 557.

[2] Grimeston's *History of the Netherlands*, London, 1627, p. 311.—Maurier's *Lives of the Princes of Orange*, p. 21.

who had embraced the reformed religion, but of those who were guilty in neither of these respects, on some slender pretext, as, for example, their having been seen once or twice at a conventicle, to which they had been led from mere curiosity.

The numbers who consulted their safety by flight, carrying with them their goods, their skill, and enterprise to foreign lands, now daily increased. The duke had not been long in the country when those who had left it since his arrival, or shortly before, amounted to above 100,000, and many more were flying into exile every day.[1]

The Duchess of Parma, who was dissatisfied from the first with the amount of power committed to Alva finding herself less taken notice of than before, and foreseeing the troubles which these severities were likely to occasion, implored the king so earnestly to be released from the office of governess, that her resignation was at last accepted, and leaving the Netherlands she returned to Italy. Alva succeeded her as governor.

Philip was recommended by some of his councillors to exercise greater moderation towards his subjects in the Netherlands; but Vargas and his assessors strenuously opposed all such recommendations, and to enlist the avarice of the monarch on the side of severity, persuaded him that they had discovered a second Indies in the forfeiture of so many excellent estates. Independently of pecuniary considerations, Philip, as we have said before, was sufficiently disposed, from his natural cruelty and bigotry, to adopt the severest measures; and having consulted the Spanish Inquisition, he was confirmed in this course by that body, whose judgment, dated

[1] Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation*, &c., vol. i., p. 277. The greater portion of this numerous body of fugitives "took refuge in England, and settled about the towns of Norwich, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Hampton, where, protected and permitted the free exercise of their religion by the wise policy of the queen, they established factories, and instructed the natives in the art of making baize, serge, and other articles of woollen manufacture."—Davies's *History of Holland*, vol. i., p. 567. The same author adds in a foot-note, "We are told by the Duke de Sully, that at the time of his visit to England (1603), two-thirds of the inhabitants of Canterbury were Netherland refugees; a circumstance which, he says, accounted for the superior civilization and politeness he remarked in that city.—Tom. iv., lib. xiv, p. 217."

Madrid, 16th February, 1568, was, that having seen the representations, memorials, and answers which had been transmitted to his majesty by the sub-inquisitors of the Low Countries, they were of opinion that all the Netherlanders, excepting those whose names had been transmitted to them, should be declared heretical or abettors of heresy, and had been guilty of high treason either by commissions or omissions; and particularly such of the nobility as had presented the petition against the inquisition. This terrible sentence, dooming a whole nation to extermination, was confirmed at Madrid, on the 26th of the same month, by his majesty, who commanded that it should be put in execution without respect of persons.[1] In this Philip rivalled the bloody Nero, who wished that all the people of Rome might have but one head, which he might cut off at a single blow; and established his claim to be classed with the greatest monsters who have oppressed and desolated the world.

Such was the commission intrusted to Alva, and if he did not succeed in executing it to the letter, it proceeded neither from want of will, nor from sluggishness of effort. No shrinkings of humanity, much less religious obligation and moral duty, restrained this cruel and remorseless man in that ruthless career by which the Netherlands were reduced to a condition of immeasurable unprecedented wretchedness. "The gallows," says Heer Hooft, in summing up in his history the shocking atrocities every day witnessed in that unhappy country at that period, "the wheels, stakes, and trees in the highways, were loaded with carcasses or limbs of such as had been hanged, beheaded, or roasted; so that the air, which God had made for the respiration of the living, was now become the common grave or habitation of the dead. Every day produced fresh objects of pity and mourning, and the noise of the bloody passing bell[2] was continually heard, which, by the martyrdom of this man's cousin, and the other man's friend or brother, rung dismal peals in the hearts of the survivors. Of banishments of persons and confiscation of

[1] Grimeston's *History of the Netherlands*, p. 320.

[2] The bell usually tolled when the martyrs were to suffer.

goods, there was no end." By the council of blood it was accounted of no moment whether the evidence against the pannel was adequate or not. He was condemned to the flames, to the gallows, or to the sword, though nothing like proof of having violated the laws had been established against him. One of the members of the council, James Hessels, a Fleming, was wont to sleep at the trial of the prisoners, especially after dinner, and on being awakened at the close of the trial, when it came to his turn to give his vote, rubbing his eyes, he cried out, half asleep half awake, *ad patibulum, ad patibulum*—"to the gallows, to the gallows;" though he had heard little or nothing of the case.[1] The same thirst for blood, and the same unprincipled recklessness in indiscriminately sentencing their victims to death, characterized the ruling members of this bloody tribunal. Nor did they shrink from imbruing their hands in the blood of the noblest in the land—Alva having laid it down as a principle that "one salmon's head is worth a thousand frogs." In June, 1568, about twenty-one of the nobility (some of whom were Roman Catholics, others Protestants), including the Counts of Egmont and Horn, two noblemen greatly beloved by the people, and whose services, both to Philip and to his father could not save them, were, by the sentence of this bloody council, beheaded at Brussels, amidst the horror and suppressed indignation of the spectators. Such were the shocking barbarity and tyranny of the men who carried all in the council, that the greater number of the members, who were Flemings, having some sparks of humanity left unextinguished in their bosoms, ashamed and horrified, absented themselves during the greater part of the proceedings, and at length left the whole authority in the hands of three Spaniards, Vargas, Louis del Rio, a Spanish priest, and la Torre, their secretary.[2]

[1] Hessels, by a merited retribution, ultimately suffered the same fate which, with such cold-blooded disregard to evidence, he had awarded to others. He "was hanged upon a tree, without any form of justice or process, by the governors of Ghent, Imbise and Rihove, whom he had often threatened, by his gray beard, to hang."—Maurier's *Lives of the Princes of Orange*, p. 21.

[2] Le Clerc, tom. i., p. 14.

Being in want of money to carry on this execrable tyranny, Alva resolved to impose upon the Netherlands exorbitant taxes, and thus make them pay the expenses of keeping them in slavery. These were a general tax, first of the 100th penny of every man's estate, to be paid immediately, and then the twentieth penny of immoveable property, and the tenth penny upon the sale of all moveable goods as often as sold. From these sources, as from inexhaustible mines, Alva anticipated an immense revenue, boasting that he would make a stream of gold, reaching from the Netherlands to Spain, as thick as his arm.[1] To these ruinous taxes the opposition made by the people was so strong, that their imposition was delayed for two years, when he revived his demand of the twentieth and tenth penny, and ordained, without the consent of the states—without having even consulted them—that these taxes, with some modifications, should be raised by placard. The Netherlanders had hitherto borne his tyranny with comparative submission,[2] though the miseries it had wrought language is unequal to express; but this attack upon their purses exhausted the measure of their patience, and was met with a strenuous resistance. The burghers of Brussels, upon whom he first attempted to levy the new taxes, shut up their shops and warehouses, declaring that they had no goods to sell, and consequently ought to pay no taxes. But he was not thus to be defeated in his object. Roused to fury by resistance, he prepared to exact payment by military force; but while he was just on the eve of hanging up some of the principal citizens at their own doors and windows, to terrify the rest into submission, the news of the taking of the Brill by the Gueux, and of an expected sudden revolt of the province of Holland reached him. These disasters, which he had not anticipated, filled his hands with new work, and, dispensing for the present with his taxes and executions, he bent his energies to the suppression of these other revolutionary movements.

[1] Maurier, p. 30.—Brandt, vol. i., p. 278.

[2] "The quiet and patient temper of the people of Holland and Zealand had inspired Alva with so sovereign a contempt for them, that he was accustomed to say he would smother them in their own butter."—Davies's *Hist. of Holland*, vol. i., p. 582.

As if he would compete for the palm of ferocious butchery with the most sanguinary characters recorded in history, Alva was wont to boast, after he left the Netherlands, that during the few years that he had governed that country, namely, from the close of August, 1567, to the beginning of December, 1573, he had caused 18,000 heretics and rebels to pass through the hands of the executioner, without including those who had lost their lives in the war. Yet his right-hand man, Vargas, would at the same time affirm that the Low Countries were lost by foolish compassion.[1]

Such were the tyranny and oppression to which the Netherland provinces were subjected on account of the Reformation during the period embraced in the sketches of the first five female martyrs included in this portion of our work; and these martyrs are the representatives of thousands, and tens of thousands of female worthies, who suffered imprisonment, banishment, or death, for the truth in the Netherlands.

The sketches of the last two ladies, who were the wives of William, Prince of Orange, introduce us to a scene in the history of the Netherlands which somewhat relieves the feelings of desolation experienced in contemplating the preceding unmitigated persecution, namely, the efforts of that prince, by an appeal to arms, to deliver his country from this terrible oppression, and the success which, to a great extent, attended these efforts; though it is painful to find that so disinterested a patriot at last fell by the hands of an assassin.

On the 19th of December, 1567, while the prince was in Germany, whither, as we have seen before, he had retired previously to Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, he was, by Alva's orders, publicly cited to appear before the council of blood within six weeks, in violation of his rights and privileges; for, being a knight of the golden fleece, he could only be tried by the king, assisted by his peers and knights. Alva, at the same time, apprehended Philip William, Count of Buren, the prince's eldest son, a youth of about thirteen years of age, who

[1] Maurier, p. 44.—Brandt, vol. i, p. 306.

was studying at the college of Louvain, and carried him to Spain, where he was detained a prisoner at large for the space of twenty-eight years.[1] This hard usage, combined with the miserable condition of his country under the iron rule of Alva, determined the prince to hazard all to deliver his country from intolerable tyranny. This resolve proved fatal to the interests of Philip in the Netherlands. The prince was, indeed, the only one of the nobility capable of forming and maintaining a party. Of profound wisdom and heroic courage; of enlarged and liberal views, far in advance of his age;[2] equally distinguished in the cabinet and in the field; cautious and resolute; wisely bending to circumstances and patiently waiting for favourable conjunctures; never losing sight of his great object, and never losing hope even when all others despaired; nerved by difficulties only to more indomitable perseverance, and possessing, in an uncommon degree, the ability of rallying his affairs when they were thought to be ruined; deriving large revenues from his dependencies in the provinces; having powerful resources in Germany, from his great possessions, credit, and alliances in that country; esteemed and honoured abroad, and idolized by the people at home, he was pre-eminently fitted to be the leader in that great struggle for freedom maintained in the Netherlands in the last half of the 16th century. Of this his enemies were fully persuaded. The sagacious Antoine Perrenotte, Cardinal Granville, when tidings were brought to Rome that Alva had arrested all the great lords of the Netherlands, asked if Silent was taken, meaning the Prince of Orange, who, from his talking little, was known by the sobriquet "The Silent," or "The Taciturn;"[3]

[1] Maurier, p. 23.—Brandt, vol. i., p. 262.—Le Clerc, vol. i., p. 15.

[2] The liberality of his sentiments, with respect to religious toleration, was falsely attributed by the Romanists, after their usual manner, to his indifference about religion. The Jesuit historian, Strada, speaks of his religion as doubtful, or nothing at all.—*De Bello Belgico*, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 57.

[3] Maurier, pp. 12, 23.—"He talked little," says Maurier, "thought much, but spoke always to the purpose, and his words passed for oracles." His speeches and the documents drawn up by him, which have descended to our times, are remarkable for a vigorous Roman-like eloquence. Though not a man of many words, the prince was yet not averse to convivial intercourse and enjoyment, and he would enter into friendly

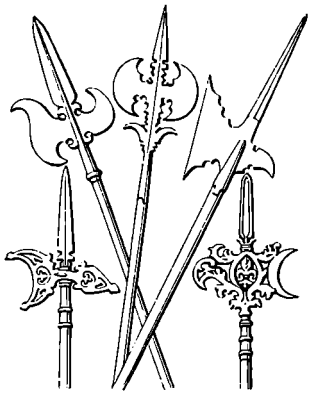
and when answered, "No," he replied, "if *he* is not in the net, Alva has caught nothing."[1]

By the representations of the prince, the German Protestant princes were so far moved as to connive at his raising troops in their dominions, and even to lend him money. His brother, Count John of Nassau, supplied him with a large sum, and the Netherland refugees at London, Emden, Cleves, and other places, made contributions, while the prince himself sold all his jewels, plate, and furniture, to enable him to raise troops. His earliest efforts were unsuccessful; but, undiscouraged by defeat, and rendered more determined from the Duke of Alva's having declared him to be banished on pain of death, and all his estates within the dominions of Spain forfeited, he watched for a concurrence of more propitious circumstances, which at last he found from Alva's continued cruelties, and especially from his exorbitant taxes, which made the Spanish government universally hated in the Netherlands by all orders and creeds, Romanists as well as Protestants, and, driving them to desperation, made them ready to receive with open arms a prince so greatly beloved and trusted. By the states of Holland, which met at Dort on the 15th of July, 1569, though he was then in Germany, he was declared the lawful stadtholder of the king; and in August, 1569, he came into the Netherlands with an army from Germany. The insurrection under him becoming daily more formidable, Philip at length began to dread the total defection of these provinces, and recalled Alva from the government, appointing, as his successor, Don Lewis de Requesens, governor of Castile, a man of a less violent and sanguinary temper. Requesens entered Brussels on the 17th of November, 1573, and on the 1st of December Alva surrendered to him the whole government, civil and military, departing the following day for Spain, accompanied by his son, Don Frederick, and Vargas. The appointment of the new governor did not, however, promise to

conversation with persons of all ranks, even with the humblest, observing to some of his friends, who thought this condescension a lessening of his dignity, "that what was gained by a little complaisance was bought at a very easy rate."—Maurier, pp. 114, 115.

[1] *Strada, De Bello Belgico*, tom. i, lib. vi., p. 216.

the Netherlanders the security and liberty which they demanded; and the Prince of Orange continued vigorously to carry on the war. His resources were vastly inferior to those of Spain; but by his military genius he maintained the struggle for years against the might of that kingdom, and laid the foundations of a free and Protestant commonwealth—the United Provinces, which covered the ocean with its fleets, and surpassed all Europe in naval power.



WENDELMUTA KLAAS,

A WIDOW OF MONICKENDAM.

HAVING issued his persecuting placards, Charles V., as we have seen in the Introduction, was not long in finding victims on whom to execute them; and among the first who fell a sacrifice in the Netherlands, on account of their steadfastness to the reformed principles, after these placards were issued, was WENDELMUTA KLAAS, a widow of Monickendam, in North Holland.

Her reformed sentiments becoming known, she was apprehended in the year 1527, and imprisoned in the castle of Woerden. On the 15th of November that year she was conducted from that castle to the Hague. On the 18th she was brought before Count Van Hoogstraten, stadtholder of Holland, and the great council, by whom she was closely examined. Transubstantiation, prayers to saints, auricular confession, and other Popish doctrines supplied ample materials for questions; to all which she gave ready and judicious answers. The following is a specimen of the interrogatories put to her, and of the answers she returned:—

Council.—"If you are not free in answering us, and unless you renounce your errors, a dreadful death awaits you."

Wendelmuta.—"If the power is given you from above, I am prepared to suffer."

Coun.—"You do not fear death because you have not tasted it."

Wend.—"That is true, neither shall I ever taste it, for Christ hath said, 'If any man keep my sayings, he shall never see death.'"

Coun.—"What is your belief as to the sacrament of the mass?"

Wend.—"I believe it to be nothing but a piece of dough; and whereas you hold it to be a God, I say that it is your devil."

Coun.—"What do you think as to the saints, their pictures and images?"

Wend.—"I know no other mediator than Jesus Christ."

Coun.—"You must die if you hold to this. . . . Will you have a confessor or not?"

Wend.—"I have confessed all my sins to Christ, my Lord, who taketh away all sins; but if I have offended any one, I heartily ask of him forgiveness."

Coun.—"Who has taught you this opinion? and how have you come by it?"

Wend.—"The Lord, who calls all men to him: I am one of his sheep, therefore I hear his voice."

Coun.—"Are you alone then called?"

Wend.—"Oh no! for the Lord calls to him all that are heavy laden."

After many other questions of a similar kind were put to her, to which she gave corresponding answers, she was led back to her prison. On the two following days, the last of which was the day of her execution, many persons—monks, priests, women, and her nearest relatives — came to visit her, with the view of inducing her to save her life by abandoning her faith; but she resisted all their entreaties, refusing to purchase life on such dishonourable terms. Among her visitors was a noble matron, who, in condoling with her, advised her, as the line of policy best befitting the times, to keep her opinions to herself: "Dear mother, can you not think as you please, and be silent; so that you should not die?" "Ah!"

said this magnanimous martyr, "you know not what you say. It is written, 'With the heart we believe to righteousness, with the tongue we confess to salvation.' I cannot be silent, dear sister. I cannot be silent; I am commanded and constrained to speak out by Him who hath said, 'Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven'" (Matt. x. 33). "I am afraid, then," rejoined the lady, "that they will put you to death." "Whether, to-morrow, they burn me or put me into a sack and drown me," replied Wendelmuta, "that to me is a matter of indifference. If such be the Lord's appointment, it must come to pass; not otherwise. It is my purpose to cleave to the Lord."

Two Dominican friars, the one as father confessor, the other as an



Wendelmuta Klaas and the Dominican Friars.

instructor, came also to her cell, to persuade her, if possible, to relinquish her heretical opinions, and obtain absolution. These men, it is evident, were grossly ignorant, unable to say anything in vindi-

cation of their church, and they did not even attempt to enter the lists in argument with her. The last-mentioned friar, placing a crucifix before her, said, "See, here is the Lord your God." "That is not my God," she calmly but boldly answered. "It is another cross by which I am redeemed. That is a wooden god; throw him into the fire, and warm yourselves by him." The other friar asked whether on the morning of her death she would receive the sacrament of the mass, which he would readily administer to her. She rejected the proferred service, demanding, "What God would you give me; one that is perishable, that is bought for a farthing?" And the priest having expressed to her the joy he felt in having that day celebrated mass, she told him that he had crucified the Son of God afresh. "Methinks you are beside yourself," said the friar uncourteously, and then he put to her the question, "What do you think of the holy unction?" "Oil is good in a salad, or to smear your shoes with," was her reply. Thus fruitless were the attempts made to bring her to retract her sentiments. She dreaded acting contrary to her convictions of truth and duty more than agony of body and death.

On the 20th of November, the last day of her life, she was brought into court for trial. While she was entering the hall, the monk formerly sent to her prison to instruct her, advanced towards her, and holding forth a crucifix, called upon her to recant, before the sentence should be pronounced. Turning away from the crucifix, she said, "I cleave to my Lord and my God. Neither death nor life shall separate me from him." The trial proceeded. To convict her of heresy a shorter process than the examination of witnesses was deemed sufficient. A few questions were put to her, and these, in the estimation of her judges, being unsatisfactorily answered, the Dean of Maeldwyk, sub-commissary and inquisitor, read her sentence in Latin from a paper, and then repeated it in Dutch, pronouncing her guilty of holding a false faith respecting the sacrament of the altar, and of obstinately continuing in the same, and delivering her over to the secular arm, or to the civil authorities, beseeching

them to treat her with clemency, not to break a bone of her body, nor to shed her blood. "This the inquisitors did," says Dr. M'Crie, "to escape falling under the censure of *irregularity*, which the canons of the church had denounced against ecclesiastics who should be accessory to the inflicting of any bodily injury. Yet they not only knew what would be the consequence of this act, but had taken all the precautions necessary for securing it."[1] Having pronounced this sentence, the dean, with two other ecclesiastics, who had sat with him on the bench, withdrew from the council. The chancellor, then, upon the ground that she was an obstinate heretic, condemned her to be burned at the stake, and declared all her goods to be confiscated. On hearing her doom, she thus addressed the judges, "If your proceedings are now closed, I pray all of you to forgive me if I have injured or provoked any of you." This at least is an evidence of the peaceful inoffensive spirit of this woman. Wherein she had wronged them it is not easy to see. Instead of asking forgiveness for any injury which she had done to them, she had rather a right to complain of the injustice and inhumanity of their treatment of her. The monk who had been so assiduous in his efforts for her conversion redoubled them after her condemnation, but with as little success as before.

She was immediately conducted from the council hall to the place of execution, to undergo the fatal sentence. While she was leaving the hall, the monk exhorted her to call upon "our dear lady," the Virgin Mary, to pray for her. "Our lady," said she, "is happy in repose with God." "Call upon her," repeated the monk eagerly. "We have Christ," rejoined Wendelmuta, "who sits at the right hand of the Father, he intercedes for us." As she approached the scaffold, the monk, holding the crucifix before her, as he had frequently done before, importuned her, but again in vain, to look once on her Lord who died for her. "Do you not fear the ordeal you must suffer in the fire?" he demanded. "I do not," she answered, "for I know how I stand with my God."

[1] *History of the Reformation in Spain*, p. 278.

Having reached the scaffold, a Christian friend standing by called out to her to turn to the people, and entreat them to forgive her if in anything she had offended them. This she at once did in the frankest and most cordial manner. The monk again presented to her the crucifix, which she pushed aside with her hand, and turning away, said, annoyed by his harassing solicitations, "Why do you tempt me? The Lord, my God, is in heaven above." Still he continued urging her to recant with such persistency as was offensive even to the executioner, who advised her to abide by God, and not to suffer herself to be drawn away from him. Meanwhile she took her place at the stake at which she was to be burned, and was unmoved at the sight of the fire. The executioner having made ready the cords to strangle her, she took off her neckerchief or scarf; and when the cord was fastened around her neck, she was again assailed by the monk, who to the last moment of her life evinced extreme solicitude for her conversion; whether from a sincere though blinded concern for her welfare, or from an officious impertinent disposition, it is not easy to determine. "My good Wendelmuta," said he, "do you wish to die as a Christian? Do you renounce all heresy?" "Yes I do," she replied. "That is right," continued the monk. "Are you likewise sorry that you have erred?" "I erred formerly," she cried out, "for *that* I am sorry; but this is no error, it is the right way; I cleave to God." These were the last words she spoke. As soon as she had uttered them the executioner proceeded to strangle her; on feeling which she closed her eyes, as if about to fall asleep, and life became extinct without a struggle, before the flames had seized upon her to consume her.

[1] Brandt, vol. i., p. 56.—Foxe's *Acts and Mon.*, vol. iv., p. 377.—Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, vol. i., pp. 40-44. In this last work she is named "Weynken Claes." Though included among the martyrs of the Baptists, it is doubtful whether she belonged to that sect. She was not accused of any heterodox opinions about baptism, which she probably would have been had she denied the validity of infant baptism.



Antwerp Cathedral. from the Egg Market.

LYSKEN DIRKS,

WIFE OF JERONIMUS SEGERSON.

LYSKEN DIRKS belonged to the body of the Anabaptists, who form so large a proportion of the vast numbers that were slain in the Netherlands for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.

The fate of the Anabaptists was peculiarly hard. Not only were they treated with unusual severity by the government, but strong prejudices and antipathies were entertained by the other Reformers against them, not merely against the party

called by that name, which, under the influence of a fanatical enthusiasm, dishonoured and injured the Reformation by their extravagance and insubordination to civil authority, but against those Anabaptists who had no share in these excesses, who condemned them, who were as sincere in their loyalty as they were fervent in their piety. These prejudices and antipathies, perpetuated in a great measure through ignorance and misrepresentation, have been transmitted to our own time. Even the best of the Anabaptists of that period are still very generally regarded as a moody, whimsical sort of beings, who, setting sober judgment aside, were actuated by mere fantastical feeling, and who are rather to be contrasted than compared or equalled with the martyrs of the Lutheran and reformed churches, as if there was an entire opposition in all material points between the two parties. An impartial investigation into their history—in conducting which we ought not to trust implicity to the statements of their opponents—will teach us to discriminate. The Anabaptist martyrs were in error, as we believe, in denying the validity of infant baptism, and were mistaken on some other questions;[1] but they held the great fundamental articles of Christian truth, particularly the doctrine of justification exclusively through faith in the blood of Christ, and they displayed under their sufferings much of the spirit of Christ. How scriptural, devout, edifying, and consolatory, were the sentiments they expressed in their letters, written from their prisons to their Christian friends! How fervent

[1] One of the other tenets maintained by them was, that while Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, he did not derive his human body from her flesh, it being formed in her womb by the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. But the Scriptures expressely say that Christ was "the seed of the woman" (Gen. iii. 15); that he was conceived in the womb of the Virgin, and was "the fruit of her womb" (Luke i. 32, 42); that he was "made of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom. i. 3); and that he was "made of a woman" (Gal. iv. 4). See also Heb. ii. 14, 16, 17. The argument of the Anabaptists, that the Virgin being a sinful woman, nothing but an impure being could proceed from her flesh, whereas Christ was perfectly pure (Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, vol. i., p. 308), evinces a commendable zeal for the purity of Christ's humanity, but the premises do not warrant the conclusion. The human nature of Christ was formed of the flesh of the Virgin without sin, by the miraculous power of the Holy Ghost (Luke i. 35).

and disinterested their love to their Christian brethren, whose names their enemies could not extort from them by the most inhuman tortures! How unshrinking their courage, and triumphant their faith in meeting the most terrible deaths! No Christian person who, laying prejudice aside, reads with candour the truthful and touching narratives of their martyrdom, can hesitate in coming to the conclusion that many of them, both male and female, as little deserve to be reproached as misguided visionary zealots, and were governed by as sincere a love to Christ, and as ardent a love to the truth, according to the measure of their light, as Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin, whose names are sanctified and immortalized in the memory of the church. They were, indeed, almost exclusively confined to the humbler ranks of life, and their names are unknown to fame. But the sacrifice they made of their lives for God, was not on that account the less precious to Him, nor did that prevent them from being included, and we believe that thousands and tens of thousands of them are included, among that honoured company described in the Apocalypse: "And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said unto me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes" (Rev. vii. 13–17).

The character and spirit of the excellent woman of whose sufferings and martyrdom we are now to lay before the reader a brief account, afford a fair representation of the character and spirit generally of the maligned body of martyrs with whom she was associated in ecclesiastical fellowship.[1]

By whatever other means Lysken was brought to the knowledge

[1] Van Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, printed for the Hanserd Knollys Society, is our chief authority for this sketch. This work contains interesting narratives of many other pious female Anabaptists, who intrepidly suffered death for their principles, in the various forms of beheading, burning, drowning, and burying alive.

of the truth, it is evident, from the memorials left concerning her, that the Sacred Scriptures were the chief. Being a woman of an active and inquiring mind, she eagerly perused them in her secret hours, drinking deep at the great fountain of Divine truth, and thereby she discovered that Popery is a system of imposture, and the mystery of iniquity. This discovery was not inoperative. Too many in those times of persecution, while abhorring the system of Popery, yet joined in its idolatrous and impure worship, from the dread of personal danger. But true to the light which shone upon her mind, Lysken having renounced the Popish faith in her heart, deserted its worship, and openly professed the doctrines of the Reformation, undaunted by the persecution which awaited all who avowed or were suspected of a leaning to these doctrines.

She was married, probably in the year 1549 or 1550, to Jeronimus Segerson, an intelligent young man of high Christian character. and also a convert to the reformed and Anabaptist principles. They were united before the church at Antwerp, of which they were members, the Anabaptists refusing to have this rite performed by the Popish clergy; "which was made a matter of reproach and accusation by their enemies, as if they encouraged and practised licentiousness."[1]

Having both attached themselves to the Reformation and to the Anabaptists, they were surrounded by the snares of death; and in entering into wedlock, they could hardly have been without some presentiments that they might be called, as thousands in their native country had been called before them, to die as martyrs—to seal their faith with their blood. That they had such forebodings appears from one of Segerson's letters, written to his brethren and sisters in the church, after his imprisonment. "This is the hour," says he, "regarding which I so long besought the Lord, knowing myself to be unworthy to suffer for his name's sake."[2] To human nature this

[1] "When marriage became a civil act in the Netherlands, in 1574 and 1580, the Baptists ceased to marry in their assemblies, and resorted to the civil authorities."—Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, note by editor, vol. i., p. 374.

[2] Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, vol. i., p. 393.

was doubtless an appalling prospect, and that, as they looked it in the face, a feeling of withering desolation should sometimes pass over their spirits, is what might be expected. But it does not seem to have abated for a single moment their devotion to the cause they had embraced. The great doctrines of the Reformation, and particularly the doctrine of salvation through the righteousness of Christ alone, which had now burst forth upon a darkened world after an obscuration of ages, had taken full possession of their understandings and their hearts; and though they might have many fears, doubts, and misgivings, as to their being able in their own strength to stand the fiery trial, it was their united prayer that God, by his grace, would enable them to be steadfast to the truth, whatever they might suffer from the power and the malice of men.

In 1551, while quietly residing in Antwerp,[1] they were both apprehended and thrown into prison. They were confined in separate cells, and never again saw each other in this world. They were, however, allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper, and the correspondence between them when in prison is singularly affecting and beautiful. The tone pervading it is not that of sullen spirits refusing to yield, from stubborn inflexible obstinacy, but that of calm, enlightened, conscientious minds, determined to be true to God and conscience at all hazards. Tenderly loving each other, and recently united in marriage, these circumstances naturally attracted them to this world, and aggravated the struggle between the desire to live and the resolution they had formed, from a sense of duty and by the grace of God, to surrender their lives rather than deny their Saviour. But their faith in Christ and their love to Him triumphed over the feelings of nature, and produced devoted unrepining submission. If Jesus laid down his life for us, they reasoned, shall we refuse to lay down our lives for Him? They were persuaded that, painful as the sacrifice might be to flesh and blood, they would be no losers in the end; that death, in whatever way it might befall them, at the stake,

[1] Antwerp contained at that time a population of 200,000.—*Les Délices des Pays*—Bas edit., à Liege, 1769, tom. i., pp. 261, 262.

in the river, or in the ocean, as well as on a bed, would be the passage to blessedness unspeakable and eternal. His letters to her are the most numerous and the longest, and they evince a heart open to all the best feelings of our nature. His whole heart and soul are plainly in all he says. There is a touching pathos in his endeavours to soothe her under the cruelty and injustice of which she was the victim. From these letters she derived great advantage; they sent hope and joy into her heart when ready to sink, and gradually all despondency fled. The gloom of a prison was forgotten, it brightened even into a bower as she thought of the faithful promises of God's Word, and beheld the future gilded with the glories of immortal life.

In one of his letters to her from prison, Segerson thus begins:—

"Fear God always.
"In lonesome cell, guarded and strong, I lie
Bound by Christ's love, his truth to testify;
Though walls be thick, the door no hand unclose,
God is my strength, my solace and repose.

Grace, peace, gladness, joy, and comfort, a firm faith, good confidence, with an ardent love to God, I wish my most beloved wife, Lysken Dirks, whom I married in the presence of God and his holy church, and took thus, agreeably to the Lord's command, to be my wife." After an account of his examination before the margrave and two justices, in the course of which the margrave stigmatized his wife as being the greatest heretic in the town, he addresses himself to the painful yet grateful task of supporting her faith, patience, and fortitude. "My most beloved wife, Lysken, submit yourself to present circumstances; be patient in tribulation, and instant in prayer, and look at all times to the precious promises everywhere given us, if we continue steadfast to the end. . . . Fear not the world, for the hairs of your head are all numbered. Men have no power, except it be given them from above. Christ said, 'Fear not them that kill the body, but fear him who is able, after he hath killed the body, to cast the soul into hell; there shall be weeping of eyes, and gnash-

ing of teeth, and their worm shall not die; they shall rest neither day nor night'" (Matt. x. 28; Luke xiii. 28; Is. lxvi. 24; and Rev. xiv. 11). May the almighty and eternal God so strengthen and comfort you with his blessed Word, that you may abide faithful to the end. Then shall you likewise be found under the altar with all God's dear children, where all tears shall be wiped away from your eyes. There shall all tribulation have an end. Then shall our despised body be glorified, and fashioned after the likeness of His glory. Then shall our weeping be turned into laughter, and our sorrow into joy. Then shall we who for a short space are despised and contemned, yea, persecuted and cast out, and in great reproach, pain, and contempt are brought to death for the testimony of Jesus Christ, enjoy an everlasting triumph, and dwell for ever with the Lord. We shall be clothed with white robes, as John testifies in his revelation concerning the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the witness they bore (Rev. vi. 9–11). Oh! what a glorious company shall we be, when united with the great multitude of which John in his revelation speaks: he 'saw a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, standing before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and having palm branches in their hands; and they cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God who sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb' (Rev. vii. 9, 10). . . . . O, my wife, from my inmost heart beloved, I cannot sufficiently thank the Lord for all the great kindness which he shows to me-ward. He gives me such strength that I cannot express it. Ah! I now find that the Lord is a faithful helper in time of need. He forsaketh not them that put their trust in him. For he that trusteth in the Lord shall not be put to shame. He will keep us as the apple of his eye. He will deliver us from all the assaults of the devil, and from the tyranny of this world; yea, he will preserve us, that we shall not descend to hell, provided we faithfully abide by him unto the end; for Christ saith, 'He that endureth steadfast unto the end shall be saved.' O, my heartily beloved wife, abide faithful to the

Lord, even unto death; for the crown is not at the beginning, nor in the middle, but at the end. If you abide faithful to the Lord he will not forsake you; he will give you the crown of everlasting life, and lead you into his kingdom; he will crown you with praise and honour; he will wipe away all tears from your eyes."

It was a settled plan of the persecutors to endeavour, by every means, by promises and threatenings, and by such argumentation as Popish priests could employ, to bring the heretics who had fallen into their hands to recant. Segerson's fidelity was put to this trying test. When brought before the margrave and two justices, he was strongly pressed to renounce his Protestant and Anabaptist heresies, and reconcile himself to the Romish Church; and they had brought along with them two Dominican friars, to convince him by their arguments The hope of life was held out to him provided he yielded; otherwise, he must perish at the stake. Without hesitation he thus briefly expressed his unalterable determination not to abandon his faith:—"Though you should set the door of the prison open, and should say to me, 'Go, only cry you are sorry,' I should not stir, because I know I have the truth on my side."[1]

Segerson well knew that similar endeavours would be made to extort from his wife a recantation; a step which, should she be prevailed upon to take, would inevitably destroy the peace of her mind, without, in all probability, saving her life. He, therefore, in a subsequent letter to her, thus puts her on her guard:—"Christ himself hath warned us that in the last days many false prophets and false Christs shall arise, insomuch that, if it were possible, they should deceive the very elect. But that is impossible; for the Lord upholds them with his strong arm, so that the gates of hell cannot hurt them. . . . Christ hath warned us also against the doctrine of the Pharisees, and of those that come in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. Marvel not that the ministers of Antichrist are transformed as the ministers of God, that they come with dissembled sanctity and lying lips; for Satan can transform

[1] Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, vol. i., p. 379.

himself into an angel of light. . . . I therefore beseech you, my dear wife, from the bottom of my heart, seeing we are so faithfully warned against the false prophets, who have only the doctrine of devils, and seek nothing but to rend and destroy our souls; I beseech you once more that you give no heed to them, and have nothing to do with them."[1]

These precautions and admonitions were very seasonable; for attempts were repeatedly made, though without success, to betray her into an abjuration of the principles dearest to her heart. "Why," said the monks and persecutors, with sarcastic sneers, at one time on visiting her, "should you meddle with the Scriptures; you had better mind your sewing?" "Christ commands us to search the Scriptures," she answered, "and God is to be obeyed rather than man." "It seems," added they, "that you will follow the apostles; what are the signs that you show? They spake with divers tongues after they had received the Holy Ghost. Where is the tongue that you have received from the Holy Spirit?" But she did not, like the apostles, profess to work miracles, and to speak tongues she had never learned. "It is enough for us," said she, "that we are become believers through their words." They told her that because she had not been married by a Popish priest, she was not truly married, and that she had been living in adultery with him whom she called her husband. But even by this calumny she was unmoved. "My dear husband in the Lord," said she in a letter to him, communicating these facts, "whom I married before God and his people, but with whom they say I have lived in adultery, because I was not married in Baal; the Lord saith, 'Rejoice, when men shall say all manner of evil against you; rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great shall be your reward in heaven'" (Matt. v. 12).[2] In the same letter, encouraging both herself and him to sustain their trials with Christian patience and fortitude, she says—"Praised be God the Father who hath had, and hath shown such love to us, that he hath given his dear

[1] Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, vol. i., pp. 395, 396.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 406, 407.

Son for us. He will bestow upon us such love, such joy, such wisdom and such a steadfast mind through Christ, and by the might of the Holy Ghost, that we may stand firm against all devouring beasts; against dragons and serpents, and against all the gates of hell. . . . I desire that Christ crucified may be our everlasting joy and strength. . . . We are now here in the wilderness among these ravenous beasts that spread out their nets daily to take us therein; but the Lord is very mighty, who forsaketh not his own that put their trust in him. He preserves them from all evil, yea, as the apple of his eye. Let us then be at rest in him, and take up our cross with joy and patience, and expect, with firm assurance, the fulfilment of the promises he has given us, nothing doubting (for he is faithful that hath promised) that we shall be crowned on the hill of Zion, and adorned with palms, and follow the Lamb. I pray you, my beloved in the Lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with all dear friends, and pray to the Lord for me. Amen."[1]

At another time two priests were brought into her cell to make renewed attempts to reclaim her to the Romish Church; but her steadfastness remained unshaken, and in Scripture argumentation she proved more than a match for the priests. The following is a report of what was said on both sides:—

Priests.—(Speaking in a tone of apparent sympathy).—"We are much grieved that you hold such opinions, for we cannot consider it to be faith but only opinion, seeing you do not hold what the church enjoins." Here they repudiate the right of private judgment, maintaining that men and women should extinguish the light of their own understandings, shut their eyes, and believe just what the church believes and teaches, whether it be transubstantiation, that the earth stands still, and that the sun revolves around it, or any other absurdity.

Lysken.—"I and my brethren and sisters desire to do and to believe only what the true Church of Christ, guided and governed by the Word of God, enjoins. But we will have nothing to do with

[1] Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, vol. i., pp. 405-409.

Baal's temple, or other temples that are made with hands, after the doctrines and commandments of men, and not after Christ. Paul saith, 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ'" (Col. ii. 8).

Priests.—"We are consecrated and have a divine commission; we are the apostles' successors; we are those who sit in Moses' seat."

Lysken.—"To you belongs the woe recorded in Matthew xxiii. 13, 'Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.'"

Priests.—"Do you mean to say that he who taught you these things is sent of God?"

Lysken.—"Yes, indeed; I know assuredly that he is sent of God."

Priests.—"Do you know what qualifications should belong to a teacher?"

Lysken.—"A teacher should be the husband of one wife, blameless, having obedient children, no drunkard, not given to wine, not incontinent" (1 Tim. iii. 2). In this answer she touched upon some sore points, and the priests felt reproved, as appears from their reply.

Priests.—"If we do wrong the consequences will fall upon our own heads; but the Lord is merciful."

Lysken.—"Would you sin because of the mercy of the Lord; is it not written that we should not add sin to sin (Eccles. v. 5), nor take encouragement to commit it, because the grace of God abounds (Rom. vi. 1). You are ever learning, and yet never able to come to the knowledge of the truth" (2 Tim. iii. 7).

Priests.—"Christ said to his apostles, 'It is given unto you'—and we are the successors of the apostles—'to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them'—to the people—'it is not given,' and to them, therefore, Christ spake in parables" (Matt. xiii. 11).

Lysken.—"Those among the people who rightly understand, and who are taught of God, to them it is now also given to understand these mysteries. 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and

earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight' " (Matt. xi. 25, 26).

Priests—(Crossing themselves most devoutly, making a long face, and assuming an air of seriousness, and speaking in a solemn tone. —" You shall know the truth of what we have now said, when you shall stand before the judgment-seat."

Lysken.—" True, indeed; we shall then know whether it is truth or falsehood; and when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory, we also who have followed Him in the regeneration, shall sit upon thrones, to judge this disobedient and adulterous generation" (Matt. xix. 28).[1]

So far from being overcome, or even moved, by the endeavours made to draw her into a recantation, her resolution to persevere in the confession of the faith to the death, became the more confirmed the longer she lay in prison. The following letter, which, if not the last, was among the last she wrote to her husband, is a proof of this; and the sentiments expressed in it, so truly apostolic, do equal honour to her understanding and her heart:—

" The abundant grace of God be ever with us both: the love of the Son and his inscrutable mercy, and the joy of the Holy Ghost be with us eternally. Amen. To Him who hath begotten us again from the dead, be glory from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

" I desire Christ crucified to be to us both the defender and guardian of our souls. May he preserve us in all righteousness, holiness, and truth to the end! He will keep us as his sons and daughters, if we maintain our devotedness to him to the end; yea, as the apple of his eye. Let us therefore confide in him, and he will never forsake us; but will keep us, as he has kept his own from the beginning of the world, and will not let any temptation overtake us, but such as is common to man.

" The Lord is faithful, saith Paul, who will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able. Blessed be God, the Father of our

[1] Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, vol. i., p. 414.

Lord Jesus Christ, who hath counted us worthy to suffer for His name, a suffering short and transitory, through the precious promises which he hath given us and all who remain steadfast to his truth. In a few things we may suffer here, but with many shall we be rewarded.

"My dearly beloved husband in the Lord, you have partly passed through your trial, wherein you have remained steadfast. The Lord be for ever praised and glorified for his great mercy. I beseech the Lord with tears, that he will make me also meet to suffer for his name's sake; they are all chosen sheep that he hath chosen thereto; for he hath redeemed them from among men, to be first fruits unto God. Yea, we know, as Paul saith, 'If we suffer, we shall also reign with him; if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him.' Therefore let us not despise the chastening of the Lord; 'for whom he loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth,' as Paul relates. Herewith I commend you to the Lord, and to the word of his grace and glory, whereby he will glorify us, if we remain therein to the end. The grace of the Lord be with us."[1]

Lysken, when apprehended, had the prospect of becoming, for the first time, a mother. This made her sufferings the more severe, and naturally strengthened her love of life. The thought of being torn from the lovely babe to which she expected to give birth, and of leaving it in a world of sorrow and temptation upon the care of others, agonized her mind beyond conception. Her husband endeavoured to alleviate her feelings of anguish, of which he himself partook, arising from this source. In one letter to her he says, "Be not anxious for our child, for my friends will take care of it; yea, the Lord will watch over it." In another letter to her he says, "I have committed us both, and our issue into His hands, that he may accomplish His divine will in us." And in his last letter to her the closing words are, "I am somewhat sorry that I leave you amongst these wolves; but I have commended you and the fruit of our union to the Lord, and am fully persuaded that he will preserve you to the

[1] Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, vol. i., p. 416.

end. In this persuasion I rest myself in peace."[1] But, strongly as the tie of maternal feeling bound her to life and to the world, her faith in Christ, her love to him, and her hope of the future reward, enabled her, though it is not to be supposed without a severe struggle, to triumph even over this tie, and made her willing to have it broken rather than be unfaithful to Christ. This view of her circumstances the more strongly excites our sympathy, and enhances our admiration of her exalted Christian heroism. It kindles into deeper intensity our indignation at the cruelty of the men who could thus wantonly sport with such a sacred thing as maternal affection. And it confirms, what has been before observed, that it was not a dogged obstinacy, nor a stoical carelessness of her fate, which made her steadfast and bold in the confession of her faith, but a calm determination to be true to Christ, at whatever earthly sacrifices.

Times of persecution bind more strongly the ties of affection by which the persecuted are linked together. Lysken had many Christian friends in Antwerp who felt for her the deepest Christian sympathy, and who were anxious to know the state of her mind, and how she was supported in her distressing situation. To gratify their wishes she wrote a letter to them, telling them that, painful as her condition was to human nature, she was not unhappy; that, on the contrary, she was peaceful and resigned; that she was constrained by her love to Jesus to submit to whatever men could inflict upon her for his sake; that she was animated by the hope of a glorious reward; and she expresses an earnest desire for an interest in their prayers, the more especially as, from her circumstances, she would be longer than her husband in being relieved from all her sufferings by martyrdom. "I cannot fully thank nor praise the Lord on account of the great mercy and unfathomable compassion, and great love which he has shown towards us, that we should be his sons and daughters if we overcome as he has overcome. . . Let us observe, dear friends in the Lord, what great love worldly people

[1] Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, vol. i., pp. 403, 420, 426.

have for each other. There are those in prison (we have heard it said) who rejoice if they may but go to the rack for the sake of those they love, since they then would be more closely united to each other in spirit, although they might not in person come together. How then, my beloved brothers and sisters in the Lord, if the world have such love, O, what love ought not we to have who wait for such glorious promises? I have before my eyes a beautiful resemblance in a bride, how she ornaments herself to please the bridegroom of this world. O, how ought we, then, to adorn ourselves to please our Bridegroom! . . . I beseech the Lord, night and day, that he will give us such an ardent love that we may not regard whatever torments they may inflict upon us; yea, that we may say with the prophet David, 'I fear not, whatever men may do unto me.' This our suffering, which is light and temporary, is not to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. Since, then, the will of the Lord is that, with Daniel, I should lie long in the lion's den, and await howling and ravening wolves and lions, and the old serpent that was from the beginning and shall be to the end, I entreat all my dear brethren and sisters, that they forget me not in their prayers. I will likewise cheerfully remember them according to my ability. O, my dear friends, how can I sufficiently thank my heavenly Father that he hath thought it meet for me, a poor sheep, to lie so long in bonds for his name's sake! Night and day do I pray the Lord that this, my trial, may prove to my soul's salvation, to the praise of the Lord, and to the edification of my dear brethren and sisters. Amen."[1]

Jeronimus was burnt at the stake, at Antwerp, on September 2, 1551.

Lysken, who had been long kept in prison, till she should be delivered of her child, was at length brought to the bar, to undergo her final trial and receive her sentence. The natural tendency of the peculiar situation in which she had been placed, was to render her timid and apprehensive. But she felt no embarrassment, and

[1] Braght's *Martyrology of the Baptists*, vol. i., p. 413.

betrayed no symptoms of timidity in the presence of her judges, and of the multitude assembled to witness the proceedings. Her examination is imperfectly recorded by the chronicler of her sufferings; but she answered the questions put to her concerning baptism, and the other points on which it was common to examine the martyrs, without hesitation, and in a tone of firm determination. Her answers not satisfying her judges, they stood up, and after consulting together a short time, pronounced sentence upon her, condemning her to be drowned in the Scheldt on the following day. On hearing this sentence she could not forbear reminding them, that for the injustice dealt out to her they would one day have to answer at the tribunal of the righteous judge of the world. "Ye are now judges, but the time will come when ye will wish that ye had been in the humblest station, for there is a judge and Lord who is above all, he shall, in his own time, judge you; but we have not to wrestle against flesh and blood, but against principalities, and powers, and rulers of the darkness of this world." Irritated at this appeal to their consciences, and to the justice of heaven, they ordered her to be removed from the bar.

Whilst the officers were removing her, curiosity drew after them a crowd of people, to whom she said, "Know that I do not suffer for robbery, or murder, or any kind of wickedness, but solely for the incorruptible Word of God." As she was passing by the Barg church, reflecting on the purposes to which it was appropriated, the superstitious doctrines taught, and the idolatrous worship practised within its precincts, by which the people were deceived and their souls ruined, she exclaimed, "O thou den of murderers, how many souls are murdered in thee!" When near the prison, the officers bade the crowd stand aside and make way for her. "They do not hinder me," said Lysken, "they are welcome to see me, and to take an example by me, even all that love the Word of the Lord;" and, while speaking these words, she re-entered the prison.

The people were greatly moved, and deeply sympathized with the martyr. In the afternoon some of her Christian friends, followed

by many others, went to the prison to encourage and comfort her. "It is well," said they, "that you suffer only for well-doing, and not for any wicked work" (1 Peter ii. 20); and she felt the full force of this consolatory consideration. Two monks, ignorant or hypocritical, perhaps both, also came to endeavour to prevail upon her to abjure her principles, and they were shut up with her for some time; but she was not now to make shipwreck of her faith when so near the haven of everlasting rest, and she would in no wise listen to them. "Go till you are sent for," said she, "for I will give no ear to you. Had I been satisfied with your leaven, I should not have come here." One of her Christian brethren, who was present, exhorted her, in opposition to the persuasion of the monks, to strive manfully, at which they indignantly vociferated, "Here is another of her people encouraging her, more deserving of burning than she is;" and failing to make any impression upon her mind, they departed, mortified and enraged.

She was now shut up in the cell fronting the street, where she had been hitherto imprisoned, and none was permitted access to her save the jailers. Towards evening a Christian brother came to the window of her cell, and had a long interview with her. But their conversation at length attracting many of the passers by, he took farewell of her, bidding her, at the same time, stand up and show herself, by looking from the window. This she immediately did; and as she looked out upon the people collected in the street before her, some voices from the crowd cried out, "Dear sister, strive piously, for the crown of life is set before you." These encouraging words quickened in her heart the holy resolution to meet death with unshaken courage. Addressing herself to the people, she said, "Drunkards, whoremongers, and adulterers are borne with, who will read and talk of the Scripture, but they who live according to the will of God, and walk consistently therewith, must be harassed, oppressed, persecuted, killed." She then began to sing a religious hymn, and some, as this strain, it may be of rustic but also of heavenly melody, fell soothingly upon their ears, cried, "Sing out

Lysken;" but before she had finished the hymn, the magistrates with the officers came to the prison, and they drew her from the window, after which, the evening coming on, she was then no more seen.

The dreadful morning arrived—the morning of her execution—and many who took a lively interest in her fate, full of anxiety and with deep emotion, rose early, some before day, others with the daylight, to cheer her with their presence and with comfortable words to the last. But the unsleeping vigilance of the crafty murderers had anticipated them. Before the dawn they had taken her from prison, and conducting her to the Scheldt, put her into a sack, and drowned her in that river between three and four o'clock, ere a concourse of people should assemble. Some, however, witnessed the tragedy, and they bore testimony that she went with unfaltering steps and an intrepid heart to death, and that the last words which dropped from her lips were, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

MRS. ROBERT OGUIER,

OF THE TOWN OF LISLE.

EXTENSIVELY spread as were the reformed sentiments in the Netherlands, there were few places in which they were preached with greater boldness, and received with greater cordiality, than in Lisle, one of the most flourishing mercantile towns in the province of Flanders. For the space of three years preceding the date of our present narrative, which is the spring of the year 1557, the reformed faith had been preached in that town; and though, in consequence of the persecuting violence of the times, this was done secretly in private houses, in the neighbouring woods, fields, and caves, yet the thirst of the people for instruction in the truth was so great that they were not to be deterred, even at the peril of their lives, from frequenting these meetings. Powerful were the effects which followed. Many were thus enlightened in the knowledge of the pure doctrines of Christianity, and brought under their saving power. Among other conspicuous features of this Christian resuscitation, was the enlarged Christian liberality to which the hearts of the converts were opened; for, after the example of the primitive church, they ordained deacons to collect their freewill offerings for the poor; and their works of charity were not limited to their own party, but extended to whoever around them were in destitute circumstances. From small beginnings this church rapidly increased in numbers,

and its assemblies were attended by men, and women, and little children, not only of the town, but also of the villages four or five leagues around, who flocked thither from an eager desire to be instructed in the Word of God. Being for some time connived at by the magistrates, these assemblies were held the more frequently, and attracted a larger concourse of people.

Mrs. Oguier and her family were among the leading members of the reformed church in this place, and all of them adorned it by their exemplary Christian deportment. Their entire household establishment was regulated as if a temple for the worship of God. They were pre-eminent in their zeal for the diffusion of the truth. They abounded, too, in works of charity; and being in good worldly circumstances, they possessed the means of gratifying their benevolent inclinations. They regularly attended the secret meetings held by the Reformers for prayer and the exposition of the Scriptures; and these meetings were often held in their house. For a short period this excellent family remained undisturbed, but in those perilous times the faithful stood in jeopardy every hour. The Dominicans, alarmed lest the whole town of Lisle should be infected with heresy, began to censure the magistrates from the pulpits for their slackness in enforcing the laws against heretics, and for conniving at conventicles. Thus incited by the monks and friars, the provost of the town, accompanied by his bailiffs, went armed through the houses of suspected persons, on Saturday, the 6th of March, 1556-7, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening. Rushing impetuously into the house of Mrs. Oguier, whose character, and the character of whose family were well known to them, they searched every part of it for prohibited books, some of which they found, and then carried away herself, her husband, and her two sons, Baldwin and Martin, to prison. While the prisoners were passing through the streets, Baldwin, who had been the chief object of the search, cried, with a loud voice, which was heard by numbers, "O Lord, not only to be prisoners for thee, but also give us grace boldly to confess thy holy doctrine before men, and that we may seal it by the ashes of our body for the edifi-

cation of thy poor church." They were thrown into prison and rudely handled; but all of them praised God, who had accounted them worthy to suffer for his name's sake.

A few days after, they were brought before the magistrates of Lisle and examined. "We are informed," said the magistrates, "that you never go to mass, and that you hinder others from going to it. We are also informed that you keep conventicles in your house; and that in these erroneous doctrine is taught, contrary to the doctrines of our holy mother church; by all which you have contravened the statutes of his imperial majesty." The father, for himself and the rest, answered: "Honourable Sirs, you ask why we do not go to mass. The reason is because the precious blood of the Son of God and his oblation are thereby rendered void; and because Christ, by one offering, hath perfected them who are sanctified. Paul speaks of only one sacrifice (Heb. x. 14). Christ and his apostles celebrated the supper, in which all the Christian people communicated; but we do not read in the Holy Scriptures that they ever offered the sacrifice of the mass, or appointed it to be offered, or knew what it is. It has, therefore, no authority in the Word of God. It is the invention of men; and Christ has said, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men' (Matt. xv. 9). Nor do we deny that we have held assemblies of good and pious people in our house; but these have been for the advancement of the glory of Jesus Christ, and have not been to the prejudice of the government. We know that the emperor has forbidden them, but we also know that Christ has commanded them. We could not, therefore, obey the one without disobeying the other, and we have preferred obeying God rather than man." One of the magistrates then asked the prisoners what was done at their conventicles. "With your lordships' permission," said Baldwin, the eldest son, "I will give you a full account of that matter;" and having obtained leave, he proceeded thus: "When we are come together in the name of the Lord, to hear his holy Word, we all fall at once down upon our knees, confess in humility of heart our sins before the Divine majesty, and earnestly beseech him that his

Word may be purely preached to us, and rightly understood by us. We also pray for our sovereign lord the emperor, and for all his council, that the commonwealth may be governed with peace, and to the glory of God. Nor are you, my lords, forgotten by us, as our immediate governors; we supplicate God for you and this whole city, that he would support you in what is good and just. Do you, therefore, still believe that our assembling together for these purposes can be so criminal as has been represented to you? As a proof of the truth of what I now state, I am ready, if you please, my lords, to recite these very prayers before you." Some of the judges having notified their assent, he immediately kneeled down before them, and poured forth a prayer with such fervency of spirit and vehement emotion, that it drew tears from the eyes of the judges. Having concluded, and standing up, "These," said he, "are the things which pass in our meetings."

These four confessors were afterwards put to the rack, to extort from them a discovery of those who frequented their meetings; but they completely baffled their inquisitors, refusing, under the extremity of the torture, to reveal the names of any of their brethren, excepting some who were already known, or who had made their escape.

Four or five days after, the father and the eldest son, Baldwin, were adjudged to the flames, which they endured with unshrinking courage. The two martyrs were heard conversing together in the midst of the flames, even when they were at the highest; and the son, as long as he had strength to speak, was observed to encourage his father.

The condemnation of Mrs. Oguier, and of her son, Martin, was deferred, probably in the hope that she, being a woman, and that her youngest son, from his youth, might be brought to recant. The more effectually to produce this result, they were separated from each other, and harassed by the monks, with incessant exhortations, to repent and return to the bosom of the Romish Church. Like his father and brother, Martin was not to be trepanned into a compromise of his principles, even by the prospect of saving his life. He

was, however, afraid that his mother, plied by ceaseless importunities, might, from the dread of an appalling death, be driven to renounce with the mouth those truths which she continued to believe with the heart. His fears were too truly realized. By promises and threatenings she at last yielded; and the monks, who had been unsuccessful in their efforts to shake the constancy of her son, even prevailed upon her to use her influence to induce him to abjure his errors, and return to the path of truth, as they expressed it. This her enemies accounted a great victory, of which they loudly boasted; and her Christian friends, on hearing the rumour of her falling courage, were deeply grieved. The former had not long cause to exult, nor the latter to grieve. Love to the truth all the while burned in her breast, and an affectionate appeal to her heart fanned it into a flame, raising her superior to torture and death. Her son, when admitted to see her, on discovering that she had fallen from her steadfastness, and that she began to advise him to follow her example, cried out, weeping, "O, my mother, what have you done? Have you denied the Son of God who redeemed you? Alas! what has he done to you, that you should so injure and dishonour him? Now is that misfortune befallen me which I most dreaded. O my God! why have I lived to the present moment, to witness what pierces to my inmost soul?" This at once recovered her from the shock she had received. The words and tears of a son who was in every respect so dear to her, went to her heart, and, ashamed of her pusillanimity, she burst into tears, acknowledged with unfeigned sorrow her apostasy, and besought forgiveness from God. "Good God!" she cried, "have mercy upon me, hide my transgressions under the righteousness of thy Son, and grant me strength to abide by my first confession, and confirm me in it to the last breath of my life." That, yielding to natural feeling, her constancy in the day of trial should for a moment have failed, the more especially as she was precluded from all intercourse with her friends, need not excite our surprise. The terror of the stake has shaken the resolution of the stoutest hearts; and yet when we see them, by trusting more to that strength which is made

perfect in weakness, recovering themselves from depressing terrors, and submitting to the utmost that men can inflict upon them, with a courage rendered only the more determined from their having



Mrs. Oguier and her Son.

stumbled and fallen, it would be to violate every generous feeling of our nature harshly to censure the temporary irresolution into which they have been hurried, in circumstances so difficult and trying.

Soon again the monks visited Mrs. Oguier, expecting to find her in the same state of mind into which they had brought her. But immediately as they entered her cell, she addressed them, "Depart, ye messengers of Satan, for you have no more share in me; I wish to subscribe my first confession, and if I cannot do it with ink, it shall be done with my blood." In vain did they now promise to spare her life as the reward of recantation; in vain did they hold

forth the dreadful death certainly awaiting her, if she persisted in her alleged errors. She stood firm, like a rock amidst the buffetings of the tempest.

The consequence was that she and her son were brought before the judges, and condemned to be burned alive. They both heard their sentence with unaltered countenance, which their persecutors mistook for sullen obstinacy. On their way from the bar to the prison each of them blessed God for his goodness, in causing them to triumph by Jesus Christ over all their enemies. And the son, encouraging his mother, said to her, "My mother, do not forget the honour and the glory which our God confers upon us in conforming us to the image of his Son. Remember those who have walked in his ways; for they have gone no other road than this. Let us then boldly advance, my mother, and follow the Son of God, bearing his reproach, with all his martyrs, and thus shall we enter into the glory of the living God. Doubt not, my mother, that this is the way in which we ought to go; for you know that through much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of God." Upon hearing these words, one of the officers vociferated, "Villain, we now see that the devil entirely possesses you, soul and body, as he did your father and your brother, who are now in hell." My friend," said Martin, "your curses are blessings to me, before God and before his angels."

After this the mother betrayed no symptoms of weakness. No longer did her mind waver between a desire to live and a readiness to die for the truth. The latter sentiment supplanted and swallowed up the former. "Through faith, out of weakness she was made strong, and waxed valiant in fight—tortured, not accepting deliverance, that she might obtain a better resurrection." At her martyrdom she conducted herself with the utmost intrepidity. As she went up to the scaffold she said to her son, who was to suffer with her, "Ascend, Martin—ascend, my son." When he was about to address the spectators, she called to him, "Speak out, Martin, that they may know that we are not heretics;" and when he was not permitted to speak, moved at this, she cried out with a loud and clear voice to

the bystanders, while the executioner was binding her to the stake. "We are Christians; and what we are about to suffer is neither for theft nor murder, but because we will not believe anything in religion save what is taught in the Word of God." This, the true cause of their being committed to the burning pile, was a consolation, a ground of rejoicing to them both. The flames soon enveloped them; but amidst their violence the constancy of the martyrs remained undiminished, and lifting up their eyes to heaven, they exclaimed with one voice, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands we commend our spirits." Their martyrdom took place about eight days after that of the father and the eldest son.[1]

[1] *Histoire des Martyrs*, edit. à Genèvre, 1619, pp. 417-421.—Brandt, vol. i., pp. 108-110



BETKEN,

MAID-SERVANT OF PETER VAN KULEN, GOLDSMITH IN BREDA.

THIS humble Christian woman was a convert to the reformed doctrines, and her Christian intelligence, conscientiousness, and intrepidity, would have done honour to the most exalted rank. Kulen himself, who had embraced the same sentiments, had long held, with much approbation, the office of deacon or elder among the reformed in Breda, and they secretly held their meetings for the exercises of religious worship in his house, for they were not allowed to assemble publicly.

Both these worthy persons were doomed to suffer for their steadfast adherence to the truth. In spite of the circumspection Kulen had exercised over his words and actions, his sentiments were discovered, and being accused of heresy to the authorities, he was apprehended, imprisoned, and laid in irons; and to seclude him from all intercourse with his Christian friends, he was removed from the common prison to the castle. He had to support himself in prison; and his servant, Betken, brought him his food from day to day. On these occasions she was unremitting in her endeavours to comfort and confirm him from the Word of God. This she continued to do without obstruction, for a period of more than nine months. At last, however, she too was imprisoned; but so far from regretting this

as a calamity, she rather rejoiced, accounting herself happy in being called to suffer for righteousness' sake.

To extort both from her and from her master a confession of their faith, and information respecting their Christian brethren, it was resolved upon to put them to the rack. The master passed through this trying ordeal, which he appears to have endured with firmness, refusing to reveal his associates. Betken providentially escaped it. When about to have applied to her the engines of torture, she thus addressed the commissioners who had come to her for that purpose: "My masters, wherefore will you put me to this torture, seeing I have in no way offended you? Is it for my faith's sake? You need not torment me for that: for as I was never ashamed to make a confession thereof, no more will I be so now when I am before you; I will freely disclose to you my mind therein." But they wanted to extract from her more than a candid and full confession of her belief; and perceiving that her words had no effect upon them, she said, "Alas! my masters, if it be so that I must suffer this pain, then give me leave first to call upon God." This request was granted her, and so deeply affecting was her prayer, that in the midst of it one of the commissioners, convinced of her innocence, was so overwhelmed with terror at the idea of having any hand in her sufferings, that he swooned, and could not for a long time be recovered. This accident was the occasion of her escaping the torture.

Soon after, she and her master were examined at the same time. Both made confession of their faith; and neither by persuasions nor threatenings could they be induced to recant and return to the bosom of the Romish Church. They were therefore sentenced to be committed to the flames.

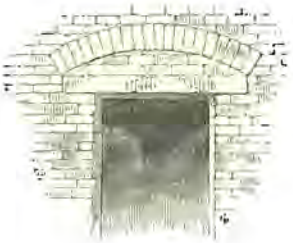
To witness their execution, which took place on the 29th of May, 1568, about two months from the date of the incarceration of Betken, a vast multitude assembled. Among the crowd were many of their Christian friends, who had come together, not for the purpose of gazing upon the revolting spectacle of their corporeal struggles, but to encourage them with their presence, and to be able to bear testi-

mony to their intrepidity and constancy in death. Whilst Betken and her master were led forth to execution, strong expressions of sympathy and indignant complaints were made by the people. Several women, observing the cheerful courage and steadfastness of them both, were so greatly excited, that, disregarding the danger they might thereby incur, they broke through the crowd and embraced them, praising God for the grace given them, and crying out, "Fight manfully, for the crown is prepared for you." But no uproar was created, nor were any attempts made to force them out of the hands of the magistrates, as had been done with success in various instances in other places. Meanwhile the two martyrs earnestly besought God that he would be pleased to perfect the good work which he had mercifully begun in them, and assist them, by the power of his Holy Spirit, until they had finished their course. On reaching the place of execution, Betken began to address the people with a serene countenance, exhorting them to be always obedient to the Word of God, and not to fear those who can kill the body, but who have no power over the soul. "As for me," she added, "I am now going to meet my glorious spouse, the Lord Jesus Christ." She and her master then fell down upon their knees, and engaged in prayer with great fervour. Having risen up, they were bound with chains to the stake by the executioner, during which operation Betken, in whom was not to be seen the least symptom of fear, encouraged her master to be strong in the Lord. He was first strangled and then burned. Being more obnoxious, from her greater intrepidity and freedom in owning her sentiments, which was interpreted as a proof of her invincible obstinacy, she was denied the poor favour of being strangled before the flames had seized upon her. But her faith, if it did not literally quench the violence of the fire, gave her fortitude to endure it without shrinking; and out of the midst of the devouring element she was heard and seen, to the admiration of many of the spectators, to magnify the Lord.

The martyrdom of this female took place the year after the Duke of Alva's arrival in the Netherlands. Had it taken place somewhat

later, she would, in all probability, have been prevented by the gag from speaking to the people. To prevent the martyrs, whose dying words produced a powerful impression on the spectators, from speaking at their execution, wooden balls were at first put into their mouths, but as these sometimes slipped out, in which case the martyrs did not fail to open their mouths and tell the people how joyfully they suffered for the sake of Christ, a new and a more effectual mode of gagging them was invented, by the infernal ingenuity of some of the persecutors under the administration of Alva. The tongue was first screwed between two pieces of iron, and then it was seared at the tip with a red-hot iron, which caused it to swell to such a degree, as to become immoveable, and incapable of being drawn back. "Thus fastened, the tongue would wriggle about with the pain of the burning, and yield a hollow sound;" upon which, shocking as was the sight, some of the friars looked with savage delight, as upon a curious experiment; and to provoke mutual laughter, made jocular remarks on the sound produced by the suffering member.[1]

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, folio edit., vol. iii., Appendix, pp. 49, 50.—Brandt, vol. i., p. 275.





The Townhall, Utrecht.

ELIZABETH VANDER KERK,

WIDOW OF ADAM VAN DIEMEN.

NUMEROUS as were the martyrs, female as well as male, whom the Duke of Alva more immediately made to pass through the hands of the executioner, we shall confine ourselves to a notice of the hard fate of only one lady, in 1568, namely, Elizabeth Vander Kerk, widow of Adam van Diemen, who had been some time burgomaster of the city of Utrecht. She was a lady of respectability and opulence, having an income of four thousand gilders *per annum;* and she was now advanced to the extreme boundary of human life, being

eighty-four years of age. Her fate affords an example of the slight pretences upon which the Netherlanders were deprived of their lives and properties during the administration of the Duke of Alva. She had not formally joined the ranks of the Reformers, though she was favourably inclined to the reformed sentiments. The only charge brought against her was, that she had harboured Mr. John Arentson, an eminent reformed minister in the Netherlands, or that she had allowed his nephew, Mr. Richard Kater, to bring him into her house. Upon this slender ground she was arrested and thrown into prison at Utrecht, the place of her residence. Hearing of her incarceration, and of the amount of her wealth, the rapacious Duke of Alva, looking with a greedy eye upon her four thousand gilders *per annum*, chuckled with his associates over the idea of clutching them. But how was this delightful idea to be realized? Why, by a very simple process. "She is reported to be a heretic," said they; "as such we shall put her to death, and with her life will go her estate." It was accordingly determined that she, along with three individuals of the other sex, namely, Heer Gerard van Renesse, councillor in the court of Utrecht, who was a prisoner in the castle; Adrian de Waelvan Vroonestein, and Henry Albertson, should be executed without delay.

On the 24th of August, 1568, the duke's provost arrived at Utrecht about eight o'clock in the evening, and acquainted the magistrates of that city with the commission he had received to inflict capital punishment upon this lady, and upon the three other persons just named. He also consulted with Mr. John Lent and Mr. Grysperen, two of the members of the council of blood, how he might most conveniently give effect to Alva's orders. The result was, that the four prisoners were put to death on the following day, being the 25th of August. Henry Albertson was burned alive, "obstinately persisting in his errors," as Lent and Grysperen phrase it; that is to say, intrepidly refusing to renounce his reformed principles. The other two male sufferers were beheaded; but whether this leniency, as it was accounted by the persecutors, was owing to their having renounced their heresies, or to their being reckoned less guilty than

Albertson, is uncertain. It might be thought that if compassion for Mrs. Adam van Diemen, whose withered form was bending to the dust from age, did not touch their hearts, they would have considered it hardly worth their pains to shorten her days, as she could not, in the course of nature, be long in dropping into the grave. But like the rest she was doomed to the slaughter. The form of a trial was not gone through in her case any more than in the case of the others. She was interrogated in prison whether Richard Kater, who had brought the reformed minister, Mr. John Arentson, into her house, lived with her, or whether she lived with him? She answered that he resided with her. This admission was deemed sufficient, and upon this, her only offence, rested the sentence adjudging her to be beheaded, and declaring her estate to be confiscated. On the scaffold, thinking that her extreme old age entitled her to respect and favour, she asked one of the officers whether there was any room for mercy? He replied, "No." Upon which, shrewdly guessing the cause to be her wealth, which it had been determined to seize upon, she observed—"I know what you mean; the calf is fat, and must be killed." Her fortitude did not forsake her to the last. Turning to the executioner, she said to him, with a masculine courage, jesting upon her great age, "Is your sword sharp? for I have a very tough neck." At the block she somewhat raised her hands, and folded them in the attitude of prayer. The executioner having desired her to lower them, lest he should strike them when performing his office, the heroic sufferer, waiting for the fatal stroke, instantly cried out, "Do your business; when the head is off the fingers will feel no pain."[1]

[1] Brandt, vol. i., p. 270.

CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON,

PRINCESS OF ORANGE.

CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON was the fourth and youngest daughter, save one, of Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Montpensier, a prince of the blood-royal of France, by his first wife, Jaqueline de Longvic. Some account of both her parents will be given in the second series of these biographies. Here it is only necessary to observe, that they entirely differed from each other in their religious sentiments, the father being the personification of Popish bigotry and intolerance, while the mother had sincerely and ardently embraced the reformed doctrines. The romantic history of Charlotte resulted from these two conflicting forces, the Romanism of her father and the Protestantism of her mother being brought to bear upon her destination in life, each striving, after its own manner, to mould her character and lot.

Her mother had carefully instructed her in Protestant principles, but secretly, that it might not be known to her father. The duke, however, was not altogether ignorant of the predilection of his wife for the new doctrines, and of the care she took in instilling them into the minds of their children. Partly in revenge for this offence, as he judged it, partly from blinded Popish superstition, and partly to release himself from the duty of providing for his daughters, his house having, by a combination of causes, become impoverished, he

consigned three of them, of whom Charlotte was one, to the cloister; and from his illustrious rank, he had no difficulty in procuring for her the dignity of a lady-abbess.[1] At that period, and many ages before, when it was common for the most beautiful and promising daughters of kings, princes, and nobles to become the inmates of convents, the conduct of the duke, in thus disposing of his daughters, was accounted in no respect disreputable, but rather a proof of superior devotion to the holy mother church.

The life of a nun is invested by that church with peculiar sanctity. And in the dreams of sentimentalists convents may be very fine places. Poets and novelists may throw a kind of enchantment over them; for the theme is prolific with the poetical and the romantic. Their loneliness and seclusion, seldom disturbed, save occasionally by some weary pilgrim or benighted traveller—their romantic as well as secluded situations, which have evidently been selected with the view of affecting the imagination—the images of repose, of luxurious contemplation, and of impassioned reverie, tinged with a pleasing melancholy which they awaken in the mind—the grateful and welcome retreat they proffer to the religious enthusiast, the disappointed, the splenetic, or such as desire to retire from a world with which they are disgusted, and the pleasures of which they are no longer able to enjoy—the peculiar dress of the world-renouncing devotees, their "saintly habit, their beaded rosary," and their religious ceremonial, superstitious and absurd though it be—all this affords ample scope to the genius of poetry and romance; and under the magic spell of poets and novelists, sentimental mothers have devoted their daughters to the convent, and sentimental daughters have sighed for such a retreat, as they pored over some beautiful but fictitious description of the convent as the seat of poetry and art, of lettered leisure and devout contemplation, and of the nun as the bride of heaven and the spouse of the Redeemer.

But Charlotte's mother, who was neither in heart a Romanist, nor

[1] *Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné*, tom. ii., liv. i., p. 6.—De Thou, *Histoire*, tom. iv., liv. li., p. 533.

led away by the fascinating dreams of sentimentalism, was opposed, in all the feelings and sentiments of her soul, to her daughter's taking the veil. Having no belief, from her Protestant principles, in the pre-eminent sanctity of a monastic life, she shrunk at the thought of sacrificing her daughter by shutting her up in a convent, to become as dead to the external world as if she had in it neither friend nor kindred. She thought it infinitely better—and in this her judgment was in harmony at once with reason and revelation—that her daughter should be a useful member of society should sustain and adorn the relations of life, rather than be doomed to the dormitory of a monastery, there to spend her days in lazy contemplation, in worshipping relics, in singing masses, in counting her beads, in offering up matins and vespers to the Virgin Mary. It was much more natural for her as a mother to wish that her daughter should be united in marriage to a husband suitable to her rank, and she is said to have destined her to become the wife of the Duke of Longueville.[1]

Like many young ladies who, to gratify the bigotry of a parent, have been compelled to become nuns, Charlotte was strongly disinclined to leave her mother, and associate herself with the sisterhood of a convent.[2] But it would have been vain, either for herself or for her mother, to have sought to counteract the duke's purpose. From his irritable temper, they knew well that by neither of them could domestic peace be enjoyed, were his intentions to be thwarted. Charlotte, who was now only thirteen years of age, had no alternative, and she was forced to take the vows before she had attained the age or completed the probation prescribed by the canons.[3] But before setting out for the nunnery of Jouarre, in Normandy, the place of her destination, she secretly signed, under the direction of her mother, and unknown to her father, a written protestation against the extorted engagements.[4] Her signing this document afforded some com-

[1] De Thou, *Histoire,* tom. iii., liv. xxviii., pp. 59, 60.

[2] Spanheim, *Mémoires de la Louise Juliane,* p. 12.

[3] De Thou, *Histoire,* tom. v., liv. lx., p. 166.—Prince of Orange's *Apology.*

[4] Prince of Orange's *Apology.*—Miss Benger's *Memoirs of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia,* vol. i., pp. 12-14.

fort to the afflicted mother, who, as she gave her beloved daughter her parting embraces, and poured forth her fervent prayers that God would preserve, bless, and deliver her, conjured her by a mother's love to remember the protestation to which she had now affixed her name. The mother, it would appear, strongly hoped that Providence, in the course of events, might one day liberate the captive, who, friendless and unprotected as she now seemed, might yet take the place due to her rank among the dames of France, an honoured and beloved wife and mother. The hope was substantially realized, but she did not live to see its fulfilment. She died[1] upwards of ten years before her daughter was released, without the consolation of seeing her before leaving the world.

Charlotte, as a matter of necessity, resigned herself to her fate; and though she continued in the convent for many years, she was never aught else than an unwilling captive. Upon hearing of her mother's death, she could not but feel how hard it was to have been deprived of an opportunity of attending the death-bed of her dearest earthly relative. This would recall with intenser feelings the memory of the cruel separation between them in her tender years; nor would it enhance her ideas of the comfort of a life spent within the walls of a nunnery. In her retirement and seclusion she had not forgotten her mother's last embraces, and parting blessing and advice. She remembered, too, her mother's early instructions, and cherished the faith which in secret had been imparted to her.

During the period of her residence in the convent, a great struggle was maintained between the two parties—the Romanists and the Huguenots—who then divided France. The Huguenots, who had been rapidly increasing in numbers and in strength, had been forced to take up arms in self-defence against the Romanists, who sought nothing less than the extermination of their opponents. The result was a series of disasters, involving the loss of life and property to thousands. The Huguenots were often defeated, and as often rallied under the superior military talents and wonderful resources of Admiral Colligny. Char-

1 28th August, 1561.

lotte's judgment and feelings were all on the side of this party. The murders and massacres which deluged France with blood deeply affected her, and in proportion to her sympathy with the suffering Huguenots grew her detestation of the persecutors, and her aversion to the whole system of Popery.

Nor did she keep the reformed faith she had embraced shut up in her own breast. It was at that time no uncommon thing for the reformed doctrines to find their way into monasteries, and for abbots and abbesses to instil these doctrines into the minds of the monks and nuns under their care. The abbess of Jouarre was of this class. If she did not boldly attack the doctrines of the Popish Church, she taught her nuns the great doctrines of Christianity, which have been



Charlotte Instructing the Nuns of Jouarre.

either directly denied or grievously corrupted by Popery. In this respect she followed the counsel and example of her near relative, Jeanne Chabot, abbess of the Paraclit convent, who was particularly assiduous in instructing the nuns under her superintendence in the Protestant doctrines. That lady openly avowed her attachment to the reformed faith, though she never departed from her monastery,

except when driven from it in the height of the war against the Protestants, and she continued all her life to wear the dress of a nun.[1]

In this useful work of instruction Charlotte continued to persevere for a long time with evident tokens of success. As years passed away she experienced an increasing disinclination to the monastic life. The dignity of lady abbess could not reconcile her to it. She became tired of the same superstitious round of Popish ceremonial, and of making confession to ghostly monks in cowl and serge, in whose power of absolution she had no faith. She equally disbelieved the common-place discourse addressed to young ladies who take the veil, which tells them "of their approaching happiness, that they will thenceforward belong to God, that by this act of devotion their eternal felicity is secured, that heaven is opening its gates to receive them."[2] But her father's house was shut against her, and this, taken in connection with the consideration that she was usefully employed in instructing others, made her passively submit to a situation into which she had been forced, and which she had never ceased to regard as a sort of imprisonment.

Whether Charlotte had been winked at, or had communicated her instructions with a caution which eluded discovery, does not appear; but she continued long to prosecute her labours of love undisturbed. At length, however, from her zeal and success, she became an object of suspicion, was regarded in high quarters as a heretic, and as having been engaged in the inexpiable crime of instilling the Lutheran poison into the nuns of the convent of Jouarre. She was threatened. Proceedings were about to be instituted against her; and in those times, when the fury of the Romanists in France against the Protestants was wrought up to diabolical frenzy, even her personal safety was exposed to the utmost peril.

In these circumstances, when she was at a loss how to act, the convent of Jouarre, like similar places, which, during the course of the

[1] *Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné*, tom. ii., liv. i., p. 6.—De Thou, *Histoire*, tom. iv., liv. li., p. 533.

[2] Whiteside's *Travels in Italy*, vol. iii., p. 219.

civil wars, were exposed to the violence of arms, was invaded and thrown open by the Huguenots.[1] This afforded her an opportunity of making her escape, of which she did not fail to avail herself. In the beginning of the year 1572 she quitted the convent for ever, thus taking the benefit of the protestation against the monastic life which she had signed by her mother's advice, and of which she had never repented. But whither was she to flee for safety? Where was she to find an asylum securing to her liberty of conscience? She could not go home to her father, who would not have received her unless she had at least renounced her Protestant principles. She therefore first fled to her eldest sister, Frances, who was married to Henry Robert de la Mark, Duke of Bouillon, and Seigneur of Sedan, a lady not less attached to the reformed faith than herself. From the house of her sister she was conducted to Heidelberg, the capital of the Palatinate,[2] to reside with the Elector Palatine, Frederick III., a Protestant prince of great excellence of character, who welcomed and treated her with all the kindness and respect due to her illustrious rank.[3]

At Heidelberg Charlotte publicly abjured the Romish faith, and openly joined the ranks of the Reformers.[4]

Whither she had gone was at first unknown to her father and her friends in France. But a clue was soon found to the place of her

[1] *Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné*, tom. ii., liv. i., p. 6.—De Thou, tom. v., liv. lvii., pp. 5, 6; and liv. lx., p. 166.—Spanheim, *Mémoires de la Louise Juliane*, p. 12.

[2] Amidst the revolutions which the Reformation produced in Germany, the Palatinate enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity, for which it was indebted partly to the moderation of its princes, who prudently declined to join with either of the contending parties, but chiefly to the policy of Charles V., who, though he visited Lutheranism in Hesse and Saxony with the violence of persecution, overlooked the efforts of the Reformers to promulgate their tenets in the dominions of Frederick. During this happy interval the Palatinate greatly advanced in wealth, in civilization, and learning; and in the court many illustrious Huguenots found refuge from the persecution which had driven them from France.

[3] De Thou, tom. iii., liv. xxviii., p. 59; and tom. v., liv. lx., p. 166.—*Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné*, tom. ii., liv. i., p. 6.—Spanheim, *Mémoires de la Louise Juliane*, pp. 12–15.

[4] Bayle's *Dictionary*, art. "Longvic."

retreat. Her escape from the convent was deemed so important that, immediately on its becoming known, it engaged the attention of the French court. Christopher de Thou, first president of the Par-



The Town and Castle of Heidelberg.

liament, received orders to repair to the abbey of Jouarre, in order to make a particular inquiry as to what had taken place, and to make a report of the result of his inquiries to the king. Meanwhile the duke, her father, who was at that time at Aigueperse in Auvergne. received a letter from the Elector Palatine, dated 15th March, 1572, justifying the conduct of Charlotte in having followed the dictates of her conscience, and begging her father not to be offended with her on account of the steps she had taken. The duke was too zealous a Romanist, and too bitter an enemy to Protestants, to take the matter so coolly. He was mortified, not so much at his daughter's having made her escape from the convent, as at the cause which prompted

her to make it—her Protestant principles. He quite lost his temper; and in his reply to the elector, dated 28th March, he gave vent to the indignation he could not suppress. He told him that he was in despair at the intelligence which had reached him respecting his daughter, and that he could listen to no excuse. He inveighed against her irreligion, saying that, when from under the eye of her parents, she had violated the promise she had made of devoting herself to God, that she had disappointed the hopes of the whole family, and was wanting in the respect she owed to her father. He protested that he would never forgive her if she did not without delay return to France, and submit herself to the orders of the king, and to the will of her father. He begged the elector to interpose his good offices to engage her to do this, and to do to a prince, who was his friend and relative, what he would have to be done to himself in like circumstances. "Can it be at all honourable in you," he added, "to receive into your house children who have run away from their father? Is it not more worthy of you, kindly to advise them to return to their duty?"[1]

It is easy to conceive the sadness and anxiety which Charlotte would experience when this letter, written in such sullen and angry mood, was put into her hands by the elector that she might read it. But she could feel no just cause for self-condemnation. The reproaches cast upon her by her father, as being wanting to him in filial respect and obedience, were altogether undeserved. If a father has an absolute, incontrollable authority over his child's religious belief, according to the extravagant notions the duke had of the extent of parental authority, these reproaches were merited. But if that authority has definite limits—if it does not warrant a parent to claim to be the supreme dictator of his children's faith—to force their judgment and violate their conscience—the duke was acting tyrannically and cruelly in requiring his daughter to renounce the religious sentiments which she had been led to adopt from the exercise of her judgment upon the Word of God. Having no idea how any body

[1] De Thou, tom. iv., liv. li., pp. 533, 534.

could have scruples of conscience, he could not enter into the motives and feelings by which she was governed, and probably ascribed her conduct solely to an unfilial, wayward self-will, prompting her to fly in the face of his authority. He could not have put a greater misconstruction on her motives and feelings. She believed and acknowledged that it was her duty to be obedient to him in things lawful. The thought of incurring his censure and frown had given her many a sore heart, and drawn from her many a bitter tear. She was anxious to be reconciled to him in any way not involving her in the betrayal of her conscience, and in sin against God, who had the first and the highest claims upon her obedience. All she desired was, that instead of being fettered by her father in matters of religion, she should be allowed to think and act in these matters for herself.

The Elector Palatine, in answering her father's letter, expressed himself with great courtesy and command of temper, but without, in any respect, giving in to his Popish intolerance. Being a Protestant he could not, he said, sympathize with the duke's feelings in regard to Charlotte's desertion of the Romish Church, a step, in his view, so far from being blameworthy, entitled to all commendation. He could not regret that a lady so eminently fitted to adorn society, had been brought out of a situation which could afford no appropriate sphere for the useful exercise of her virtues and accomplishments. He was not ignorant of the duties incumbent upon children towards their parents, and he would be the last man in the world to wound the heart of a father by throwing the shield of his protection over a disobedient child. But he could assure the duke that his daughter did not mean to offend him; that it was from deliberate inquiry and enlightened conviction, not from rashness or self-will that she had embraced the reformed opinions; and he would have him to treat her gently in a matter which ought to be left between God and her own conscience. As to the appeal made to his sense of honour, he expressed his readiness to send her back to her father, provided the king became surety that she

should be allowed the free exercise of her religion.[1] The duke, in whose estimation the embracing of Protestantism was the most inexpiable of all offences, and whose intolerance of heresy was stronger than his natural affection, was unmollified by the courteous and reasonable reply of the elector. Frederick wrote also to Charles IX. on the same subject, and in a similar strain, the justice of which Charles evidently felt, for talking familiarly with Admiral Colligny, he laughed at the resentment entertained by Montpensier at his daughter, calling him "brutal" and "blood-thirsty," on account of the cruelties he had committed in Anjou and in other places.[2] On perusing the elector's letter, the king came to the resolution to send President M. de Thou and John d'Amount, a man of great condition, and lieutenant of Montpensier, to the Palatine court, to bring her back. When this mission was proposed, her father, in the bitterness of his displeasure, declared that if she meant to persist in the Protestant religion, he would rather that she should remain in Germany than return to France, to scandalize every body, and be the misfortune of his old age.[3] The two commissioners appointed repaired to Heidelberg, and were received by Frederick with all the respect due to the ambassadors of a great monarch. They could not prevail with the young lady to return to the communion of the Romish Church; but they were fully satisfied, from what they observed and heard, that she had committed no fault, and that the elector had treated her as kindly and affectionately as if she had been his own daughter. On returning to France, and making their report, the commissioners spoke of the hospitality of the elector in such high terms, that the king and her father were constrained to acknowledge that she could nowhere be more comfortable than under the protection of that excellent prince.[4]

Being forbidden by her father to return to France, unless as a

[1] *Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné*, tom. ii., liv. i., p. 6.—De Thou, tom. iv., liv. li., p. 534.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Maurier's *Lives of the Princes of Orange*, p. 48.—De Thou, tom. iv., liv. li., p. 534.

[4] Spanheim, *Mémoires de la Louise Juliane*, pp. 12-15.

Papist, she resolved not to return at all. Painful as it was to her to be disowned by him, and earnestly as she desired to be restored to his favour, she could not comply with the only terms on which he was willing to relent without renouncing the truth of God, and professing as God's truth what she believed to be falsehood. And who will say that she acted wrong in declining to renounce the truth at the bidding even of her father? Did she not act precisely in the spirit of the apostle Paul, who declares that "when it pleased God to reveal His Son in him, immediately he conferred not with flesh and blood." Did she not act in conformity with the lessons of the Saviour, who has taught us that such as would be his disciples must be prepared to lose the favour and incur the displeasure or the enmity of their nearest and dearest relations, rather than deny Him by abjuring His truth? "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." And did not that promise of the Saviour, made to such as voluntarily submit to great earthly losses in obeying him in preference to human authority, when its mandates are contrary to, and in subversion of his—did not that promise apply to her—"And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life?" But though cast off by her father she was not desolate and friendless. She continued to reside at Heidelberg, in the court of Frederick III.; and this court being at that time a school of virtue and piety, she could not have found a retreat more conducive to her moral, religious, and intellectual improvement.[1]

During the negotiations which were going on in the first half of the year 1572 as to the marriage of Elizabeth, Queen of England, with the Duke of Alençon, an English nobleman, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, a widower, and the great favourite of Queen Elizabeth, had some thoughts of forming a matrimonial alliance with Charlotte de Bourbon. He hinted to La Mothe Fenelon, the French ambassador in London, "that if the marriage were accom-

[1] Spanheim, *Mémoires de la Louise Juliane*, pp. 12-15.

plished [the marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Duke of Alençon] through his good offices, he should have no objections to a noble and wealthy French match himself, and expressed a wish that the queen-mother [Catharine de Medicis, of France] would send him the portrait of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, who he knew well was in the house of the Count Palatine."[1] Leicester does not appear to have followed out this idea.

Charlotte's father continued to brood over her disobedience. He had set himself up as the implacable enemy of the Huguenots; he had performed a conspicuous part in the war of extermination maintained against them during most of the years of her residence in the convent, and he was indignant at the idea of being now bearded by his own daughter. Subsequent attempts were made, but without success, to bring him to a more considerate and forgiving temper of mind.

As an evidence of the interest taken in her situation, it may be stated that, in 1573, when ambassadors from Poland arrived at Paris to inform Henry, Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX., that he had been elected as successor to Sigismond Augustus, their lately deceased king, having obtained an audience of Henry, those of them who were friends of the Reformation besought him, among other things, to do what he could to reconcile the Duke of Montpensier to his daughter Charlotte, who was still a refugee at the court of the Elector Palatine. But Henry, who was not inclined to interfere, eluded the request, under the pretext that it was a matter which in no respect affected Poland.[2]

After Charlotte had passed almost three years in the Palatine court, overtures of marriage were made to her by William, Prince of Orange. William had already been twice married. His first wife was Anne of Egmont, daughter to Maximilian of Egmont, Count of Buren and Leerdam, an heiress of extensive property. Shortly after her death he married secondly, at Leipsic, in 1561, Anne, daughter

[1] *Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon,* quoted in Miss Strickland's *Queens of England,* vol. vi., p, 391.

[2] De Thou, liv. lvii., vol. v., pp. 5, 6.

of the celebrated Maurice, Elector of Saxony.[1] With this wife he enjoyed little domestic happiness. She was a woman of a violent, resentful temper, which often broke forth into the wildest transports; and she was unfaithful to her bridal oath. Her guilt was discovered in the spring of the year 1571, and the proofs of it were so complete that even her own relations were constrained to censure her conduct, though they wished her dishonour to be concealed.[2] The prince, it would appear, now lived separated from her; but, to avoid involving himself in embarrassment by offending her relatives, and bringing shame upon the children born to him by her, he took no immediate steps for obtaining a legal divorce from her. Such were the circumstances in which he was placed when he began to think of taking to wife Charlotte de Bourbon, in whose romantic history he felt deeply interested. Her reported youth and beauty prepossessed his fancy; her connection with the house of Bourbon was flattering to his ambition; nor was he less captivated by what he had heard of the sensibility and enthusiasm, the intrepidity and gentleness so happily blended in her character, and displayed in a calm but firm and self-sacrificing devotion to Protestantism. Having resolved upon demanding her hand, he communicated his intentions to her and to the court of Heidelberg. At that court, with which he was on the very best of terms, the bad conduct of Anne of Saxony was fully known, and as a divorce would be perfectly legal and warrantable, Charlotte was disposed to lend a favourable ear to his proposals. The chivalrous heroism, the illustrious career of a prince who for

1 De Thou, tom. iii., liv. xxviii., p. 87.

2 De Thou, *Histoire*, tom. v., liv. lx., p. 166.—Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, vol. i., p. 316, and the authorities there quoted.—Le Clerc, vol. i., p. 46.—Baroness Blaze de Bury's *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, Princess of Bohemia*, pp. 5-15. By this last writer the culpability of Anne is placed beyond all doubt, from various documents published for the first time, from the archives of the house of Orange. According to Maurier, the prince had lost her by death the year before he married Charlotte.—*Lives of the Princes of Orange*, p. 48. Maurier must have fallen into this mistake by writing from recollection. The death of Anne of Saxony took place in December, 1577, at Dresden, where the Elector Augustus, her uncle, had kept her.—De Thou, tom. iii., liv. xxviii., p. 87.—Baroness de Bury, p. 41.

many years had been successfully engaged in the unequal yet glorious struggle of defending his oppressed country against the might and the tyranny of Spain, then one of the most powerful kingdoms of Europe, had impressed her susceptible imagination; and smitten with a noble admiration of the hero, "she sympathized in his heroic sentiments, and passionately desired to consecrate to him that life which should seem to have been redeemed from a monastic grave." [1]

At first various obstacles seemed to thwart the consummation of their wishes. For obvious reasons it was deemed desirable that the union should receive the approbation of Charlotte's father and of the French government, who, it was feared, might raise objections against it, on account of her extorted monastic vows. Requisite measures were taken to obtain the sanction of these parties. Application to this effect was made to the French monarch, Henry III., and his answer was so far favourable. "The king," says he, "will noways compromise himself in all this, as it is against his religion, but he thinks Mademoiselle would be very lucky to get so fine an establishment; and, all things considered, the French court would not openly object to whatever Mademoiselle should do by advice of the Elector Palatine."[2] The French Parliament was also consulted, and an assembly of prelates and doctors was convoked to give judgment. After mature deliberation it was declared that the young lady was free to marry, the strictest laws of the Romish Church being in her favour, since, though she had come under some of the monastic engagements, she had not taken the final vows irrevocably binding herself to the monastic life. The consent of her father was also sought in due form, and this appeared not the least formidable obstacle in the way to the realization of the union. He was not yet reconciled to his daughter, whom he still regarded as the reproach of his house. At first he made scruples on the score of religion, but at last parental affection, and the dignity of this alliance, so far overcame his Popish perversity, that, relenting somewhat, he not

[1] Miss Benger.

[2] Baroness Blaze de Bury's *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, &c.*, p. 24.

only gave his consent to the marriage, but bestowed upon his daughter an ample portion.[1]

Having got clear of these difficulties, William resolved, without delay, to conclude the marriage. He therefore despatched Count Hohenlohe, and his brother, Count John, to the court of Heidelberg, to give full information of his circumstances to the Elector Palatine, the Electress, and Charlotte; and, upon their obtaining the final consent of all these parties, to make the necessary arrangements for the speedy solemnization of the marriage.

On hearing of this mission, the relatives of Anne of Saxony, the prince's former wife, were deeply offended, convinced that the prince, in order to render legal his new marriage, would adopt measures for obtaining a legal divorce from Anne, whose disgrace, which they were desirous of concealing, would thus be published to the world. Her uncle, William, Landgrave of Hesse, in the utmost indignation thus writes to Count John:—"I have received yours of the 28th May [1575], announcing the arrival of the lady of Bourbon upon the banks of the Rhine; from the excuses wherewith you accompany the news, I am easily persuaded that neither you nor any one else in his senses can have counselled such a proceeding." And a few days after, in another letter to the count, he says:—"None of us can imagine what could possibly induce the prince, and that booby, St. Aldegonde, and whoever else meddled in it, to enter into such a business. If you consider the religious side of the question, why, she is a Frenchwoman, a nun, and a runaway nun to boot! You can fancy all that is said thereupon; and how it is surmised that the prince, changing his old wife for this new one, will be merely going out of the frying-pan into the fire. If personal attractions be thought of, I'll answer for a bitter disappointment, and will venture to say that when he sees her he will be frightened rather than pleased. Is the idea of perpetuating his race an argument? Surely he has got heirs and heiresses enough already."[2]

[1] Maurier, p. 48.—Spanheim, *Mémoires de la Louise Juliane*, pp. 12-15.

[2] Baroness Blaze de Bury's *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine*, &c., p. 17. The

Count John, afraid of the difficulties in which the prince might be involved by the opposition of the Landgrave of Hesse, and likewise of the Elector of Saxony, who was also Anne's uncle, strongly urged, in his letters to M. de St. Aldegonde, to the Elector Palatine, and to the prince himself, the policy of delaying the marriage, in the hope that a better understanding might be brought about between his brother and the houses of Saxony and Hesse. But William, regardless of the displeasure of his former wife's relatives, was deaf to all his brother's entreaties and counsels.[1]

The nuptials were celebrated on June 12, 1575, at the Brill, whither the beloved and happy bride had been conducted from Heidelberg, by the Lord de St. Aldegonde, who had been employed at an early period in negotiating as to the marriage.[2]

In several of the German courts, particulary in those to which Anne of Saxony was related, William, and especially Charlotte, were now the subjects of free animadversion. But the stories prejudicial to her, circulated by these courts, were happily mere slanders, the offspring of ill-will or of a love for idle gossip. Being well assured of this, Count John, who, though from motives of policy he had strongly urged the delay of the marriage, had never any objections to Charlotte personally, now, when she had become his brother's wife, generously came forward as her defender. "As to the outcry against the prince's present wife, raised at the diet of Ratisbon," writes he to the Landgrave of Hesse, in November, 1575, "it can only be laid to the account of downright calumny. . . . The persons who come daily from Holland, and, above all, those who have

prince had already, by Anne of Egmont, a son, named Philip William, who afterwards succeeded him, and a daughter, Mary, who was married to Philip, Count of Hohenlohe; and by Anne of Saxony, Maurice, afterwards Prince of Orange, and Emilia, who married Emmanuel, son of Anthony, King of Portugal, who was dethroned by Philip II. of Spain.—Maurier, pp. 124, 125.

1 This marriage certainly proved prejudicial to himself in various ways, by alienating from him powerful families in Germany, who were formerly his friends; nor was it less prejudicial to his successors and descendants. On these grounds the Baroness Blaze de Bury pronounces it to have been impolitic, but, adds she, "that it was strictly legal and legitimate, according to the tenets of the reformed church, is beyond all discussion."

2 De Thou, tom. v., liv. lx., p. 166.—Maurier, p. 48.

been enabled to stay the longest in the neighbourhood of the princess, report of her, thank God, very different things, and pay her a very high tribute of praise. In order that your lordship may learn better to appreciate her grace, and may also discover what, in some degree, perhaps, will have served as a basis for the calumny in question,[1] I send you, in the original, a letter she wrote some days since to my mother."[2]

During the few years that this union lasted Charlotte enjoyed an uncommon degree of domestic felicity. She and William resembled each other not a little in their general character, in their generosity and benevolence, in their sympathy for the suffering, in their affability and condescension towards the humblest, in their enthusiastic devotion to the cause of Protestantism and of liberty. It delighted her to think that she was not, as might have been the case had she returned to France, the wife of a man who, however high his rank, was wedded to Popery, and whose hands were red with Protestant blood. She loved the prince with an attachment bordering on the idolatrous, and he requited her affection with tenderness and fidelity. Writing to him on the 4th of September, 1577, he being then in Brussels, she says:—"Take care of yourself; I implore you to be more solicitous for your health than you have shown yourself within these few days, for on yours depends mine, and, after God, you dispose of my happiness. My lord, therefore, I pray the Almighty, that, in the midst of such labours and anxieties as yours, he will preserve you through a long and happy life."[3]

[1] "Whatever this particular report might be," says the Baroness Blaze de Bury, "does not appear, and is nowhere further specified."

[2] "Unfortunately," says the same authoress, "this letter is not amongst those already collected, as it was probably never returned by the landgrave."—*Memoirs of the Princess Palatine*, &c., pp. 38, 39.

[3] Baroness Blaze de Bury's *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine*, &c., p. 39. "Many," says this authoress, "are the letters the archives of the house of Orange possess of Charlotte de Bourbon; and there are none which do not bear witness to her purity of mind, her gentleness, and unbounded devotion to her lord." She adds, "Her letters to William's mother, the Countess Juliana, are touchingly beautiful, from their sweet submissiveness, and the tender filial love they breathe in every line."

The virtues, good understanding, and endearing qualities of Charlotte had the happiest influence upon the prince, and gained her the esteem and admiration of all about her. "The prince," says Count John, in a letter to Count Schonenburg, "looks so well, and is of such good courage, in spite of the small comfort he enjoys, and the extent of his troubles, his labours, and his perils, that you would hardly believe it, and would be immensely rejoiced thereat. Of a surety it is a most precious consolation and a wondrous relief, that God should have given him a wife so distinguished by her virtue, her piety, her vast intelligence—in a word, so perfectly all that he could wish; in return, he loves her tenderly."[1]

The princess obtained the good graces even of Elizabeth, the maiden Queen of England, who sent her, on the occasion of her second confinement, a present, and became sponsor for the new-born infant, which was named Elizabeth. In reference to this gift from the English sovereign, Charlotte thus writes to the prince:—"My lord, I have received the present it has pleased you to send me on the part of the queen, and have found it very pretty and ingenious. As to the signification of the lizard—as it is said when any sleeping person is near being stung by a serpent, the lizard waketh him—I fancy, my lord, that you are meant thereby, you having awakened the States of Holland, fearing lest they should be destroyed. God's grace grant that you may preserve them from the serpent!"[2]

Among Papists it was easy to excite violent prejudice against a nun for having married, and against the man who had taken her to wife. To render William odious for having married the nun of Jouarre, the King of Spain, in the proscription he published in June, 1580,[3] against William, outlawing him, giving his life, his body, his

1 Baroness Blaze de Bury's *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine*, &c., p. 46.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

3 It was dated Madrid, 15th March, 1580, and sent to the Duke of Parma, then governor of the Low Countries, with orders to publish it through the whole extent of his government; but the duke delayed its promulgation until the month of June following, and affirmed in his circular letter that he did it only after having received pressing and repeated orders to that effect from the king.—*Les Delices des Pays-Bas*, 6th edition, à Liege, 1769, tom. v., pp. 5, 6.

estate to whoever could seize on them, and promising, "upon the word of a king, and as a minister of God," 25,000 crowns to whoever should bring him, dead or alive, to his majesty—in this document the Spanish monarch not only denounces him for having introduced the reformed religion into the Low Countries, but brands him as a rebel, a disturber of the public peace, a wicked and perjured man, the source of all the troubles of the Netherlands, the plague of Christendom, the common enemy of mankind, a heretic, a hypocrite, a Cain, a Judas, one that had a hardened conscience, a profane wretch, who had taken a nun out of the cloister to marry her, and had children by her.[1] This last imputation was inflicting a double wound—it was stigmatizing both the prince and his wife, as living in unlawful concubinage.

From such a charge William and the princess required at that time no vindication in the Low Countries, which, having thrown off the Papal authority and the Popish doctrines, were disposed, instead of censuring, to honour ladies who, whether they had been trepanned or forced into taking the veil, had had the determination to break loose their fetters, and assert the liberty given them both by nature and revelation. But in his eloquent and triumphant apology or vindication in answer to this proscription,[2] dated 4th February, 1581, and which he caused to be printed in Flemish and in French, and sent to all the courts of Europe, William, indignant at this attack upon his own and his wife's virtue, severely retaliated on the Spanish monarch, whose character was so thoroughly bad, that it had been prudent in him not to have attempted to blacken the reputation of a prince who, whatever might be his faults, was free from the flagrant crimes which have rendered that monarch one of the most infamous characters recorded in history. In this document William states that slanderers ought to be free from all blame, and that it is an unaccountable impudence in the king, who is all covered over with crimes, to reproach him with a marriage which was lawful and

[1] Maurier, pp. 74, 75.

[2] Maurier has given the substance of the vindication, pp. 75-101.

agreeable to the Word of God. He maintains that Philip was actually married to Donna Isabella Osorino, and had three children by her at the time when he married the Infanta of Portugal, mother to Don Carlos; that he murdered his own son for speaking in favour of the Low Countries, and poisoned his third wife, Isabella, daughter to Henry II. of France, while in the lifetime of that princess he publicly kept as his mistress Donna Euphratia, whom, when she was pregnant by him, he forced the Prince of Ascoti to marry, that his bastard might inherit the great estate of that prince, who died of grief, if not of a morsel more easy to swallow than to digest; that afterwards he was not ashamed to commit public incest by marrying his own niece, the daughter of Maximilian, the emperor, by his sister. "But," says the king, "I had a dispensation." "Yes," replies the prince, "but only from the god on earth; for the God of heaven would never have granted it." The prince therefore argues, that it was as strange as it was intolerable for a man blackened with adultery, murder, incest, and parricide, to make a crime of a marriage approved of by Monsieur de Montpensier, his father-in-law, a more zealous Catholic than the Spaniards were, with all their grimaces and pretensions. He adds, that if his wife had made vows in her tender age, this was contrary to the canons and decrees of the Romish Church, according to the opinion of the ablest men; and that, though she had never made any protestations against these extorted vows, he was not so little versed in the Holy Scriptures as not to know that all engagements of that sort had no force in the sight of God.[1]

In the cup of earthly enjoyment there are always some bitter ingredients. Happy as Charlotte was in the prince to whom she was united, she frequently suffered from delicate health, to which, however, "she seldom alludes, except as it happens to militate for or against some plan connected with him or his movements." In the year 1576, when residing at Delft, she is obliged, from the state of her health, to refuse going out to meet the prince, who had

[1] Maurier, pp. 80, 81.

been for some time absent from her. "The Sire de Viry," says she, "has imparted to me your commands that I should go to meet you, but I am unhappily too weak. I must wait at least six or eight days, during which time I can, if it pleases God, take the air as far as the Hague, in order to see what I am equal to." And on the 3d of April she thus writes:—"Respecting my state, I have at moments apprehended danger, which annoyed me, on account of your absence; but now I have no more apprehension, but hope, on the contrary, with God's help, for a return of good health. I have from time to time fits of faintness—a weakness to which I am, as you know, subject, but I hope that will also cease."[1]

The numerous personal dangers which beset the prince's path also occasioned her no small anxiety. Not only was he surrounded with the perils necessarily incident to war, but he was exposed to the risk of being assassinated by the unprincipled emissaries of Spain and Rome, hurried on to the perpetration of the horrid deed by a relentless fanaticism, as well as by a tempting bribe—the price set upon his head. He himself was not insensible to these dangers; but he was exempt from the restlessness, suspicion, and stern character almost invariably acquired by public men whose lives are constantly threatened by the dagger of some assassin. He had uniformly consulted the good of his country in preference to his own particular interests; and in his career, when most triumphant, he had never been wantonly cruel, and had never betrayed haughtiness or insolence of demeanour. His lofty patriotism, therefore, an approving conscience, and, crowning all, well-founded Christian hope, composed his mind in an uncommon degree in the midst of threatened dangers.[2] But the princess, from feminine softness, was more susceptible to alarming impressions, and especially after he had been proscribed by the Spanish monarch. What she dreaded was attempted, and and well nigh with fatal issue, in 1582.

[1] Baroness Blaze de Bury's *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine*, &c., pp. 44, 45.

[2] He took for his device a sea-gull, with the motto, "*Sævis tranquillus in undis*," i.e., "undisturbed in the midst of the stormy waves."—Maurier, p. 114.

In that year John de Jaureguy, a young man aged about twenty years, a Spaniard of Biscay by birth, who served in a bank at Antwerp, was instigated by the master of the bank, Gaspard d'Annastro, also of Spanish birth, to attempt the destruction of the Prince of Orange. Annastro, being on the verge of bankruptcy, hoped, by the large reward offered by the Spanish monarch, to retrieve his ruined fortunes; and to satisfy his conscience as to the lawfulness of the deed, he had, according to his own account, consulted the priests of Spain, who assured him that whoever should assassinate this proscribed heretic would perform a highly meritorious action. Conceiving that it would not be difficult to engage Jaureguy in this desperate enterprise, and judging that, from his gloomy and obstinate temper, if once engaged, he would not shrink from the hazards of its execution, Annastro sent for him, and, in a state of great agitation, disclosed to him his bloody project "Did I not know," said Annastro, "your fidelity, your constancy, and your sincere piety, I would not address myself to you in the present unhappy state of the public affairs and of my own. You see my eyes quite red and soaked with weeping, and I believe you are not ignorant of the cause; for it is long since I noticed how sensible you are to the outrages done to our sovereign, and how, though born in Spain as well as I, you do not fail to be touched with the calamities of these provinces, which are to us as an adopted country." Then representing the prince as the cause and author of all these calamities, he comes to the disclosure of his daring purpose. "This man," says he, "we must destroy, if we would discharge our duty to God, to the king, and to the country. The king promises great rewards, but I am less moved by these—though they may be useful in the present state of my affairs, and also of yours—than by the duty which conscience imposes upon us." On concluding this speech he burst into tears, and believing that Jaureguy, from his manner and fixed look, cordially entered into the conspiracy, Annastro fell upon the neck of the youth, and warmly embraced him. Jaureguy immediately answered with an intrepid air, "I am quite prepared; I am now confirmed in

a design I have long ago meditated. I despise the danger and the conditions; I desire no reward, for I am resolved to die. I only ask of you one favour—to pray God, on my account, to incline the king to be kind to my father, and not to leave the old man to die in misery."

Everything being arranged, Jaureguy was to carry his desperate purpose into execution on Sabbath, the 18th of March. On the morning of that day a Dominican monk, named Timmerman, came to confess him in the house of Annastro. The monk, who, like the Spanish priests whom Annastro had consulted, approved of Jaureguy's design, as his motives were not avarice, but the glory of God, the service of the king, and the good of his country, fortified him in his resolution, persuaded him that he should go invisible, for which end he gave him some characters in paper, frogs' bones, and other magical charms, administered to him absolution, and subsequently the mass, as a sure passport to heaven should he lose his life in the enterprise. Jaureguy, besides, "carried about him, in the fashion of an amulet, prayers, in which he invoked the merciful Deity, who appeared to men in the person of Christ, to aid the murder with his favour, promising that Being a part of the booty, as it were, should the deed be successful, viz., for the mother of God of Bayonne a garment, a lamp, and a crown; for the mother of God of Aranzosu a crown; and for the Lord Christ himself a very rich curtain!"[1] Such is Jesuit morality; for Timmerman and Jaureguy acted not merely from the impulse of their own fanatical dispositions, but in conformity with the explicit doctrines of Jesuitism, which, upon the principle that the end sanctifies the means, have baptized murder, when the good of the church may be thereby promoted, as a meritorious action, and taught the murderer to believe, as he passed, his hands reeking with the blood of his victim, into the presence of his judge, that the atrocious deed had merited for him the kingdom of heaven.

Protected by so many mysterious charms, and having drunk a

1 Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*, book v.

glass of foreign wine, Jaureguy went to the castle of Antwerp, the residence of the Prince of Orange, accompanied by Timmerman, who continued to exhort him and to confirm him in his resolution, until they arrived at the foot of the stairs of the prince's court, where the ghostly father, having given him his blessing, left him and went away. The prince had attended sermon at the chapel in the morning, and on returning to the castle had sat down to dinner with the princess, his children, many of the nobility, and persons of quality. Jaureguy, who had succeeded in getting even into the dining chamber, being taken, from his French dress, for the servant of some French nobleman present, repeatedly pressed to get near the person of the prince, but was always repulsed. When, on dinner being ended, the prince, as he was passing, attended by the company, from the hall to his withdrawing chamber, stopped to show the Count of Laval the tapestry, in which were wrought the cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the Netherlands, Jaureguy, who was watching in the hall, now found a more favourable opportunity for executing his purpose. The guards, observing him, would have put him out, but were prevented by the prince, who reprimanded them, saying that it was some citizen who wished to see him; a courtesy which proved nearly fatal to his life. Presenting a pistol above the shoulder of the Count of Laval, the assassin fired upon the prince with effect. The bullet having entered at the throat, under his right ear, passed through the palate, under the upper jaw, and went out by the left cheek, near the nose, breaking one, some say several of his teeth, but leaving the tongue untouched. The prince was stunned with the wound, and thought, as he afterwards declared to Philip Du Plessis Mornay, that the house had fallen, and buried him in its ruins. Immediately after, he became so weak that he would have fallen, had he not been supported. Having recovered from his stupor, he suspected, from the agitation and muttering of those about him, and from observing the hair of his head singed, and his ruffle burned, which had been caused by the fire of the pistol, in consequence of the weapon having been fired so near him, that

an attempt had been made on his life. But the generous and noble-hearted William begged them to spare the assassin, adding, "I forgive him with all my heart." The ruffian, however, had been already despatched. The noblemen and gentlemen who were in the chamber, and the body-guard, unable to control themselves, had instantly and simultaneously rushed upon him, and put an end to his life by many wounds inflicted with their swords.[1]

The prince, who was of a robust and healthy constitution, rapidly rallied. The fire of the pistol, from the nearness of the weapon to its victim, having entered with the bullet into the wound, had cauterized the jugular vein, and consequently stanched the blood. But on the tenth day the scar which had formed on the wound fell off, and the blood began to flow anew so abundantly as to threaten immediate dissolution, baffling all the attempts employed to stop it. In this emergency, Leonard Botal, physician of the Duke of Brabant, advised that the bleeding should be stopped by a continued pressure of the thumb on the wound. But this means, notwithstanding its being employed by a succession of attendants for several days, would, without the intervention of an accidental circumstance, have failed to save the prince's life; for though the pressure kept the wound closed on the outside, the bleeding continued to go on internally, and to such an extent that Du Plessis Mornay, as he informs us, one morning saw the prince vomit more than five pounds of blood. The true cause of the preservation of his life was the stoppage of the bleeding by a small portion of lint, softened by a little ointment, which the physicians had inadvertently pushed farther into the wound than they intended, and which they had in vain endeavoured to take out. After some days, nature, with a little assistance, drove it back, when at the end of it was found a little white pus, a proof that the vein was closed.[2]

This unforeseen attempt on the prince's life gave a severe shock to the sensitive frame of the princess. She rushed to the spot

[1] De Thou, tom. vi., liv. lxxv., pp. 178-181.—Grimeston's *History of the Netherlands*, pp. 676, 677.

[2] De Thou, tom. vi., liv. lxxv., pp. 182, 183.

where he was the moment she knew that he had been wounded, and she fainted at the sight of his blood. Relief was afforded to her mind by the favourable appearance which his wound soon began to assume, and which it continued to present for several days. But she was again plunged into distress by the sudden re-opening of the wound on the tenth day, and the violent rushing forth of the blood, threatening his immediate dissolution. During the several days that the vein was closely compressed by some attendant, she assiduously waited upon him, assisted by the Countess of Schwartzburg, his



Charlotte tending the wounded Prince.

sister, who never quitted his apartment. Nor did she cease from this devoted ministry of affection till the danger appeared averted, and the prince was restored to her prayers and the supplications of his people.[1]

When the prince appeared past danger, and on the fair way of recovery, she sent the following letter—the last she ever wrote—to Count

[1] De Thou, tom. vi., liv. lxxv., p. 183.

John, the prince's brother: "Monsieur, my brother,—As your secretary is going back to you, I would not omit to write in order to recall myself to your good graces, and assure you that I have never for an instant ceased thinking of you and of the countess, my sister. For this long time past, however, I have given you no assurance to that effect by my letters; I have much neglected my duties, because I hope you are good enough not to doubt my sentiments, and also because my daughter, Madame d'Orange,[1] gives you regularly news of us all. These news, alas! have been latterly extremely bad, from the wound of my lord the prince, your brother; and several times he has passed through such alternations and dangers on account of this cut vein, that, according to human foresight, he was nearer death than life. But God in his mercy has miraculously assisted us when our hope was at an end. The blood has ceased to flow for fourteen days, the wound has become better every hour, and yesterday morning there came out a tent that the surgeons had pushed into the wound the day he bled for the last time, and that had lain there ever since. The wound heals now so well and naturally that we have no doubt of his recovery, with the aid of God's grace, for which I pray with all my heart, as I also pray, Monsieur my brother, that he may give you good health and a long and happy life, wherewith I commend myself to your good graces. Your very humble and obedient sister, "CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON.

"From Antwerp, 12th April, 1582."[2]

On the 2d of May, a solemn thanksgiving was observed in the church of Antwerp for the recovery of the prince. Charlotte and William were present, and from her inmost soul she united in the outpourings of gratitude presented by the minister to the hearer of prayer in name of the vast multitude assembled. But her constant anxiety and watching, the agonizing suspense, the alternations of hope and fear she had every moment experienced, from the time he was wounded till his recovery was placed beyond doubt, brought

1 Mary of Nassau, later Countess of Hohenlohe.

2 Baroness Blaze de Bury's *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, &c.*, p. 50.

on a dangerous illness. Her disease was pleurisy. She passed direct from the church to the bed of death. Nor did she regret falling a victim to the unceasing care and vigilance by which she had brought back William from the gates of death; "too happy," says Spanheim, "to have sacrificed her remaining days to preserve an existence far dearer than her own; and having once raised her eyes with thankfulness to heaven, she closed them for ever." Believing her end approaching, she devoted herself to earnest preparation for another world. She was surrounded by kind, sympathizing, and pious friends. But, perhaps, from no individual did she derive more spiritual comfort than from Lady Philip Du Plessis Mornay, a woman distinguished for enlightened and fervent piety, who was present with her during the whole of her illness. "The princess," says Mornay, "died in a very Christian manner. My wife attended her to the last, and she observed, what is a very uncommon circumstance, that some hours after the princess had breathed her last, a bleeding at her nose commenced, which continued for two hours." She died on the 5th of May, deeply regretted by her husband, and indeed by all; her gentle and winning graces, and her benevolent, charitable disposition having made her universally beloved; and the strongest sympathy was evinced by the people with William under his bereavement. Four days after her death, her corpse, attended by more than twelve hundred persons in mourning, was carried with great pomp to the cathedral of Antwerp,[1] and was there interred in the chapel of the Circumcision.[2]

On the 29th of May, 1582, three weeks after his loss, the prince, in a short letter to the Prince de Condé, thus writes:—"Although I have suffered the nearest loss of all in my wife, I cannot, for many reasons, avoid acknowledging that some other persons have also partaken in my bereavement, on account of the great affection which

[1] The cathedral church of Notre-Dame of Antwerp is a vast and wonderful structure. It contains a great number of chapels, enriched with marble columns, and adorned with beautiful paintings by different masters.—*Les Délices des Pays-Bas*, tom. i., pp. 263, 264.

[2] De Thou, tom. vi., liv. lxxv. pp. 182, 183.

she bore them; and for you, sir, I can assure you, you have lost a good friend and relative, who honoured and loved you as much as she did any one."[1]

The princess left behind her six daughters, all of whom, except one, were honourably married, and had numerous descendants:—1*st*, Louise Juliane de Nassau, the eldest, whose life will form the subject of a subsequent sketch. This princess was married to Frederick IV., Elector Palatine, by whom she had Frederick V., Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia. This Frederick married Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I. of England; and from them her majesty Queen Victoria, who now sways the British sceptre, is descended.—(*See next page.*) 2*d*, Elizabeth de Nassau, who was married to Henry de la Tour, Duke of Bouillon, a famous general in the wars of Henry IV. of France, on the 15th of May, 1594, after the death of his first wife, Charlotte de la Mark. She left two sons and four daughters, who had also children. "She was living," says Maurier, "in the year 1641, and I saw her in the castle of Sedan, after the battle wherein the Count de Soissons was killed." 3*d*, Catharine Belgique, who married Philip Louis, Count of Hanau, a nobleman near Frankfort-on-the-Maine, "from whom," says Maurier, "besides the Counts of Hanau, is descended Amelia Elizabeth, wife to that generous William, Landgrave of Hesse, who died in the year 1637, after whose death this princess, a woman of a masculine courage, continued to carry on the war against the Imperialists, and pursued the steps of her husband, who, after the peace of Prague (where most of the Protestant princes forsook their allies and joined with the house of Austria), had the courage and resolution to make head, almost alone, against so formidable a power." 4*th*, Charlotte Brabantine de Nassau, wife to Claude, Duke de la Trimouille and de Thouars, Count de Laval, by whom she had also descendants. 5*th*, Charlotte Flandrine de Nassau, who embraced the Popish religion, and died Abbess of St. Croix, in Poictiers. "She was a very good princess," says Maurier, "I knew her, but she was little, and so deaf that she could not hear without

[1] Baroness Blaze de Bury's *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine*, &c., p. 47.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE, exhibiting the lineal descent of our illustrious Sovereign from the Nun of Jouarre.

WILLIAM, Prince of Orange. = CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON.

LOUISA JULIANA, *b.* 1576, *d.* 1644. = FREDERICK IV., Elector-Palatine of the Rhine; *b.* March 5, 1517; *d.* Sept. 9, 1610.

FREDERICK V., Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, *b.* Aug. 16, 1596; *d.* Nov. 19, 1632. = ELIZABETH, daughter of James VI. of Scotland and I. of England; *b.* Aug. 19, 1596; *d.* Feb. 13, 1661.

SOPHIA, youngest daughter; *b.* Oct. 13, 1630; *d.* 1714. = ERNEST-AUGUSTUS, Duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg, Elector of Hanover.

GEORGE-LEWIS, who ascended the British throne in Aug. 1714, under the Act of Settlement of 1702, by the title of Geo. I.; *b.* May 28, 1660; *d.* June 11, 1727. = SOPHIA-DOROTHY, only daughter and heiress of George-William, Duke of Zelle.

GEORGE II.; *b.* Oct. 30, 1683; *d.* Oct. 25, 1760. = WILHELMINA-CAROLINE, daughter to William-Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach.

FREDERICK-LEWIS, Prince of Wales; *b.* Jan. 20, 1707; *d.* 1751. = AUGUSTA, youngest daughter of Frederick II., Duke of Saxe-Gotha.

GEORGE III.; *b.* June 4, 1738; *d.* Jan. 29, 1820. = SOPHIA-CHARLOTTE, daughter of Charles-Frederick, Prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

GEORGE IV.; *b.* Aug. 12, 1762; *d.* June 26, 1830, without surviving issue.

FREDERICK, Duke of York; *b.* Aug. 16, 1763; *d.* Jan. 5, 1827, without issue.

WILLIAM IV.; *b.* Aug. 24, 1765; *d.* June 20, 1837, without surviving issue.

EDWARD, Duke of Kent; *b.* Nov. 2, 1767; *d.* Jan. 23, 1820. = VICTORIA-MARIA-LOUISA, daughter of Francis, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfield.

VICTORIA I., QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

a little silver trumpet." 6*th*, Æmilia de Nassau, wife to Frederick Casimir, Count Palatine of the branch of Duponts, called the Duke of Lansberg.[1] Such was the illustrious progeny of this fruitful abbess, who had the good sense, as well as the Christian principle, to believe that to become a wife and a mother was to adopt a life more rational, more Christian, than the indolent, the useless, and, alas! too frequently, the impure life of the inmates of a convent.

[1] Maurier. pp. 126, 130-134.



LOUISE DE COLLIGNY,

LADY TELIGNY, AFTERWARDS PRINCESS OF ORANGE.

LOUISE DE COLLIGNY was the daughter of Gaspard Colligny, Lord of Chatillon, and Admiral of France, by his first wife, Charlotte de Laval, daughter of Guy de Laval, by his wife, Antoinette de Daillon.[1] Her father, one of the noblest characters and truest patriots which France ever produced, had attached himself to the cause of the Reformation from convictions of duty, not from motives of faction, and to its advancement he deliberately devoted his talents, the best years of his life, his worldly substance and prospects, and at last his life. Her mother was a lady of corresponding spirit. Her self-denied devotion to the reformed cause almost exceeded that of her husband, whom she encouraged to gird on his armour to defend it, expressing her willingness to submit to the loss of whatever men count dear for its sake. Her piety was displayed in her whole deportment, especially in the arrangements of her domestic establishment, which were formed on the resolution expressed by the Hebrew patriarch, "As for me and my house we will serve the Lord;" and she abounded in works of beneficence and mercy. Louise was born in the year 1553. She received the finished education bestowed at

[1] *Notice sur Brantôme et sur ses Ouvrages*, prefixed to his *Oeuvres*, edit. Paris, 1822, tom. i., p. 36.—Lady Colligny's sister, Louise de Daillon, was Lady-Dowager of La Chateigneraie, and maid of honour to Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre.

that time upon the daughters of the nobility of France, and was carefully instructed in the principles of the reformed faith. Both her parents, much as they had suffered in those trying times in their estate, as well as in other respects, in advancing the cause of the Reformation, desired to see her its intelligent and steadfast adherent, even at the sacrifice of earthly advantages. They taught her to seek after a better inheritance than this world can give, to be prepared to suffer the loss of all things for the sake of Christ, not to shrink from casting in her lot with the people of God, though at the risk of poverty, contempt, persecution, and death. In a letter which her father wrote, towards the close of the year 1569, to her and her brothers, and the children of his recently deceased brother, Francis D'Andelot, who were then at Rochelle, after he had been defeated at the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour in the same year, after the spoliation of his property by the government, and the immense pecuniary losses he had sustained in carrying on the war—in this letter we have a beautiful specimen of the precious instructions by which her understanding was enlightened and her Christian character formed.

"I could much have wished to say to you in person what I now write, and also to see you, but that not being possible at present, I have thought it right to exhort you ever to bear in mind the love and fear of God; and the more as experience may have already taught you that we ought not to account ourselves secure in the possession of what is called property, but ought to place our confidence elsewhere than in this world, and to have better possessions than our eyes can see or our hands touch. But as this is not in our own power, we ought humbly to beseech God to be pleased to conduct us to the last, along that good and safe path which we must not expect to be smooth and pleasant, or accompanied with all sorts of temporal prosperity. We must follow our head, Jesus Christ, who himself leads the way. Men have deprived us of all that it was in their power to take from us, and should it be God's will that we should never recover what we have lost, still we shall be happy, and

our condition will be a good one, inasmuch as these losses have not arisen from any harm done by us to those who have brought them upon us, but solely from the hatred which they bear towards me for its having pleased God to make use of me in assisting His church. And notwithstanding that in this case we suffer losses and inconveniences, we are well off, and shall receive a reward of which men will not have it in their power to deprive us.

"Had I leisure I should like to write to you about several other matters, but for the present let it suffice that I admonish you and conjure you in God's name courageously to persevere in the study of virtue, and to testify, both by your actions and your words, through the whole course of your lives, the horror you entertain for every kind of vice. Obey your master and your superiors in such wise that though I may rarely enjoy the satisfaction of being present with you, I may often hear at least of your good and honourable behaviour. To conclude; if it be the will of God that we should suffer some loss, whether in person or property, in the cause of that religion by which he desires to be worshipped, we ought to account ourselves fortunate. And I do assuredly beseech Him to be assisting to you, to keep you in his protection, and to preserve you in your tender years. Adieu. From Xaintes, this 16th of October, 1569.

"CHASTILLON."[1]

"The admiral," says Maurier, "loved Louise very much, both for her modesty and prudence." Nor was she without the charms of personal beauty. Though she was of low stature, "her form," as the same writer testifies, "was exquisitely symmetrical, her eyes very beautiful, and her complexion lovely;" while her manners were highly graceful, and her conversation eminently attractive.[2]

In disposing of his daughter in marriage, the admiral, though not indifferent to her forming a connection with a noble family, was more desirous to have her united to a young man of high character,

[1] Anonymous *French Memoirs of Admiral Colligny*, translated by Dundas Scott, Esq., pp. 141-143.

[2] Maurier's *Lives of the Princes of Orange*, p 137.

combined with rare accomplishments, than to one of merely high rank and great wealth. And among all the persons of quality belonging to his religion and party, he found none of whom in these respects he formed so high an opinion as of Charles de Teligny, son of Louis de Teligny, a famous military officer in the wars in Italy.[1] Young Teligny, though descended from an honourable family, was without title and fortune, his father, who was yet living, having wasted by his extravagance the rich patrimony which he had inherited from his ancestors. But he was possessed of much personal merit, had maintained an unblemished reputation, was surpassed by few in letters and in arms, excelling especially in the delicate arts of negotiation, and uniting valour with the most engaging mental qualities, which gained him the esteem and affection of all who knew him, and even of the French monarch, to whom he always seemed more welcome and agreeable than any of the nobility. From the love of true religion and liberty, he had joined the ranks of the Reformers, and distinguished himself by his zealous advocacy of the reformed cause. From his ability and prudence he was admitted into the counsels of his party, with whose affairs he was thoroughly acquainted, and gave promise, should his life be spared, of becoming one of its most enterprising and influential leaders.[2]

A warm affection having sprung up between Teligny and Louise the admiral encouraged the hopes they had mutually formed of being one day united in happy wedlock. "You may have other suitors rich and titled," said he to his daughter; "but I advise you to choose Teligny for your husband, as more worthy of your affection than those who have higher adventitious pretensions, on account of the good and rare qualities which I know him to possess. I give you this counsel, because I think it will contribute to your happiness

[1] Louis de Teligny, besides Charles, had a daughter, Margaret, who was married to Francis de la Noue, a distinguished military officer among the Protestants in the civil wars in France, and called Bras-de-Fer, because, having lost his arm in an engagement, he substituted an artificial one of iron —Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, tom ii., p. 100.

[2] Maurier's *Lives of the Princes of Orange*, p. 137 —*Esprit de la Ligne*, liv. iv.— Bantrôme, *Oeuvres*, tom. ii., p. 102.

in life, which we ought rather to seek in all things than great possessions and dignified titles."[1] In this Colligny acted with the same spirit of disinterested disregard to mere worldly considerations which he so remarkably displayed in his whole career. Louise was married to Teligny at the town of Rochelle, in 1571, on the same day on which her father, who had now been a widower four years, was married to his second wife, Jacqueline of Entremont, widow of Claude de Batarnai, Baron of Anton, who was killed at the battle of St. Dennis.[2]

Louise was not long married when she became a widow. Her husband, like her father, perished in the St. Bartholomew massacre. He had previously received warning of some secret impending danger. It was told him that porters loaded with arms had been seen entering the Louvre, and that this seemed to be an alarming omen. But unwilling, from the natural generosity of his character, to call in question the good faith of the court, which had been pledged to the Huguenots in the most solemn manner, he would not believe that he and his party were exposed to any danger, and despised the premonition. "It is very wrong," said he, "to multiply suspicions, in the distressing circumstances in which we are placed. Let nothing be said to the admiral: these arms are intended to attack, by way of recreation, a fort erected within the Louvre." Never was confidence more misplaced. The massacre of the Protestants, including himself, had been resolved upon by the court. It is, indeed, affirmed by some writers, that Catharine de Medicis, notwithstanding her mortal hatred of the admiral, and that the king, her son, had great difficulty in consenting to the death of Teligny, who, in his intercourse with them had gained the good-will of both, by his good qualities and his honourable conduct, "which," as Maurier

[1] Mrs. Marsh's *Protestant Reformation in France*, vol. ii., p. 273.—"He gave him his daughter in marriage," says Brantôme, "a very beautiful and accomplished lady, who might have got a more advantageous match; but he was pleased to choose such a son-in-law, having a regard rather to Teligny's perfections than to his means."—*Oeuvres*, tom. ii., p. 102

[2] De Thou, *Histoire*, tom. iv., liv. 1., p 490.—Anonymous *Memoirs of Colligny*, p. 152.

observes, "shows that virtue is always attractive, from whencesoever it proceeds, and that it has uncommon charms to make itself admired and favoured, though in the person of an enemy."[1] But if they felt some reluctance to include Teligny among those who were counted as sheep for the slaughter, so entirely had they yielded themselves up to their furious passions, that he was notwithstanding included. On the fatal day, when a party of murderers invaded his lodgings, he escaped their pursuit by betaking himself, along with Merlin, Colligny's minister, to the tiles of the house. In this extremity of peril he was not in a condition calmly to reflect. But among the thoughts which now passed in hurried confusion through his mind, he could not help reproaching himself for the confidence he had reposed in the perfidious court. The hard fate of his father-in-law, who by this time was a mangled corpse, was unknown to him, but he had reason to conjecture the worst; and what, perhaps, caused his intensest agony, the most vehement, the most terrific struggle in his bosom, was the image of his Louise rising up before his mind, the image of that beloved object to whom he had so recently plighted his faith—their connubial happiness blighted, terminated for ever at the close of a few months—the cup, when just tasted, dashed from their lips. But he had not long time to think. Some courtiers who saw him traversing the roofs of the houses with Merlin,[2] though they had been ordered to kill him, had not the heart to do so, such was the affection with which, from his amiable character, he was regarded. After this he was discovered on the loft of the house of the Sieur de Chasteauneuf by some soldiers, who asked his name, and left him. But at last the Duke of Anjou's guards finding him, killed him,

[1] Maurier, p. 138.

[2] Merlin's preservation was very extraordinary. In attempting his escape over the roofs of the adjoining houses, he fell into a loft filled with hay. Here he lay concealed for many days, but must have perished from hunger had it not been for the singular circumstance, that a hen, as if guided by the same Providence which of old sent the ravens to feed Elijah, laid, every day, her egg "in his hand."—*Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné.* Merlin is, with much probability, supposed to be the author of the anonymous *Life of Admiral Colligny,* translated from the original French by Dundas Scott, Esq.

together with several of the admiral's servants, who had betaken themselves with him to the same place for shelter.[1]

Thus Louise became a widow in the nineteenth year of her age. At the time of the massacre she was in Paris with Colligny.[2] How she effected her escape while he perished, we are not informed; but she appears to have made her way to her father's castle of Châtillon, in Burgundy, where her mother-in-law and her brothers were residing. The intelligence of the fate of her father and husband, and of the atrocities of St. Bartholomew's day in Paris, threw the whole family into a state of indescribable distress. The blow fell the heaviest upon Louise. She sustained a twofold bereavement, the loss of a father and of a husband, the relatives of all others the dearest to her heart, and their loss by such a death—pierced, mangled, maltreated by the butchers of Paris. In the fearfully bewildered state of her mind she sometimes thought, as often happens under the stunning blow of some terrible calamity, that all was a dream; but this was only for a moment, and, the delusion being speedily dispelled, she revived to a realization of all the horrors of the dreadful tragedy, which was confirmed by proofs too strong to be doubted. Truly she was made to bear the yoke in her youth.

Amidst the agony of their grief, Louise and the rest of the family had to consult their personal safety, which they evidently saw was exposed to the utmost peril. "The present moment is ours," they said; "there is no time to lose; the carnage of the Protestants is general throughout France; delay may cost us our lives;" and their resolution was to flee to some Protestant territory. Many others, alarmed for their safety, betook themselves to flight. Some sought sanctuary at Rochelle, some at Montauban, and in other towns or strongholds of France; while multitudes, after having wandered from place to place, resolved to settle in some foreign country. The

[1] *Histoire Des Martyrs*, p. 779.—De Thou, tom. iv., liv. lii, p. 586. "He was destroyed," says Brantôme, "like other good people, at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. As for myself, I regret him as my brother, such was the intimate friendship between us."—*Oeuvres*, tom. ii. p. 102. [2] *Memoirs of Colligny*, p. 178.

Queen of England, the humane Elector Palatine, Frederick III., the cantons of Zurich and of Berne, and especially the city of Geneva, received them with open arms.[1] Louise's two eldest brothers immediately hurried away, and made good their escape. Her mother-in-law also succeeded in getting beyond the reach of their bloodthirsty enemies. Her third and youngest brother, then only seven years and eight months old, an uncommonly good-looking boy, and the object of his father's fondest love, was taken by a detachment of the body-guards, which had been sent by the orders of the king to Chatillon Castle, to arrest the wife of the admiral, his children, and the children of Andelot, his brother; and being brought to Paris, together with the precious movables which were in the castle, he "began," as Colligny's biographer observes, "from his early childhood to bear the cross of Christ." Louise herself, with the Count of Laval, eldest son of her paternal uncle, Andelot, fled at first to Geneva. After a short stay in that hospitable asylum, they removed to Basle, where they remained some months. At last purposing to take up their abode in Berne, they went to that city, where they were received with as much honour as humanity.[2]

Here, and wherever she afterwards resided, Louise maintained her principles with the utmost constancy. No considerations of worldly advantage could induce her to renounce them. Many of her countrymen not having sufficient courage to endure the inconveniences of exile, to live at a distance from their homes and their wives, and to sacrifice the other ties which bind men to the place of their birth, yielding to the violence of persecution, accommodated themselves to the times, and returned to the religion of their ancestors. But Louise de Colligny, imitating her parents, neither of whom ever shrunk from cleaving to the Reformation, even in its most adverse

[1] The refugees in this last named city having been reduced to great poverty, from the pillage of their property by their enemies, and from their being necessitated to leave what they had behind them, Beza and his colleagues endeavoured as far as they could to mitigate their hardships, by causing contributions to be made for their relief

[2] Anonymous *Memoirs of Colligny*, p. 188.—De Thou, tom. iv., liv. lii., pp. 597, 598; and liv liii., pp. 628, 629.

fortunes, could not be prevailed upon to abjure her principles, either from the hope of thereby being allowed to return to her native country, or of receiving her share of her father's inheritance, which the French court had avariciously and unrighteously seized upon. She had been instructed in the true nature of Romanism by her parents, and she had seen no reason to reject the doctrines instilled into her mind in early life. Romanism, besides, had lacerated the tenderest feelings of her heart. It had been for years the deadly enemy of her beloved father, and at last his murderer. It had also imbrued its hands in the blood of a husband whom she loved with a sincere, a deep affection, and by whose death all her earthly happiness seemed to be destroyed. The horrors of the St. Bartholomew massacre could never be effaced from her memory, and to her mind's eye they afforded a key to the real character of the Popish system, which more than ever was abhorrent to every feeling of her heart, as well as to the matured convictions of her understanding.

Louise and her brothers, it would appear, were at the court of Frederick III., at Heidelberg, in 1573. Frederick was now a venerable man of fifty-eight years of age. By none could they have been welcomed with greater affection than by this truly generous and humane prince, who had himself suffered much for establishing the reformed religion in his own dominions, who had assisted the Dutch in their struggles for civil and religious liberty, and who had vigorously promoted the Huguenot cause in France.[1] Their very name, which would have exposed them to the greatest danger in their native country, was enough to procure for them the kindest reception from him and his family, who loved and honoured their father as one of the best and greatest of men; and warmly did they sympathize with these orphan children, and congratulate them on their escape from the wolves of their father-land. Louise had much to tell them of her own journeyings and adventures—of her flight from France—of the places she had visited—of the kindness she had met with from

[1] Frederick III. was born February 14, 1515, and succeeded to the Electorate in 1559. He caused the Heidelberg confession to be published in 1563, and died in 1576.

Protestants of other countries. She had also much to tell them of the multiplied horrors of St. Bartholomew day, and of the succeeding days, during which the massacre was continued, full and particular accounts of which having since been communicated to her by friends.

In the same year, while Louise and her brothers were resident at this court, the Duke of Anjou, one of the contrivers of the St. Bartholomew massacre, a young man about twenty years of age, who was on his way to Poland to take possession of that kingdom, to which he had been elected, having passed the Rhine, visited the elector at Heidelberg; a visit which, besides that this was a convenient halting place in his journey, he could not honourably neglect to pay. On passing through the city no acclamations greeted him, which is not surprising. The wonder rather is, that a Protestant population, roused to a pitch of incontrollable indignation at the sight of the complotter of cruelties which had filled all Europe with horror, did not, disregarding his rank, strike the miscreant to the ground, beat him to death, or hang him on the first tree they met with. Such, at least, has been the treatment which the excited populace have sometimes awarded to criminals less deeply stained with blood than he was. On reaching the palace, finding no preparations for his reception, he suspected that this proceeded from a design to offer him disrespect; but his suspicions were unfounded, for the elector did not know of his coming, and his household had been thrown into confusion by a fire which, during the night, had accidentally broke out in some part of the palace. The elector received him with the courtesy claimed by one of the royal family of France. But from the subtle, deceitful, intriguing, bloodthirsty character of the duke, the elector, who was in all respects different, could not possibly esteem him, and he could not refrain from giving honest expression to his feelings of virtuous indignation at the atrocities so recently committed in France upon the unoffending Huguenots. He had received from the Huguenots a present of one of the portraits of Admiral Colligny, which they had caused to be executed after the

Bartholomew massacre, to be distributed in divers places and countries among the friends of the deceased, in honour of his memory. This portrait he showed to the duke. Having conducted him, along with two or three other persons of distinction, through a long gallery adorned with beautiful portraits of many princes and great men, on coming to that of Colligny, which he had placed among the collection, pointing to it with his finger, he asked the duke, "Do you know the man whose portrait that is?" "Yes, it is the late admiral," was the answer. "It is even he," rejoined the



The Portrait of Colligny.

elector, his blood rising as he thought of the cruel tragedy of Colligny's death; "it is even he, the best of men, the wisest and the greatest captain of Europe, whose children I have under my protection, lest the dogs of France should tear them in pieces, as they have done their father." The bold freedom of these words the duke felt

intensely, and bitter remorseful agony wrung his guilty heart; but he tried to conceal his feelings. "Of all the lords of France whom I have known," continued the elector, again pointing to the portrait with his finger, "that is the one whom I have found the most zealous for the glory of the French name, and I am not afraid to affirm that the king and all France have suffered in him a loss which can never be repaired." This he repeated several times, and in a tone of mingled grief and reproach at the inhumanity of the queen-mother, of the King of France, and of the duke. The duke, still endeavouring to dissemble his feelings, was proceeding to palliate the massacre, and to talk of the Huguenots' conspiracy to murder the whole court, when the elector stopped him short, by briefly replying, "We know all that story, sire;" and then led the way from the picture gallery.[1]

Louise's secluded life subsequently to the mournful loss of her father and of her husband, removed her from the gay scenes of the world, and favoured the cultivation of her judgment, and her improvement in all the virtues. After she had remained a widow for eleven years, William, Prince of Orange, upon the death of his third wife, Charlotte de Bourbon, inspired with admiration of her character—an admiration doubtless strengthened from the veneration in which he had always held her father—made her proposals of marriage. She had no marriage-portion, the cruel and oppressive French government having, after the massacre of her father, plundered and disinherited his children; but her good qualities were, in William's estimation, a sufficient dowry; and she appears to have accepted of his proposals, less from motives of ambition than from sentiments of generous sympathy and enthusiasm awakened by a prince who, resembling her father in character, in courage, and military talents, had fought valiantly and successfully against tyranny and tyrants. She saw in him a disinterested patriot, who, at the expense of toil,

[1] L'Estoile, in Petitot, tom. xlv., p. 78.—De Thou, tom. v., liv. lvii., p. 22.—Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, tom. iii., discours lxxix., p. 300. In the concluding part of the anecdote we have followed Brantôme. According to De Thou, the duke made no answer to the observations of the elector.

hardship, suffering, at the risk of the loss of large possessions, and even of life, had fearlessly resisted the vast power of Spain, put an end to the horrible persecutions of the Reformers in the Low Countries by Philip of Spain, and established civil and religious freedom; and this became the nurse of a pure and sacred affection.

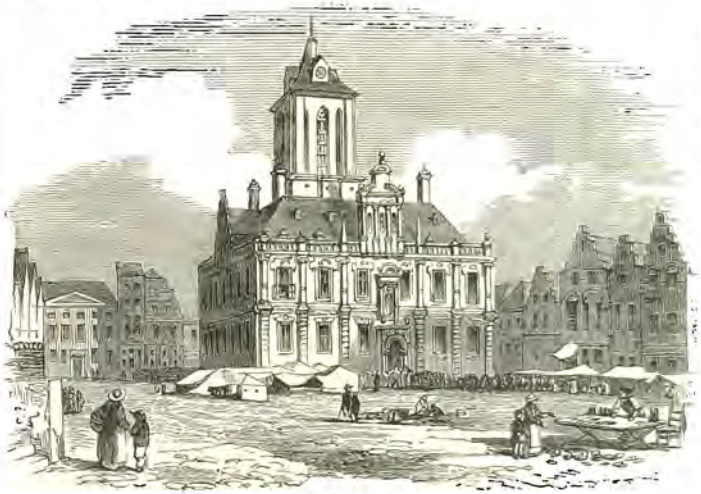
The marriage between Louise and the prince was solemnized at Antwerp, on the 12th of April, 1583;[1] and they took up their residence at Delft. This union, it might be supposed, would have been almost universally popular in the Confederated Provinces. The bride was a Protestant lady of irreproachable life and exalted piety, and the daughter of a man who had done and suffered more for the Protestant cause than almost any other man of his age. The marriage did not, however, give general satisfaction, in consequence of the strong feelings of animosity at that time entertained by the people against France, from the various indignities and injuries which they had received from the Duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III. of France. It afforded the enemies of the prince occasion to represent his affection to that kingdom in the most odious terms, to charge him with a design of enslaving the Confederated Provinces by bringing them under the dominion of that foreign power; a design which the prince never entertained, though he was very desirous of establishing a friendly understanding between France and the Netherlands, notwithstanding the difference between the two countries as to religion, to enable the latter the more successfully to resist the power of Spain.[2]

Upon her first arrival in Holland, the princess was struck with the simple manners of all classes, so different from what she had seen in her more refined native country. She was surprised to find that there even the higher ranks were remarkable for the homeliness and plainness of their tables, that it was the custom for them unostentatiously to walk along the streets without pages, or even lackeys, and that they rode in carts without springs, instead of

[1] De Thou, tom. vi, liv. lxxvii., p 285.

[2] Brandt, vol. i., pp. 390, 391.

coaches. But she gradually became reconciled to the manners and habits of the Low Countries; and she was afterwards wont, good-humouredly, to relate to her friends the uneasiness and discomfort she sometimes felt from usages to which she had not been accustomed. "She has told my father freely," says Maurier, "that at her coming into Holland she was very much surprised at their rude way of living, so different from that in France, and whereas she had been used to a coach, she was there put into a Dutch waggon, open at top, guided by a Vourman, where she sat upon a board; and that in going from Rotterdam to Delft, which is but two leagues, she was crippled, and almost frozen to death."[1]



The Townhall, Delft.

Being only thirty years of age at her second marriage, Louise still retained her personal charms, and she promised much domestic happiness to the prince, while by her amiable accomplished manners

[1] *Lives of the Princes of Orange*, p. 141.

and her cultivated mind, she adorned and dignified his court, dissipating prejudice, and rendering herself universally beloved. "In this admirable woman," says Miss Benger, "the prince found a companion to whom he might equally refer for counsel, for sympathy, or amusement. With affections equally susceptible and tender, she possessed more firmness of character, and an understanding more vigorous and better cultivated than the Princess of Bourbon. She soon vied with the prince in affability, and almost surpassed him in the art of winning popularity. The simple republicans, by whom the daughter of Bourbon had been approached with reverence, almost as a being of another world, loved and confided in Louise as an affectionate and honoured mother."[1]

At Delft, on the 28th of February, 1584, the princess gave birth to a son, who was named Frederick Henry, and who afterwards became illustrious as Prince of Orange.[2]

Prosperity now seemed to smile upon her; and apparently the only alloy in her felicity was the distressing feelings which, as in the case of her predecessor, Charlotte de Bourbon, would sometimes intrude into her thoughts, in consequence of the personal dangers which surrounded the prince. Sooner, perhaps, than she had at all anticipated, she was again taught, from bitter experience, that the present life is a scene of trial, in which affliction and sorrow, for the loss of the tenderest objects of affection, may speedily overwhelm the heart, and dissipate all the bright images formed of earthly happiness. In less than five months after the birth of her son she saw her husband expiring before her, assassinated by a second emissary of Spain, more desperate and more successful than the former, namely, Balthazar de Gerard, a Frenchman, about twenty-seven years of age, being a native of Villefons, in Franche Comte, which was subject to the King of Spain. He had meditated the crime six years before, prompted partly by Popish fanatical zeal, and partly by the hope of a pecuniary reward; and having come to Delft in the

[1] *Memoirs of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, vol. i, pp. 22-26.

[2] Maurier, p. 177.—Braudt dates Henry's birth the 29th of January, vol iv, p. 197.



J. GODWIN. W. JACKSON.

ASSASSINATION OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

month of May, 1584, with the view of carrying his resolution into execution, he succeeded, under false pretences, in getting into the confidence of the prince, who employed him in confidential service. On the 10th of July, the day on which he perpetrated the fatal deed, he was watching in the palace when the prince should go into the hall to dinner, and to cover his design, he asked from him a passport. This he did with a disconcerted mein, and with a hollow tremulous voice; which the princess observing, she suspected him of some bad intention, and asked the prince what sinister-looking man that was, and what he wanted. "He wishes a passport," answered the prince, "and I will cause one to be given him." During dinner the assassin sauntered about the stables behind the palace, towards the ramparts of the town. But he again returned to his former post, to wait the opportunity of giving effect to his bloody purpose; and while the prince, after dinner, was leaving the dining hall to go up to his chamber, the murderer placed himself behind a pillar in the gallery, with his two pistols hanging at his girdle on the left side, and hidden under his cloak; but he let the cloak hang off his shoulder, that he might not seem to have anything concealed under it, and he held in his right hand a paper, as if it had been a passport which he wished the prince to sign. As the prince was about to go up stairs, and had one foot upon the first step, the ruffian, advancing, drew forth one of his pistols loaded with three balls, which he discharged into the body of his victim, shooting him from the left side to the right, through the stomach and the vital parts; and this he did so suddenly, that none perceived him before the fatal blow was given. The balls, passing through the body of the prince, struck against the stone of the gate, into which they entered, leaving marks which were shown to strangers at Delft long after. The wound was mortal. On receiving it the prince cried out in French, "Mon Dieu! aye pitié de mon ame; je suis fort blessé; mon Dieu! aye pitié de mon ame, et de ce pauvre peuple;" "O, my God! have mercy upon my soul; I am severely wounded; O, my God! have mercy upon my soul, and upon this poor people." Having uttered these words, which were

the last he spoke, he began to stagger, but his gentleman usher laying hold of him, prevented his falling, and set him upon the stairs.[1]

The alarm being given, the princess and his affectionate sister, Katharine, Countess of Schwartzburg, and such of his children as were then residing with him,[2] hurried to the spot, uttering shrieks and bursting into tears, as they saw what had taken place. His sister, believing that he was dying, asked him in German whether he did not recommend his soul to Jesus Christ the Saviour; to which he answered, according to some, in the same language, "Yes;" according to others, simply by an inclination of the head. He was immediately carried back to the hall where he had dined, and scarcely had he been put upon his bed when he breathed his last, having nearly completed the fifty-second year of his age. The distress of the princess cannot be described. She gave vent to her feelings in cries of bitter lamentation, and at this moment recalled how her first husband and her father had perished in a similar tragical manner. But the piety of her spirit turned her thoughts towards God, and she earnestly prayed for strength to be given her from above to enable her to behave aright under this heart-rending bereavement, to be patient and resigned, to acknowledge that all events are ordered and appointed by God, that he has a right to dispose of his creatures as seemeth him good, and that he does all things well, in infinite wisdom, righteousness, and love.[3]

"She had this advantage," says Maurier, "to be sprung from the greatest man in Europe, and to have two husbands of very eminent virtues, the last of whom left behind him an immortal reputation; but she had likewise the misfortune to lose them all three by hasty and violent deaths, her life having been nothing but a continued

1 Maurier, p. 115.—De Thou, tom. vi., liv. lxxix, p. 380.—Grimeston's *History of the Netherlands*, pp. 731, 732, 736.—*Les Delices des Pays-Bas*, tom. v., pp. 7-9.

2 Only two of his children were absent, Philip-William, his eldest son, and Emilia, Anne of Saxony's youngest daughter.—Baroness de Bury's *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine*, &c., p. 71.

3 De Thou, tom. vi., liv. lxxix., pp. 380, 381.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 107.

series of afflictions, able to make any one sink under them, but a soul that, like hers, had resigned itself up entirely to the will of heaven."[1]

The princess and the family of the prince were deeply sympathized with throughout the Confederated Provinces. Universal lamentations were heard among the people, as if each had lost what was most dear to him, and as if the state had lost its chief protector against the power of Spain. The funeral, which was conducted with great pomp, was attended by all the nobility and the chief men of the provinces. Philip William, the prince's eldest son, being a prisoner in Spain (see p. 591), Maurice, the prince's second son, followed the corpse as chief mourner to the grave, which was in the new church of Delft, at the spot where the great altar formerly stood. Here Prince Maurice,[2] in 1620, erected to the memory of his father a magnificent monument of marble, accounted not inferior to the most sumptuous tombs in Italy. In the middle is the statue of the deceased prince. The pillars are four columns of marble, having in their front four figures of bronze, representing the four cardinal virtues. At the feet of the prince are the statues of his two sons, Prince Maurice and Frederick, and the upper part of the monument is surrounded with weeping loves.[3]

The states of the United Provinces granted to the widowed princess, who, as we have seen before, had no other dowry but her good qualities, an annual pension of 20,000 francs during life.[4] To the daughters of her deceased husband, and particularly to those of them born by Charlotte de Bourbon, who, from their tender age, most needed her care, she faithfully and affectionately discharged the duties of a mother. Elizabeth, Queen of England, to whose protection William, foreseeing the danger to which his life was exposed from the plots of his enemies, had during his life committed his

[1] *Lives of the Princes of Orange*, p. 140.

[2] Upon the death of Philip at Brussels, in 1618, Maurice became Prince of Orange. Before this he bore the title of count.—Maurier, p. 124.

[3] Maurier, p. 120.—*Les Delices des Pays-Bas*, tom. v., p. 5.

[4] Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 108.

daughters, made arrangements for those of them by Charlotte being brought up in different families.[1] But these arrangements failing to be carried out, Louise gladly took them under her maternal guardianship. In a letter addressed by her to Count John, the prince's brother, at the end of October, 1584, she thus speaks of the numerous family under her charge:—"My son, Count Maurice, is very well, thank God, and is about starting for Zealand. My daughters, Mademoisselle d'Orange [Mary of Nassau] and Anne, are now at Buren. Little Catharine Belgique is with the Countess of Schwartzburg, my sister. The others are with me, all in excellent health (as also my son), except Louise, who is extremely ill since six weeks; so ill, that the doctors have but a bad opinion of her, and give but bad hopes. I do, and will do, God willing, all I can for her."[2] Under her care and the care of their aunt, the Countess of Schwartzburg, these daughters became early distinguished for their mental attainments, and the princess imparted to them those graces of deportment which their excellent aunt had not to bestow. The character of some of them accordingly resembled rather that of their stepmother than that of their own parent; and in all of them, as well as in the prince's second son, Maurice, Louise de Colligny inspired confidence and respect.[3]

After her bereavement Louise resided for some time at Middleburg, in the province of Zealand. A letter which she wrote, while resident in that city, to Philip Duplessis Mornay, expressing her anxiety as to the education of her son, Frederick Henry, and her desire of obtaining a well qualified tutor, has been preserved. The letter is as follows:—

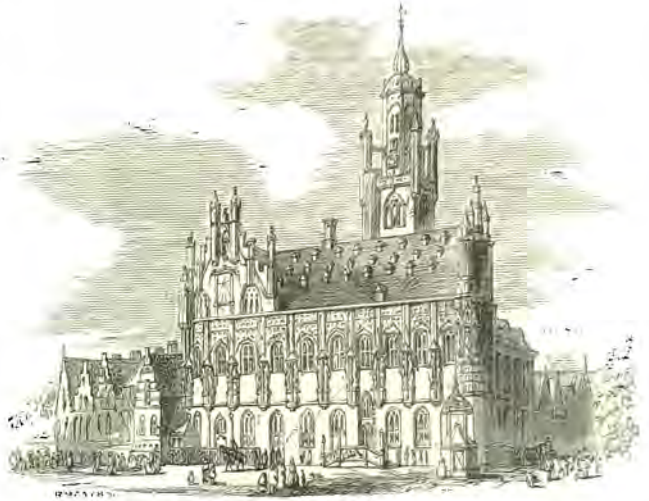
"Monsieur,—Some time ago M. de Buzanval sent me an account, which you were pleased to order to be transmitted, as to the method observed in the education of your son. M. de Turenne, and the said

[1] A letter of Elizabeth's on this subject to the Duke of Montpensier, Charlotte's brother, dated Hampton Court, October 17, 1584, is given in Baroness de Bury's *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine*, &c., p. 73.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.

[3] Miss Benger's *Memoirs of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, vol. i., pp. 26, 27.

Sieur de Buzanval, and many others, have given me so favourable a report of the high expectations formed of so excellent a youth, that it has made me extremely desirous of having my son educated after the same manner, and earnestly to beg M. de Buzanval to write to you on the subject, as he has done. Monsieur, I render you many



The Townhall, Middleburg.

thanks for the proof you have herein given me of your care of a son whose father and grandfather you loved so much. I preserve this account as very precious, regretting that I cannot begin to put it into practice. We are here in a country so barren of suitable men for the training of youth, that I despair of being able to find one so long as I remain in this place, and with difficulty elsewhere, unless, as I humbly pray, you assist me in so good a work, and thus by your means I again obtain one worthy of such a charge. Monsieur, if I am so happy as to be able to do you service, employ me, I beseech you, as the person who of all others most honours your virtue, and

you shall always find one ready most humbly and affectionately to serve you, in "LOUISE DE COLLIGNY.[1]

"Middleburg, July ——— ."

In the year 1591 the princess removed from Middleburg, and settled at the Hague. In some respects she would have preferred Leyden, but to it as a place of residence she had contracted a strong aversion, because one of the ministers of that town, named Peter Hackhouse, had publicly said in one of his sermons, that the late prince, her consort, "had been guilty of a great offence by his recent French marriage, as likewise by the pomp and costly feastings at the baptism of his son, for which cause this judgment had fallen upon him."[2] Thus to anathematize her simply because she was a Frenchwoman, and to represent the late prince as having sinned so fearfully by marrying her, that he was on that account exhibited a monument of the Divine justice to all Europe, made, as was natural enough, a deep impression upon her mind. Like many others, Hackhouse was opposed to the prince's marrying her because she was a French lady, from an unfounded apprehension, actively propagated by the enemies of the prince, that he intended to subject the Confederated Provinces to the power of France; and his hatred of the marriage on this ground, combining with what seems to have entered as chief elements into his character, a gloomy asceticism and a self-complacent spiritual pride. as if *he* had been specially admitted to a knowledge of the counsels of Heaven, prompted him to put this rash and perverted interpretation upon Providence. The causes he assigned as provoking the wrath of Heaven against the prince cannot be admitted, for, in the first place, the Sacred Scriptures sanction festive rejoicings at the birth of a child, particularly of a man child, and these in a style corresponding to the rank which men occupy in the world; and, secondly, it is certain that the prince committed no sin in taking to wife so pious and exemplary a lady as was Louise de Colligny. His whole character, indeed, was such as to forbid us to

[1] *Mémoires et Correspondance de Duplessis-Mornay*, tom. v., p. 71.

[2] Brandt, vol. iv., p. 197.

regard his assassination in the light of a judgment from God. We can observe no sin legibly written upon his death, as the sin of the debauchee upon his ruined constitution, his blasted reputation, his blighted earthly prospects, which bespeak a judicial infliction as distinctly as if we heard it proclaimed by a voice from heaven. So far from this, he was a virtuous, pious, patriotic man. Had he been less a patriot, had he consulted only his own temporal interests, and not those of his country, he might have died quietly upon his bed. He fell a sacrifice to his devotion to the civil and religious liberties of his country; and his death, instead of being viewed as a judgment of God, is to be contemplated as belonging to that portion of the Divine dispensations in which, for reasons beyond the power of human skill or sagacity to discover, God has often permitted patriots and martyrs, men of whom the world was not worthy, to fall victims to the inexorable vengeance of tyrants and persecutors.

Upon her settlement at the Hague, no French Protestant church being then established in that place, one was founded there, chiefly at her request; and John Uitenbogard, one of the reformed ministers



The Hague.

of the Hague, was appointed to serve it, by preaching in the French tongue; a service which, after some reluctance, he was ultimately induced to undertake, mainly in compliance with the wishes of the princess, who had formed a highly favourable opinion of his character,

piety, and talents. To him also she committed the instruction of her son, Frederick Henry, whom Uitenbogard taught not only the first principles of the Christian religion, but also the Latin tongue, carrying him through the grammar and some of the classic authors, till Mr. Torse arrived from France, and undertook the duties of his preceptor and governor.[1]

From various allusions made by the chroniclers of the time, we learn that the princess after this visited France. One of these allusions is characteristic of the abhorrence with which she shrunk from intercourse with ladies of nefarious reputation, and the decision with which she expressed and acted upon her feelings of recoil. On Sabbath, the 18th of September, 1594, having, when in Paris, gone to see the Princess Catharine of Navarre, sister of Henry IV. of France, she found in the apartment of that princess the Duchess of Montpensier.[2] The duchess had had a share, in a manner too shameful to be here specified, in prompting Jacques Clement to assassinate Henry III. of France (August 1, 1589), against whom she cherished an implacable hatred; and, in expression of her joy at the execrable murder, she had distributed green scarfs, as emblems of mock mourning, among the chiefs of the league for the extermination of the Huguenots. Louise de Colligny knew all this, and, therefore, on finding this wicked woman in the chamber of the princess, she abruptly quitted it, saying aloud that she could not remain in the company of such as had participated in the murder of the late king, because she was a Frenchwoman, and loved the French.[3]

In the controversy between the Arminians and the Calvinists,[4]

[1] Brandt, vol. iv., p. 197.—Le Clerc, tom. i., p. 302.

[2] Catharine de Lorraine, daughter of Francis, Duke of Guise, by Anne d'Este. She courted, with disgusting servility, the favour of Henry IV.; and it is surprising that she obtained such familiar access to the royal person. By her intrusions she greatly annoyed Catharine of Navarre, who was an excellent princess.

[3] L'Estoile, in Petitot, tom. xlvii., p. 83.

[4] James Arminius, professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, the father of the system bearing his name, taught it in his theological lectures, and in various published works; and a considerable number of Dutch ecclesiastics, with several persons of distinguished abilities and rank in the state, became converts to his opinions. His

which arose in Holland in the early part of the 17th century, the princess declared herself on the side of the Arminians. In taking this step she was probably influenced, in no inconsiderable degree, by the esteem in which she held her minister, Uitenbogard, who was a leading man in that party.[1] Perhaps, also, like many others, she was swayed by misrepresentations or caricatures of Calvinism, or by the plausibility given to the objections against it, from the exaggeration and false colouring under which they were presented. She seems to have been of opinion that the questions at issue between the two parties did not affect the essential principles of the Christian faith, that upon either system the foundations of human hope remained unshaken, and that the disputants should not allow their differences of sentiment to obstruct Christian affection and harmony, but should leave each other to entertain their respective views on subjects so profound and mysterious. Hence, says Brandt, "all her discourses and counsels tended to peace."

In order, if possible, to put an end to these unhappy differences, so detrimental to the welfare of the church and state in the provinces, the princess, and several individuals of note on both sides, were extremely desirous that Duplessis Mornay, a nobleman high in reputation among the Reformers of all countries, should visit them, and interpose his friendly offices for the accomplishment of an object

opponents, who embraced the majority of the clergy, and the principal professors in the Dutch universities, strenuously maintained the Calvinistic system, and were therefore called Calvinists. The name Gomarists, by which they were also designated, was derived from Francis Gomar, Arminius's colleague, who particularly signalized himself by his opposition to the new system. The two parties were also called Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, from a petition or remonstrance which the former party presented to the States-General in 1610. After the death of Arminius, in 1609, the controversy was carried on with redoubled vigour; and it produced such violent dissensions, animosities, and divisions as, unless authenticated by indisputable documents, could hardly be credited of a people naturally so cool and phlegmatic in temperament as the Dutch.

[1] Uitenbogard, when at Geneva, studying theology under Theodore de Beza and Antoine de la Faye, became acquainted with James Arminius, who was a theological student there at the same time, and an intimate friendship was formed between them, which continued without interruption till the death of the latter.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., pp. 232, 233.

so important. In the year 1617, a meeting of commissioners from Holland and from France having taken place at Rouen, in Normandy, some eminent persons, both of the Remonstrant and Contra-Remonstrant party, earnestly besought Mornay, who was one of the commissioners, to come over to Holland, being now so far on his way as Rouen, that they might enjoy the benefit of his advice. As he could not undertake this journey without the knowledge and consent of the French king, they prayed his majesty, both by letters from the French ambassador Maurier, in Holland, and by letters from Heer Langarak, the ambassador of the States-General in France, that Mornay might be sent thither in the character of extraordinary ambassador. The king, it would appear, was not adverse to granting the request, and one of his principal ministers was instructed to propose it to Mornay. When informed of the proposal, Mornay, who knew well the state of matters in Holland, had little hope, should he proceed thither, of being able to compose the existing dissensions, though he would gladly have done anything in his bower for the realization of so great a good. "The disease," said he, "is so inveterate, that I am afraid it is too late to apply any remedy. I will, however, do my utmost to give his majesty this proof of my zeal for his service, when it shall be thought necessary, knowing how much he is interested in the preservation of this republic."

At the same time, the Princess-Dowager of Orange wrote to Mornay the following letter, entreating him to come to the help of that distracted commonwealth: "Sir,—I perceive by a letter which Monsieur de Villebon has written me, that I have still the felicity to be in your thoughts; and I assure you, you cannot admit any one into them who honours and esteems you more highly than I do. But I am not the only person here that would gladly see you in these parts for a few days, in order to convince you of the respect we have for you. It is certain, sir, that we stand in the utmost need here of your wise and prudent counsels; and I verily believe that both parties will hearken more to yours than to any other man's whatever. Sir, our quarrels are not only about religion—our

country is likewise at stake if some care be not speedily taken. You are one of those who assisted my lord and husband in laying the foundations of this state: come now to the help of his children, and keep them from burying themselves in its ruins. If the dead had any knowledge of what passes upon the earth, I am sure he would conjure you to it in his own name, and by his ashes. Sir, I beg it of you most heartily. I know that in order to be qualified for this you must come with a commission; but I know, too, that if you be but disposed, it will not be difficult for you to procure such a commission. For God's sake, sir, do not stand upon punctilios. We are straitened in time, and since you are now at Rouen, it will be much more easy for you to take this journey, than when you shall have returned to Paris or Saumur. I beseech God to inspire you with the best resolutions, and I entreat you to continue the honour of your friendship to her who will remain, during life, your humble and very affectionate, the "PRINCESS-DOWAGER OF ORANGE.

"Hague, December 28, 1617."[1]

The desire expressed by the princess in this letter was not gratified. The French monarch did nothing more in the matter than order, as was said before, one of his chief ministers to inform Mornay of his majesty's intention to send him into Holland, to try what he could do to compose the differences that existed there. Some of the French clergy, or some of his majesty's council, who now began to aim at reducing the power of the Protestants in France, perhaps opposed the mission from motives of policy, perceiving that their purpose would be more easily gained by the continuance of the dissensions among the Protestants in Holland, which would greatly weaken the Protestant interest.

Several years before, this controversy had created much irritation in the Hague. There were at that time four regularly appointed reformed ministers in that place, John la Faille, John Lamotius, Henry Roseus, and John Uitenbogard, who took their turn in preaching in the Great church. The two first were Contra-Remonstrants, but,

[1] Brandt, vol. ii., pp 394, 395.

conformably to the ordinance of the states of 1614, enjoining upon the contending parties Christian charity and concord for the good of the commonwealth and of the church, they made the differences between them and the Remonstrants matters of forbearance. Roseus, the youngest of the four, had been for a long time the particular friend of Uitenbogard, and was understood, at the commencement of the disputes, to entertain the same opinions as that minister, until the year 1612, when his sentiments underwent a change, and from that time he began publicly to preach against the Remonstrants. The result was that Roseus, with a large body of the people, numbering upwards of 1200, separated from the other three ministers, and formed themselves into a distinct congregation, with a distinct consistory. They obtained permission from the states to preach in the Hospital church, a permission the more readily granted them in consequence of the open support which Count Maurice, from political motives and personal resentments, rendered them.[1] The Hospital church being too small to contain them, they took possession of the Cloister church, formerly a church of the monks, and converted, on the overthrow of Popery, into an arsenal. They first assembled in this church on the 9th of July, 1617, on which day they had two sermons preached to them.[2]

The controversy between the two parties continued to rage with increasing violence. On the 23d of July, 1617, Maurice, who had been accustomed to attend on the Sabbath the French church of

[1] Maurice at first declared that he did not wish in any way to mingle in theological controversies, but to remain neutral, saying that he was a soldier, and understood nothing in theology.—Le Clerc, tom. i., pp. 299, 315. At length, however, he put himself at the head of the Calvinists, partly in the hope of effecting his ambitious purposes by means of them, as they were the majority, and partly from hatred to John van Olden Barneveldt, Grand Pensionary of the States of Holland, and a zealous republican, who, jealous of his aspiring to undue, it is even said to sovereign power, in the state, had thwarted him in some of his favourite measures. The fact that Barneveldt took the side of the Remonstrants greatly contributed in moving Maurice to take the side of the other party. Thus the controversy inflamed political differences, and was inflamed by them; and it actually grew into a state faction.—Maurier, pp. 156–158.

[2] Le Clerc, tom. i., pp. 300–303, 313, 314.

the court, to hear Uitenbogard, whom he had highly esteemed,[1] went with the Prince William Louis of Nassau, and a numerous retinue, to the Cloister church.[2] At the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Hague, at Christmas in the same year, the two parties in that city separately observed the ordinance. Maurice and many persons of quality, ministers of state, military officers, several councillors, both of the French court and of the court of Holland, together with the great body of the people, observed it in the congregation which met in the Cloister church.[3] The princess-dowager, who declared herself openly on the side of the Remonstrants, and of such as maintained church-fellowship with them, partook of the Lord's Supper in the French church, under the charge of Uitenbogard. Her example was followed by her son, Frederick Henry; the Grand Pensionary, Olden Barneveldt; the Heers van Asperen, van Veenhusen, van der Myle, and van Groonevelt; the Yonkers van Sevonder and van Liere; the Heers Hugens, Melander, Martini, and other persons of distinction. But Uitenbogard's congregation and communicants were few in number compared with the multitude of communicants and hearers who assembled in the Cloister church.[4]

The princess continued regularly to attend the sermons of Uitenbogard, and declared she would do so as long as the states allowed

[1] Maurice had brought him to be minister at the Hague, and so greatly regarded him, that he did not rest till he had obtained him from the states and from the church at the Hague for his own minister, who should accompany him in all his campaigns. Uitenbogard attended him from the year 1599 to the year 1614.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 233. But Maurice, now suspecting him to be united with Barneveldt in opposition to his schemes of political ambition, contracted a dislike to him, and treated him somewhat contumeliously, calling him publicly the enemy of God. He complained to the princess-dowager, his mother-in-law, that Barneveldt, Uitenbogard, and others, held a cabinet council to oppose him.—*Ibid.*, tom. i, pp. 302, 313.—Brandt, vol. iv., p. 197.

[2] Le Clerc, tom. i., p. 315.

[3] At the celebration of the Supper in February, 1617, Prince Maurice, who had previously always communicated with Uitenbogard, had absented himself, not wishing to receive the communion from the hands of that minister, by whom it was on that occasion administered.—Le Clerc, tom. i., p. 313.

[4] Brandt, vol. ii., p. 395.

him to preach. Her son, Frederick Henry, did the same, and said that he was not of the sentiments of Roseus, whom his brother went to hear.[1] When Maurice and his partizans had taken great offence at Uitenbogard's inculcations of peace, in some of the sermons which they heard before leaving him, the princess zealously defended him. "She seemed extremely surprised," says Brandt, "that when Uitenbogard preached up peace and moderation, he should be so contemptuously treated for it, even by those very persons whom she had heard praising the like sermons of his about twenty years before."[2] If by "peace and moderation" he meant that controversy ought to be conducted in a candid and peaceful spirit, to the exclusion of the angry passions, clamour, and evil speaking, which have too often mingled in theological debates, he was inculcating an important lesson, to which both parties had much need to listen. But if he meant, as it appears he did, that all controversy on the disputed points should cease, and that they should not be made the ground of a division in the church, every one being left to hold and to teach his own sentiments, he was maintaining positions more difficult to establish.

When Uitenbogard, on having lost the favour of Prince Maurice and the principal courtiers, who deserted his ministry for that of the Contra-Remonstrants, began to think of resigning his office as minister of the French congregation, the charge of which he had been at first unwilling to undertake, he consulted the princess on that point. She entreated him not to do so; and having expressed himself to her as so much discouraged that he did not know whether he should go into the pulpit again, from fear of displeasing the prince, and because of the trouble in which he was involved by the Walloon Synod, she fell a-weeping, beseeching him not to yield to the influence of depressing thoughts. He added, that he could not preach to the chairs and stools; to which she affectionately answered, "I and my son will always hear you, in spite of synods, and in spite of all opposition, if you continue to preach there." On other occasions she

[1] Le Clerc, tom. i., p. 315.

[2] Brandt, vol. iv., p. 197.

used the same language, and was true to her word, her favour towards him remaining unchanged, when the storms of religious contention increased in violence, and the dangers which had fallen upon others hung over his head.[1] In this great controversy which shook Holland she ranked herself, in our judgment, on the wrong side, but she no doubt acted conscientiously, and her whole conduct towards Uitenbogard, who was a good man, however mistaken as to some parts of Divine truth, from the commencement of these disputes to her death, presents her amiable and sympathizing character in a very interesting light.

Foreseeing that a storm was gathering, Uitenbogard thought of betaking himself to flight. The princess, conceiving that he was in no personal danger, advised him to remain. "We are fallen into such times," said she, in a brief note which she wrote to him in her native tongue, "that we cannot assist one another but with our prayers. I am not of the number of those who advise you to retire till the storm is blown over; on the contrary, I think you ought to stand it, though it should fall upon you, which, however, I do by no means believe." She was afraid lest his flight should be construed into a confession of political guilt, and was desirous, should it be necessary, that he should put himself under her protection. "I will afford you an asylum," said she, "in my own house, as far as I can; and I will do it publicly, in the persuasion that nobody will forcibly take you from thence." He, however, judged it more prudent to leave the Hague than to seek shelter under the roof of the princess, who, however much inclined, might have been unable to shield him from the power of Prince Maurice. Having obtained leave from his consistory, he left the Hague on the 29th of August, 1618, the day on which Barneveldt was arrested, and went to Antwerp.[2] On the day of his departure the princess wrote to him these words: "The wisest of your friends, who see deepest into matters, are of opinion that you ought to lie concealed for some days, during which time a better

[1] Brandt, vol. iv., p. 198.

[2] Le Clerc, tom. ii, p. 11.

judgment may be formed of things. In the meantime, I do not think you are in danger, since the first fury is over."[1]

Things assumed a darker aspect than she anticipated. In March, 1619, Barneveldt and three other eminent statesmen, namely, the learned Hugo Grotius, Pensionary of Rotterdam, Heer Hoogerbeets, Pensionary of Leyden, and the Sieur de Leydenberg, Secretary to the States of Utrecht,[2] who had also been arrested and imprisoned, were brought to trial before judges nominated by the States-General, and consisting chiefly of their enemies. They were accused, but falsely, of various crimes against the state; among others that they had plotted to change the religion of the provinces, and to betray them to the Spaniards. The court, notwithstanding the flagrant inadequacy of the evidence, found them guilty. On the 13th of May, Barneveldt, who was the devoted victim, was sentenced to be beheaded on that same day.[3] The other prisoners were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and were sent to the castle of Louvestein, near Gorcum, in South Holland. Strong apprehensions having been entertained, some time before the pronouncing of the sentence, that Barneveldt's death had been resolved upon, applications from various quarters had been made in his behalf to Prince Maurice. The princess, who, during the differences between him and her son-in-law, Prince Maurice, had always vindicated the former, whom she esteemed and honoured as having been one of the chief confidents of Prince William, her husband, and as having ever acted the part of a true friend to his children, had evinced extreme anxiety to save his life.[4] Taking advantage of her anxiety, Maurice, through her, endeavoured by a stratagem, unworthy of a generous prince, to ensnare Barneveldt's family into a confession of his guilt. He

[1] Brandt, vol. iv., p. 198.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 11.

[2] These three last, like the first, were Remonstrants and staunch republicans.

[3] "The Spanish Inquisition itself, against the arbitrary and bloody jurisdiction of which the first Prince of Orange had raised the Low Countries, never conducted a trial and execution with more injustice, more secrecy, or more infamous rigour."—Life of Barneveldt in *Eminent Foreign Statesmen, Cabinet Cyclopædia*, vol. i., p. 206.

[4] Maurier, p. 141.

ordered Count William, governor of Friesland, to say from him to her, that he was astonished that no application had been made by Barneveldt's family for a pardon to him. In the hope that Maurice was beginning to relent, she lost no time in conveying this communication to Madame de Barneveldt. But that high-spirited lady, having consulted with her friends, came to the conclusion to take no step which would imply an acknowledgment of her husband's guilt, and replied, that she could not ask pardon for an innocent man.[1] The princess herself besought, but in vain, an audience of Maurice, to intercede for the life of her friend. The prince was inexorable, and, much as he respected her, refused to allow her to speak to him on the subject.[2] Barneveldt prepared for death, asking no favour for himself, though the tenderness of a husband and a father induced him to plead for the protection of his wife and children. He was executed, according to the sentence, in the court of the castle at the Hague, and met his fate with Christian fortitude.[3]

This tragic event much affected the princess. "No less affection," says Brandt, "did she discover to the advocate, Olden Barneveldt [than to Uitenbogard], lamenting his death with public and unfeigned

[1] When all correspondence between Barneveldt and his friends was strictly interdicted, this lady contrived an ingenious mode of communicating with him by writing. Having found means of sending him at different times a quantity of large fine pears, which might serve him for a dessert, she put into some of them writing quills, within which she had inserted billets, written in very small characters. The artifice was, however, at last discovered by the soldier who kept watch at the time when a quantity of pears arrived. Having taken two of them, which for the present he put into his pocket, on coming to his house he gave one of them to his wife, who, cutting it, found it to contain a quill, within which was a small scroll written on both sides, in Latin.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 49.—Grimeston's *History of the Netherlands*, Continuation by Cross, pp. 13, 93.

[2] Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 54.

[3] Barneveldt left two sons. They had held considerable situations in the state, of which being now deprived, and in revenge of their father's death, they engaged in a conspiracy against the life of the prince. One of them made his escape. The other was condemned to lose his head. His mother fell at the feet of Maurice, pleading for his life. The prince expressed surprise that she who had refused to ask her husband's pardon should condescend to intercede in behalf of her son. "I did not ask pardon for my husband," was her noble-minded reply, "because he was innocent. I ask it for my son, because he is guilty."

tears, as having received of him, whilst he was in the administration of affairs, many good services; nay, she did not scruple to say 'that Prince Maurice, her son, Prince Henry, and the whole house of Nassau ought to look upon the advocate as their father, on account of what he had done for them.'"[1]

Though Uitenbogard had succeeded in making his escape, and had therefore secured his personal safety, yet, to soften the resentment of Maurice against him, the princess interceded in his behalf with the prince, but without effect. On the 24th of May, 1619, he was condemned, in his absence, and without the specification of any crime of which he was guilty, by judges delegated for that purpose, to perpetual banishment, upon pain of death should he return to the territories under the jurisdiction of the States-General, and all his goods declared to be forfeited. In a letter to the princess, dated 29th May, 1619, after complaining of the severity of this sentence, he says, "I have been informed that this rigour would have been moderated if, instead of justifying myself, I had made some acknowledgment of a fault, but that I could not and ought not to do, without being convinced of guilt in my own conscience." He begs her to grant him recommendatory letters for some lord of the French court, or to obtain them for him from Monsieur du Maurier, French ambassador at the Hague, as he intended to proceed to France."[2] From this sentence, as well as from the fate of Barneveldt, and of the three eminent statesmen who had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment,[3] the princess was now convinced of Uitenbogard's danger. She now admitted that he had acted wisely in leaving the Hague, and advised him, as he purposed, to retire into France. "She omitted nothing," says Brandt, "that could contribute to his preservation or consolation,

[1] Brandt, vol. iv., p. 198. [2] Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 64.

[3] Grotius, after an imprisonment of a year and a half, effected his escape by the address of his wife, Maria van Reigersberg, a lady descended from one of the best families in Holland, and in every respect worthy of the great man to whom she was united. See an account of the ingenious artifice by which she accomplished his deliverance, in Appendix, No. VII.

and poured out her heart with a motherly tenderness in many letters which she wrote to him with her own hand, of which ten or twelve are still in my custody."[1]

At the close of April, 1620, the princess left the Hague for France. Her residence in Holland had become uncomfortable from her witnessing the violence with which religious quarrels raged, so fatal to the welfare of the Protestant cause, without any hope of seeing these differences extinguished. She was also sensibly touched at perceiving the jealousy and coldness with which she was regarded by the Contra-Remonstrant party. Such was the odium she had incurred by siding with the Remonstrants, that on riding one day through Delft, she was hooted and maltreated by the blinded fanatical mob, the *canaille*, who ran after her coach, throwing into it filth, and calling her Arminian whore, the usual slang of the mob against ladies whom they mean to insult. These were probably the motives inducing her to go to France. On her way she stopped some days at Antwerp, with the prince, her son. Uitenbogard, who resided there at that time, waited upon them, and was received with the utmost kindness by them both, especially by the princess, who showed her affection to him by her tears. With much piety she exhorted him to patience and perseverance, thanking him for the good instructions she had received from him when under his ministry, and offering him all civility and favour should he come to France.

The princess had been only a few months in France when she was overtaken by her last illness, at Fontainebleau. On her death-bed she was visited by Marie de Medicis, the queen-mother, who happened at that time to be at Fontainebleau, and by several princesses. Stephen de Courcelles, minister of the reformed church in that place,[2] frequently conversed and prayed with her. On one occasion John

[1] Brandt, vol. iv., p. 198.—Uitenbogard returned from France to Holland in 1626, when he was allowed to live in peace; and he died at the Hague, on the 14th of September, 1644, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., pp. 109, 232.

[2] There were only a few reformed families in Fontainebleau; but de Courcelles had a numerous auditory when the court came there, his ministry being attended by the reformed lords who followed the court, and others brought thither by business. De

Armand du Plessis, at that time Bishop of Luçon, and afterwards Cardinal Duke de Richelieu, who figured so conspicuously during the reign of Louis XIII. of France, went to see her by order of Marie de Medicis, in whose establishment he held the office of almoner or chaplain. As he entered the chamber of the princess, observing de Courcelles at one side of her bed, and a zealous Protestant lady at the other, the bishop said to her, "*Madame, prenez garde à votre ame, car vous avez deux demons à vos cotez*"—"Madam, take care of your soul, for you have two evil spirits beside you;" and professing



Death-bed of the Princess of Orange.

a deep interest in her eternal happiness, he exhorted her to renounce her Protestant principles and to re-enter the Romish Church, out of which, he assured her, there is no salvation. He was an insinuating man; but the daughter of Admiral Colligny, and the widow of William, Prince of Orange, had met with too much in her chequered and tried life to convince her of what Popery really is, to be persuaded to die in the communion of the Popish Church. She had

Courcelles was afterwards professor of divinity to the Remonstrants at Amsterdam. He was the grand paternal uncle of Jean Le Clerc, the author of *Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas.*

long since come to a decision on the great questions which divided Popery and the Reformation. Her confidence in the truth of the reformed principles, unshaken in the prospect of death, was the only foundation of her hope in looking to another world. She therefore wished now to be spared the intrusion of admonitions from which she expected neither security nor peace in death. De Courcelles addressed her in a different strain from that of the Popish prelate. He spoke to her of the Saviour, of the all-sufficiency of his divine righteousness, of the cordial welcome given to all to trust in this righteousness, of the exceeding great and precious promises by which God engages to be present with his people, to support and comfort them in the hour of death. On these and kindred topics he dwelt, and she listened to his words like one who felt that these were the truths which, apprehended by a living faith, dissipate all anxiety, and afford a well-grounded hope of eternal life. She died on the 9th of October, 1620, in the sixty-seventh year of her age.[1]

The body of the princess was embalmed and carried to the Hague, whence it was conducted to Delft, and interred on the 24th of May, the following year, in the magnificent tomb which had been erected in honour of the prince. This lady was not without enemies; but the candid of all parties, and especially such as best knew her, have united in paying a tribute of respect to her virtue and piety. The ambassador De Boissise speaks of her as "an incomparable princess, and one who very much loved both France and the United Provinces." Baudart, a strong Contra-Remonstrant, testifies "that her piety, good nature, and civility, together with her other virtues, were such that all who knew her were compelled to love and honour her." Philip Duplessis Mornay, in a letter which he wrote to the ambassador Buzenval, says "that he could never speak to her, nor concerning her, without being struck to the heart by the remembrance of her father and of her husband, to whom France, in his estimation, lay under the deepest debt of gratitude; but that he was yet more parti-

[1] Brandt, vol. iv., pp. 198, 199.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., pp. 68, 69.

cularly affected with the observation of her own virtues, which were so great that that wretched age was unworthy of her."[1] "This lady," says Maurier, "had very excellent virtues, without having the least mixture of any weakness incident to her sex, through the course of her whole life, though it was very long. . . . She gained every body's heart and affection by her way of conversation, which was easy, graceful; and had a universal respect, as well for her true sense as her extraordinary good nature. . . . There never was one of a more noble soul, or a truer lover of justice than this princess." In testimony of her zeal for the advancement of the cause of Christ in the world, she adopted for her motto, "Adveniat regnum tuum"—"Thy kingdom come;" a motto inscribed on some of her portraits.

Louise de Colligny had no children by her first husband. By her second she had only one child, the illustrious Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange. He was famous as a military leader, and was held in such high esteem by the army, that he was called "the father of the soldiers." By his wife, Amelia de Solmes, he had one son, William, born in 1626, and four daughters. His son William married the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I., King of Great Britain, and by her he had Prince William Henry of Nassau, who, upon the expulsion of James II., ascended the British throne, under the title of William III. Thus Louise de Colligny was the great-grandmother of William, Prince of Orange, who delivered Britain and Ireland from tyranny and Popery at the memorable revolution.[2]

[1] Brandt, vol. iv., p. 199.

[2] Maurier, pp. 134, 177, 178, 200.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—(p. 111.)

Anne Boleyn's Letter to Henry VIII., from the Tower.

"Sir,—Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so to obtain your favour) by such, and whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him[1] than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall, with all willingness and duty, perform your command.

"But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded. And, to speak a truth, never a prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration was fit and sufficient (I know) to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If, then, you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of my enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess, your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a *lawful* trial, and let not my *sworn enemies* sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an *open* trial, for my truth shall

[1] Probably the Duke of Norfolk, or Sir William Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the household.

fear no open shame. Then shall you see either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection, already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that He will pardon your great sin herein, and likewise my enemies, the instruments thereof; and that He will not call you to a strait account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at His general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear; and in whose just judgment, I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, mine innocency shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of these poor gentlemen, who, as I understand, are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If I have ever found favour in your sight—if ever the name of Anne Boleyn have been pleasing in your ears—then let me obtain this request; and so I will leave to trouble your grace any farther. With mine earnest prayer to the Trinity, to have your grace in His good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions, from my doleful prison in the Tower, the 6th of May. Your most loyal and ever faithful wife, "ANN BULEN."[1]

No. II.—(p. 134.)

Popish Plots against Anne Boleyn.

WYATT, in his *Memoirs of Queen Anne Boleyn*, not only ascribes her downfall to the plots of her Popish enemies in England, who inspired Henry's mind with jealousy by slanderous accusations against her, but he asserts that these Popish evil instruments were in league with Popish emissaries abroad, and even with the Pope himself. "She waxing great again," says he, "and not so fit for dalliance, the time was taken to steal the king's affections from

[1] The original of this beautiful letter is not now known to exist; but there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. "The copy of it," says Ellis, "preserved among Lord Cromwell's papers, is certainly in the handwriting of the time of Henry VIII."—*Original Letters*, first series, vol. ii., p. 53.

her when most of all she was to have been cherished. . . . . Having thus so many, so great factions at home and abroad set loose by the distorned favour of the king, and so few to show themselves for her, what could be the issue! What was otherlike but that all these gusts lighting on her at once should prevail to overthrow her, and with her those that stood under her fall? . . . . . Her very accusations speak and even plead for her; all of them, so far as I can find, carrying in themselves open proof to all men's consciences of mere matter of quarrel, and indeed of a very preparation to some hoped alteration; the most and chief of them showing to have come from Rome, that Popish forge of cunning and treachery, as Petrarch long since termed it:—

> 'Nest of treasons, in which is hatch'd and bred
> What ill this day the world doth overspread.'"

That Anne was the object of the intensest hatred of the Pope, as she was of the whole Papal hierarchy, is undoubted. Her marriage with Henry having occasioned the separation of this kingdom from the Roman see; her support of the Reformed party; her protection of the importers and circulators of the English Bible; her promotion of Shaxton and Latimer, two individuals particularly obnoxious to the Popish party, to bishoprics made vacant by the deprivation of two Italian cardinals; in short, all the steps taken in opposition to the Papacy in England, from the time of her union with Henry; these were the unpardonable sins which called forth against her Rome's deepest enmity. How far the Pope and the Papists abroad were concerned in the plot for her overthrow, it may be impossible now to ascertain, but that they were early in the secret is placed beyond all doubt, from manuscript documents of indisputable authority still in existence.

In a despatch to Henry, dated Rome, 27th May, 1536, Sir Gregory Cassalis says, "Ten days have elapsed since I went to the Pope, and narrated to him the tidings that the queen had been thrown into prison, with her relations, for concurring in her adultery. He then said that he had been beseeching God to enlighten the mind of your majesty with his own light in this affair; that indeed he always had something of this sort in his eye, because he regarded your majesty as adorned with such virtues, and as having merited so well for your services towards Christendom, that God would not desert you, but would rather exalt your mind by the grace of his illumination, that in times when certainly it is especially necessary, your majesty, like as in other respects you have acted, may perform an excellent work for Christendom, being released from a marriage which was truly too unequal for you."[1] From this report, given by Cassalis of his interview with the

[1] Cotton MS. Vitellius, B. xiv., folio, pp. 215-218, in British Museum.—Turner's *Hist. of Henry VIII.*, p. 478.

Pope, it is evident—1, That the Pope knew the conspiracy formed against Anne previously to his being told of her imprisonment by Cassalis; for, on hearing Cassalis' communication, he says that he *had been* beseeching God to enlighten Henry's mind on that matter. 2, That he had been long thinking of a similar plan for the destruction of Anne; and contemplating her destruction as an event very likely to be realized. And, 3, That he saw with undoubted certainty how her trial would terminate. He seems almost ambitious of claiming the merit of originating the plot. But whether it originated with him or no, it is certain that the evil instruments engaged in it put themselves at an early period in communication with him.

The precise date of his becoming acquainted with it is uncertain. From a letter written by Cassalis to Henry, dated Rome, February 20, 1535–6, Anderson, in his *Annals of the English Bible*, concludes that the Pope and his agents at Rome were in the secret of the conspiracy at that period, when Anne had not yet recovered from a premature and dangerous childbirth.[1] The letter, which is in the British Museum,[2] is so mutilated by fire that it is difficult, if not impossible, now to determine with perfect certainty the precise drift of the portion of it referring to the subject in hand; but the conclusion is probably correct. From what remains of the letter it appears that, even when entire, there was in it more than met the eye—somewhat of mysterious obscurity. It relates to some point, evidently a matrimonial one, which was likely to bring about a better understanding between the Pope and the king; and the Pope, who in great wrath had so recently fulminated a sentence of excommunication against him for marrying Anne, is exceedingly anxious to gratify the monarch's wishes as to the point involved. "He [the Pope] told me," says Cassalis, "that he would ask the advice of divers learned men of the said cause, meaning those whom I write of. I speaking generally told him only that if he shall so do, he shall do as it becometh a good bishop to do, and consult for his wealth and the profit of this church. I letted not to speak and show your majesty's puissance, force, and strength, and the stability of your own matters and of your friends. And in the said matter I intend to speak and answer none other thing until such time as I shall have answer from your majesty." If this letter does refer to the contemplated repudiation of Anne, then the Pope knew all about it when yet it was a secret in London. His agents, delighted with it themselves, and knowing that it would equally delight him, were in haste to communicate to him the joyful tidings, and he hallooed and cheered them on to violence and blood. Gardiner, who was then in France, and who maintained correspondence both with England and with Italy, would, in

[1] Vol. i., p. 480. [2] Cotton MS. Vitellius, B. xiv., folio, p. 162.

all probability, communicate the information to the Papal court. He had been abundantly active in endeavouring to obtain for Henry a divorce from Katherine of Aragon, and had thus promoted the elevation of Anne; but from his inveterate animosity against the Reformers, he became the mortal enemy of Anne because she supported them; and into any scheme for compassing her ruin he would enter with all his heart and soul.

Another circumstance, creating suspicion that her conspirators at home were in communication with her enemies abroad, is that Richard Pate, the English ambassador at the court of Charles V., is writing so early as the 12th of April to the king, in ciphers, about legitimating the Princess Mary, and enforcing the subject with great earnestness.[1] But was the ambassador likely to have ventured to press the legitimating of that princess on the attention of such a man as Henry, had not the subject been included in his embassy? And may it not reasonably be questioned whether the mysterious ciphers had not some connection with the evil meditated against Anne and her daughter?

While Popish conspirators combined with Henry in the destruction of Anne, the two parties, equally anxious for her death, performed each its own work, and were each actuated by its own motives. The Papists, by exciting Henry's jealousy and framing accusations, placed the arrow in the bow. He pulled the string. Their object was the removal of a woman whose influence, so far as it went, had been exerted on the side of the reforming party. His object was to get quit of her, in order to substitute in her place another to whom his affections were now transferred.

The Pope luxuriated in the great advantages he anticipated to the Romish Church from her ruin. He flattered himself that, were she out of the way, a very serious obstacle to the return of Henry and of England to the communion of the Popish Church would be removed; and, with the artful blandishments of a thorough-bred parasite, he now made eager advances to the schismatical monarch. This we learn from Cassalis' despatch to Henry of the 27th May, in which, after the passage already quoted, he observes that the Pope praised his majesty's liberality and magnanimity in having often shown himself ready to supply the church with sums of money, together with all assistance and counsel, and in having valiantly defended her doctrine against the furious attacks of Luther. "The Pope," he adds, "said that the Roman Church, were your majesty joined to it, would, without doubt, have so much authority as to be able to command at once the emperor and the King of France, and to compel both to peace, the honour of which is to be shared with your majesty by no one; both because it is evident that, though he [the Pope] had endeavoured by every means to accomplish this, he had

[1] Cotton MS. Vitellius, B. xiv., folio, p. 177, in British Museum.

effected nothing; and because it is manifest that your majesty, if you have with you the Roman pontiff, might authoritatively command the other princes as you pleased. He would pledge himself to obey you in this business. He desired nothing but peace; nor was he addicted to factions, nor disposed to strive covetously to increase his fortune in immense sums, or to extend the boundaries of the Pontificate. Your majesty ought not to regard him with angry, but rather with friendly feelings; for he had always most earnestly sought to gratify you in your affair, and had never wished to damage it, having given many tokens of love and attention in the cause of your marriage, and done all things in his power for you in the consistories with Clement VII., both publicly and privately, and at Bologna with the emperor. This duty he had done from his heart, considering that God would call him to account for it. Nor did he wish to offend your majesty in anything, although he understood something was daily doing in England against the apostolic see." The Pope then apologized for having made John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester,[1] a cardinal; acknowledged that he had erred in that step; and that in what followed, referring to the excommunication pronounced upon Henry, he had acted at solicitations on all sides urging him to avenge the death of the cardinal, not from his own inclination, which had not gone along with it. After other intimations equally humble, obsequious, and wheedling, he was asked by Cassalis whether he wished these sentiments to be reported to the king. "You may say," said the Pope, after a deliberative pause, "that you had found the pontiff in such a good disposition, that his majesty might without doubt be assured of everything concerning himself."

How different the language of his holiness now from what it was in August, 1535, when he issued his famous bull of excommunication against Henry! Then, raging and foaming like a demoniac, he could hardly find in the Papal vocabulary, so exuberant in terms of opprobrium and execration, words adequate to express his fell spirit of revenge against the reprobated monarch. But now, when the prospect of Anne Boleyn's destruction has awakened in his breast bright anticipations as to his returning ascendency in England, to regain the favour of Henry he becomes all at once tamed into submission, is now as fawning as before he was insolent, and as lavish of his flattery as formerly of his curses. Nor does he conceal that the cause of

[1] Fisher, when nearly eighty years of age, had been thrown into prison for denying Henry's ecclesiastical supremacy. The Pope, apprised of his situation, sent him a cardinal's hat, foolishly intended, perhaps, to express his contempt of Henry, and to excite the popular sympathy in behalf of the prelate. This irritated the monarch, and hastened the destruction of Fisher, who was tried on the 17th of June, 1535, and beheaded on the 22d of that month. See an account of his trial and death in *Archæologia*, vol. xxv., pp. 61-69.

this sudden, this marvellous change, was because he was dreaming of now recovering his lost supremacy in England.

The hopes of the Pope were happily doomed to disappointment. Henry made no advances for a reconciliation with his holiness, and the ecclesiastical condition of England remained unchanged. Various causes combined to produce this result. In the first place, the new queen, like her predecessor, was favourable to the Reformation. Had Henry's affections and hand been disengaged when he received Cassalis' despatch, its artfully earnest and submissive tone would very likely have produced a more powerful impression on his mind. But long before this communication had reached him, and even before it was written, he had married Jane Seymour, and her heretical leanings interposed a formidable barrier to renewed friendship with Rome. Secondly, he was now reaping the benefit of the confiscated wealth of the monasteries, and had the agreeable prospect of still farther augmenting his revenue from the same source. Add to this that he had now lost his educational veneration for the Roman see; and from the growing obstinacy of his character, he was not to be stayed in any course which self-interest, passion, or caprice might dictate, by the cajolery of the Vatican or by its direst anathemas. Under the joint operation of these influences, in which we cannot fail to mark the merciful hand of Providence in continuing to overrule for good the evil passions of the monarch, England escaped the restoration of Papal despotism. Finding that Henry was not to be lured back into the arms of the Papacy, and that it was not to derive the least advantage from the death of Anne Boleyn, his holiness quickly altered his tone and conduct towards the intractable monarch, changing his praises into vituperation, and his blessings into curses.

No. III.—(p. 302.)

Lady Jane Grey's Letter to her Father, written Three Days before her Execution.

"FATHER,—Although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened, yet can I so patiently take it, that I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woful days than if all the world had been given into my possession, with life lengthened at my own will. And, albeit I am well assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled many ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially, as I am informed, my woful estate; yet, my dear father (if I may, without offence, rejoice in my own mishaps), meseems in this I may account myself

blessed, that, washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent! And though I must needs acknowledge that, being constrained, and, as you know well enough, continually assayed, in taking [the royal authority] upon me, I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws; yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, in that, being in so royal estate as I was, my enforced honour never blended with mine innocent heart.[1] And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I presently stand. My death at hand, although to you, perhaps, it may seem right woful, yet to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure, with Christ our Saviour, in whose steadfast faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father) may the Lord, that hath hitherto strengthened you, so continue to keep you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. I am, your obedient daughter till death, "JANE DUDLEY."[2]

No. IV.—(p. 305.)

Lady Jane Grey's Letter to her Sister, Lady Katharine, written on the Evening before her Execution, in the end of the Greek New Testament which she sent to Lady Katharine.

"I HAVE here sent you, my dear sister Katharine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, or the curious embroidery of the artfulest needles, yet inwardly is more worth than all the precious mines which the vast world can boast of. It is the book, my only best and best beloved sister, of the law of the Lord; it is the testament and last will which he bequeathed unto us wretches and wretched sinners, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy. And if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, no doubt it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teach you to live and learn you to die; it shall win you more, and endow you with greater felicity, than you should have gained by the possession of our woful father's lands; for as, if God had prospered

[1] This, in addition to what is stated in her letter to Queen Mary, and in her dying speech, affords a complete refutation of Dr. Lingard's assertion, that Lady Jane's "contempt of the splendour of royalty, and her reluctant submission to the commands of her parents," are to be considered as the fictions of historians.

[2] FOXE's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., p. 417.—Nicolas's *Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey.*

him, you should have inherited his honours and manors, so if you apply diligently to this book, seeking to direct your life according to the rule of the same, you shall be an inheritor of such riches as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither the thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire, with David, my best sister, to understand the law of the Lord your God; live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life, and trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for unto God, when he calleth, all hours, times, and seasons are alike, and blessed are they whose lamps are furnished when he cometh, for as soon will the Lord be glorified in the young as in the old.

"My good sister, once more again let me entreat thee to learn to die; deny the world, defy the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord; be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, yet presume not; and desire, with St. Paul, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life.

"Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest, when death cometh and stealeth upon you like a thief in the night, you be, with the servants of darkness, found sleeping; and lest, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish virgins, or like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you be cast into darkness or banished from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I trust you do; and, seeing you have the name of a Christian, as near as you can, follow the steps, and be a true imitator of your Master, Christ Jesus, and take up your cross, lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him.

"Now, as touching my death, rejoice, as I do, my dearest sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption; for I am assured that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlasting; the which I pray God grant you in his most blessed hour, and send you his all-saving grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith, from which, in God's name, I exhort you that you never swerve, neither for hope of life nor fear of death; for if you will deny his truth to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himself will deny you, and by vengeance make short what you, by your soul's loss, would prolong; but if you will cleave to him he will stretch forth your days to an uncircumscribed comfort, and to his own glory; to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it shall please him to call you. Farewell, once again, my beloved sister. and put your only trust in God, who only must help you. Amen.—Your loving sister, "JANE DUDLEY."[1]

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., p. 422.—Nicolas's *Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey*.

No. V.—(p. 313.)

Notice of Lady Katharine Grey, sister of Lady Jane Grey.

LADY KATHARINE GREY, after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, became one of her majesty's maids of honour. It was while she was residing in the court that a secret marriage took place between her and the Earl of Hertford. The queen having gone one morning to Eltham to hunt, Lady Katharine, accompanied by Lady Jane Seymour, the Earl of Hertford's sister, who was also one of Elizabeth's maids of honour, according to previous concert, left the palace at Westminster by a private door, and proceeded by the sands to the earl's house in Chanon Row. Lady Jane then went for an ecclesiastic, and the parties were married; after which the two ladies returned to the palace, and were in time for dinner. Having consummated his marriage, Lord Hertford, with the queen's permission, travelled into France. It being rumoured in course of time that Lady Katharine was pregnant, the queen was greatly indignant. To soften her majesty's displeasure, Lady Katharine revealed that she had been married; but Elizabeth, who was inexorable, committed her prisoner to the Tower, where she was afterwards delivered of a son. Lord Hertford was summoned home to answer for his misconduct, and having, in like manner, acknowledged the marriage, he too was committed prisoner to the Tower. A commission, of which Archbishop Parker and Bishop Grindal were at the head, having been appointed to investigate the cause, and to decide upon it without appeal, the parties being unable to produce witnesses in attestation of the marriage within the time prescribed, a definite sentence was pronounced, to the effect that their intercourse had been criminal, that their offspring was illegitimate, and that their imprisonment should be continued during the queen's pleasure.

By bribing the keepers, the Earl of Hertford obtained access to Lady Katharine, and the consequence was that she was brought into the same interesting situation as before. This increased Elizabeth's irritation against the parties; and the Earl of Hertford being brought before the Star Chamber under a threefold charge—that he had deflowered a virgin of the blood-royal, broken prison, and repeated his vicious act—was fined £5000 for each of these imputed offences, or £15,000 in all, and kept prisoner for a period of nine years.

Lady Katharine's friends endeavoured, by repeated letters to Sir William Cecil, to mitigate the queen's resentment. She herself wrote more than once to Cecil, beseeching his friendly interposition, and also sent a petition to the queen, acknowledging her fault in matching without her majesty's consent, and

praying for her majesty's forgiveness. But all was in vain. Under the Life of Queen Elizabeth (p. 436) we have attributed the barbarity exercised towards this young lady to that queen's jealousy of all who, being nearly related to the throne, had a chance of one day succeeding her.[1] Another cause probably combined with this. Having, for reasons which historians can only conjecture, doomed herself to a single life, she seems to have envied the married their connubial happiness, and she interdicted marriage when she had the power, and could do so under a plausible pretext. This cruel treatment greatly impaired Lady Katharine's health, drew many bitter tears from her eyes, and, as she expressed herself, made her "rather wish of God shortly to be buried in the faith and fear of him, than in this continual agony to live." "I never came to her," said her uncle, Lord John Grey, in a letter to Cecil, "but I found her either weeping, or else saw by her face she had wept."

She was released from her sufferings by death, in the beginning of the year 1567. A record of "The Manner of her Departing" has been preserved, which exhibits in a very interesting light the pious and amiable spirit of this ill-treated lady. "All the night she continued in prayer, saying of psalms, and hearing them read of others, sometimes saying them after others; and as soon as one psalm was done she would call for another to be said. Divers times she would rehearse the prayers appointed for the visitation of the sick, and five or six times the same night she said the prayers appointed to be said at the hours of death; and when she was comforted by those that were about her, saying, 'Madam, be of good comfort, with God's help you shall live and do well many years,' she would answer, 'No, no; no life in this world, but in the world to come I hope to live for ever; for here is nothing but care and misery, and there is life everlasting.' . . . Then said the Lady Hopton unto her, 'Madam, be of good comfort, for, with God's favour, you shall live and escape this; for Mrs. Cousen saith, you have escaped many dangers, when you were as like to die as you be now.' 'No, no, my lady; my time is come, and it is not God's will that I should live any longer, and His will be done, and not mine;' then looking upon those that were about her [she added], 'As I am, so shall you be; behold the picture of yourselves.' About six or seven of the clock in the morning, she desired those that were about her to cause Sir Owen Hopton [lieutenant of the Tower] to come unto her; and when he came he said unto her, 'Good madam, how do you,' and she said.

[1] Lady Katharine was, in point of family proximity to the English throne, the third princess of the blood-royal. After Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots was nearest heir. Failing her issue, the next heir was Margaret Douglas (wife of Matthew Stuart, fourth Earl of Lennox), only daughter of Archibald, seventh Earl of Angus, by Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. of England, and sister of Henry VIII. Failing her issue, Lady Katharine Grey came next, as being the descendant of Henry VII., by his second daughter, Mary.

'Even now going to God, Sir Owen, even as fast as I can: and I pray you and the rest that be about me to bear witness with me that I die a true Christian, and that I believe to be saved by the death of Christ, and that I am one that He hath shed his most precious blood for; and I ask God and all the world forgiveness, and I forgive all the world.'" Having besought Sir Owen Hopton to promise to request the queen with his own mouth to forgive her for having married without her majesty's knowledge, to be kind to her children, and to set her husband, the Earl of Hertford, at liberty, "then she said unto Sir Owen, 'I shall farther desire you to deliver from me certain commendations and tokens unto my lord;' and calling unto her woman, she said, 'Give me the box wherein my wedding ring is,' and when she had it she opened it, and took out a ring with a pointed diamond in it, and said, 'Here, Sir Owen, deliver this unto my lord; this is the ring that I received of him when I gave myself unto him, and gave him my faith.' 'What say you, madam,' said Sir Owen, 'was this your wedding ring?' 'No, Sir Owen,' she said, 'this was the ring of my assurance unto my lord, and there is my wedding ring,' taking another ring all of gold out of the box, saying, 'Deliver this also unto my lord,[1] and pray him, even as I have been to him, as I take God to witness I have been, a true and a faithful wife, that he would be a loving and a natural father unto my children, unto whom I give the same blessing that God gave unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' And then took she out another ring with a death's head, and said, 'This shall be the last token unto my lord that ever I shall send him; it is the picture of myself.' The words about the death's head were these, '*While I lyve yours;*' and so, looking down upon her hands, and perceiving the nails to look purple, [she] said, 'Lo, here he is come;' and then, as it were, with a joyful countenance she said, 'Welcome death,' and embracing herself with her arms, and lifting up her eyes and hands unto heaven, knocking her hands upon her breast, she brake forth and said, 'O Lord! for thy manifold mercies, blot out of thy book all mine offences!' whereby Sir Owen perceiving her to draw towards her end, said to Mr. Bockeham, 'Were it not best to send to the church that the bell[2] may be rung,' and she herself hearing him [said], 'Good Sir Owen, let it be so.' Then immediately perceiving

[1] This ring had been exhibited by Lady Katharine to the Commission of Inquiry. It consisted of five links, the four inner ones containing the following lines, of the Earl's composition:—

> "As circles five by art compact shewe but one ring in sight,
> So trust uniteth faithfull mindes with knott of secret might,
> Whose force to breake but greedie Death noe wight possesseth power,
> As time and sequels well shall prove. My ringe can say no more."

[2] "The *Passing Bell.* It was rung at the passing from life to death, with the intention that those who heard it should pray for the person dying."

her end to be near, she entered into prayer, and said, 'O Lord! into thy hands I commend my soul, Lord Jesus receive my spirit,' and so putting down her eyes with her own hands, she yielded unto God her meek spirit, at nine of the clock in the morning, the 27th of January, 1567."

Lady Katharine had to the Earl of Hertford three sons, Edward, who died young; Edward, Lord Beauchamp; and Thomas. "Portraits of Lady Katharine holding her infant son, Edward, Lord Beauchamp, in her arms, are preserved both at Alnwick and at Warwick castles; that at the former by Hans Holbein."

The validity of the marriage between Lady Katharine and the Earl of Hertford was not established till 1606, when, upon its being tried by a jury at common law, the ecclesiastic who had united them being produced, and his testimony to the fact being corroborated by other circumstances, the marriage was pronounced good.[1]

No. VI.—(p. 464.)

Notice of Ladies Anne, Margaret, and Jane Seymour, Daughters of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset.

EDWARD SEYMOUR, Duke of Somerset, had by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope, of Sudbury, in Suffolk, and of Rampton, in Nottinghamshire, six daughters, Anne, Margaret, Jane, Mary, Katharine, and Elizabeth.

The three first, to whom we now limit our attention, were noted for their scholarship in their day. They took their place in the ranks of noble authors by the publication of a Latin poem of a hundred and four distichs, which they composed upon the death of Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre, who died on December 21, 1549; and which they dedicated to Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Berri, sister of Henry II. This poem, or elegy, composed by ladies so young and in high station, attracted attention, and acquired them no inconsiderable reputation among the learned, who pronounced them not less illustrious for the splendour of their genius than for that of their birth. It was so admired, particularly in France, where Margaret, the subject of it, was extremely popular, that it was immediately translated into Greek, French, and Italian, by the most distinguished wits of the French court. The whole, with other verses upon the death of Margaret subjoined,

[1] Camden's *Elizabeth*, book i., pp. 84, 85.—Collins's *Peerage of England*, Brydges's edit., vol. i., p. 173.—Ellis's *Original Letters*, second series, vol. ii., pp. 272-290.

and preceded by addresses eulogistic of the fair authoresses, was printed at Paris, in 1551, under the title, *Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre.* The book is now rarely to be met with. Nicholas de Herberai, Sieur des Essars, in a preliminary epistle, addressed to the ladies, by a piece of poetic gallantry, supposes them dead, and proposes the following epitaph to be inscribed on their tomb:—"Here lies the dust of Anne, Margaret, and Jane Seymour, the light and glory of the ladies of England, in whom were united the beauty of Helen, the modesty of Thirm, the genius of Socrates, the language of Homer, and the elegant pen of Crane, their preceptor." Epitaphs on the great are generally little else than effusions of extravagant and fulsome flattery. But the elegy of these ladies on the death of the Queen of Navarre is free from this blemish, abounding more in pious reflections than in praises of the deceased queen, from which Ronsard has styled it a "Christian song," and Richelet, his commentator, "Christian distichs."

Anne was married first, 3d June, 1550, to John Dudley, Lord Lisle, afterwards Earl of Warwick, eldest son and heir of John, Earl of Warwick, who subsequently became Duke of Northumberland; and, secondly, to Sir Edward Unton, of Wadley in Farringdon, in Berks, Knight of the Bath. Margaret died unmarried. Jane, who was one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour, also died unmarried, March 19, 1560, at the early age of nineteen, and was buried in St. Edmund's chapel, Westminster Abbey, where a small but neat monument, with a suitable inscription, was erected to her memory by her brother Edward, Earl of Hertford.[1]

No. VII.—(p. 698.)

Maria van Reigersberg, Wife of Hugo Grotius. Manner in which she liberated Grotius from Prison.

Mrs. Grotius desired from the first to share her husband's imprisonment. This permission she obtained with much difficulty; and by her presence, fortitude, and attentions, she much alleviated the rigour of his sufferings, as he pathetically commemorates in one of his Latin poems. She was not, like him, kept under close confinement, but was permitted to go out occasionally to purchase necessaries, and to procure from his friends loans of books to assist him in his learned studies; for while a prisoner in the castle of Louve-

[1] Bayle's *Dictionary*, art. Seymour.—Ballard's *Learned Ladies*, pp. 138-143.—Crull's *Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, p. 41.

stein he composed commentaries upon the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the beginning of John, besides translating into Latin verse various passages from the Greek poets, and performing other literary labours. Cargoes of books were thus brought to the prison, and sent away after he had made use of them. At first the chests containing them were opened and searched; but as they were found to contain nothing but books and linen, the keeper of the castle and the guards at last dispensed with this precaution. This suggested to Mrs. Grotius the idea of liberating her husband by inclosing him in one of these book-chests. Having communicated to him the idea, and having, after he had made repeated trials, ascertained that he could remain confined for a considerable time in a chest of scarcely four feet in length, she addressed herself to the wife of the lieutenant of the castle, during the absence of the lieutenant, who had gone to Huesse, pretending that, from her anxiety to prevent Mr. Grotius from injuring his health by hard study, she wished to send off a large chest loaded with books. The lieutenant's wife, whose favour she had previously conciliated by small presents, at once granted her the desired permission. Grotius having secreted himself in the chest, his wife drew the curtains close around his prison-bed, and placed his clothes on a chair, to convey the impression that he was confined to bed by illness, and bade the soldiers carry away the chest. From the unusual weight of the chest, one of them, on lifting it, exclaimed, "How comes it so heavy? Is there an Arminian in it?" "No," replied Mrs. Grotius, not in the least disconcerted, "only Arminian books." The governor's wife, who did not suspect any strategem, allowed the precious cargo to be carried out of the castle without inspection. This was on the 22d of March, 1621. A faithful maid-servant, named Elsje van Houweningen, to whom Mrs. Grotius had imparted the secret, took charge of the chest, and succeeded in getting it safely conveyed in a boat to Gorcum. On its landing at that place there was, however, some danger of discovery. The skipper and his son having been prevailed upon, at the request of Elsje, though with some difficulty, to carry the chest from the shore to the house she named, instead of drawing it on a sledge, the son observed to the father that there was something alive in it. "Do you hear that?" said the skipper to Elsje. "Yes," she smartly replied, "books have life and spirit too." So the idea of the chest's containing anything alive was laughed at, and it was brought unopened to the house of a friend, a flax merchant, Abraham Datselaer, where Grotius quitted his place of concealment. To elude detection in his subsequent movements, he dressed himself in the garb of a mason; and carrying with him a rule, trowel, and other implements of the trade, he passed through the market-place, and, taking boat, was transported without hindrance to Antwerp, whence he proceeded to France. To afford him time to escape, his wife kept up the deception that he was confined to bed

from ill-health, till, having received the happy tidings that he had got safely beyond the reach of his persecutors, she explained what had taken place. The officer of the castle, enraged at the deception practised upon him, kept her in close custody for a fortnight. But having presented a petition to the States-General on the 5th of April, praying to be released, she was liberated two days after. When her liberation was proposed and discussed, some were unmanly enough to vote for keeping her in prison. Others could not forbear launching forth into high encomiums upon this noble example of conjugal fidelity, and the majority were ashamed to punish a woman for an act which entitled her to universal admiration. Grotius, on proceeding to France after his escape, was graciously received by Louis XIII. He was afterwards employed by Christina, Queen of Sweden, in transacting important affairs connected with her kingdom, and was sent by her as her ambassador into France. Returning from Sweden to his own country in 1645, he fell sick at Rostock, where he died that same year.[1]

[1] Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 71.—Leeven van de Groot, bl. 242-251, 270, quoted in Davies' *History of Holland*, vol. ii., pp. 539-541.