The dying speeches and behaviour of the several state prisoners that have been executed the last 300 years / With their several characters from the best historians. As Cambden, Spotswood, Clarendon, Sprat, Burnet, &c.;, and a table shewing how the respective sentences were executed, and which of them were mitigated, or pardon'd. Being a proper supplement to the State-tryals.

Contributors

Cambden.
Spotswood.
Gavoty, Bernard.
Sprat.
Burnet.

Publication/Creation

London : Printed for J. Brotherton and W. Meadows [etc.], 1720.

Persistent URL

https://wellcomecollection.org/works/qb73n9qa

License and attribution

This work has been identified as being free of known restrictions under copyright law, including all related and neighbouring rights and is being made available under the Creative Commons, Public Domain Mark.

You can copy, modify, distribute and perform the work, even for commercial purposes, without asking permission.

Wellcome Collection
183 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE UK
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
E library@wellcomecollection.org
https://wellcomecollection.org

2155 1/8

7

DYING

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Wellcome Library

https://archive.org/details/b30530404

THE

Dying Speeches

AND

BEHAVIOUR

Of the ſeveral

STATE PRISONERS

That have been Executed the laſt 300 Years.

WITH

Their ſeveral CHARACTERS from the beſt Hiſtorians, as *Cambden*, *Spotſwood*, *Clarendon*, *Sprat*, *Burnet*, &c.

AND

A TABLE ſhewing how the reſpective SENTENCES were Executed, and which of them were Mitigated, or Pardon'd.

Being a proper SUPPLEMENT to the STATE-TRYALS.

LONDON:

Printed for *J. Brotherton*, and *W. Meadows*, at the *Black-Bull* in *Cornhill*; *F. Clay*, at the *Bible* without *Temple-Bar*; *C. Rivington*, at the *Bible* and *Crown* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*; and *J. Graves*, near *White's Chocolate-Houſe* in *St. James's-ſtreet*. MDCC XX.

WELLCOME
HISTORICAL
MEDICAL
LIBRARY

THE PREFACE.

THE World has been already entertain'd with the Tryals of those Gentlemen, who have been charg'd with High Treason, against the several *de facto* or *de jure* Governments, that have succeeded each other in this Kingdom, in the last three Centuries.

But it would have added much to the Satisfaction of the Reader, I perceive, if he had been inform'd which of them were Executed, and how they behav'd in their last Moments: I have therefore not only Collected the Dying Speeches and Behaviour of the most Eminent amongst them, but their respective Characters, from the greatest Hands;

as *Cambden*, *Spotſwood*, *Clarendon*, Biſhop *Burnet*, and the late Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Whether this Regard to the Words of dying Men proceeds from an Imagination that one who ſtands on the Confines of each State, has juſter Notions of both, than he, whoſe Views ſeem more remote; or from an Opinion, that the Character of the Man is beſt underſtood from his Behaviour in this laſt Scene of Action: It muſt however be admitted, that an Account of his preceding Life, a Relation of the conſtant Tenor of his Actions, and his unbyaſs'd Diſcourſes, while under the Enjoyment of an eaſy Fortune, muſt certainly contribute ſomething towards forming a right Judgment of him.

Many indeed take upon them to judge of the Cauſe, as well as the Man, purely from what he ſays at that important Hour, and great Streſs they lay upon every the minuteſt Action; they take his Words as the Reſult of a ſincere diſintereſted Mind, not ſway'd by any ſecular Motives, and therefore then beſt qualify'd to make a Judgment of the State of Things.

But 'tis with great difficulty, if ever the contrary Party will admit, that the Conſtancy, Serenity, or even the Exultation of the Sufferer at his Execution, are any Signs he is in the right; or that the Juſtification of the

Enterprize at the laſt Gaſp, adds any weight to the Juſtice of his Cauſe, tho' the Suffering Side are always ready to aſcribe much to the Reſolution of their Martyr'd Hero.

Indeed, we find Men of the moſt diſtant Principles have dy'd, not only with equal Intrepidity, but equal Hopes of future Joys: We find the Cavalier looking on the Cauſe of God's Vice-gerent as the Cauſe of God, and bravely embracing Death and Sufferings, in Defence of his Lawful King, and the ancient Conſtitution: Soon after, we behold the Regicide, at his Execution, in Raptures at the Thoughts that God had been ſo gracious to permit him to imbrue his Hands in Royal Blood, and made him an Inſtrument of throwing three Kingdoms into Confuſion. He tells the World, as he is turning off, *the Saints would gladly leave their bleſs'd Abodes to dye again in ſuch a Cauſe.*

But whatever elſe may be concluded from ſuch Scenes as theſe, we eaſily diſcern from hence, how far natural Courage, Education, and a Familiarity with Dangers, or the Spirit of Enthuſiaſm, can carry a Man.

To the Speeches and Characters I have added a Table, ſhewing the Puniſhments appropriated to every Crime mention'd in the *State Tryals*, and which of them were executed, and which of them mitigated, or totally pardon'd.

And the two first Tryals being for Heresy, I have, by way of Introduction, shewn how this Crime was anciently try'd and punish'd, and how at this Day; and given some Precedents of the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, and of the Warrant for issuing it.

From this short Account, the Reader will judge of the Usefulness of these Sheets in general, and more particularly to those Gentlemen who have purchas'd the Tryals, and who seem indeed to expect something of this kind to compleat that Work.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF

The ſeveral PRISONERS mention'd in the STATE TRYALS; ſhewing how the reſpective Sentences were executed on thoſe who were Attainted, and which of them were Acquitted.

1407	William Thorpe, *Clerk*,	*Impriſoned.*
1413	*Sir* John Oldcaſtle, *Lord* Cobham,	*Hang'd and Burnt.*
1535	*Sir* Thomas More,	*Beheaded.*
1554	*Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton	*Acquitted.*
1567	James, *Earl of* Bothwell	*Acquitted.*
1571	Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk,	*Beheaded.*
1584 1586	Parry, Ballard, Babington, Savage, Barnwell, Titchburne, Tilney, Abington, Salisbury, Donn, Jones, Charnock, Travers, Gage *and* Bellamy, *Conſpirators againſt Queen* Elizabeth,	*Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd as Traytors.*
1586	Mary *Queen of* Scots,	*Beheaded.*
1589	Philip *Earl of* Arundel	*Impriſonm. and Confiſ.*
1600	*Earl of* Eſſex	*Beheaded.*
1600	*Earl of* Southampton	*Impriſonm. and Confiſ.*

A Chronological TABLE.

1603	*Sir* Walter Raleigh *try'd; and in* 1618	*Beheaded.*
1605	Robert Winter, John Grant, Tho. Bates, Tho. Winter, Ambroſe Rookwood, Rob. Keys, Guy Fawkes, *and Sir* Everard Digby, *Conſpirators in the Gunpowder Plot,*	*Executed as Traytors.*
1606	Henry Garnet, *Superior of the Jeſuits,*	*Executed as a Traytor*
1615	Richard Weſton, Anne Turner, *Sir* Jervis Elvis *and* James Franklin, *Murderers of Sir* Thomas Overbury,	*Hang'd.*
1616	Frances *Counteſs of* Somerſet, *and* Robert Carr, *Earl of* Somerſet, *Murderers of Sir* Thomas Overbury,	*Impriſonm. and Confiſ.*
1631	*Lord* Audley	*Beheaded.*
	Fitz-Patrick *and* Broadway, *his Servants*	*Hang'd.*
1633	William Prynn, *Eſq;*	*Pillory'd, Ears cut off Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1634	*Lord* Balmerino	*Pardon'd.*
1641	*Earl of* Strafford	*Beheaded.*
1643	John Hampden *Eſq; his Tryal in the Caſe of Ship-money,* 1636. *He was in an Engagement with the K.'s Forces* 1643	*Shot in the Field.*
1644	*Archbiſhop* Laud	*Beheaded.*
1644	Connor *Lord* Macguire	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1648	*King* CHARLES *the Firſt*	*Beheaded.*
1649	James *Duke* Hamilton *and Lord* Capel	*Beheaded.*
1649	John Lilburne	*Acquitted.*

1651 Chriſto-

A Chronological TABLE.

1651	Chriſtopher Love, *Clerk*	*Beheaded.*
1651	John Gibbons	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1653	John Streater	*Impriſon'd.*
1654	*Dr.* John Pordage, *Rector of Bradfield*	*Ejected as a Scandalous Miniſt.*
1655	*Colonel* John Penruddock	*Beheaded.*
1656	James Nayler	*Pillory'd, Whipt, Bored thro' the Tongue, Stigmatiz'd &c.*
1658	*Sir* Henry Slingsby *Dr.* John Hewet	*Beheaded.*
	The Hon. John Mordant, *Eſq;*	*Acquitted.*

REGICIDES.

1660	Thomas Harriſon, John Carew, Thomas Scot, Gregory Clement, John Jones, Adrian Scroop, John Cook, Hugh Peters, Daniel Axtel, *and* Francis Hacker	*Executed as Traytors.*
	The reſt of the Regicides *who were try'd, ſuffer'd only in their Liberties and Eſtates.*	*Impriſonment and Confiſcation*
	But three of the Regicides, *who fled and were out-lawed,* viz. Miles Corbet, *Colonel* Okey *and Colonel* Barkſtead, *being taken in* Holland, *and brought over hither, were*	*Executed as Traytors.*
1662	*Sir* Henry Vane	*Beheaded.*
1662	John James	*Executed as a Traytor.*

1662 Tho.

A Chronological TABLE.

1662	Tho. Tonge, George Philips, Francis Stubbs *and* Nath. Gibbs	*Executed as Traytors.*
1663	John Twyn	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1663	Brewſter, Dover *and* Brooks	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1663	Mary Moders, *alias The German Princeſs*	*Acquitted.*
1663	*Colonel* James Turner	*Hang'd.*
	John Turner, William Turner, Mary Turner, *and* Ely Turner	*Acquitted.*
1664	Benjamin Keach	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1667	Edward *Earl of* Clarendon	*Baniſhed.*
1668	Meſſenger, Baſley, Cotton *and* Limmerick	*Executed as Traytors.*
	Earls, Wilks, Woodward, Farrel, Richardſon *and* Ford	*Acquitted.*
	Appletree *and* Lattimer	*Pardoned.*
	Green *and* Bedle	*Acquit. by a ſpecial Verd.*
1668	Robert Hawkins, *Clerk*	*Acquitted.*
1670	William Penn, *and* Will. Mead	*Acquitted.*
1677	Anthony *Earl of Shaftsbury*	*Impriſon'd.*
1678	Robert Green, Henry Berry, *and* Lawrence Hill	*Hang'd.*
1678	Philip *Earl of* Pembroke *and* Montgomery	*Diſcharg'd on demanding his Clergy.*
1678	Will. Stayley, Edw. Coleman, Will. Ireland, Tho. Pickering, *and* John Grove	*Executed as Traytors.*
1678	Thomas *Earl of* Danby	*Pardon'd, but Impriſ.*
1678	James Mitchel	*Hang'd.*

1679 Charles

A Chronological TABLE.

1679	Charles *Lord* Conwallis	*Acquitted.*
1679	David Lewis, *Clerk*	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1679	Nathaniel Reading	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1679	Thomas Whitebread, John Fenwick, Will. Harcourt, John Gavan, *and* Anthony Turner, *Jeſuits*	*Executed as Traytors.*
1679	Richard Langhorne, *Eſq;*	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1679	*Sir* George Wakeman, William Marſhal, William Rumley, *and* James Corker, *Benedictine Monks*	*Acquitted.*
1679	Charles Kerne	*Acquitted.*
1679	Thomas Knox, *and* John Lane	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1679	Lionel Anderſon, *alias* Munſon, Will. Ruſſel, *alias* Napper, Charles Parris, *alias* Parry, H. Starkey, Ja. Corker, Will. Marſhal, *and* Alex. Lumſden, *Clerks, Popiſh Prieſts*	*Repriev'd.*
1679	John Tasborough *and* Anne Price	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1679	Ben. Harris, *Bookſeller,*	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1679	Francis Smith, *Bookſeller*	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1679	Jane Curtis	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*

1679 *Sir*

A Chronological TABLE.

1679	*Sir* Thomas Gaſcoigne	*Acquitted,*
1680	Roger Palmer, *Eſq; Earl of* Caſtlemain	*Acquitted.*
1680	John Giles	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1680	Elizabeth Cellier, *on an Indictment of High Treaſon*	*Acquitted.*
1680	Henry Carr	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1680	Thomas Thwyng	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1680	Mary Preſſicks	*Acquitted.*
1680	Eliz. Cellier, *on an Indictment for a Miſdemeanour*	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1680	William *Viſcount* Stafford	*Beheaded.*
1681	Edward Fitzharris, *Eſq;*	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1681	*Dr.* Oliver Plunket, *Clerk, Titular Primate of* Ireland	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1681	*Sir* Miles Stapleton, *Bar.*	*Acquitted.*
1681	Stephen Colledge	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1681	Archibald *Earl of* Argyle	*Beheaded.*
1681	Anthony *Earl of* Shaftsbury	*The Indictment rejected.*
1681	Charles George Boroski, Chriſtopher Urats, *and* John Stern	*Hang'd.*
	Char. John *Count* Coningſmark	*Acquitted.*
1682	Nathaniel Thomſon, William Paine *and* John Farewell	*Pillory'd, Fin'd, and Impriſon'd.*

A Chronological TABLE.

1682	Ford *Lord* Grey, *of Werk*, Robert Charnock, Anne Charnock, David Jones, Frances Jones, *and* Rebecca Jones	*No Judgment.*
1683	Samuel Shute, *and* Thomas Pilkington, *Esqrs. Sheriffs*, Henry Cornish *Alderman*, Ford *Lord* Grey, *of* Werk, *&c. Rioters*	*Fin'd.*
1683	*Capt.* Thomas Walcot, William Hone, *and* John Rouse	*Executed as Traytors.*
1683	William *Lord* Russel	*Beheaded.*
1683	William Blague	*Acquitted.*
1683	Algernoon Sidney, *Esq;*	*Beheaded.*
1683	John Hampden, *Esq; Convicted on an Indictment for a Misdemeanor*	*Fin'd, and Imprison'd.*
1683	Laurence Braddon *and* Hugh Speke	*Fin'd and Imprison'd.*
1683	*Sir* Samuel Bernardiston *Knt.*	*Fin'd, and Imprison'd.*
1684	James Holloway	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1684	Titus Otes	*Damages* 100,000 l.
1684	*Sir* Thomas Armstrong	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1684	Thomas Rosewel, *Clerk*	*Pardon'd.*
1684	Thomas Papillon	*Damages* 10000 l.
1684	Robert Baillie, *of* Jervisswood	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1684	Titus Otes	*Pillory'd, Whipt, Fin'd and Imprison'd.*
1685	*Mrs.* Alice Lisle	*Beheaded.*

1685	John Fernley, *and* William Ring	*Hang'd, &c as Traytors.*
	Elizabeth Gaunt	*Burnt.*
1685	Henry Corniſh, *Eſq;*	*Executed as Traytors.*
1685	Charles Bateman, *Surgeon*	
1685	John Hampden, *Eſq; Convicted of High Treaſon*	*Repriev'd.*
1685	Henry *Lord* Delamere	*Acquitted.*
1686	Henry *Lord Biſhop of* London	*Suſpended.*
1686	*Dr.* John Peachell, *Vice-Chancellor of* Cambridge	*Depriv'd.*
1687	*Preſident and Fellows of* Magdalen College *in* Oxon	*Expell'd, &c.*
1687	Philip Standsfield	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1688	*Seven Biſhops*	*Acquitted.*
1689	*Earl of* Caſtlemain	*Impriſon'd.*
1689	John Price, *&c. Indicted of High Treaſon*	*Never bro. to Tryal.*
1690	*Sir* Richard Grahme *Bar. Viſcount* Preſton	*Pardon'd.*
	John Aſhton	*Executed as a Traytor.*
	Edmund Elliot	*Diſcharg'd without Tryal.*
1692	Henry Harriſon	*Hang'd.*
1692	John Cole	*Acquitted.*
1692	Charles *Lord* Mohun	*Acquitted.*
1695	Robert Charnock, Edw. King, *and* Thomas Keys	*Executed as Traytors.*
1696	*Sir* John Friend, *Sir* William Perkins, Ambroſe Rookwood, Charles Cranburn, Rob. Lowick, *and* Alexander Knightly	*Executed as Traytors.*
1696	Peter Cook, *Eſq;*	*Pardon'd.*
1696	Joſ. Dawſon, *and five other Pirates*	*Hang'd.*
1696	*Sir* John Fenwick	*Beheaded.*

A Chronological TABLE.

1696	*Capt.* Thomas Vaughan	*Executed as a Traytor.*
1699	Edward *Earl of* Warwick	*Diſcharg'd on his Demand of Clergy.*
1699	Charles *Lord* Mohun	*Acquitted.*
1699	Spencer Cowper, *Eſq;* John Marſon, Ellis Stevens, *and* William Rogers	*Acquitted.*
1699	Mary Butler	*Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1701	William Kidd, *and three other Pirates*	*Hang'd.*
1701	William *Earl of* Portland, John *Lord* Somers, Edward *Earl of* Orford, *and* Charles *Lord* Hallifax	*Impeachment diſmiſs'd.*
1701	John *Lord* Haverſham	*Charge diſmiſs'd.*
1701	Thomas *Duke of* Leeds	*Impeachment diſmiſs'd.*
1701	Nicholas Bayard	*Repriev'd.*
1702	William Fuller	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1702	*Colonel* Richard Kirby *and Captain* Cooper Wade.	*Shot to Death.*
1702	*Captain* John Conſtable	*Caſhir'd and Impriſon'd.*
1702	*Captain* Samuel Vincent *and Capt.* Chriſtopher Fog	*Suſpended.*
1702	Haagen Swendſen	*Hang'd.*
1702	Sarah Baynton	*Repriev'd.*
1702	John Hartwell *and* John Spurr	*Acquitted.*

1702 Ri-

A Chronological TABLE.

1702	Richard Hathaway	*Pillory'd, Fin'd and Impriſon'd.*
1703	James Bouchier	*Repriev'd.*
1704	David Lindſay	*Repriev'd.*
1704	John Tutchin	*No Judgment.*
1705	*Capt.* Thomas Green *and ſeveral of his Crew*	*Hang'd.*
1706	Robert Fielding, *Eſq;*	*Pardon'd.*
1708	James Stirling, Archibald Seaton, Archibald Stirling, Charles Stirling, *and* Patrick Edmonſton	*Acquitted.*
1709	*Dr.* Henry Sacheverel	*Silenc'd for three Years, and his Sermons burnt.*
1716	Francis Francia	*Acquitted*

An Alphabetical TABLE OF THE NAMES of the Persons, whose SPEECHES, or CHARACTERS, are contain'd in this Book.

A.

ABington Edward, *his Speech and Execution* Page 35, 40
Armstrong *Sir* Thomas, *his Execution and Character* 433, 457
Ashton John, *his Speech and Execution* 473, 474, 475, 476
Audley Lord, *his Speech and Execution* 87
Axtel Daniel. *See* Regicides 273 *to* 279

B.

Babington Anthony, *his Speech and Execution* 36, 40
Ballard John, *his Speech and Execution* 35, 40
Barnwell Robert, *his Speech and Execution* 37, 40
Bateman Charles, *his Character* * 486
Bellamy Jerome, *his Execution* 44
Broadway Giles, *his Speech and Execution* 92 *to* 97

C.

Capel *Lord, his Speech, Execution, and Character* 164 *to* 171
Carew John. *See Regicides* 232 *to* 238
Charnock John, *his Execution* 44
Charnock Robert, *his Speech and Execution* 477, 478
Clements Gregory. *See* Regicides 270
Colledge Stephen, *his Speech and Execution* 383
Cook John. *See* Regicides 238 *to* 263
Cornish Henry 469, 470

An Alphabetical TABLE.

D.

Digby, *Sir* Everard, *his Execution* Page 76
Donn Henry, *his Speech and Execution* 40, 41

E.

Elvis *Sir* Jervis, *his Speech and Execution* 80 *to* 86
Eſſex *Earl* Robert, *his Execution* 55
His Character 57

F.

Fawkes Guy, *his Execution* 76
Fenwick John, *his Speech and Execution* 329
Fenwick *Sir* John * 483
Fitz-harris Edward, *his Speech and Execution* 366
Fitz-patrick Laurence, *his Speech and Execution* 90, 97
Friend *Sir* John, *his Speech and Execution* 483

G.

Gage Robert, *his Execution* 44
Garnet Henry, *his Speech and Execution* 76 *to* 86
Gavan John, *his Speech and Execution* 329
Gibbs Nathaniel 305
Grant John, *his Execution* 76
Gregg William, *his Paper deliver'd to the Sheriff* 493
Grove Hugh, *his Speech and Execution* 298

H.

Hacker Francis. *See* Regicides 273, 281
Hamilton James *Duke*, *his Speech, Execution, and Character* 141 *to* 164
Harcourt William, *his Speech and Execution* 329
Harriſon Thomas, *his Speech, Execution, and Character* 219 *to* 232
Hewet John, *D. D. his Speech and Execution* 209
His Character 216
Holloway James 438
Hone William 394

I.

James John, *his Execution* 284
Jones John. *See* Regicides 270 *to* 273

K.

Keys Thomas, *his Speech and Execution* 479

King

An Alphabetical TABLE.

King Charles I. *his Speech and Execution* 130 *to* 135
His Character 136 *to* 141
King Edward, *his Speech and Execution* 477, 478

L.

Langhorne Richard, *Esq; his Speech and Execution* 340
Laud *Archbishop, his Speech and Execution* 116 *to* 120
His Character 121 *to* 129
Lewis David *his Speech and Execution* 346
Lilburne John, *his Character* 171
Lisle Alice, *her Speech and Execution* 467, 468, 469
Love Christopher, *his Speech and Execution* 176 *to* 196
His Character 197
Lowick Robert 480, 481

M.

Mary *Queen of* Scots. *See* Scots.
Mitchel James, *his Speech and Execution* 316
More *Sir* Thomas, *his Execution* 24
His Character 26
Monmouth *Duke* James, *his Execution* 459

N.

Norfolk *Duke* Thomas, *his Speech and Execution* 29
His Character 33

O.

Oldcastle *Sir* John, *his Execution* 20

P.

Perkins *Sir* William, *his Speech and Execution* 483
Parry *Dr.* William, *his Execution* 34
His Character 35
Penruddock *Colonel, his Speech and Execution* 200
His Character 206
Peters Hugh. *See* Regicides 267 *to* 269
Philips George, *his Speech and Execution* 305
Plunket *Dr.* Oliver, *his Speech and Execution* 374
Prynn William, *Esq; his Character* 97

R.

Raleigh *Sir* Walter, *his Speech and Execution* 59
His Character 72

Regi-

Regicides, *their Speeches, Executions, and Characters* Page 219, &c.
Rookwood Ambroſe 481, 482
Rouſe John, *his Speech and Execution* 394
Ruſſel *Lord* William, *his Speech and Execution* 418
His Character 429

S.

Salisbury Thomas, *his Speech and Execution* 40, 44
Savage John, *his Speech and Execution* 36, 40
Scots *Queen* Mary, *her Speeches and Execution* 44 *to* 49
Her Character 50 *to* 55
Scot Thomas, *the* Regicide 264 *to* 267
Sidney Algernoon, *Eſq; his Speech and Execution* 433
Scroop Adrian 282
Slingsby *Sir* Henry, *his Speech and Execution* 217
His Character 218
Soutre William, *his Character* 18
Stafford *Viſcount* William, *his Speech, Execution and Character* 353
Strafford *Earl* Thomas, *his Speech and Execution* 99 *to* 107
His Character 108 *to* 111
Stubbs Francis 305
Swendſen Haagen, *his Speech and Execution* 487, &c.

T.

Thorpe William, *his Character* 19
Titchburne Chidiock, *his Speech and Execution* 37, 40
Tonge Thomas, *his Speech and Execution* 305
Travers John, *his Execution* 44
Turner Anthony 329

V.

Vane *Sir* Henry, *his Speech and Execution* 290
His Character 303

W.

Walcot, *Captain* Thomas 394, 432
Whitebread Thomas, *his Speech and Execution* 329
Winter Robert, *his Execution* 76
Winter Thomas, *his Execution* 76

CHARACTERS AND *DYING SPEECHES.*

THE two firſt Proſecutions we meet with in the *State Tryals* being for *Hereſy* (a Crime on which ſuch Puniſhments were heretofore inflicted, that we ſtill retain the Dread of them) I ſhall briefly ſhew how the Law formerly ſtood in relation to this Crime, and give a Precedent or two of the Proceſs which iſſued againſt ſuch Offenders after they were delivered over to the Secular Arm, in order to their Execution.

By the ancient Common Law Burning was the Puniſhment for Hereſy, but the Party accuſed was firſt to be try'd and convicted thereof by the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the Clergy of his Province aſſembled in Convocation. After Conviction the Offender was delivered over into Lay-Hands, and the Sheriff of the County, by Virtue of the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, was to cauſe him to be burnt. *Brit. lib.* 1. *c.* 17. *Bro. Abr. tit. Hereſy. Fitz. Nat. br. p.* 667.

The firſt Statute I find, in relation to Hereſy, is the 5th of *Ri.* II. *cap.* 5. whereby it is enacted, That the Sheriffs, and other Civil Officers ſhould apprehend and impriſon Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy, in order to their being try'd by the Laws of Holy Church: And it being found inconvenient to ſummon the Convocation for the Tryal of every Offender, a Statute was made the 2d of *Hen.* IV. *cap.* 15. impowering every Dioceſan to impriſon Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy in their reſpective Dioceſes, and try them (ſo that ſuch Dioceſan proceeded judicially and openly againſt ſuch Perſons.) And where any Perſon was convicted, he might be impriſon'd at the Diſcretion of the Ordinary: Or, if the Party refus'd to abjure his Errors, or having abjured them, relaps'd, he was to be left to the Secular Arm; and the Sheriff (whom the Ordinary might call to be preſent at the Tryal) was to cauſe the Party to be burnt in ſome high (or open) Place.

The Lord Chief-Juſtice *Brook* (*tit. Hereſy*) ſays, That, upon this Statute, it was reſolv'd, That if a Perſon was convicted of Hereſy in the Preſence of the Sheriff, the Ordinary might commit him to the ſame Sheriff, and he was to cauſe him to be burnt without the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*; but if the Sheriff was abſent, or if the Heretick was to be burnt in another County, in either of theſe Caſes the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo* muſt be firſt obtained, before the Sheriff could burn him.

I find Dr. *Burnet*, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, and after him Mr. *Collier*, in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, wondring why the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo* was iſſued for the burning of *Sawtre*, when by the laſt mention'd Act the Sheriff was empower'd to execute Perſons convicted of Hereſy without that Writ: But the Won-

der ceaſes, if we conſider that the Sheriff could not proceed to execute the Offender by his own Authority, unleſs he was preſent at the Conviction; and tho' the Dioceſan might call the Sheriff to attend the Tryal, yet he might too convict the Offender in his Abſence. And further, *Sawtre* was convicted by the Convocation; and it may be difficult to give one Inſtance where the Convocation call'd the Sheriff to aſſiſt at the Tryal of an Heretick; and if they had, ſuch a Conviction was not within the Letter of the Act: Therefore, upon this Conviction, the Sheriff was under a Neceſſity of waiting for the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, before he could execute him.

By the 2d of *Hen.* V. *c.* 7. all Civil Officers were to be ſworn to aſſiſt the Ordinaries in extirpating Hereſies; and one convict of Hereſy was to forfeit his Goods, and Chattels, and Fee-ſimple Lands.

By the 25th of *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 14. the Act of the 2d of *Hen.* IV. is in part repeal'd; and it is thereby provided, That no Perſon ſhall be executed as an Heretick, without the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo* firſt obtain'd.

By the 1ſt of *Eliz. cap.* 1. the aboveſaid Statutes, as well as that other Statute of the 1ſt and 2d of *Phil.* and *Mar. cap.* 6. againſt Hereticks, are repealed.

And by the 29th of *Car.* II. *cap.* 9. the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, with all Proceedings thereon, and all *capital Puniſhments* in Purſuance of any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, are from thenceforth utterly aboliſhed.

So that at this Day a Perſon convicted of Hereſy can only be excommunicated by the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and come under ſuch Pains and Diſabilities as Perſons ſtanding excommunicated for any other Offence are liable to.

Indeed a Man may be indicted for a Miſdemeanour in uttering Blaſphemy, or Hereſy, at Common Law; and it is in the Diſcretion of thoſe Courts to inflict ſuitable Puniſhments for the Offence (ſaving Life and Limb) as appears by the Tryal of *Keach* at the Aſſizes for the County of *Bucks*, who was indicted for making an Heretical Primmer. I ſhall now proceed to give an Inſtance or two of the Proceſs iſſued after a Conviction of Hereſy.

The FORM of the WRIT *de Hæretico comburendo* for executing a Perſon convicted of *Hereſy* in Convocation.

REX, &c. *Majori & Vic'* London *ſalutem. Cum venerabilis Pater* Thomas *Archiepiſcopus* Cantuar' *totius* Angliæ *Primas, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, de Conſenſu & Aſſenſu, ac Conſilio Epiſcoporum & Confratrum Suffragan' ſuorum, necnon totius Cleri Provinciæ ſuæ in Conſilio ſuo provinciali congregat', juris Ordinibus in hac parte requiſit' in omnibus obſervat'* W. Sawtre *aliquando Capellanum in Hæreſ' damnat', & per ipſum* Willielmum *præantea in forma Juris abjurat', & ipſum* Willielmum *in Hæreſin prædict' relaps' per ſuam ſententiam definitivam Hæreticum manifeſtum pronunciav' & declarav', ac degradandum fore decreverit, & ab omni prærogativa & privilegio clericali ea de cauſa realit' degradaverit, ipſumq;* Will' *Foro ſeculari relinquendum eſſe decreverit, & realiter reliquit, juxta Leges & canonicas Sanctiones editas in hac parte, & ſancta Mater Eccleſia non habet ulterius quod fac' in præmiſſ'. Nos igitur zelator Juſtitiæ & Fidei Catholicæ cultor, volentes Eccleſiam ſanctam ac Jura & Libertates ejuſdem manutenere & defendere, & hujuſmodi Hæreſes & Errores de Regno noſtro* Angliæ *(quant' in nobis eſt) radicitus extirpar', ac Hæreticos ſic convictos animadverſione condigna*

condigna puniri, attendenteſq; hujuſmodi Hæreticos in forma prædict' convictos & damnatos juxta Legem divinam & humanam canonica Inſtitutione, & in hac parte conſuetudinar' ignis incendio comburi debere; Vobis diſtinctius quo poſſimus præcipimus, firmiter injungentes, quod præfat' Will' in Cuſtodia veſtra exiſten' in aliquo loco publico & aperto infra libertat' Civitatis prædict' cauſa præmiſſa coram populo publice Igni committ', ac ipſum in eodem Igne realiter comburi fac' in hujus Criminis deteſtationem, aliorumq; Chriſtianorum exemplum manifeſtum; & hoc ſub periculo incumbente nullatenus omittatis. Teſte, &c.

The FORM *of the* WARRANT *to the Lord Chancellor for iſſuing the* WRIT de Hæretico comburendo, *on a Conviction for Hereſy before the Ordinary.*

JAMES *Rex.*

JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To our right Truſty, and right well-beloved Counſellor, *Thomas* Lord *Elleſmere*, our Chancellor of *England*, greeting. Whereas the Reverend Father in God, *John* Biſhop of *London*, having judicially proceeded in a Cauſe of Hereſy againſt *Bartholomew Legatt* of the City of *London*, in the Dioceſs of the ſaid Biſhop of *London*, concerning divers wicked Errors, Hereſies, and blaſphemous Opinions, holden, affirmed and publiſhed by the ſaid *Bartholomew Legatt*, and chiefly in theſe thirteen blaſphemous Poſitions following, *viz.* That the Creed called the *Nicene Creed*, and *Athanaſius's Creed*, contain not a Profeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith; or that he will not profeſs his Faith according to the ſame Creeds: That Chriſt is not God of God begotten, not made, but begotten and made: That

there are no Perſons in the Godhead: That Chriſt was not God from everlaſting, but began to be God when he took Fleſh of the Virgin *Mary*: That the World was not made by Chriſt: That the Apoſtles teach Chriſt to be Man only: That there is no Generation in God, but of Creatures: That this Aſſertion, God to be made Man, is contrary to the Rule of Faith, and monſtrous Blaſphemy: That Chriſt was not before the Fulneſs of Time, except by Promiſe: That Chriſt was not God otherwiſe than anointed God: That Chriſt was not in the Form of God equal with God, that is, in Subſtance of God, but in Righteouſneſs and giving Salvation: That Chriſt by his Godhead wrought no Miracle: That Chriſt is not to be pray'd unto. Wherein he the ſaid *Bartholomew Legatt* hath, before the ſaid Reverend Father, maintain'd his ſaid moſt dangerous and blaſphemous Opinions, as appeareth by many of his Confeſſions publickly made and acknowledged. For which his damnable and heretical Opinions, he is by definitive Sentence by the ſaid Reverend Father *John* Biſhop of *London*, with the Advice and Conſent of other Reverend Biſhops, Learned Divines, and others Learned in the Laws, aſſiſting him in Judgment, juſtly adjudged, pronounced and declared to be an obſtinate and incorrigible Heretick, and is left by them under the Sentence of the great Excommunication, and therefore as a corrupt Member to be cut off from the Church of Chriſt, and Society of the Faithful, and is to be by our ſecular Power and Authority, as an Heretick, puniſhed, as by the *Significavit* of the ſaid Reverend Father in God the ſaid Biſhop of *London*, bearing Date at *London* the third Day of *March*, in the Year of our Lord 1611. in the ninth Year of Our Reign, and remaining in our Court of *Chancery*, more at large appeareth. And although

though the ſaid *Bartholomew Legatt* hath, ſince the ſaid Sentence pronounced againſt him, been often very charitably moved and exhorted, as well by the ſaid Biſhop, as by many grave and learned Divines, to diſſuade, revoke and remove him from the ſaid blaſphemous and heretical Opinions, yet he arrogantly and wilfully perſiſteth and continueth in the ſame. We therefore, according to our Regal Function and Office, minding the Execution of Juſtice in this behalf, and to give Example to others, leſt they ſhould attempt the like hereafter, have determined, by the Aſſent of our Council, to will and require, and do hereby authorize and require You our ſaid Chancellor, immediately upon the Receipt hereof, to award and make out, under our Great Seal of *England*, our Writ of Execution, according to the Tenor in theſe Preſents enſuing. And theſe Preſents ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge for the ſame.

The WRIT *de Hæretico comburendo.*

REX *Vicecomitibus* London, *Salutem. Cum Reverendus in Chriſto Pater* Johannes, London *Epiſcopus, nobis ſignificavit, quod cum ipſe in quodam hæreticæ Pravitatis negotio contra quendam* Bartholomeum Legatt, *ſubditum noſtrum Civitatis* London *dicti* London *Epiſcopi Dioces' & juriſdict' rite & legitime procedens, per Acta inactitata, deducta, propoſita, & per Confeſſiones ipſius* Bartholomei Legatt *coram præfato Epiſcopo judicialiter factas & recognitas, comperit & invenit præfatum* Bartholomeum Legatt *quamplurimos nefandos Errores, falſas Opiniones, Hæreſes & Blaſphemias execrandas, & ſcelerata Dogmata Catholicæ & Orthodoxæ Fidei & Religioni, & ſacroſancto Dei Verbo expreſſe contraria & repugnantia, ſcienter, malicioſe, animoq; pertinaci obdurato planeque incorri-*

gibili credere, tenere, affirmare & publicare, idem Reverendus Pater London *Episcopus cum Consilio & Consensu tam Reverendorum Episcoporum & aliorum Theologorum quam Juris etiam peritorum in Judicio assiden' & assisten' eundem* Bartholomeum Legatt *per sententiam suam definitivam, obduratum, contumacem & incorrigibilem Hæreticum pronunciavit, decrevit & declaravit, eaque occasione tanquam protervum Hæreticum & Membrum putridum & contagiosum ab Ecclesia Christi & Fidelium Communione recisum & amputatum fore. Cum igitur sancta Mater Ecclesia non habeat quod ulterius facere & exequi valeat in hac parte, idem Reverendus Pater præfatum* Bartholomeum Legatt, *ut Blasphemum Hæreticum, brachio nostro seculari reliquit condigna animadversione plectend', prout per Literas Patentes præfati Reverendi in Christo Patris* London *Episcopi in hac parte superinde confect' Nobis in Chancellar' nostram certificat' est. Nos igitur ut Zelator Justitiæ, & Fidei Catholicæ Defensor, volentesq; Ecclesiam sanctam ac Jura & Libertates ejusdem, & Fidem Catholicam manutenere & defendere, ac hujusmodi Hæreses & Errores ubiq; (quantum in Nobis est) eradicare & extirpare, ac Hæreticos sic convictos animadversione condigna puniri, attendentesq; hujusmodi Hæreticum in forma prædict' convictum & damnatum juxta Leges & Consuetudines Regni nostri* Angliæ *in hac parte consuet' Ignis incendio comburi debere. Vobis præcipimus quod dictum* Bartholomeum Legatt *in Custod' vestra existen' apud* West-Smithfield *in loco publico & aperto ex causa præmissa coram populo publice Igni committi, ac ipsum* Bartholomeum Legatt *in eodem Igne realiter comburi fac' in hujusmodi Criminis detestationem, aliorumq; Christianorum exemplum manifestum, ne in simile Crimen labantur. Et hoc sub periculo incumbente nullatenus omittatis. Teste,* &c.

Henry Hibirte.

This

This containeth a Warrant to be granted by your Majeſty unto the Lord Chancellor of *England*, for the awarding of a Writ under the Great Seal of *England* to the Sheriff of the City of *London*, for the burning of *Bartholomew Legatt*, who is convicted of divers horrible Hereſies before the Biſhop of *London*, and by his Sentence left to the ſecular Power, as is by the ſaid Biſhop certified to your Majeſty into your Highneſs's Court of *Chancery*: And is done by Force of your Majeſty's Commandment to me given under your Highneſs's Sign-manual.

Henry Hibirte.

The WRIT *for burning an Heretick in* Engliſh.

THE King to the Sheriffs of *London*, greeting. Whereas the Reverend Father in Chriſt, *John* Biſhop of *London*, hath ſignified unto us, That when he in a certain Buſineſs of heretical Pravity againſt one *Bartholomew Legatt*, our Subject of the City of *London*, of the ſaid Biſhop of *London*'s Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, rightly and lawfully proceeding by Acts enacted, drawn, propoſed, and by the Confeſſions of the ſaid *Bartholomew Legatt*, before the ſaid Biſhop judicially made and acknowledged, hath found in the ſaid *Bartholomew Legatt* very many wicked Errors, falſe Opinions, Hereſies and curſed Blaſphemies, and impious Doctrines, expreſly contrary and repugnant to the Catholick Faith and Religion, and the holy Word of God, knowingly and maliciouſly, and with a pertinacious, obdurate, and plainly incorrigible Mind, to believe, hold, affirm and publiſh, the ſame Reverend Father the Biſhop of *London*, with the Advice and Conſent, as well of the Reverend Biſhops and other Divines, as alſo of Men Learned in the Law, in

Judgment

Judgment ſitting and aſſiſting, the ſame *Bartholomew Legatt* by his definitive Sentence hath pronounced, decreed and declared to be an obdurate, contumacious and incorrigible Heretick, and upon that Occaſion, as a ſtubborn Heretick, and rotten contagious Member, to be cut off from the Church of Chriſt, and the Communion of the Faithful: Whereas the holy Mother Church hath not further to do and proſecute in this part, the ſame Reverend Father hath left the aforeſaid *Bartholomew Legatt*, as a blaſphemous Heretick, to our ſecular Power, to be puniſhed with condign Puniſhment, as by the Letters Patents of the ſaid Reverend Father in Chriſt, the Biſhop of *London*, in this behalf above made, hath been certified unto us in our *Chancery*. We therefore as a Zealot of Juſtice, and a Defender of the Catholick Faith, and willing to maintain and defend the holy Church, and Rights and Liberties of the ſame, and the Catholick Faith; and ſuch Hereſies and Errors every where, what in us lieth, to root out and extirpate, and to puniſh with condign Puniſhment ſuch Hereticks ſo convicted, and deeming that ſuch an Heretick in Form aforeſaid, convicted and condemned according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of this our Kingdom of *England* in this part accuſtomed, ought to be burned with Fire. We do command you, that the ſaid *Bartholomew Legatt*, being in your Cuſtody, you do commit publickly to the Fire, before the People, in a publick and open Place in *Weſt-Smithfield*, for the Cauſe aforeſaid; and that you cauſe the ſaid *Bartholomew Legatt* to be really burned in the ſame Fire, in Deteſtation of the ſaid Crime, for the manifeſt Example of other Chriſtians, leſt they ſlide into the ſame Fault: And this that you in no wiſe omit, under the Peril that ſhall follow thereon. Witneſs, *&c.*

Another

Another Warrant to the Lord Chancellor, for iſſuing the WRIT de Hæretico comburendo.

James Rex,

JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To our right Truſty and right Well-beloved Counſellor, *Thomas* Lord *Elleſmere*, our Chancellor of *England*, greeting. Whereas the Reverend Father in God, *Richard* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, having judicially proceeded in the Examination, hearing and determining of a Cauſe of Hereſy againſt *Edward Wightman* of the Pariſh of *Burton* upon *Trent*, in the Dioceſs of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, concerning the wicked Hereſies of the *Ebionites*, *Cerinthians*, *Valentinians*, *Arrians*, *Macedonians*, of *Simon Magus*, of *Manes*, *Manichees*, of *Photinus*, and *Anabaptiſts*, and of other heretical, execrable and unheard of Opinions, by the inſtinct of Satan, by him excogitated and holden, *viz.*

That there is not the Trinity of Perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, in the Unity of the Deity. 2. That Jeſus Chriſt is not the true natural Son of God, perfect God, and of the ſame Subſtance, Eternity and Majeſty with the Father in reſpect of his Godhead. 3. That Jeſus Chriſt is only Man and a meer Creature, and not both God and Man in one Perſon. 4. That Chriſt our Saviour took not humane Fleſh of the Subſtance of the Virgin *Mary* his Mother; and that that Promiſe, *The Seed of the Woman ſhall break the Serpent's Head*, was not fulfill'd in Chriſt. 5. That the Perſon of the Holy Ghoſt is not God coequal, coeternal, and coeſſential with the Father and the Son. 6. That the

the three Creeds, *viz.* The Apoſtles Creed, the *Nicene* Creed, and *Athanaſius*'s Creed are the Hereſies of the *Nicolaitanes*. 7. That he the ſaid *Edward Wightman* is that Prophet ſpoken of in the eighteenth of *Deuteronomy*, in theſe Words, *I will raiſe them up a Prophet*, &c. And that that Place of *Iſaiah*, *I alone have trodden the Wine-preſs*: and that that Place, *Whoſe Fan is in his Hand*, are proper and perſonal to him the ſaid *Edward Wightman*. 8. And that he the ſaid *Wightman* is that Perſon of the Holy Ghoſt ſpoken of in the Scriptures; and the Comforter ſpoken of in the ſixteenth of St. *John*'s Goſpel. 9. And that thoſe Words of our Saviour Chriſt of the Sin of Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, are meant of his Perſon. 10. And that that Place, the fourth of *Malachi*, of *Elias* to come, is likewiſe meant of his Perſon. 11. That the Soul doth ſleep in the ſleep of the firſt Death, as well as the Body, and is mortal, as touching the Sleep of the firſt Death, as the Body is: And that the Soul of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt did ſleep in that ſleep of Death as well as his Body. 12. That the Souls of the elect Saints departed, are not Members poſſeſs'd of the triumphant Church in Heaven. 13. That the baptizing of Infants is an abominable Cuſtom. 14. That there ought not to be in the Church the Uſe of the Lord's Supper to be celebrated in the Elements of Bread and Wine; and the Uſe of Baptiſm to be celebrated in the Element of Water, as they are now practis'd in the Church of *England*. But that the Uſe of Baptiſm is to be adminiſter'd in Water only to Converts of ſufficient Age of Underſtanding, converted from Infidelity to the Faith. 15. That God hath ordained and ſent him, the ſaid *Edward Wightman*, to perform his Part in the Work of the Salvation of the World, to deliver it by his Teaching, or Admo-

nition,

nition, from the Herefy of the *Nicolaitanes*, as Chriſt was ordained and ſent to ſave the World, and by his Death to deliver it from Sin, and to reconcile it to God. 16. And that Chriſtianity is not wholly profeſs'd and preach'd in the Church of *England*, but only in part. Wherein he, the ſaid *Edward Wightman*, hath before the ſaid Reverend Father, as alſo before our Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, within our Realm of *England*, maintain'd his ſaid moſt perilous and dangerous Opinions, as appeareth by many of his Confeſſions, as alſo by a Book written and ſubſcrib'd by him, and given to us. For the which his damnable and heretical Opinions, he is by divine Sentence declar'd, by the ſaid Reverend Father the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, with the Advice and Conſent of learned Divines, and others learned in the Laws aſſiſting him in Judgment, juſtly adjudged, pronounced and declared to be an obſtinate and incorrigible Heretick, and is left by them under the Sentence of the great Excommunication, and therefore, as a corrupt Member, to be cut off from the reſt of the Flock of Chriſt, leſt he ſhould infect others profeſſing the true Chriſtian Faith; and is to be, by our ſecular Power and Authority, as an Heretick puniſhed; as by the *Significavit* of the ſaid Reverend Father in God, the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, bearing Date at *Lichfield* the fourteenth Day of *December*, in the ninth Year of our Reign, and remaining in our Court of Chancery, more at large appeareth. And altho' the ſaid *Edward Wightman* hath, ſince the ſaid Sentence pronounc'd againſt him, been often very charitably mov'd and exhorted, as well by the ſaid Biſhop, as by many other godly, grave, and learned Divines, to diſſuade, revoke, and remove him from the ſaid blaſphemous, heretical, and anabaptiſtical

tical Opinions; yet he arrogantly and wilfully perſiſteth and continueth in the ſame. We therefore, according to our regal Function and Office, minding the Execution of Juſtice in this Behalf, and to give Example to others, leſt they ſhould attempt the like hereafter, have determin'd, by the Aſſent of our Council, to will and require, and do hereby authorize and require you, our ſaid Chancellor, immediately upon the receipt hereof, to award and make out, under our great Seal of *England*, our Writ of Execution, according to the Tenor in theſe Preſents enſuing. And theſe Preſents ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge for the ſame.

The WRIT *de Hæretico comburendo.*

REX Vic' Civitatis noſtræ Lich' *ſalutem. Cum Reverendus in Chriſto Pater* Richardus *providentia Divina* Coventr' *&* Lich' *Epiſcopus nobis ſignificaverit, quod ipſe contra & adverſus quendam* Edwardum Wightman *Parochiæ de* Burton *ſuper* Trent Coventr' *&* Lich' *Dioceſ. de & ſuper nephandis Hæreſibus* Ebionis, Cerinthi, Valentiniani, Arri, Macedonii, Simonis Magi, Manetis, Manechiorum, Photini *& Anabaptiſtarum aliorumq; Hæreſiarcharum, & inſuper de aliis execrandis opinionibus inſtinctu Satanæ excogitatis & antehac inauditis, juxta Canonum Eccleſiaſticorum legumque & conſuetudinum hujus Regni noſtri Angl' exigentiam judicialit' procedens, prædictus* Edwardus Wightman *coram præfato Reverendo Patre ac aliis Theologis & Juriſperitis ſibi in judicio aſſiſtentibus comparens, prædicta nephanda crimina Hæreſes ac alias deteſtandas blaſphemias & Errores contumaciter & ex quadam pertinacia ſcienter, malicioſe, animoq; obdurato publicavit, defendebat, & diſſeminabat, per ſententiam definitivam ejuſdem Reverendi Patris cum conſenſu Theologorum & Juriſperitorum prædictorum juſte Legitime &*

Canonice

Canonice contra eundem Edwardum Wightman *in ea parte latam Hæretic' adjudicat' & pronunciat' existit; & ideo tanquam ovem morbidam e grege Domini, ne subditos nostros sua contagione inficiet, ejiciendum & eliminandum fore decreverit: Cum igitur Sancta Mater Ecclesia non habeat quod ulterius in hac parte facere & exequi debeat, idem Reverendus Pater eundem* Edwardum Wightman, *ut Blasphemum & damnatum Hæreticum, brachio nostro seculari reliquit, condigna animadversione plectend', prout per Literas Patentes præfati Reverendi Patris Episcopi* Coventr' & Lich' *in hac parte superinde confect' Nobis in Cancellar' nostram certificat' est. Nos igitur ut zelator justitiæ & fidei Catholicæ defensor, volentesque Ecclesiam Sanctam ac jura & libertates ejusdem & fidem Catholicam manutenere & defendere, ac hujusmodi Hæreses & Errores ubique (quantum in nobis est) eradicare & extirpare, ac Hæreticos sic convictos animadversione condigna puniri, attendentesq; hujusmodi Hæreticum in forma prædicta convictum & damnatum juxta leges & consuetudinem Regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte consuet' ignis incendio comburi debere; Tibi præcepimus quod dict'* Edwardum Wightman *in custodia tua existent' in aliquo loco publico & aperto infra Civitatem prædict' ex causa præmissa coram populo publice igni committi, & ipsum* Edwardum Wightman *in eodem igne realiter comburi fac' in hujusmodi criminis detestationem aliorumque Christianorum exemplum manifestum, ne in simile crimen labantur. Et hoc sub periculo incumbente nullatenus omittas. Teste,* &c.

Henry Hibirte.

This containeth a Warrant to be granted by your Majesty unto the Lord Chancellor of *England*, for the awarding of a Writ, under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Sheriff of the City of *Lichfield*, for the burning of *Edward Wightman*, who is convicted of divers horrible Heresies, before

fore the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and by his Sentence left to the ſecular Power, as is by the ſaid Biſhop certified to your Majeſty into your Highneſs's Court of Chancery.

And is done by Force of your Majeſty's Commandment to me given under your Highneſs's Sign Manual.

Henry Hibirte.

The WRIT *for burning an Heretick in* Engliſh.

THE King to the Sheriff of our City of *Lichfield*, greeting. Whereas the Reverend Father in Chriſt, *Richard*, by divine Providence, of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, Biſhop, hath ſignified unto us, that he, judicially proceeding, according to the Exigence of the Eccleſiaſtical Canons, and of the Laws and Cuſtoms of this our Kingdom of *England*, againſt one *Edward Wightman* of the Pariſh of *Burton* upon *Trent*, in the Dioceſs of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, of and upon the wicked Hereſies of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, *Valentinian*, *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Simon Magus*, of *Manes*, *Manichees*, *Photinus*, and of the *Anabaptiſts*, and other Arch-Hereticks; and moreover of other curſed Opinions belched by the Inſtinct of Satan excogitated and heretofore unheard of, the aforeſaid *Edward Wightman* appearing before the aforeſaid Reverend Father, and other Divines, and learned in the Law, aſſiſting him in Judgment, the aforeſaid wicked Crimes, Hereſies, and other deteſtable Blaſphemies and Errors, ſtubbornly and pertinaciouſly, knowingly, maliciouſly, and with a harden'd Heart, publiſh'd, defended, and diſpers'd, by definitive Sentence of the ſaid Reverend Father, with the Conſent of Divines, learned

ed in the Law aforeſaid, juſtly, lawfully and canonically againſt the ſaid *Edward Wightman* in that part brought, ſtands adjudged and pronounced an Heretick, and therefore, as a diſeaſed Sheep out of the Flock of the Lord, leſt our Subjects he do infect by his Contagion, he hath decreed to be caſt out and cut off. Whereas therefore the holy Mother Church hath not further in this Part what it ought more to do and proſecute, the ſame Reverend Father, the ſame *Edward Wightman*, as a blaſphemous and condemn'd Heretick, hath left to our ſecular Power to be puniſh'd with condign Puniſhment, as by the Letters Patents of the aforeſaid Reverend Father the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, in this Behalf thereupon made, is certified unto us in our Chancery. We therefore, as a Zealot of Juſtice, and a Defender of the Catholick Faith; and willing that the Holy Church, and the Rights and Liberties of the ſame, and the Catholick Faith to maintain and defend, and ſuch like Hereſies and Errors every where, ſo much as in us lies, to root out and extirpate, and Hereticks ſo convict to puniſh with condign Puniſhment, holding that ſuch an Heretick, in the aforeſaid Form, convict and condemn'd according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of this our Kingdom of *England*, in this part accuſtom'd, ought to be burnt with Fire; We command thee that thou cauſe the ſaid *Edward Wightman*, being in thy Cuſtody, to be committed to the Fire, in ſome publick and open Place, below the City aforeſaid, for the Cauſe aforeſaid, before the People, and the ſame *Edward Wightman*, in the ſame Fire, cauſe really to be burnt, in the Deteſtation of the ſaid Crime, and for manifeſt Example of other Chriſtians, that they may not fall into the ſame Crime; and this no ways omit,

under the Peril that ſhall follow thereon. Witneſs, *&c.*

Expedit' apud Weſtm' Nono die Martii *Anno Regis Jacobi Angl' &c. Nono.* 1611.

per Windebank.

Mr. *Collier*, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, rightly obſerves, that the primitive Fathers did not think theſe ſevere Proceedings againſt erroneous Opinions agreeable to the Chriſtian Inſtitution, *Non eſt Religionis Religionem cogere:* That Miſ-belief of Opinion was no Forfeiture of Life: And that St. *Martin* and St. *Ambroſe* refuſed to communicate with thoſe who mov'd for the Execution of the Heretick *Priſcillian*: *This roaſting Men to Orthodoxy, and enlightning them with Fire and Faggot, was not a Diſcipline underſtood in thoſe early Ages.*

THE firſt who was burnt for Hereſy in *England* was Sir *William Sawtre* (or *Soutre*) *Anno* 1401, if we may credit *Fox*, who ſays, *That King* Henry IV, *who depoſed King* Richard II, *was the firſt of all* Engliſh *Kings that began the unmerciful burning of Chriſt's Saints.*

His CHARACTER.

Mr. *Collier* obſerves of *Soutre*, that notwithſtanding the Miſtakes in ſome of his Concluſions, he was certainly a Man of Principles, and had great Strength of Mind to act up to them; for (ſays he) He that voluntarily encounters the King of Terrors, muſt be ſtrongly penetrated with the Belief of another World. No Body will part with an Intereſt in hand, and throw up his preſent Being without the Proſpect of a Conſideration. To ſubmit to Extremity of Torture, is a fair Proof

Proof of Sincerity and good Earneſt, Hypocriſy and Pretence will ſeldom ſtand the fiery Tryal. Theſe Qualities may ſhine till they are examin'd, but bring them to the Touchſtone and they are eaſily diſcover'd. *See the Principles of thoſe who were deem'd Hereticks in the Reign of* Henry IV. Col. Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. 1. Page 619.

WILLIAM THORPE'S CHARACTER.

THE next Perſon we find proſecuted for Hereſy (and the firſt we meet with in the *State Tryals*) was *William Thorpe* Prieſt, 8 *Henry* IV. 1407. As to this Gentleman's Character, Mr. *Collier* obſerves that his Treatiſe, call'd *Thorpe's Teſtament*, is a violent Invective againſt the Hierarchy, and diſcovers a great deal of Heat, Ignorance, and Enthuſiaſm. He falls blindly upon the whole Order, without Reſerve or Exception; he inſiſts mainly upon reforming the Church to Apoſtolical Poverty, would have the Biſhops and Prieſts work for their Livings, and when they were paſt their Labour, to ſubſiſt upon the Charity of the People. He addreſſes all Kings and Emperors, Lords and Ladies, to reduce the Clergy to a State of Beggary and Dependence. In ſhort, he endeavours to raiſe the Government upon the Church, preſſes deſtructive Expedients, charges the People to forſake the publick Communion; and pretends to foretel, that unleſs the Clergy are thus harraſs'd and renounc'd, they'll draw down the Judgments of Heaven upon the Kingdom, and the Nation will be deſtroy'd with Peſtilence and Famine. His Reaſon for exhorting the People to deſert the Communion of the then Church, is founded upon the Misbehaviour of the Clergy; but this Ground is clearly indefenſible. To argue in this manner, is to make the Validity of the Sacra-

ments depend upon the Qualifications of the Prieſt, and not upon the Inſtitution of our Saviour, which Doctrine is a Contradiction to Catholick Belief, and expreſly condemn'd in the 26th Article of the Church of *England*.

Notwithſtanding he was convicted even by his own Confeſſion, and had been an active Lollard for twenty Years, he ſuffer'd no other Puniſhment than Impriſonment. *Col.* 625.

THE next Perſon proſecuted *capitally* for Hereſy was Sir *John Oldcaſtle* (call'd by *Courteſy*, Lord *Cobham*, in his Wife's Right.) This Gentleman being convicted of Hereſy, as it was call'd in thoſe Days, the Archbiſhop waited upon the King, and gave him an Account of the Proceedings againſt him, and mov'd his Majeſty that the Execution might be reſpited for 50 Days, which was readily granted, the King, as well as the Archbiſhop, being extreamly deſirous to preſerve Sir *John Oldcaſtle*. *Col.* 634.

Sir *John*, before the 50 Days expir'd, made his Eſcape out of the *Tower*, and endeavour'd to ſecure himſelf by making an Inſurrection. To this purpoſe he wrote Letters to his Friends, to engage their Party, and make them ready for the Field; and he had, in all likelihood, ſurpriz'd the King, and overturn'd the Government, if the Conſpiracy had not been diſcover'd.

The King being appriz'd of the Danger, on the ſixth of *January* 1414, remov'd from *Eltham* to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*; but without any Appearance of an Alarm, the Rebels were juſt upon the Execution of their Deſign, being drawn together by Sir *John Acton* Kt. *John Brown* Eſq; and *John Beverly* a Prieſt, in *Ficket-field*, on the backſide of St. *Giles's*; hither they came in the

dead

dead of Night, expecting to join their General Sir *John Oldcaſtle*.

The King came into the Field before Day, where ſeveral of the Rebels, miſtaking their Party, fell in with the King's Forces; and it being demanded whither they were going, they anſwer'd, to my Lord *Cobham*. The King, to prevent their getting together, had order'd the City Gates to be ſhut and guarded, without which Precaution 'tis thought the *Londoners* would have reinforc'd their Party to a very formidable Body; but being diſappointed of this Succour they ſoon diſpers'd, and ſeveral of them were kill'd or taken Priſoners. And the King ſet a thouſand Marks upon Sir *John Oldcaſtle's* Head, with a Promiſe of great Privileges to any Town that ſhould deliver him up. (Alſo an Indictment of High Treaſon was found againſt Sir *John* in the *King's-Bench*, for conſpiring the Death of the King, the Subverſion of the eſtabliſh'd Religion and Government, and levying War, whereupon he was outlaw'd.)

Anno 1414, the Statute was made againſt the *Lollards*, the Preamble whereof recites, That whereas they had cauſed great Inſurrections, and attempted to deſtroy the Religion and Government eſtabliſh'd, all Officers and Magiſtrates ſhould take an Oath to ſuppreſs all Hereſies and Errors, commonly call'd *Lollardies*: And that all Perſons convict of Hereſies ſhould forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and Fee-ſimple Lands. And that Juſtices of Aſſize, and Juſtices of Peace, ſhould have Power to enquire of ſuch Hereſies, and award a *Capias* to the Sheriff for apprehending them; provided that Perſons indicted of Hereſy ſhould be deliver'd to their reſpective Ordinaries within ten Days after they ſhould be

arreſted, to be acquit or convict by the Laws of holy Church. *Col.* 639.

Anno 1415, The *Lollards* began to ſtir again, and were ſo hardy as to menace the King, the Church and the Government; and Sir *John Oldcaſtle* having receiv'd Advice that the King was embark'd for *France*, ſent a threatning Meſſage to the Lord *Abergavenny*; who thereupon order'd 5000 Archers and Men at Arms to rendezvous at his Caſtle of *Hanley* in *Worceſterſhire*. Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, finding that the Lord *Abergavenny* was ſo well provided, and underſtanding that the King was not yet gone, and that the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Lords *Scroop* and *Grey*, who had form'd a Conſpiracy againſt his Majeſty, were executed, deſiſted from his Enterprize, and abſconded again; but a Prieſt, and ſome others of his Party, had the ill Fortune to be taken by the Lord *Abergavenny*; and being ſtrictly examin'd, diſcover'd the Place where Sir *John Oldcaſtle* had laid up Arms, and Money, to ſupport the intended Inſurrection. This Proviſion for the War was hid between two cloſe Walls, contriv'd for that purpoſe; and amongſt other things was found Sir *John*'s Standard, upon which the conſecrated Elements were curiouſly wrought; there were alſo the Croſs of our Saviour, the Scourges, the Lance and Nails, all which were work'd in the Colours, to draw in the People and increaſe his Party.

Anno 1417, Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was near being ſurpriz'd in the Neighbourhood of St. *Albans*, at a Farm-houſe belonging to the Abbot of that Town; for the Abbot being inform'd Sir *John* lay conceal'd at one of his Tenants, ſent ſome of his Servants, in the Night, to beſet the Houſe, and tho' they miſs'd of Sir *John* they ſeiz'd ſome of the principal Men of his Party; they found alſo ſeveral religious Books adorn'd with Paintings,

tings, which the *Lollards* eſteeming ſuperſtitious, had cut off the Heads of the Figures, and they had alſo eras'd the Names of the Saints out of the Litanies; and there were found alſo (as *Walſingham* ſays) ſome ſcandalous Papers in Diſhonour of the bleſſed Virgin: Theſe Books were ſent over to the King into *Normandy*, and by him return'd to the Archbiſhop.

Upon this Occaſion the *Lollards* were loudly declaim'd againſt at St. *Paul's Croſs*, and a tragical Repreſentation made of the Matter; and not long after Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was taken in *Powis Lands* in *Wales*. He ſtood upon his Defence, fought thoſe who came to apprehend him, and refus'd to ſurrender his Perſon till he was wounded and diſabled.

Sir *John Oldcaſtle* having been outlaw'd, upon an Indictment for High Treaſon (as abovemention'd) for that he, with divers others call'd *Lollards*, to the Number of Twenty Thouſand, had aſſembled themſelves at St. *Giles's in the Fields*, levy'd War, and conſpir'd the Death of the King, and the Subverſion of the Religion and Government eſtabliſh'd; and ſtanding alſo excommunicated for Hereſy, he was brought before the Parliament on the 18th of *December* 1417; and it being demanded what he had to ſay why Execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him according to Law, he run out into a Diſcourſe foreign to the Matter, concerning the Mercy of God, *&c.* whereupon the Chief Juſtice requiring him to anſwer directly, if he had any thing to object againſt the Legality of the Proceſs; he reply'd, *he could not own them for his Judges, as long as his Sovereign Lord King* Richard *was living in* Scotland. Upon this Anſwer a Rule was made for his Execution, *viz.* That he ſhould be carried back to the *Tower*, and from thence drawn through *London* to the new Gallows

at St. *Giles*'s in the Fields, and there be hang'd, and burnt hanging. Which Sentence, according to *Fox*, was executed with Rigour enough: He was hang'd as a Traytor, and burnt as a Heretick.

Sir Thomas More's *Execution*, 26 Hen. VIII. 1535.

SIR *Thomas More* having remain'd a Priſoner in the *Tower* about a Week after his Sentence, on the 6th of *July* early in the Morning, his old Friend Sir *Thomas Pope* came to him with a Meſſage from the King and Council, to acquaint him, That his Execution was appointed to be before Nine that Morning. Whereupon Sir *Thomas* ſaid, He thank'd him heartily for his good News. *I have been*, ſays he, *much obliged to his Majeſty for the Benefits and Honours he has moſt bountifully confer'd upon me; yet I am more bound to his Grace, I do aſſure you, for confining me in this Place, where I have had convenient Place and Opportunity to put me in mind of my laſt End. I am moſt of all bound to him, that his Majeſty is pleaſed to rid me out of the Miſeries of this wretched World.* Then Sir *Thomas Pope* acquainted him, it was the King's Pleaſure he ſhou'd not uſe many Words at the Place of Execution. *Sir*, ſaid he, *you do well to acquaint me with the King's Pleaſure; for I had otherwiſe deſign'd to have made a Speech to the People; but it matters not, and I am ready to conform myſelf to his Highneſs's Pleaſure. And I beſeech you, Sir, you wou'd become a Suitor to his Majeſty, that my Daughter* Margaret *may attend my Funeral.* To which *Pope* reply'd, That the King was willing his Wife and Children, and other Friends ſhould be preſent. Sir *Thomas Pope* being about to take his Leave, cou'd not refrain from Tears. Whereupon Sir *Thomas More* ſaid,

ſaid, *Let not your Spirits be caſt down, for I hope we ſhall ſee one another in a better Place, where we ſhall be free to live and love in Eternal Bliſs.* And to divert *Pope*'s Grief, he took up his Urinal, and ſhook it, ſaying merrily, *I ſee no Danger but that this Man may live longer, if the King pleaſes.*

About Nine he was brought out of the *Tower*; his Beard was long, his Face pale and thin, and carrying a Red Croſs in his Hand, he often lift up his Eyes to Heaven; a Woman meeting him with a Cup of Wine, he refus'd it, ſaying, *Chriſt at his Paſſion drank no Wine, but Gall and Vinegar.* Another Woman came crying, and demanded ſome Papers ſhe ſaid ſhe had left in his Hands when he was Lord Chancellor. To whom he ſaid, *Good Woman, have Patience but for an Hour, and the King will rid me of the Care I have for thoſe Papers, and every thing elſe.* Another Woman followed him, crying, He had done her much Wrong when he was Lord Chancellor. To whom he ſaid, *I very well remember the Cauſe, and if I were to decide it now, I ſhou'd make the ſame Decree.*

When he came to the Scaffold, it ſeem'd ready to fall; whereupon he ſaid merrily to the Lieutenant, *Pray, Sir, ſee me ſafe up; and as to my coming down, let me ſhift for myſelf.* Being about to ſpeak to the People, he was interrupted by the Sheriff, and thereupon he only deſired the People to pray for him, and bear Witneſs he died in the Faith of the Catholick Church, a faithful Servant both to God and the King. Then kneeling, he repeated the *Miſerere Pſalm* with much Devotion; and riſing up, the Executioner ask'd him Forgiveneſs. He kiſs'd him, and ſaid, *Pluck up thy Spirits, Man, and be not afraid to do thine Office; my Neck is very ſhort, take heed therefore thou ſtrike not awry for ſaving thine Honeſty.* Laying his Head upon the Block, he bid the Executioner ſtay till

he

he had put his Beard aſide, for that had committed no Treaſon. Thus he ſuffered with much Chearfulneſs; his Head was taken off at one Blow in the ſame place where Biſhop *Fiſher* had ſuffer'd the Day before for much the ſame Cauſe.

His FAMILY *and* CHARACTER.

Sir *Thomas More* was Son of Sir *John More* Knight, one of the Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*: He was born in *Milk-ſtreet* in the City of *London*, *Anno* 1480, and received his Grammar Learning in St. *Anthony*'s School there. After which, Cardinal *John Moreton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, obſerving his great Parts, took him into his Family, and ſoon after ſent him to Chriſt-Church in *Oxford*, when *Grocynus* read the *Greek* Tongue publickly there, whom he conſtantly heard, and became a great Proficient in that Language, and in moſt other ſorts of Learning, by the Care of *Linacer* his Tutor. He removed from *Oxford* to an *Inn* of *Chancery* in *London*, called *New-Inn*, and from thence to *Lincoln's-Inn*, and was at length call'd to the Bar. He came afterwards into the Favour of *Henry* the Eighth, who highly valued him for his Parts and Learning, and prefer'd him to the Maſterſhip of the Requeſts, the Honour of Knighthood, the Treaſureſhip of the *Exchequer*, Chancellorſhip of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, twice join'd him Ambaſſador with Cardinal *Woolſey*, viz. once to the Emperor *Charles* into *Flanders*, and once to the *French* King. And on the Removal of Cardinal *Woolſey* (being then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons) he had the Great Seal delivered him the 25th of *October*, 21 of *Hen.* VIII. and was declared Lord Chancellor of *England*; in which Office no Man ever gave that univerſal Satisfaction as Sir *Thomas* did. When his Sons

complained

complained how little they got under him, *I will do Juſtice*, ſaid he, *for your ſakes, to all Men, and will leave you a Bleſſing.* No *Subpœna* was granted but what he ſaw, no Order but what he perus'd, neither the King or Queen cou'd corrupt him, nor the whole Convocation faſten any thing upon him, nor did he leave one Caſe undecided in *Chancery*. His Apothegms were grounded on Experience and Judgment: He would ſay, 1. *The World is undone by looking at things at a diſtance.* 2. *To aim at Honour here, is to ſet a Coat of Arms over a Priſon-Gate.* 3. *He that is covetous when he is old, is like a Thief that ſteals when he is going to the Gallows.* 4. *The greateſt Puniſhment in the World was to have our Wiſhes.* 5. *We go to Hell with more Pains than we might go to Heaven.* 6. *The more of any thing we have but Riches, the more good we are.* 7. *Who wou'd not ſend his Alms to Heaven, who would not ſend his Eſtate whither he is to be baniſhed?* He wiſh'd three things to Chriſtendom. 1. An univerſal Peace. 2. An uniform Religion. 3. A Reformation rather of Lives than Religion. Mr. *Cambden* reports of him, That he us'd to compare the great Number of Women to be choſen for Wives, to a Bag full of Snakes, having amongſt them but one Eel. If a Man puts his Hand into this Bag, he may chance to find the Eel; but 'tis a hundred to one if he be not ſtung with the Snake.

When Word was brought him, that the King had pardon'd all the Sentence but beheading, he ſaid merrily, *God forbid the King ſhou'd uſe any more ſuch Mercies to any of my Friends or Poſterity.* Being urg'd by a certain Courtier to change his Mind while he was in Priſon: To get rid of him, he told him, he had alter'd it; which this inconſiderate Gentleman haſtening to acquaint the King with, was commanded to return and know wherein his Mind was chang'd. Sir *Thomas* told him, he had

now

now reſolv'd his Beard ſhould undergo the ſame Fate with himſelf; whereas he intended ſome time before to be ſhav'd, that he might appear to the People as before.

He was a Man well vers'd in all kinds of Learning: His *Utopia* is admir'd by all the World: His *Richard* the Third is of ſuch Credit with Hiſtorians, that they place it in their Works, without the leaſt Alteration; and he compos'd ſeveral other Pieces. His Monument is in *Chelſea* Church, where, 'tis ſaid, Biſhop *Fiſher* lies buried with him in the ſame Grave.

His Head having continued for ſome Months upon *London-Bridge*, and being about to be thrown into the Thames to make room for others, his Daughter *Margaret* bought it, leſt (as ſhe ſaid, when ſhe was brought before the Council for it) it ſhould be Food for Fiſhes. She enclos'd it in a Leaden Box, and kept it for a Relick.

His PERSON.

Sir *Thomas* was a Man of low Stature, well proportion'd, his Complexion inclining to be flegmatick, his Colour white and pale, his Hair neither black nor yellow, but between both; his Eyes grey, his Countenance amiable and chearful, his Voice neither big nor ſhrill, but ſpeaking plainly and diſtinctly, not very tuneable, though he delighted much in Muſick; he was pretty healthful, only as he grew in Years, he us'd to complain of a Pain in his Stomach, which was ſuppoſed to proceed from his writing much; he drank Water chiefly in his Youth, and liv'd abſtemiouſly; but 'tis obſervable he was twice married, notwithſtanding the Hazard he inſinuates there is in Matrimony, when he compares it to a Bag of Snakes. And indeed let Men ſeem never

ſo

ſo well appriz'd of the Inconveniencies of that State, and have ſaid never ſo many ſevere things againſt it, firſt or laſt we all venture; but none with ſo ill a Grace as the old Batchelor, who has all his Life-time been railing at it.

The Execution of THOMAS *Duke of* NORFOLK.

ON the 2d of *June* 1572, about eight in the Morning the Duke was brought to a Scaffold erected on *Tower-hill*, attended by *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, who having deſir'd the People to keep ſilence, the Duke ſaid:

It is not rare, good People, to ſee a Man come to die; although, Thanks be to God, ſince the beginning of the Queen's Majeſty's Reign in this Place hath not been any. But ſince it is my Fortune to be the firſt, I pray God I may be the laſt, ſuch hath been, and is the Mercifulneſs of her Majeſty, whom God long preſerve. You know I have been long looked for in this preſent Caſe of mine, divers times in this Place; but by her Majeſty's Clemency prolonged hitherto. It is not common to ſee a Man of my Vocation to be a Speaker; nevertheleſs I will be brief, and gladly ſhew you the Eſtate of thoſe Offences which my Conſcience doth burden me for. I have been by my Peers found worthy of Death, whereof I do acquit them; for I come not hither to juſtify myſelf, neither yet to charge my Peers with Injuſtice, but rather ſubmit myſelf to this which God hath prepared for me. And thus conſidering the Weakneſs of my Fleſh and Blood, that at ſuch time a Man's Senſes will partly fail, I do mind to divide my Speeches into three Parts, deſiring you to take it full and whole, and not to tear it in Pieces.

And

And firſt, in dealing in Matters temporal towards the Queen of *Scots*, I dealt not as a good Subject, for that I made not the Queen's Majeſty privy thereunto, which indeed I confeſs I ought not ſo to have done; for this Offence I was committed to this Houſe [pointing to the *Tower*] and, upon my humble Submiſſion, deliver'd; then making Promiſe to the Queen's Majeſty (whom I pray God long to proſper) never to deal in thoſe Matters again: But contrary to my Submiſſion and Promiſe made to the Queen's Majeſty, abuſing her Clemency towards me; which hath and doth grieve me more than any one thing hath done; I dealt in this Matter again, perfectly for ſaving my Life, and other Cauſes which I could alledge.

[Here Mr. Sheriff *Branch*, ſtanding by the Duke, deſir'd him very courteouſly to make an End as ſhort as might be, for the time did ſpend.]

Then the Duke beginning again, ſaid, it hath been bruited, that I took my Oath, and receiv'd the Sacrament, that I ſhould never deal in thoſe Matters again; which is untrue, and yet the Oath too much.

[Now Mr. *Chriſtopher*, one of the Officers, hearing theſe Words, deſir'd the Duke to be ſhort; we are come hither, ſaid he, to ſee you put to Execution, and we muſt not delay while theſe Speeches paſs from you, for in this we hazard our Lives.]

Then the Duke ſaid, I do not excuſe myſelf, but I come to diſcharge my Conſcience, and to acquit my Peers, and not to complain of any Injuſtice, for I have deſerv'd this, and more a great deal, in that I have abus'd the Queen's Majeſty's Mercy towards me; whom once again, with Hands lifted up, I pray God long to preſerve and reign over you, and that my Death may be an

End

End of all Troubles; and to augment my Fault, it is ſaid I had Familiarity with evil Dealers: Indeed I will confeſs and tell you, that I never ſaw, nor never had Conference, but once with one *Radolph*, and yet never againſt the Queen's Majeſty, God is my Judge; altho' many lewd Offers and Motions were made to me; for it is well known I had to do with him, by reaſon I was bound to him by Recogniſance for a great Sum of Money; and as for the two Letters that came from the Pope, I confeſs I did ſee them, the one cypher'd, the other decypher'd, I never conſented to them, neither was I conſenting to the late Rebellion in the North, notwithſtanding I come not hither as unguilty.

To the ſecond Part, I know I have not only been thought to be a Papiſt, a Favourer of Papiſts, and a Maintainer of them. God is my Judge, before whom I ſtand (lifting up his Eyes) I thank God I was never a Papiſt ſince I knew what Religion meant, but I did always deteſt Papiſtry, and all the vain Toys thereof, embracing ever, from the Bottom of my Heart, the true Religion of Jeſus Chriſt, truſting, by the Aſſurance of my Faith in his Blood, that is my only Redeemer and Saviour: Indeed I muſt confeſs that I had Servants and Friends that were Papiſts; but if thereby I have offended God's Church, or any Proteſtant, I deſire God and them to forgive me.

Well now to the third Point, wherein I am to ſhew how much I am bound to the Queen's Majeſty for her Mercifulneſs towards me, in that her Majeſty hath promiſed to be good and gracious to my poor Children. I remember good Father *Latimer* making a Sermon in a more honourable Place than this is, out of the Pulpit (neither do I compare myſelf to him) he ſaid, *That God did oftentimes take away a good and gracious Prince, for the*

Sins

Sins and Diſobedience of his Subjects, which God grant not to be in theſe Days, but that it will pleaſe God to continue and increaſe her Majeſty's Years; yea, until the World's End, if it be his bleſſed Will and Pleaſure. You have a moſt gracious Queen, as I muſt needs confeſs, and alſo Godly Religion; therefore look that your Livings and Converſations be anſwerable to the Religion of Chriſt that proves you; that God may proſper the Prince, overthrow the Pope, and maintain your Wealth and Quietneſs. Let not my Perſon, good People, make my Speech worſe; they that have Factions (I ſpeak not particularly, but generally) let them beware they be given over betimes; ſeek not to breviate God's Doings, leſt God prevent yours.

And then the Sheriff haſtening him, he turned to the People, and embracing Sir *Henry Lee*, ſaid, I have, and always have had as true a Heart to my Prince as ever any Subject hath had. And ſo Sir *Henry Lee* ſtaying him by the left Arm, he kneel'd down and ask'd the Queen's Majeſty Forgiveneſs; and riſing again, he embrac'd Mr. Dean of *Paul's* with a chearful Countenance; and afterwards for the moſt part ſhaking thoſe that were on the Scaffold by the Hands, and deſiring them to pray for him; among the reſt, the Executioner did on his Knees deſire Forgiveneſs of his Death, who did very courteouſly forgive him, and put into the Hand of the Executioner four Soveraigns of Gold, and eighteen Shillings and ſix Pence of Silver: This done, the Duke kneeling down, and the Dean of *Paul's* with him; he made his Prayers to God, and read the 51ſt *Pſalm*, ſaying on to the laſt Verſe ſave one, *viz. Build up the Walls of* Jeruſalem; he pauſed and ſaid, *The Walls of* England, *good Lord*: That Pſalm finiſh'd, he began to read another, and at the ſeventh

Verſe

Verſe of the Pſalm; he pauſed and ſaid, I had almoſt forgotten, but not too late; I ask all the World Forgiveneſs, and I forgive all the World: The Pſalm finiſhed, and other Prayers; he ſaid, *In manus tuas Domine commendo Spiritum meum*, Lord into thy Hands I commend my Spirit. Then he roſe up and pulled off his Velvet Gown, his black Sattin Doublet, and his Velvet Night-cap, and gave them to the Executioner, and being in a white Fuſtian Waſtcoat, he ſaid to Mr. Dean of *Paul's*, this is the *white Sattin Doublet* I made to die in, which the Preacher did ſpeak of, and ſo kneeling at the *Block*, he laid down himſelf, and roſe again, and laid the *Straw* and other things in ſuch ſort, as he might in a more convenient manner yield himſelf for the ſpeedier Execution. This done, his Eyes and Hands lifted up, Mr. Dean deſired the People ſilence, and ſaid, Now altogether, with one Voice, pray for him, ſaying, *Lord Jeſus receive thy Soul:* The Duke yielding himſelf to the Block, refuſing to have any Handkerchief before his Eyes, his Head was at *one Chop* cut off, and ſhewed to all the People, and afterwards his Corps was put into a Coffin appertaining to *Barking* Church, with the *Head* alſo, and the Burial-Cloth laid over him, and ſo was carried by four of the Lieutenant's Men, and was buried in the Chappel of the Tower by Mr. Dean of *Paul's*.

His CHARACTER.

Incredible it is how the People lov'd him (ſays *Cambden*) which Love he got by his Bounty and ſingular Courteſy, not unbecoming ſo great a Prince. The wiſer ſort of Men were diverſly affected about him; ſome were terrified by the Greatneſs of that Danger, which, while he liv'd,

ſeem'd to threaten the State, by means of him and his Faction; others were mov'd with Pity towards him, as being a Man of ſo noble Deſcent, ſingular Goodneſs of Nature, goodly Perſonage, and manly Countenance; who might have been both a great Strength and Ornament to his Country, had not the cunning Practices of his malicious Adverſaries, and his own falſe Hopes, attended with a ſhew of the publick Good, diverted him from his firſt Courſe of Life. They called alſo to remembrance the unhappy Fate of his Father, who being a Man moſt accompliſh'd in all good Learning, and famous for Martial Glory, was beheaded in the ſame Place twenty-five Years before, and that for very light Cauſes, *viz.* for quartering the Arms of *Edward* the Confeſſor with his own; which, notwithſtanding, we read that the *Mowbrays*, Dukes of *Norfolk*, from whom he drew his Deſcent, had formerly borne by Permiſſion of King *Richard* II. *Cambden's Eliz. p.* 178.

The Execution of Dr. WILLIAM PARRY.

DR. *William Parry*, five Days after his Tryal, was drawn upon a Hurdle to *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, where he was executed as a Traitor in the Preſence of many Members of Parliament, the Houſes being then ſitting: He boaſted of his faithful Services to the Queen, and ſaid he was never fully reſolv'd in his Mind to have taken away her Life, but ſuffer'd without ever recommending himſelf to Heaven. *Cambden's Eliz.* 308.

His

His CHARACTER.

He was a *Welchman* by Nation, of obſcure Parentage; he had taken his Degree of Doctor of Laws, and had been one of the Queen's ſworn Servants, and being a Member of the Houſe of Commons when the Bill was brought in againſt the Jeſuits, he was the only Man that oppos'd it; alledging that it was a cruel and bloody Act, and of pernicious Conſequence to the Nation: And refuſing to give his Reaſons, he was committed by the Houſe; but afterwards, upon his giving his Reaſons, and making his Submiſſion, he was permitted to take his Place in the Houſe again: He ſeems to have merited of the Queen, by firſt diſcovering the Plot againſt her; but being afterwards, by his own Confeſſion, engag'd in ſeveral other Deſigns againſt her Life, and upon Principle too, he was thought too dangerous a Man to exerciſe her Clemency upon.

The Execution of JOHN BALLARD *Prieſt*, ANTHONY BABINGTON *Eſq*; JOHN SAVAGE *Gent.* ROBERT BARNWELL *Gent.* CHIDIOCK TITCHBORNE *Eſq*; CHARLES TILNEY *and* EDWARD ABINGTON *Gent.* (*ſeven of the Conſpirators againſt Queen* Elizabeth) *for High Treaſon.*

ON the 20th of *September*, 1586, a Gallows being ſet up on purpoſe in St. *Giles's-Fields*, where they us'd to meet, theſe ſeven were drawn thither to their Execution.

John Ballard the Prieſt, the principal Conſpirator, confeſs'd, that he was guilty of thoſe things for which he was *Condemn'd*, but proteſted they

were never enterpriſed by him upon any Hope of Preferment, but only, as he ſaid, for the Advancement of *true Religion.* He craved Pardon and Forgiveneſs of all Perſons, to whom his Doings had been any *Scandal*, and ſo made an End ; making his Prayers to himſelf in *Latin*, not asking her Majeſty Forgiveneſs, otherwiſe than *if he had offended.*

Anthony Babington Eſq; alſo confeſſed, That he was come to die, as he had deſerved ; howbeit he (as *Ballard* before) proteſted that he was not led into thoſe Actions upon Hope of Preferment, or for any temporal Reſpect ; nor had ever attempted them, but that he was perſuaded by Reaſons alledged to this Effect, That it was *a Deed lawful and meritorious.* He craved Forgiveneſs of all whom he had any way offended ; he would gladly alſo have been reſolved whether his Lands ſhould have been confiſcate to her Majeſty, or whether they ſhould deſcend to his Brother ; but howſoever, his Requeſt was to the Lords, and others the Commiſſioners there preſent, that Conſideration might be had of one whoſe Money he had received for Lands, which he had paſſed no *Fine* for, for which the Conveyance was void in Law. He requeſted alſo, that Conſideration might be had of a certain Servant of his, whom he had ſent for certain Merchandiſe into the Eaſt Countries, who by his means was greatly impoveriſhed. For his Wife, he ſaid, ſhe had good Friends, to whoſe Conſideration he would leave her : And thus he finiſhed, asking her Majeſty Forgiveneſs, and making his Prayers in *Latin.*

John Savage Gent. confeſſed his Guilt, and ſaid (as the other two before) that he did attempt it, for that in Conſcience he thought it a *Deed meritorious,*

ritorious, and a common Good to the Weal-publick, and for no private Preferment.

Robert Barnwell Gent. confeſſed that he was made acquainted with their Drifts, but denied that ever he *conſented*, or could be in Conſcience perſuaded that it was a *Deed lawful*. And being urged that he came to the Court to ſpy Opportunities for the atchieving of their Purpoſes, and that being there, her Majeſty obſerving his *prying Looks*, acquainted before with their Intents, ſhe prayed God that all were well. To this he anſwered, That it was not unknown to divers of the Council, that he had Matters which he ſolicited, which was the Cauſe of his being there at that time; but I confeſs (ſaid he) at my Return, *Babington* asked me what News; to whom I told, that her Majeſty had been abroad that Day, with all the Circumſtances that I ſaw there; and if I have offended her Majeſty, I crave Forgiveneſs; and aſſuredly, if the Sacrifice of my Body might eſtabliſh her Majeſty in the *true Religion*, I would moſt willingly offer it up. Then he prayed to himſelf in *Latin*.

Chidiock Titchborne Eſq; began to ſpeak as followeth, *viz.* Countrymen and my dear Friends, you expect I ſhould ſpeak ſomething; I am a bad Orator, and my Text is worſe: It were in vain to enter into the Diſcourſe of the whole Matter for which I am brought hither, for that it hath been revealed heretofore, and is well known to the moſt of this Company; Let me be a Warning to all young Gentlemen, eſpecially *Generoſis adoleſcentulis*. I had a Friend, and a dear Friend, of whom I made no ſmall Account, whoſe Friendſhip hath brought me to this; he told me the whole Matter, I cannot deny, as they had laid it down to be done; but I always thought it *impious*, and denied to be a Dealer in

it; but the Regard of my Friend caused me to be a Man in whom the old Proverb was verified; I was *silent, and so consented.* Before this thing chanced, we lived together in most flourishing Estate; Of whom went Report in the *Strand, Fleet-street,* and elsewhere about *London,* but of *Babington* and *Titchborne?* No Threshold was of Force to brave our Entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for; and God knows, what less in my Head than Matters of *State?* Now give me Leave to declare the Miseries I sustained after I was acquainted with the Action, wherein I may justly compare my Estate to that of *Adam's,* who could not abstain *one thing forbidden,* to enjoy all other things the World could afford; the Terror of Conscience awaited me. After I consider'd the Dangers whereinto I was fallen, I went to Sir *John Peters* in *Essex,* and appointed my Horses should meet me at *London,* intending to go down into the Country. I came to *London,* and there heard that all was *bewrayed*; whereupon, like *Adam,* we fled into the *Woods* to hide our selves, and there were apprehended. My dear Countrymen, my Sorrows may be your Joy, yet mix your *Smiles* with *Tears,* and pity my Case; I am descended from an House, from two hundred Years before the Conquest, never stained till this my Misfortune; I have a Wife and one Child; my Wife *Agnes,* my *dear Wife,* and there's my Grief, and six Sisters left on my Hand; my poor Servants, I know, their Master being taken, were dispersed, for all which I do most heartily grieve; I expected some Favour, tho' I deserved nothing less, that the Remainder of my Years might in some sort have recompenced my former Guilt, which seeing I have missed, let me now meditate upon the Joys I hope to enjoy. This done, he prayed first in *Latin,* and then in *English,* asking her Majesty, and

all the World, heartily, Forgiveneſs, and that he hoped ſtedfaſtly, now at this his laſt Hour, his Faith would not fail.

Charles Tilney ſaid, I am a Catholick, and believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and by his Paſſion I hope to be ſaved; and I confeſs I can do nothing without him, which Opinion all Catholicks firmly hold; and whereas they are thought to hold the contrary, they are in that, as in all other things, greatly abuſed. To Dr. *White*, ſeeming to School him in Points of Religion, differing from thoſe which he held; he ſpoke in anger, I came hither to *die*, Doctor, and not to *argue*. He prayed in *Latin* for himſelf, and after he prayed for Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe might live long; and warned all young Gentlemen, of what Degree or Calling ſoever, to take warning by him.

Edward Abington ſaid, I come hither to die, holding all Points firmly that the Catholick Church doth; and for the Matters whereof I am condemned, I confeſs all, ſaving the Death of her Majeſty, to the which I never conſented. He feared, as he ſaid, great Bloodſhed in *England* before it were long: Sheriff *Ratliffe* ſaid, *Abington*, Seeſt thou all theſe People, whoſe Blood ſhall be demanded at thy Hands, if thou, dying, conceal that which may turn to their Peril? therefore tell why, or which way ſuch Blood ſhould be ſhed: He ſaid, All that I know, you have of Record; and at laſt, ſaid he, this Country is hated of all Countries for her Iniquity, and God loves it not. And being urged by Dr. *White*, to be of a lively Faith; he anſwered, he believed ſtedfaſtly in the Catholick Faith: The Doctor asked him, how he meant, for I fear me, ſaid he, thou deceiveſt thy ſelf: He anſwered, That Faith and Religion which is holden almoſt in all Chriſtendom, except here in *England*. Thus done, he willed them not

to trouble him any longer with any more Queſtions, but made his Prayers to himſelf in *Latin*.

Ballard was firſt executed. He was cut down and bowell'd with great Cruelty while he was alive. *Babington* beheld *Ballard*'s Execution without being in the leaſt daunted; whilſt the reſt turned away their Faces, and fell to Prayers upon their Knees. *Babington* being taken down from the Gallows alive too, and ready to be cut up, he cried aloud ſeveral times in *Latin*, *Parce mihi Domine Jeſu*, ſpare or forgive me O Lord Jeſus! *Savage* broke the Rope, and fell down from the Gallows, and was preſently ſeiz'd on by the Executioner, his Privities cut off, and his Bowels taken out while he was alive. *Barnwell*, *Titchborne*, *Tilney* and *Abington* were executed with equal Cruelty. *Cam. Brit.* 344.

The Execution of THOMAS SALISBURY, HENRY DONN, EDWARD JONES, JOHN CHARNOCK, JOHN TRAVERS, ROBERT GAGE, JEROME BELLAMY, *for High Treaſon, the 21ſt of* September, 1586. *Being drawn to the Place of Execution.*

THomas *Salisbury* Eſq; ſaid, Sithence it hath pleaſed God to appoint this Place for my End, I thank his infinite Goodneſs for the ſame; I confeſs that I have deſerved Death, and that I have offended her Majeſty, whom to forgive me I heartily beſeech, with all others whom I have any way offended; I deſire all true Catholicks to pray for me, and I deſire them, as I beſeech God they may, to endure with Patience whatſoever ſhall be laid upon them, and never to enter into any Action of Violence for Remedy: Then he ſaid his Prayers, looking earneſtly with his Eyes to Heaven, and prayed in *Latin* a long while: When he had thus

thus done, he cried in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, Father forgive me.

Henry Donn, Yeoman, ſaid, Do the People expect I ſhould ſay any thing? I was acquainted, I confeſs, with their Practices, but I never did intend to be a Dealer in them: *Babington* oftentimes requeſted me to be one, and ſaid, for that he loved me well, he would beſtow me in one of the beſt Actions; which ſhould have been the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*, to which I could not for a long time agree; at length, by many urgent Perſuaſions he won me, ſo as I told him I would do my beſt: And being asked, as he was aſcending the Ladder, whether he thought it lawful to kill her Majeſty: He anſwer'd, No, no; for I take her to be my lawful and natural Prince. And (as *Salisbury*) he deſir'd all Catholicks to endure with Patience, and never to attempt any thing againſt her Majeſty, under whoſe Government he had lived quietly, until within theſe ten Weeks, that thoſe things were firſt imparted unto him; and whereas he was indebted to divers, and divers in like manner to him, he forgave all that was owing to him, and craved Forgiveneſs of what he owed: He deſired God to forgive *Babington*, the only Cauſe of his Fall and Death; and was right ſorry for a Gentlewoman, one Mrs. *Bellamy*, at whoſe Houſe he, with the reſt, were relieved after they fled; he prayed God, whom he had chiefly offended, next her Majeſty; and laſt, of all the People, Forgiveneſs; ſaying, No Soul was more ſorrowful than his, nor none more ſinful; and prayed for her Majeſty, wiſhing ſhe might live in all Happineſs, and after this Life, be eternized in everlaſting Bliſs; and ſo he pray'd in *Latin* and *Engliſh*.

Edward

Edward Jones ſaid, I come hither to die, but how rightfully God knows; for thus ſtands my Caſe: At *Trinity Term* laſt, Mr. *Salisbury* made me acquainted with their Purpoſes; and for that he knew me to be well horſed, he thought me as fit as any to attempt the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*, and requeſted me to be one; which I utterly denied, altogether miſliking their Practices, and perſuading him, by what Means I might, from it; and told him, this was the haughty and ambitious Mind of *Anthony Babington*, which would be the Deſtruction of himſelf and Friends, whoſe Company I wiſhed him to refrain; and for that I would have him out of his Company; I have divers times lent him Money, and pawned my Chain and Jewels to buy him Neceſſaries to go into the Country. And whereas I had made Conveyance of my Lands to divers Uſes, with ſome Annuities, and placed my Wife with my Friends, and given over Houſekeeping, and by reaſon of my Conſcience, thought to live at eaſe; I called my Servants together again, and began to keep Houſe more freſhly than ever I did, only becauſe I was weary to ſee *Salisbury*'s ſtraggling, and for that I was willing to keep him about home; and never conſented to any of his Treaſons, but always adviſed him to beware; for tho' I was, and am a *Catholick*, yet I took it to be a moſt wicked Act to offer Violence to my natural Prince. I did intend to go into *Ireland* with Mr. *Edward Fitton*, and there to have ſerved; until at length, very ſhortly after this, my determinate Mind being not ſettled, I received a Note of their Names, amongſt whom was the Name of my dear Friend: Then I began to fear what hath happened; I heard that Night he would be at my Houſe; and indeed he came thither about twelve a-clock, and the Door being opened him, as he was very familiar

liar with me, he came running up to my Bed-ſide with a Candle in his Hand, which he took from one of my Men, ſaluting me with theſe Words, *Ned Jones* how doſt thou? Ah! *Tom*, ſaid I, Art thou one of them that ſhouldſt have killed the Queen? Yea, ſaid he, what meaneſt thou by that? ſee, and read this, ſaid I, giving him the Note wherein his Name was; he ſeeing, turned about and ſaid, there be many Catholicks in *England* as far in this Act as we are; the more the worſe, quoth I. Here is the Sum of my Fault, in which I know I have offended her Majeſty; firſt, becauſe I did conceal it at *London*, and laſtly, becauſe I did not apprehend my dear Friend *Tom* being in my Houſe; for which Fault I am heartily ſorry, and do ask her Majeſty Forgiveneſs. There is one thing wherein I am to move you, concerning my Debts; I have ſet them down ſo near as I could what they are: Good Sir *Francis Knowles*, I ſhall intreat you to be a mean to her Majeſty that there may be ſome Care had of my Creditors and Debtors.

The Debts which I owe do amount, in the whole, to 980 *l.*

The Debts which are owing me are 1600 *l.*

But who ſhall look into my Compting-houſe ſhall find many of 100 *l.* 200 *l.* or 300 *l.* whereof all is diſcharged, except of ſome 50 *l.* and ſome 40 *l.* and ſuch like, without any Defeaſance, and lie only in my Credit; ſo that unleſs ſome Man of Conſcience enter into the Action of my Compting-houſe, it is like to be the utter undoing of a Number; but God knows my Mind, and I hope it ſhall not be laid to my Charge; and ſo concluded with his Prayers, firſt in *Latin*, and then in *Engliſh*, that the People might better underſtand what he prayed.

John Charnock and *John Travers* having their Minds wholly fixt on Prayer, recommended themſelves to God and the Saints. *Gage* extolled the Queen's great Grace and Bounty to his Father, and deteſted his own perfidious Ingratitude towards his Princeſs. And *Jerome Bellamy*, with Confuſion and deep Silence, ſuffer'd laſt.

The Queen being inform'd of the Severity us'd in the Executions the Day before, and deteſting ſuch Cruelty, gave expreſs Orders that theſe ſhould be us'd more favourably; and accordingly they were permitted to hang till they were quite dead before they were cut down and bowell'd.

Their CHARACTERS.

The Conſpirators were moſt of them Gentlemen of good Families, whom nothing but the ſpecious Pretence of Religion could probably have prevail'd upon to turn Aſſaſſins.

The Execution of MARY *Queen of* SCOTS, *the 8th of* February, 1587.

QUeen *Elizabeth*, after ſome Heſitation, having deliver'd a Writing to *Daviſon*, one of her Secretaries, ſign'd with her own Hand, commanding a Warrant, under the great Seal of *England*, to be drawn up for the Execution; which was to lie in readineſs in Caſe of any dangerous Attempt upon Queen *Elizabeth*, and commanded him to acquaint no Man therewith; the next Day the Queen changed her Mind, and commanded *Daviſon* by *Killegrew* that the Warrant ſhould not be drawn. *Daviſon* came preſently to the Queen, and told her that it was drawn and under Seal already; at which ſhe was ſomewhat mov'd,

and

and blam'd him for making ſuch haſte. He notwithſtanding acquainted the Council both with the Warrant and the whole Matter, and eaſily perſuaded them, who were apt to believe what they deſir'd, that the Queen had commanded it ſhould be executed. Hereupon, without any Delay, *Beale*, who in reſpect of Religion was the Queen of *Scots* moſt bitter Adverſary, was ſent down with one or two Executioners, and a Warrant, wherein Authority was given to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, to ſee Execution done according to Law; and this without the Queen's Knowledge. And tho' ſhe at that very time told *Daviſon* that ſhe would take another Courſe, yet did not he for all that call *Beale* back.

As ſoon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringhay*, they, together with Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, to whoſe Cuſtody the Queen of *Scots* was committed, came to her and told her the Cauſe of their coming, reading the Warrant, and in few Words admoniſh'd her to prepare her ſelf for Death, for ſhe was to die the next Day. She undauntedly, and with a compos'd Spirit, made this Anſwer: *I did not think the Queen, my Siſter, would have conſented to my Death, who am not ſubject to your Law and Juriſdiction: But ſeeing her Pleaſure is ſo, Death ſhall be to me moſt welcome; neither is that Soul worthy of the high and everlaſting Joys above, whoſe Body cannot endure one Stroke of the Executioner.*

She deſir'd ſhe might have Conference with her Almoner, her Confeſſor, and *Melvin*, the Maſter of her Houſhold: For her Confeſſor, it was flatly deny'd that he ſhould come at her; and the Earls recommended to her the Biſhop, or the Dean of *Peterborough*, to comfort her; whom ſhe refuſing, the Earl of *Kent*, in a hot burning Zeal

to

to Religion, broke forth into theſe Words among other Speeches: *Your Life will be the Death of our Religion, as contrariwiſe your Death will be the Life thereof.* Mention being made of *Babington*, ſhe conſtantly denied his Conſpiracy to have been at all known to her, and the Revenge of her Wrong ſhe left to God. Then enquiring what was become of *Nawe* and *Curle*; ſhe ask'd whether it were ever heard of before that Servants were ſuborn'd and accepted as Witneſſes againſt their Maſters Life.

When the Earls were departed, ſhe commanded Supper to be haſten'd, that ſhe might the better diſpoſe of her Concerns. She ſup'd temperately, as her manner was; and ſeeing her Servants, both Men and Women, weeping and lamenting as ſhe ſat at Supper; ſhe comforted them with great Courage and Magnanimity, bad them leave mourning, and rather rejoice that ſhe was now to depart out of a World of Miſeries. Turning to *Burgoin*, her Phyſician, ſhe ask'd him whether he did not now find the Force of Truth to be great; *They ſay* (quoth ſhe) *that I muſt die becauſe I have plotted againſt the Queen's Life, yet the Earl of* Kent *tells me, there is no other Cauſe of my Death, but that they are afraid for their Religion becauſe of me; neither hath my Offence againſt the Queen, but their Fear becauſe of me, drawn this End upon me, while ſome, under the Colour of Religion, and the publick Good, aim at their own private Reſpects and Advantages.*

Towards the End of Supper ſhe drank to all her Servants, who pledg'd her in Order upon their Knees, mingling Tears with the Wine, and begging Pardon for their Neglect of their Duty; as ſhe alſo in like manner did of them.

After Supper ſhe perus'd her Will, read over the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and wrote down the Names of thoſe to whom ſhe bequeath'd every Particular. To ſome ſhe diſtri-

buted

buted Money with her own Hand. To her Confeſſor ſhe wrote a Letter that he would make Interceſſion for her to God in his Prayers. She wrote alſo Letters of Recommendations for her Servants to the *French* King and the Duke of *Guiſe*. At her wonted time ſhe went to Bed, ſlept ſome Hours, and then waking, ſpent the reſt of the Night in Prayer.

The fatal Day being come, which was the 8th of *February*, ſhe dreſs'd her ſelf as gorgeouſly as ſhe was wont to do upon feſtival Days, and calling her Servants together, commanded her Will to be read; pray'd them to take their Legacies in good Part, for her Ability would not extend to giving them any greater Matters.

Then fixing her Mind wholly upon God in her Oratory or ordinary Place of Prayer, with Sighs and Groans, and Prayers, ſhe beg'd his Divine Grace and Favour, till ſuch time as *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriff of the County, acquainted her that ſhe muſt now come forth: And forth ſhe came with State, Countenance and Preſence majeſtically compos'd; a chearful Look, and a Matron-like and modeſt Habit; her Head cover'd with a Linnen Veil, and that hanging down to the Ground, her Prayer-Beads hanging at her Girdle, and carrying a Crucifix of Ivory in her Hands.

In the Porch ſhe was receiv'd by the Earls and other Noblemen, where *Melvin*, her Servant, falling upon his Knees, and pouring forth Tears, bewail'd his hard Hap, that he was to carry into *Scotland* the woful Tidings of the unhappy Fate of his Lady and Miſtreſs: She thus comforted him, *Lament not, but rather rejoice, thou ſhalt by and by ſee* Mary Stuart *freed from all her Cares. Tell them that I die conſtant in my Religion, and firm in my Fidelity and Affection towards* Scotland *and* France.

God

God forgive them who have thirſted after my Blood, as Harts do after the Fountain. Thou, O God! who art Truth itſelf, and perfectly and truly underſtandeſt the inward Thoughts of my Heart, knoweſt how greatly I have deſir'd that the Kingdoms of England *and* Scotland *might be united into one. Commend me to my Son, and aſſure him that I have done nothing which may be prejudicial to the Kingdom of* Scotland ; *admoniſh him to hold in Amity and Friendſhip with the Queen of* England ; *and ſee thou do him faithful Service.*

And now the Tears trickling down, ſhe bad *Melvin* ſeveral times farewel, who wept as faſt as ſhe. Then turning to the Earls, ſhe pray'd them that her Servants might be civilly dealt withal: That they might enjoy their Legacies, that they might ſtand by her at her Death, and might be ſent back into their own Country with Letters of ſafe Conduct. The former Requeſt they granted, but that they ſhould ſtand by her at her Death, the Earl of *Kent* ſhew'd himſelf ſomewhat unwilling, fearing ſome Superſtition. Fear it not (ſaid ſhe) *Theſe harmleſs Souls deſire only to take their laſt Farewel of me: I know my Siſter* Elizabeth *would not have denied me ſo ſmall a Matter, that my Women ſhould be then preſent, were it but for the Honour of the female Sex. I am her near Kinſwoman, deſcended from* Henry VII. *Queen* Dowager *of* France, *and anointed Queen of* Scots.

When ſhe had ſaid this, and turned her ſelf aſide, it was at laſt granted, that ſuch of her Servants as ſhe ſhould name ſhould be preſent. She named *Melvin*, *Burgon* her Phyſician, her Apothecary, her Surgeon, two waiting Women, and others, of whom *Melvin* bore up her Train. So the Gentlemen, two Earls and the Sheriff going before her, ſhe came to the Scaffold, which was built at the upper End of the Hall, on which was plac'd a Chair, a Cuſhion, and a Block, all co-

ver'd

ver'd with black Cloth. As ſoon as ſhe was ſet down, and Silence commanded, *Beale* read the Warrant: She heard it attentively, yet as if her Thoughts were taken up with ſomewhat elſe. Then *Fletcher*, Dean of *Peterborough*, began a long Speech to her, touching the Condition of her Life paſt, preſent, and to come. She interrupted him once or twice as he was ſpeaking, pray'd him not to trouble himſelf, proteſting that ſhe was firmly fix'd and reſolv'd in the ancient Catholick *Roman* Religion, and for it was ready to ſhed her laſt Blood. When he earneſtly perſuaded her to true Repentance, and to put her whole Truſt in Chriſt by an aſſured Faith: She anſwer'd, That in that Religion ſhe was both born and bred, and now ready to die. The Earls ſaid they would pray with her, to whom ſhe ſaid, That ſhe would give them hearty Thanks if they would pray for her; but to join, ſaid ſhe, in Prayer with you, who are of another Profeſſion, would be in me a heinous Sin. Then they appointed the Dean to pray; with whom, while the Multitude that ſtood round about were praying, ſhe fell down upon her Knees, and holding the Crucifix before her in her Hands, pray'd in *Latin*, with her Servants, out of the Office of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*.

After the Dean had made an End of praying, ſhe in *Engliſh* recommended the Church, her Son and Queen *Elizabeth* to God, beſeeching him to turn away his Wrath from this Iſland, and profeſſing that ſhe repos'd her Hope of Salvation in the Blood of Chriſt: Lifting up the Crucifix, ſhe call'd on the Celeſtial Choir of Saints to make Interceſſion to him for her: She forgave all her Enemies, and kiſſing the Crucifix, and ſigning her ſelf with the Croſs, ſhe ſaid, *As thy Arms, O Chriſt! were ſpread out upon the Croſs, ſo receive me with the ſtretched out Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive my Sins.*

Then the Executioners ask'd her Forgiveneſs, which ſhe granted them. And when her Women had taken off her upper Garments (which ſhe was eager and haſty to have done) wailing and lamenting the while, ſhe kiſs'd them, and ſigning them with the Croſs, with a chearful Countenance bid them forbear their womaniſh Lamentations, for now ſhe ſhould reſt from all her Sorrows. In like manner turning to her Men-Servants, who alſo wept, ſhe ſign'd them with the Croſs, and ſmiling, bid them farewel. And now having cover'd her Face with a Linnen Handkerchief, and laying her ſelf down to the Block, ſhe recited that Pſalm, *In thee, O Lord! do I put my Truſt, let me never be confounded.* Then ſtretching forth her Body, and repeating many times, *Into thy Hands, O Lord! I commend my Spirit*, her Head was taken off at two Strokes: The Dean crying out, *So let Queen* Elizabeth's *Enemies periſh*; the Earl of *Kent* anſwering *Amen*, and the Multitude ſighing and ſorrowing. Her Body was embalmed and order'd with due and uſual Rites, and afterwards interr'd, with a Royal Funeral, in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*. A pompous Obſequy was alſo perform'd for her at *Paris*, by Procurement of the *Guiſes*, who to their great Commendations perform'd all the higheſt Offices of Kindneſs to their Kinſwoman both alive and dead. *Cambd. Eliz.* 382.

Her CHARACTER *by* CAMBDEN.

This lamentable End had *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, Daughter to *James* the 5th King of *Scots*, Great Grand-daughter to *Henry* the 7th King of *England*, by his eldeſt Daughter, in the 46th Year of her Age, and the 18th of her Impriſonment. A Lady fix'd and conſtant in her Religion, of ſingular

Piety

Piety towards God, invincible Magnanimity of Mind, Wiſdom above her Sex, and admirable Beauty; a Lady to be reckon'd in the Liſt of thoſe Princeſſes which have chang'd their Felicity for Miſery and Calamity. While yet an Infant ſhe was earneſtly deſir'd by *Henry* VIII. King of *England*, for his Son Prince *Edward*, and by *Henry* the IId King of *France*, for *Francis* the Dauphin, both of them ſtriving who ſhould have her for his Daughter-in-law. At five Years old ſhe was convey'd into *France*, and at fifteen married to the Dauphin. She was Queen of *France* a Year and four Months. After the Death of her Husband ſhe return'd into *Scotland*, was married again to *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darnly*, and bore *James* the firſt Monarch of *Great Britain*. By *Murray*, her baſe Brother, and others her ungrateful and ambitious Subjects ſhe was much toſs'd and diſquieted, depos'd from her Throne, and driven into *England*.

By ſome *Engliſh*-men, who were careful for preſerving their Religion, and providing for the Queen's Safety, ſhe was (as indifferent Cenſurers have thought) circumvented; and by others, who were deſirous to reſtore the *Romiſh* Religion, thruſt forward to dangerous Undertakings; and overborn by the Teſtimonies of her Secretaries, who ſeem'd to be brib'd and corrupted with Money.

Near her Tomb this EPITAPH was ſet up, but ſoon after taken away.

MARY *Queen of* Scots, *a King's Daughter, the King of* France's *Widow, the Queen of* England's *Kinſwoman, and next Heir; a Princeſs accompliſh'd with Royal Virtues, and a Royal Soul; having many times (but in vain) demanded her Royal Privilege, is by barbarous and tyrannical Cruelty extinct, who was the Ornament of our Age, and a Light truly Royal;*

and by one and the ſame wicked Sentence is both Mary *Queen of* Scots *doom'd to an unnatural Death, and all ſurviving Kings, being made as common People, are ſubjected to a Civil Death. A new and unexampled Tomb is here extant, wherein the Living are encloſed with the Dead: For know that with the ſacred Aſhes of Saint* MARY *here lieth violate and proſtrate the Majeſty of all Kings and Princes. And becauſe (Reader that travelleſt this Way) the unrevealable Secret of Kings doth moſt ſufficiently admoniſh Kings of their Duty, I ſay no more.*

Her CHARACTER *by Archbiſhop* SPOTSWOOD.

Archb. *Spotſwood*, in his Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland*, ſays, ſhe was a Princeſs of many rare Virtues, but croſs'd with all the Croſſes of Fortune, which never any did bear with greater Courage and Magnanimity to the laſt. Upon her Return from *France*, for the firſt 2 or 3 Years ſhe carried her ſelf moſt worthily; but then giving Ear to ſome wicked Perſons, and tranſported with the Paſſion of Revenge for the Indignity done to her in the Murder of *David Rizio*, her Secretary, ſhe fell into a Labyrinth of Troubles, which forc'd her to flee into *England*, where, after eighteen Years Captivity, ſhe was put to Death.

Reflections on the CHARACTER *given her by* CAMBDEN *and* SPOTSWOOD.

It is obſervable that both *Cambden* and Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* are very tender of this Princeſs's Honour; they endeavour to draw a Veil over her youthful Failings, and preſent us only with the bright Side of her Character, when they ſum it up; tho' there appear ſeveral Facts, *even in theſe Hiſtorians*, which bear hard upon her Conduct.

I ſhall

I ſhall not mention her Match with my Lord *Darnley* as one, (yet this is cenſur'd by ſome as a very imprudent Act, her People, as well as Queen *Elizabeth*, being ſo averſe to it) for his Perſon is ſaid to have been extremely agreeable, his Years ſuitable, and his Quality little inferior to the Queen's, being her firſt Couſin and next Heir to the Crown; and hard is it upon Sovereign Princes, if they have not an equal Freedom of Choice, in the moſt important Concern of their Lives, with the meaneſt of their Subjects.

But her preferring *David Rizio* from being her Fiddler to be Secretary of State; and after ſhe had married the Lord *Darnley*, and he was proclaim'd King, ſetting up this *Rizio* to rival him, as it were, and admitting him to the greateſt Intimacies, whilſt ſhe treated the King her Husband with Contempt: This ſeems to require an Apology. And indeed this Uſage ſo provok'd the King, that one Evening, when the Queen was at Supper with the Counteſs of *Argyle* and *Rizio* (for the Queen us'd to ſup with Company) he ruſh'd into her Apartment with the Lord *Ruthuen*, and four or five more; and *Ruthuen* ſeeing *Rizio* at the Table, bid him get up and come forth, for the Place where he ſat did not become him.

The Queen ſtarting up haſtily, got between *Ruthuen* and *Rizio*, to ſave him; and *Rizio* claſping his Hands about her Middle, the King endeavour'd to looſe them, deſiring her not to be afraid, for they were come only to take Order with that Villain: Then was he drag'd down Stairs to the Gallery, and there they fell upon him, and ſtriving who ſhould give the firſt Blow, they kill'd him with many Wounds.

Well had it been (ſays the Hiſtorian) if they had taken him at another Time and Place than in the Queen's Preſence: For beſides the great

Peril of Abortion, which her Fears might have caus'd, the falſe Aſperſions caſt upon her Fame and Honour, by that Occaſion, were ſuch as ſhe could never digeſt, and drew on all that Train of ſad Accidents which afterwards enſu'd.

The Queen underſtanding *Rizio* was kill'd, wip'd her Eyes, and ſaid, *No more Tears, I will think upon a Revenge.* Accordingly ſhe caus'd ſeveral Perſons concern'd in the Murder to be try'd, who were convicted and executed, and others were compelled to fly their Country: The King falling ſick, ſhe went to ſee him, and ſeem'd to be reconcil'd to him; but while his Majeſty lay ſick at *Edinburgh*, *Bothwell* having conſpir'd his Murder, came upon him in the Night, as he lay aſleep, and ſtrangled him.

This very *Bothwell* the Queen ſoon after married: Indeed he was firſt brought to a Tryal and acquitted of the Murder, no Proſecutor appearing againſt him: But ſuppoſing the Story of the laſcivious Letters, which *Buchanan* ſays paſs'd between the Queen and *Bothwell* in the King's Lifetime, was falſe, and admitting that he was not really the Author of the King's Murder, yet with what Decency could ſhe marry the Man, who lay under ſuch Imputation? a Man who was ſuppos'd too to divorce his former Wife only to make way for this unhappy Match? But ſhe found her Error in her Puniſhment, being driven out of her Kingdom by her own Subjects, and after a tedious Impriſonment brought to this tragical End: Indeed her heroick Behaviour, in this laſt Scene of Action, ought in ſome meaſure to obliterate the Memory of former Miſcarriages, and muſt incline us to think ſhe was not *ſo criminal* as her Enemies would ſuggeſt; but on the other Side, it will hardly conſiſt with the Integrity of an Hiſtorian, when he takes upon him to give a Character, to

conceal

conceal all Defects; and tho' this is too commonly the Caſe, a judicious Reader can never be pleas'd with ſuch Practice, for he can't but know that all Mankind have Failings, and to repreſent any Perſon as without, does not only diſcover great Partiality, but is very unnatural.

Earl of ESSEX's *Execution.*

ON the 25th of *February*, 1601, which was the Day appointed for his Execution, *Thomas Mountford* and *William Barlow*, Doctors of Divinity, with *Aſhton*, the Miniſter of the Church in the Tower, were ſent unto him early in the Morning to adminiſter Chriſtian Conſolation to his Soul. In preſence of theſe Men he gave Thanks to Almighty God from the Bottom of his Heart, that his Deſigns, which were ſo dangerous to the State, ſucceeded not. He told them, he had now look'd thoroughly and ſeriouſly into his Sin, and was heartily ſorry he had ſo obſtinately defended an unjuſt Cauſe at the Bar. He thank'd the Queen ſhe had granted he ſhould not be publickly executed, leſt his Mind, which was now ſettled and compos'd, might be diſturb'd by the Acclamations of the People, proteſting that he had now learned how vain a thing the Blaſt of popular Favour and Applauſe was. He acknowledg'd how worthy he was to be *ſpued out* (theſe were his Words) by the Common-wealth, for the Wickedneſs of his Enterprize, which he liken'd to a Leproſy ſpread far and near, and that had infected many.

The Queen in the mean time waver'd in her Mind. One while relenting, ſhe ſent her Commands by Sir *Edward Cary* that he ſhould not be executed; but then remembring his perverſe Obſtinacy, that he ſcorn'd to ask her Pardon, and had

declar'd openly that his Life would be the Queen's Deſtruction, ſhe ſoon after ſent a freſh Command by *Darcy* that he ſhould be put to Death.

Then he was brought forth between the Divines to a Scaffold erected within the Court-yard of the Tower: Near which ſat the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Hertford*, Viſcount *Howard* of *Bindon*, the Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, the Lord *Darcy* of *Chiche*, and the Lord *Compton*. There were preſent alſo ſome of the Aldermen of *London*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who, if we may believe himſelf, came with an Intent to make Anſwer if any thing ſhould be objected againſt him by the Earl at his Death; but others thought he came to feed his Eyes with a Sight of the Earl's Sufferings, and to ſatiate his Hatred with his Blood. But being admoniſh'd not to preſs upon the Earl at his Death, which is the Part rather of ignoble Brutes, he withdrew himſelf further off, and beheld his Execution out of the Armory.

The Earl, as ſoon as he was come upon the Scaffold, uncover'd his Head, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, acknowledg'd that many and great had been the Sins of his Youth, for which, with moſt fervent Prayer, he beg'd Pardon of the Eternal Majeſty of God, thro' Chriſt his Mediator; eſpecially for this laſt Sin, which he term'd a bloody, crying, and contagious Sin, wherewith ſo many had been ſeduc'd to ſin againſt God, their Prince, and Country. He beſought the Queen and her Miniſters to forgive him, praying for her long Life and proſperous Eſtate, proteſting withal that he never intended to lay violent Hands upon her Perſon. He gave God Thanks that he had never been Atheiſt, or Papiſt, but had plac'd all his Hope and Confidence in the Merits of Chriſt. He pray'd God to ſtrengthen his Mind againſt the Terrors of Death; deſiring the Standers-by

to

to join with him in a ſhort Prayer, which with broken Sighs, and fervent Affection of inward Devotion, he preſently utter'd. Afterwards the Executioner asking Forgiveneſs, he forgave him: He recited the Apoſtle's Creed, and then laying himſelf down, placed his Neck upon the Block: And having repeated the firſt Verſes of the 51ſt *Pſalm*, he ſaid, *In Humility and Obedience I proſtrate my ſelf to my deſerved Puniſhment: Thou, O God! have Mercy on thy proſtrate Servant: Into thy Hands, O Lord! I commend my Spirit.* His Head was taken off at the third Stroke, but the firſt took away all Senſe and Motion. *Camb. Eliz.* 621.

His CHARACTER *and* FAMILY.

He was accompliſh'd with all thoſe Virtues which compleat and become a Nobleman: His Genealogy was ancient and very noble. The Sirname of his Family came from *Eureux*, a City in *Normandy*. His Revenue and Eſtate, together with his Dignity of Baron, came by a Marriage in former time with *Cicily*, the Daughter of *William Bourchier*, whoſe Grandmother was Daughter to *Edward* the IVth King of *England*; her great Grandmother was Daughter to *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Son of King *Edward* III. born of one of the Daughters of *Humphry Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*: Whereupon the Title of Viſcount *Hereford* was confer'd upon his great Grandfather *Walter* by King *Edward* VI. and the Honour of Earl of *Eſſex* upon his Father by Queen *Elizabeth*.

This *Robert* was educated at *Cambridge* in the Study of Learning and true Religion, and being recommended to the Queen by his Father-in-law, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and made Maſter of the Horſe, he had much ado to get into her Favour, becauſe ſhe did not well affect his Mother. But

no

no ſooner had he by his dutiful Demeanor obtain'd her Favour, but ſhe diſcharg'd him of a Debt which his Father had contracted in the Exchequer, choſe him into the Order of St. *George*, and made him of her Privy-Council when he was ſcarce twenty-three Years of Age. She made him, ſeveral times General of her Armies, tho' Fortune often fail'd him. She continually heap'd Honours and Favours upon him, and highly eſteem'd him becauſe he bent his Mind wholly to noble Studies, and inur'd his Body to Perils and hazardous Attempts. When he had now not only an Appearance and Shew, but a real Intereſt in the Queen's Favour, he preſently made it his Buſineſs (as the wiſer Sort of the Courtiers complain'd) to go beyond both his Equals and Superiors, to diſparage and diſpraiſe all that were not at his Devotion, and frown upon thoſe who had any Power or Grace with the Queen; by his courteous Behaviour and Liberality he hunted after popular Favour and Applauſe, which is always of ſhort Continuance and unjuſt; and acquir'd Reputation with the Soldiery, which is perpetually dangerous. He began alſo out of the Greatneſs of his Spirit, rather than real Pride, to uſe ſome contumacious Carriage towards the Queen, eſpecially after ſhe had more than once, out of her Bounty and Goodneſs, reſtor'd him to her loſt Favour, and thereby open'd a Way for conferring new Kindneſſes upon him. But his Contumacy, together with an obſtinate kind of extorting (as it were) Favours from her, his proud Neglect of Dutifulneſs and Reſpect towards her, with the ſubtil Contrivances of his envious Adverſaries, by little and little chang'd, and at length alienated the Queen's Affections from him.

And

And indeed he ſeem'd not a Man made for the Court, being not eaſily induc'd to any unhandſome Action, of a ſoftly and eaſy Nature to take Offence, but harder to remit it, and one that could not conceal himſelf, but (as *Cuffe* was wont to complain to me) carried his Love and his Hatred always in his Brow, and could not hide it. In a Word, no Man was more ambitious of Glory by virtuous and noble Deeds, no Man more careleſs of all things elſe.

On the fifth Day of *March*, after the Earl's Execution, were tried Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gilly Merrick*, and ------ *Cuffe*, the Earl's Secretary. Theſe were all convicted and executed as the Earl's Accomplices: As for the reſt of the Conſpirators, the richer Sort were fin'd, which very few of them ever paid: The reſt had their Lives pardon'd, and their Offences remitted.

Southampton, and *Smith* the Sheriff of *London*, were kept Priſoners in the Tower; but *Smith*, who was, upon the Informations of ſome few, and *Eſſex*'s Credulity, falſly accus'd, and put to a great deal of Trouble, was either by the Queen's Clemency, or his own Innocence preſerv'd from further Suffering, and at length admitted to Bail. *Camb. Eliz.* 630.

The EXECUTION *of Sir* WALTER RALEIGH *Knt. at* Weſtminſter, *on the 29th of* October, Anno 16° Jacobi Regis, 1618.

UPON *Wedneſday*, the 28th of *October*, *Anno Dom.* 1618, the Lieutenant of the Tower, according to a Warrant to him directed, brought Sir *Walter Raleigh* from the Tower to the King's Bench Bar at *Weſtminſter*: Where the Record of his Arraignment at *Wincheſter* was open'd, and

and it was demanded why Execution ſhould not be done upon him according to Law.

He began, in way of Anſwer, to juſtify his Proceedings in the late Voyage.

But the Lord Chief Juſtice ſilenced him therein, ſaying, There was no other Matter there in Queſtion, but concerning the Judgment of Death, that formerly had been given againſt him, the which the King's Pleaſure was, upon ſome Occaſions beſt known to himſelf, to have executed, unleſs he could ſhew good Cauſe to the contrary.

Unto which Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſaid, That he was told by his Council, that in regard his Majeſty, ſince the ſaid Judgment, had been pleaſed to imploy him in his Service, as by Commiſſion he had done, it made void the ſaid Judgment.

But the Lord Chief Juſtice told him, That he was therein deceiv'd, and that the Opinion of the Court was to the contrary.

Wherewith he was ſatisfied, and deſired that ſome reaſonable Time might be allowed him to prepare himſelf for Death.

But it was anſwer'd him, That the Time appointed was on the Morrow, and that it was not to be doubted but that he had prepared himſelf for Death long ſince.

And I am glad, ſaid the Lord Chief Juſtice, that you have given the World ſo good Satisfaction of your Religion, as by ſome Books, publiſh'd by you, you have.

Maſter Attorney General, requiring in the King's Behalf, that Execution might be done upon the Priſoner, according to the foreſaid Judgment: The Sheriffs of *Middleſex* were commanded for that Purpoſe to take him into their Cuſtody, who preſently carried him to the *Gatehouſe*.

From

From whence, the next Morning, between the Sheriffs of *Middleſex*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was brought to the old *Palace-Yard* in *Weſtminſter*, where a large Scaffold was erected for the Execution.

Whereupon, when he came, with a chearful Countenance he ſaluted the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen there preſent.

After which, a Proclamation was made for Silence, and he addreſſed himſelf to ſpeak in this manner.

I deſire to be borne withal, for this is the third Day of my Fever, and if I ſhall ſhew any Weakneſs, I beſeech you to attribute it to my Malady, for this is the Hour in which it is wont to come.

Then pauſing a while, he ſat, and directed himſelf towards a Window, where the Lord of *Arundel*, *Northampton*, and *Doncaſter*, with ſome other Lords and Knights, ſate, and ſpake as followeth;

I thank God, of his infinite Goodneſs, that he hath brought me to die in the Light, and not in Darkneſs; (but by reaſon that the Place where the Lords, *&c.* ſat, was ſome Diſtance from the Scaffold, that he perceived they could not well hear him, he ſaid) I will ſtrain my Voice, for I would willingly have your Honours hear me.

But my Lord of *Arundel* ſaid, Nay, we will rather come down to the Scaffold, which he and ſome others did.

Where being come, he ſaluted them ſeverally, and then began again to ſpeak as followeth, *viz.*

As I ſaid, I thank God heartily, that he hath brought me into the Light to die, and that he hath not ſuffer'd me to die in the dark Priſon of the Tower, where I have ſuffer'd a great deal of Miſery and cruel Sickneſs; and I thank God that my Fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to God it might not.

There are two main Points of Suſpicion that his Majeſty, as I hear, hath conceived againſt me.

To reſolve your Lordſhips wherein his Majeſty cannot be ſatisfy'd, which I deſire to clear, and to reſolve your Lordſhips of:

One is, That his Majeſty hath been inform'd that I have often had Plots with *France*, and his Majeſty had good Reaſon to induce him thereunto.

One Reaſon that his Majeſty had to conjecture ſo was, that when I came back from *Guyana*, being come to *Plymouth*, I endeavour'd to go in a Bark to *Rochel*, which was, for that I would have made my Peace before I had come to *England*.

Another Reaſon was, That upon my Flight, I did intend to fly into *France*, for the ſaving of my ſelf, having had ſome Terror from above.

A third Reaſon, that his Majeſty had Reaſon to ſuſpect, was the *French* Agents coming to me; beſides, it was reported that I had a Commiſſion from the *French* King at my going forth: Theſe are the Reaſons that his Majeſty had, as I am inform'd, to ſuſpect me.

But this I ſay, for a Man to call God to Witneſs to a Falſhood at the Hour of Death, is far more grievous and impious, and that a Man that ſo doth cannot have Salvation, for he hath no time of Repentance; then what ſhall I expect, that am going inſtantly to render up my Account? I do therefore call God to witneſs, as I hope to be ſaved, and as I hope to ſee him in his Kingdom, which I hope I ſhall within this Quarter of this Hour, I never had any Commiſſion from the *French* King, nor never ſaw the *French* King's Hand-writing in all my Life, neither knew I that there was a *French* Agent, nor what he was, till I met him in my Gallery at my Lodging unlook'd

for:

for : If I ſpeak not true, O Lord! let me never enter into thy Kingdom.

The ſecond Suſpicion was, That his Majeſty had been inform'd, that I ſhould ſpeak diſhonourably and diſloyally of my Sovereign ; but my Accuſer was a baſe *French*-man, and runnagate Fellow, one that hath no Dwelling, a kind of a Chymical Fellow, one that I knew to be perfidious ; for being by him drawn into the Action of fearing my ſelf at *Wincheſter*, in which I confeſs my Hand was toucht, he being ſworn to Secreſy over-night, revealed it the next Morning.

But this I ſpeak now, what have I to do with Kings ? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them ; I have only now to do with my God , in whoſe Preſence I ſtand, therefore to tell a Lie, were it to gain the King's Favour, were vain : Therefore, as I hope to be ſav'd at the laſt Judgment-day, I never ſpoke diſhonourably, diſloyally, or diſhoneſtly of his Majeſty in all my Life ; and therefore I cannot but think it ſtrange that that *French*-man, being ſo baſe and mean a Fellow, ſhould be ſo far credited as he hath been.

I have dealt truly, as I hope to be ſav'd, and I hope I ſhall be believ'd : I confeſs I did attempt to eſcape, I cannot excuſe it, but it was only to ſave my Life.

And I do likewiſe confeſs, that I did feign my ſelf to be ill-diſpos'd and ſick at *Salisbury* ; but I hope it was no Sin, for the Prophet *David* did make himſelf a Fool, and ſuffer'd Spittle to fall down upon his Beard, to eſcape from the Hands of his Enemies, and it was not imputed unto him : So, what I did, I intended no Ill, but to gain and prolong time till his Majeſty came, hoping for ſome Commiſeration from him.

But

But I forgive this *French*-man and Sir *Lewis Stewkeley* with all my Heart, for I have receiv'd the Sacrament this Morning of Mr. Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and I have forgiven all Men ; but that they are perfidious, I am bound in Charity to ſpeak, that all Men may take heed of them.

Sir *Lewis Stewkeley*, my Keeper and Kinſman, hath affirmed that I ſhould tell him, that my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord of *Doncaſter* here, did adviſe me to eſcape; but I proteſt before God, I never told him any ſuch thing, neither did the Lords adviſe me to any ſuch Matter, neither is it likely that I ſhould tell him any ſuch thing of two Privy-Councellors ; neither had I any Reaſon to tell him, or he to report it ; for it is well known, he left me ſix, ſeven, eight, nine and ten Days together alone, to go whither I liſted, whilſt he rode himſelf about the Country.

He further accuſed me, that I ſhould ſhew him a Letter, whereby I did ſignify unto him that I would give him ten Thouſand Pounds for my Eſcape ; but God caſt my Soul into everlaſting Fire, if I made any ſuch Proffer of ten Thouſand Pounds, or one Thouſand ; but indeed I ſhewed him a Letter, that if he would go with me, there ſhould be Order taken for his Debts when he was gone ; neither had I ten Thouſand Pounds to give him ; for if I had had ſo much, I could have made my Peace better with it other ways, than in giving it to *Stewkeley*.

Further, When I came to Sir *Edward Pelham's* Houſe, who had been a Follower of mine, and who gave me good Entertainment : He gave out that I had there receiv'd ſome Dram of Poiſon, when I anſwer'd him that I feared no ſuch thing, for I was well aſſur'd of them in the Houſe, and therefore wiſht him to have no ſuch Thought : Now God forgive him, for I do, and I deſire God to for-

give

give him ; I will not only ſay, God is a God of Revenge ; but I deſire God to forgive him, as I do deſire to be forgiven of God.

Then looking over his Note of Remembrance, Well, ſaid he, thus far I have gone ; a little more, a little more, and I will have done by and by.

It was told the King that I was brought *per* Force into *England*, and that I did not intend to come again ; but Sir *Charles Parker*, M. *Treſham*, M. *Leake*, and divers know how I was dealt withal by the common Soldiers, which were 150 in Number, who mutiny'd, and ſent for me to come into the Ship to them, for unto me they would not come, and there I was forced to take an Oath that I would not go into *England* till that they would have me ; otherwiſe they would have caſt me into the Sea, and therewithal they drove me into my Cabbin, and bent all their Forces againſt me.

Now after I had taken this Oath, with Wine and other things, ſuch as I had about me, I drew ſome of the chiefeſt to deſiſt from their Purpoſes ; and at length I perſuaded them to go into *Ireland*, which they were willing unto, and would have gone into the North Parts of *Ireland*, which I diſſuaded them from, and told them that they were *Red-Shankes* that inhabited there, and with much ado I perſuaded them to go into the South Parts of *Ireland*, promiſing them to get their Pardons, and was forc'd to give them 125 *l.* at *Kinſale*, to bring them Home, otherwiſe I had never got from them.

I hear likewiſe there was a Report that I meant not to go to *Guiana* at all, and that I knew not of any Mine, nor intended any ſuch Thing or Matter, but only to get my Liberty, which I had not the Wit to keep.

But I proteſt it was my full Intent, and for Gold; for Gold, for the Benefit of his Majeſty and my ſelf, and of thoſe that ventur'd and went with me, with the reſt of my Countrymen: But he that knew the Head of the Mine would not diſcover it, when he ſaw my Son was ſlain, but made away himſelf.

And then turning to the Earl of *Arundel*, he ſaid, My Lord, being in the Gallery of my Ship, at my Departure, I remember your Honour took me by the Hand, and ſaid, You would requeſt one thing of me, which was, That whether I made a good Voyage or a bad, I ſhould not fail, but to return again into *England*; which I then promiſed you, and gave you my Faith I would; and ſo I have.

To which my Lord anſwer'd, and ſaid, It is true, I do very well remember it, they were the very laſt Words I ſpake unto you.

Another Slander was raiſed of me, That I would have gone away from them, and left them at *Guiana*.

But there was a great many worthy Men that accompanied me always; as my Serjeant-Major, *George Raleigh*, and divers others, which knew my Intent was nothing ſo.

Another Opinion was held of me, that I carried with me to Sea 16000 Pieces, and that was all the Voyage I intended, only to get Money into my Hands.

As I ſhall anſwer it before God, I had not in all the World in my Hands, or others to my Uſe, either directly or indirectly, above a hundred Pounds, whereof, when I went, I gave my Wife twenty-five Pounds thereof; but the Error thereof came, as I perceived, by looking over the Scrivener's Books, where they found the Bills of Adventure

venture ariſing to a great Sum, ſo raiſed that falſe Report.

Only I will borrow a little time of Mr. Sheriffs to ſpeak of one thing, that doth make my Heart to bleed to hear that ſuch an Imputation ſhould be laid upon me, for it is ſaid, that I ſhould be a Perſecutor of the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and that I ſtood in a Window over-againſt him when he ſuffer'd, and puffed out Tobacco in diſdain of him; God I take to Witneſs, I ſhed Tears for him when he died, and as I hope to look God in the Face hereafter, my Lord of *Eſſex* did not ſee my Face when he ſuffer'd, for I was afar off in the Armory, where I ſaw him, but he ſaw not me.

I confeſs indeed I was of a contrary Faction, but I know my Lord of *Eſſex* was a noble Gentleman, and that it would be worſe with me when he was gone; for I got the Hate of thoſe which wiſhed me well before, and thoſe that ſet me againſt him, afterwards ſet themſelves againſt me, and were my greateſt Enemies, and my Soul hath many times been grieved that I was not nearer him when he died; becauſe, as I underſtood afterwards, that he asked for me at his Death, to have been reconciled unto me.

And theſe be the material Points I thought good to ſpeak of, and I am now at this Inſtant to render up an Account to God, and I proteſt, as I ſhall appear before him, this that I have ſpoken is true, and I hope I ſhall be believed.

Then a Proclamation being made, that all Men ſhould depart the Scaffold, he prepared himſelf for Death: Giving away his Hat, his Cap, with ſome Money, to ſuch as he knew, that ſtood near him.

And then taking his leave of the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and others of his Acquaintance, and

amongſt the reſt, taking his leave of my Lord of *Arundel*, he thanked him for his Company, and intreated him to deſire the King that no ſcandalous Writing to defame him might be publiſhed after his Death, ſaying further unto him, I have a long Journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave.

And then putting off his Doublet and Gown, he deſired the Headſman to ſhew him the Ax; which not being ſuddenly granted unto him, he ſaid, I prithee let me ſee it, doſt thou think that I am afraid of it? ſo it being given unto him, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and ſmiling, ſpake unto Mr. *Sheriff*, ſaying, This is a ſharp Medicine, but it is a Phyſician that will cure all Diſeaſes.

Then going to and fro upon the Scaffold on every Side, he intreated the Company to pray to God to give him Strength.

Then having ended his Speech, the Executioner kneeled down and asked him Forgiveneſs, the which laying his Hand upon his Shoulder he forgave him.

Then being asked which Way he would lay himſelf on the Block, he made Anſwer and ſaid, So the Heart be ſtreight, it is no Matter which way the Head lieth: So laying his Head on the Block, his Face being towards the Eaſt, the Headſman throwing down his own Cloak, becauſe he would not ſpoil the Priſoner's Gown, he giving the Headſman a Sign when he ſhould ſtrike, by lifting up his Hands, the Executioner ſtruck off his Head at two Blows, his Body never ſhrinking nor moving; his Head was ſhewed on each Side of the Scaffold, and then put into a red Leather Bag, and his wrought Velvet Gown thrown over it, which was afterwards convey'd away in a Mourning Coach of his Lady's.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH's *Letter to the* KING *the Night before his Death.*

THE Life which I had, Moſt Mighty Prince, *the Law hath taken from me, and I am now but the ſame Earth and Duſt, out of which I was made. If my Offence had any Proportion with your Majeſty's Mercy, I might deſpair, or if my Deſerving had any Quantity with your Majeſty's unmeaſurable Goodneſs, I might yet have Hope; but it is you that muſt judge, and not I. Name, Blood, Gentility, or Eſtate, I have none; no not ſo much as a Being, no not ſo much as a* Vitam planta: *I have only a penitent Soul in a Body of Iron, which moveth towards the Loadſtone of Death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your Majeſty's Mercy turn the Point towards me that expelleth. Loſt I am for hearing of vain Man, for hearing only, and never believing nor accepting: And ſo little Account I made of that Speech of his, which was my Condemnation (as my forſaking him doth truly witneſs) that I never remembred any ſuch thing, till it was at my Tryal objected againſt me. So did he repay my Care, who cared to make him Good, which I now ſee no Care of Man can effect. But God (for my Offence to him) hath laid this heavy Burden on me, miſerable and unfortunate Wretch that I am. But for not loving you (my Sovereign) God hath not laid this Sorrow on me; for he knows (with whom I am not in caſe to lie) that I honoured your Majeſty by Fame, and loved and admired you by Knowledge; ſo that whether I live or die, your Majeſty's loving Servant I will live and die. If now I write what ſeems not well-favoured* (Moſt merciful Prince) *vouchſafe to aſcribe it to the Counſel of a dead Heart, and to a Mind that Sorrow hath confounded. But the more my Miſery is, the more is your Majeſty's Mercy (if you pleaſe to behold it) and the leſs I can deſerve, the more liberal your Majeſty's Gift ſhall*

be : Herein you ſhall only imitate God, giving free Life : And by giving to ſuch a one from whom there can be no Retribution, but only a Deſire to pay a Lent-life with the ſame great Love, which the ſame great Goodneſs ſhall beſtow on it. This being the firſt Letter that ever your Majeſty receiv'd from a dead Man : I humbly ſubmit my ſelf to the Will of God, my ſupreme Lord, and ſhall willingly and patiently ſuffer whatſoever it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to afflict me withal.

WALTER RALEIGH.

The Copy of Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S *Letter to his Wife, the Night before his Death.*

YOU ſhall now receive (my dear Wife) *my laſt Words in theſe my laſt Lines My Love I ſend you, that you may keep it when I am dead, and my Counſel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not by my Will preſent you with Sorrows* (Dear Beſſe) *let them go into the Grave with me, and be buried in the Duſt. And ſeeing that it is not God's Will that I ſhould ſee you any more in this Life, bear it patiently, and with a Heart like thy ſelf. Firſt I ſend you all the Thanks which my Heart can conceive, or my Words can rehearſe, for your many Travails, and Care taken for me ; which tho' they have not taken Effect as you wiſhed, yet my Debt to you is not the leſs ; but pay it I never ſhall in this World. Secondly, I beſeech you, for the Love you bare me living, do not hide your ſelf many Days, but by your Travels ſeek to help your miſerable Fortunes, and the Right of your poor Child. Thy mourning cannot avail me, I am but Duſt. Thirdly, You ſhall underſtand that my Land was conveyed* bona fide *to my Child : The Writings were drawn at* Midſummer *was twelve Months, my honeſt Couſin* Brett *can teſtify ſo much, and* Dolberry *too can remember ſomewhat therein. And I truſt my Blood will quench*

their

their Malice that have cruelly murder'd me, and that they will not ſeek alſo to kill thee and thine with extreme Poverty. To what Friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of Tryal. And I perceive that my Death was determin'd from the firſt Day. Moſt ſorry I am, God knows, that being thus ſurpriz'd with Death I can leave you in no better Eſtate. God is my Witneſs, I meant you all my Office of Wines, or all that I could have purchaſed by ſelling it, half my Stuff, and all my Jewels, but ſome one for the Boy; but God hath prevented all my Reſolutions. That great God that ruleth all in all; but if you can live free from Want, care for no more, the reſt is but Vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repoſe your ſelf upon him, and therein ſhall you find true and laſting Riches, and endleſs Comfort: For the reſt, when you have travelled and wearied your Thoughts over all ſorts of worldly Cogitations, you ſhall but ſit down by Sorrow in the end. Teach your Son alſo to love and fear God whilſt he is yet young, that the Fear of God may grow with him; and then God will be a Husband to you, and a Father to him; a Husband and a Father which cannot be taken from you. Baily *oweth me* 200 l. *and* Adrian 600 l. *in* Jerſey. *I alſo have much owing me beſides. The Arrearages of the Wines will pay your Debts. And howſoever you do, for my Soul's ſake, pay all poor Men. When I am gone, no doubt you ſhall be ſought to, for the World thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the Pretences of Men, and their Affections, for they laſt not but in honeſt and worthy Men; and no greater Miſery can befall you in this Life than to become a Prey, and afterwards to be deſpiſed. I ſpeak not this (God knows) to diſſuade you from Marriage, for it will be beſt for you both in reſpect of the World and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, Death hath cut us aſunder; and God hath divided me from the World, and you from me. Remember your poor Child for his Father's ſake, who choſe you, and loved you in his happieſt*

Times. Get thoſe Letters (if it be poſſible) which I writ to the Lords, wherein I ſued for my Life: God is my Witneſs, it was for you and yours that I deſir'd Life; but it is true that I diſdain'd my ſelf for begging of it: For know it (my dear Wife) that your Son is the Son of a true Man, and who, in his own reſpect, deſpiſeth Death and all his miſhapen and ugly Forms. I cannot write much, God he knows how hardly I ſteal this time while others ſleep, and it is alſo time that I ſhould ſeparate my Thoughts from the World. Beg my dead Body, which living was denied thee; and either lay it at Sherburne (*and if the Land continue*) *or in* Exeter-*Church by my Father and Mother. I can ſay no more, Time and Death call me away, the everlaſting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, that Almighty God, who is Goodneſs it ſelf, the true Life and true Light keep thee and thine, have Mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my Perſecutors and Accuſers, and ſend us to meet in his glorious Kingdom. My dear Wife farewel. Bleſs my poor Boy. Pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his Arms. Written with the dying Hand of ſometimes thy Husband, but now alas overthrown.*

WALTER RALEIGH.

Sir WALTER'S FAMILY *and* CHARACTER.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, youngeſt Son of *Walter Raleigh* Eſq; by *Catherine* his Wife, Daughter of Sir *Philip Champernoon* Knt. was born at *Budely* in *Devonſhire*, in a Houſe which his Family had long poſſeſs'd, call'd *Hays*: He was educated at *Oriel*-College in *Oxon*, from whence he remov'd to the Inns of Court: But thinking it more eaſy to fight than talk himſelf into Reputation: And thoſe active Times, and a buſy warlike Princeſs pointing him out the Way to the Temple of Honour; the

Sword

Sword he judg'd, with *Alexander*, the readieſt Inſtrument to diſſolve all Knots and tedious Obſtacles to Greatneſs. *Collier's Hiſt. Dictionary. Life of Sir Walter. Cambden's Eliz.*

The firſt Campaign he made was in *France*, being one of thoſe Gentlemen who compos'd that Troop of one hundred Volunteers, commanded by *Henry Champernoon*, *Anno* 1569. The Motto in their Colours was, *Finem det nobis Virtus.* Here it was his Valour firſt made him taken notice of; He ſerv'd alſo in the *Low Countries*, and afterwards in *Ireland*, in Quality of a Captain, *Anno* 1580. Where ſome Differences ariſing between him and the Lord *Grey*, they were both ſent for over, and heard before the Council-Table, where *Raleigh* manag'd his Cauſe with that Addreſs, that the Queen took particular Notice of him. The Gentleman, who writes the Hiſtory of his Life, informs us, that coming from *Ireland* on this Occaſion, and being equip'd in a very good Habit, which it ſeems was the greateſt Part of his Eſtate (and which, he well obſerves, is one of the beſt Means of introducing a Man into the World whoſe Worth is unknown) as the Queen was walking in the Park, and coming to a watry Place, where ſhe found ſome Difficulty to get over, Sir *Walter* immediately pulls off a new pluſh Coat he had on, and lays it down for her Majeſty to tread on, which the Queen was extremely pleas'd with, and ſoon after took Occaſion to requite: To ſuch lucky Accidents ſometimes do Men owe their Succeſs: The greateſt Merit is often defeated by a kind of Criminal Modeſty, or a want of Opportunity to diſcover it ſelf, while the forward and bold, tho' the moſt empty worthleſs things in Nature, often arrive at the higheſt Preferments; but this was not the Caſe of Sir *Walter*. He was a Gentle-

man

man of a good Preſence, handſome, and well proportion'd, had a ſtrong and natural Wit, and a better Judgment, a voluble Tongue, and good Addreſs; and to theſe he had added a general Learning, being an indefatigable Reader, even while engaged in the Service by Sea or Land, and a great Obſerver of Men and Times: His Motto (ſays the Writer of his Life) was, *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*; tho' I find it in *Collier* to be, *Either die nobly, or live honourably:* Five Hours he us'd to ſleep, four he read, two he ſpent in Diſcourſe, and the reſt he allotted for Buſineſs. There was not an expert Soldier or Seaman but he conſulted; no valuable Treatiſe of Navigation, whether printed or Manuſcript, but he read; obſerving that there was nothing of greater Conſequence for the Advancement of Learning, than the finding out the plaineſt and moſt compendious Way of knowing and teaching things in every Science: His ſucceſsful Services by Sea and Land continued him in the Queen's Favour to her Death [ſave that he fell under her Diſpleaſure in the Year 1595, for being a little too familiar with one of her Maids of Honour, to whom he afterwards made ample Satisfaction, by marrying her.] He was very active againſt the *Spaniſh Armada* in 1588, and Joint-Commander with the Earl of *Eſſex* when he ſtorm'd *Cadiz*: The Queen, to reward his Merit, made him Captain of her Guards, Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, and Governor of *Virginia*; a Country of his own Diſcovery, and at this Day one of the moſt flouriſhing Colonies belonging to this Crown. During his Confinement in the Tower, he compos'd that excellent Work, intitled, *The Hiſtory of the World*; (from whence indeed the Character of this Gentleman may be beſt collected, every Man being beſt known by his Works.) Being weary of his Confinement, he propos'd to

his

his Majeſty King *James* to make him Maſter of a Gold Mine he had formerly diſcover'd in *Guiana*: The King clos'd with the Project, requiring him only to give him an Account of the Scituation of the Country, and the River by which he was to have Acceſs to it, and what Strength of Shipping, *&c.* the Expedition would require: Which the King no ſooner knew, but *Gondamore*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, by ſome Means was acquainted with it; and Letters were diſpatch'd to all Parts of the *Indies*, to prepare for their Defence, which was the true Reaſon of the ill Succeſs of that Voyage. At his Return to *England*, *Gondamore* ſo exaſperated the King againſt him for this Breach of the Peace, as he term'd it, that he was recommitted to the Tower, where, expecting to be made a Sacrifice to the *Spaniard*, he ſent for Mr. *Burre*, who had printed his firſt Volume of *The Hiſtory of the World*, and ask'd him how it ſold; *Burre* anſwer'd, It ſold ſo ſlowly it had undone him; (which it ſeems was falſe) whereupon Sir *Walter* takes the other Part, which was unprinted, out of his Desk, and ſighing ſaid, *Ah! my Friend, hath the firſt Part undone thee? the ſecond Volume ſhall undo no more; this ungrateful World is unworthy of it*, and immediately threw it into the Fire, and ſet his Foot upon it till it was conſum'd: Beſides his *Hiſtory of the World*, he wrote a Treatiſe call'd, *The Cabinet Council*, containing the Arts of Government: *An accurate Account of his Catholick Majeſty's Power and Riches: The Riſe and Ruin of the* Saracen *Empire: A Treatiſe of Mines and Minerals: The Prerogatives of Parliaments:* Another *Treatiſe*, intitled, *Inſtructions to his Son and his Poſterity.* Divers Speeches and Arguments in ſeveral Parliaments, *&c. Townſend's Hiſt. Athen. Oxon.*

Whether

Whether Sir *Walter* was really in that Plot againſt King *James*, of which the Jury, in Compliance with the Court, found him guilty, I ſhall not determine; but thus much is certain, there was not legal Evidence produc'd at his Tryal to convict him, and he had the hardeſt Meaſure from Sir *Edward Coke*, who was then Attorney-General, as well as from the Court, as ever Subject met with, ſeveral Points being rul'd againſt him directly contrary both to the Common and Statute Laws of this Kingdom.

On Thurſday the 30th of January, 1605, *Sir* EVERARD DIGBY, ROBERT WINTER, JOHN GRANT, *and* THOMAS BATES, *were executed at the Weſt End of St.* Paul's: *And the next Day*, Jan. 31, THOMAS WINTER, AMBROSE ROOKWOOD, ROBERT KEYS, *and* GUY FAUX, *were executed in the* Old Palace-Yard, Weſtminſter. *Conſpirators in the* Powder-Plot.

The Execution of Mr. GARNET, *the 3d of* May, Anno 1606. *A Conſpirator in the* Powder-Plot.

ON the 3d of *May*, *Garnet*, according to his Judgment, was executed upon a Scaffold, ſet up for that Purpoſe at the Weſt End of St. *Paul's* Church. At his ariſe up the Scaffold, he ſtood much amaz'd, (Fear and Guiltineſs appearing in his Face.) The Deans of *Paul's* and *Winchester* being preſent, very gravely and chriſtianly exhorted him to a true and lively Faith to Godward, a free and plain Acknowledgment to the World of his Offence; and if any further Treaſon lay in his Knowledge, to unburden his Conſcience, and ſhew a Sorrow and Deteſtation of it: But *Garnet*, impatient of Perſuaſions, and ill-plea-

ſed to be exhorted by them, deſir'd them not to trouble him, he came prepar'd, and was reſolv'd. Then the Recorder of *London* (who was by his Majeſty appointed to be there) ask'd *Garnet* if he had any thing to ſay unto the People before he died; it was no time to diſſemble, and now his Treaſons were too manifeſt to be diſſembled; therefore, if he would, the World ſhould witneſs what at laſt he cenſur'd of himſelf, and of his Fact; it ſhould be free to him to ſpeak what he liſted. But *Garnet*, unwilling to take the Offer, ſaid, His Voice was low, his Strength gone, the People could not hear him, tho' he ſpake to them; but to thoſe about him on the Scaffold, he ſaid, The Intention was wicked, and the Fact would have been cruel, and from his Soul he ſhould have abhorred it, had it effected: But he ſaid, He only had a general Knowledge of it by Mr. *Catesby*, which in that he diſcloſed not, nor us'd Means to prevent it, herein he had offended; what he knew in Particulars was in Confeſſion, as he ſaid. But the Recorder wiſhed him to be remembred, that the King's Majeſty had under his Hand-writing theſe four Points amongſt others.

1. That *Greenway* told him of this, not as a Fault, but as a thing which he had Intelligence of, and told it him by Way of Conſultation.

2. That *Catesby* and *Greenway* came together to him to be reſolved.

3. That Mr. *Teſmond* and he had Conference of the Particulars of the *Powder-Treaſon* in *Eſſex* long after.

4. *Greenway* had ask'd him who ſhould be the Protector? but *Garnet* ſaid, That was to be referred till the Blow was paſt.

Theſe prove your Privity beſides Confeſſion, and theſe are extant under your Hand. *Garnet* anſwer'd, whatſoever was under his Hand was true.

And

And for that he diſcloſed not to his Majeſty the things he knew, he confeſſed himſelf juſtly condemn'd; and for this did ask Forgiveneſs of his Majeſty. Hereupon the Recorder led him to the Scaffold to make his Confeſſion publick.

Then *Garnet* ſaid, Good Countrymen, I am come hither this bleſſed Day of *The Invention of the holy Croſs*, to end all my Croſſes in this Life: The Cauſe of my Suffering is not unknown to you; I confeſs I have offended the King, and am ſorry for it, ſo far as I was guilty, which was in concealing it; and for that I ask Pardon of his Majeſty. The Treaſon intended againſt the King and State was bloody, my ſelf ſhould have deteſted it, had it taken effect. And I am heartily ſorry that any Catholicks ever had ſo cruel a Deſign. Then turning himſelf from the People to them about him, he made an Apology for Mrs. *Anne Vaux*, ſaying, There is ſuch an honourable Gentlewoman who hath been much wronged in Report: For it is ſuſpected and ſaid, that I ſhould be married to her, or worſe. But I proteſt the contrary: She is a virtuous Gentlewoman, and for me a perfect pure Virgin. For the Popes Breves, Sir *Edmond Baynam*'s going over Seas, and the Matter of the *Powder-Treaſon*, he referred himſelf to his Arraignment, and his Confeſſions: For whatſoever is under my Hand in any of my Confeſſions, ſaid he, is true.

Then addreſſing himſelf to Execution, he kneeled at the Ladder-foot, and asked if he might have time to pray, and how long. It was anſwer'd, He ſhould limit himſelf, none ſhould interrupt him. It appear'd he could not conſtantly or devoutly pray; Fear of Death, or Hope of Pardon, even then ſo diſtracted him: For oft in thoſe Prayers he would break off, turn and look about him, and anſwer to what he over-heard,

while

while he ſeemed to be praying. When he ſtood up, the Recorder finding in his Behaviour as it were an Expectation of a Pardon, wiſhed him not to deceive himſelf, nor beguile his own Soul; he was come to die, and muſt die; requiring him not to equivocate with his laſt Breath, if he knew any thing that might be Danger to the King or State, he ſhould now utter it. *Garnet* ſaid, It is no time now to equivocate; how it was lawful, and when, he had ſhewed his Mind elſewhere: But, ſaith he, I do not now equivocate, and more than I have confeſſed I do not know. At his aſcending up the Ladder, he deſired to have Warning before he was turned off. But it was told him, he muſt look for no other Turn but Death. Being upon the Gibbet, he uſed theſe Words: *I commend me to all good Catholicks, and I pray God preſerve his Majeſty, the Queen, and all their Poſterity, and my Lords of the Privy-Councel, to whom I remember my humble Duty, and I am ſorry that I did diſſemble with them: But I did not think they had had ſuch Proof againſt me, till it was ſhew'd me; but when that was proved, I held it more Honour for me at that time to confeſs, than before to have accuſed. And for my Brother* Greenway, *I would the Truth were known; for the falſe Reports that are, make him more faulty than he is. I ſhould not have charged him, but that I thought he had been ſafe. I pray God the Catholicks may not fare the worſe for my Sake, and I exhort them all to take heed they enter not into any Treaſons, Rebellions, or Inſurrections againſt the King: And with this ended ſpeaking, and fell to praying; and croſſing himſelf, ſaid,* In nomine Patris & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, *and prayed,* Maria mater gratiæ, Maria mater miſericordiæ, tu me à malo protege, & hora mortis ſuſcipe. *Then,* In manus tuas, Domine, commendo Spiritum meum: *Then,* Per Crucis hoc Signum, (*croſſing himſelf*) fugiat procul omne ma-

lignum. Infige Crucem tuam in corde meo, Domine. *Let me always remember the Croſs; and ſo returned again to* Maria mater gratiæ, *and then was turned off, and hung till he was dead.*

The Execution of Sir JERVIS ELVIS, Anno 1615.

ON Monday the 20th of *November*, 1615, he was executed at *Tower-hill*, upon a Gibbet there ſet of purpoſe, about ſix a-clock in the Morning.

He came on Foot to the Gibbet from Sheriff *Goare*'s Houſe, between Dr. *Whyting* and Dr. *Felton*, two of his Majeſty's Chaplains; and coming to the Ladder's Foot, he talked a Word or two to the Executioner.

Then he went up the Ladder four or five Steps, the Executioner ſitting over his Head, upon the Top of the Gibbet: Sir *Jervis* finding the Ladder to ſtand too upright for his Eaſe, ſpake to have it amended, which forthwith (he coming down) was done, being faſtened in the Ground; and then he went up again ſix Steps, where after a while, ſitting eaſily, he ſaid:

Nobles, Right Worſhipful and others, I am here come, as well to ſhew, explain, and unfold that which, at the time of my Arraignment, ſo many of you as were preſent expected; as alſo to ſhew that then I perceived I had loſt the good Opinion of many, in ſtanding ſo long upon my Innocency, which was my Fault, I confeſs, hoping now to recover the ſame, and your good charitable Opinions of me; which Fault I then ſaw not, being blinded with mine Errors, which made me account it no Sin.

But ſince my Condemnation, by Means and Help of theſe two Gentlemen here preſent (the two Doctors) I was perſuaded of the Greatneſs of my Sin, and that it was ſo much the greater, by how much the more I did

conceal

conceal it ; which by God's Mercy I perceiving, conſulted not with Fleſh and Blood, but thought, in this my Condemnation, my beſt way for my Soul's Health, to reveal to the Omnipotent and all-ſeeing God, the moſt ſecret and inward Intentions and Thoughts of my deceitful Heart, not once ſuſpecting the Pains or Diſpraiſes of the World, which I regard not at all.

It may be ſome will ſay, that this Place was moſt unfit for my Execution, appointed to terrify and daunt me ſo much the more ; but alas ! I fear not Death, Place, nor any ſuch like thing, for I account it the King's and Council's ſpecial Favour that I die here ; for that I requeſting the ſame, it was granted, whereby I ſee now this Tower, late wherein I ſhould have been called to the State Buſineſs, and ſtill might, if I had perform'd a more loyal Service to my King and Country than I did.

Next, That I was not appointed to Tyburn, *a Place of more publick Reproach than now I am brought, being worthy to die by due and lawful Juſtice, in proſecuting this bloody and enormous Act againſt a kind Gentleman, who deſerved not ill at my Hands, nor at any Man's elſe for ought I know.*

But were it I had not truſted him, who was a moſt perfidious Wretch, I had not fallen into this ſame, which may warn all here preſent to take heed whom they truſt in a bad Matter, and to admoniſh you that are truſted never to break honeſt and juſt Fidelity.

I was by divers Tricks drawn into this Action, which I received from the Earl of Northampton, *Sir* Thomas Monſon, *and none other ; but had I remembred the* 119*th* Pſalm, 115*th* Verſe, *and ſaid with that holy Prophet,* Away from me ye wicked, for I will keep the Commandments of my God ; *then had I refuſed ſuch like Tricks. Alas ! now too late ; there was my Fault, that I did not refuſe them, and caſt my ſelf upon God's Providence, without any Dependency on Man, tho' never ſo honourable. Was ever any deceiv'd that did truſt in God ? there was never any.*

Therefore I admoniſh you all; let none, how honourable ſoever he be, or the King himſelf, move you to any thing not agreeable to God's Word, do it not, reject it; for this was my Fault, that I had not at the firſt opened this Plot to his Majeſty, who no doubt would moſt juſtly and righteouſly have puniſh'd the ſame.

You Nobles, Worſhipful, and others, let my Example teach you thus much, That you prophane not the holy Sabbath of the Lord, *nor his good Creatures, nor that you turn (by a laſcivious Courſe) Nights into Days, and Days into Nights, as I have done; and that in ſerving God, you muſt not only read the Scriptures, but join Practice therewith; for what Good elſe will the ſame effect, if the Heart be foul, bloody, and impure?*

Some here knew my Forwardneſs therein; but I plead not Innocency that way, but caſt it off, and confeſs, that of this great Aſſembly I am the moſt wretched Sinner.

You expect Speeches from me of ſome concealed Matters, and upon ſome of my Speeches uſed at the cloſing up of my Arraignment; but I ſtand here loco Peccatoris, non Oratoris, *yet I will ſhew you that I have opened to my Lord Chief Juſtice of* England, *ſince my Arraignment, that which to the uttermoſt of my Power I was able to verify, upon which then I took the* Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt; *and in further Teſtimony thereof, I will now ſeal it with my laſt and deareſt Breath.*

Nobles and others, to ſee your Faces it rejoiceth me, whereby you manifeſt your Love in granting my Requeſt, to be Witneſſes of my Death; I ſee a Number of my Friends, there, there, there, [pointing as he ſpake] *whom, out of their Loves, I entreat to beſeech God to ſtrengthen me in Death; tho' ignominious to ſome, yet to me a* bitter Cup, mingled to me with God's Mercy, *a ſpecial Favour this way to call me Home, whereas he might have taken away my Life by ſhooting the Bridge, or ſome Fall, or otherwiſe; and then this unrepented Sin, which I accounted*

counted no Sin (ſuch was my Blindneſs) had been Damnation to me; for God is juſt, and the unrepented Sinner ſhall have no Salvation.

There is none of you preſent here, that knows how or in what ſort he ſhall die, it may be in his Bed, it may be otherwiſe (God knows); I proteſt before you all, I never came over this Hill, in the chiefeſt of all my Proſperity, with more Joy than now I have at this preſent; for I now know that preſently I ſhall behold the glorious Face and Sight of my Creator.

Take heed, and let my Example incite you to ſerve God truly and uprightly, better than I have done, leſt a ſhameful Death overtake you, as it doth me, who am unworthy of my Parents Care in bringing me up.

It may be ſome will ſay I have a flinty Heart, becauſe I ſhed no Tears; my Heart is Fleſh as any others, and I am as faint-hearted to look Death in the Face as any others; but becauſe my Uſe hath been not to ſhed Tears, I cannot now eaſily, except it be for the Loſs of ſome great Friend, albeit now my Heart beginneth to melt within me, being wounded [with that the Tears ſtood in his Eyes] *to ſee the Faces of ſome there preſent, whom I moſt earneſtly love, and now muſt depart from with Shame; for worldly Regard I reſpect not, for well Mr. Sheriff knows, that (to ſhame this my ſinful Fleſh the more) I wiſh (if he had pleaſed) to have been brought from* Weſtminſter *thro' the City, to have warned all Spectators how they ſhould not eſcape without Judgment for Blood; for God is juſt.*

I had almoſt forgotten to ſhew you a ſtrange thing, which God brought to my Memory the laſt Night, which was this; I confeſs I have been a great Gameſter, and eſpecially on the other Side, have waſted and played many Sums of Money, which exhauſted a great Part of my Means, which I perceiving, vowed ſeriouſly (not ſlightly or unadviſedly) to the Lord in my Vow and Prayers, Lord let me be hanged if ever I play any more! *which not long after is moſt juſtly come upon me,*

whereof you are all Eye-witneſſes, becauſe a thouſand times ſince I brake this my Vow.

Then he eſpied one Sir *Maximilian Dalliſon* ſtanding near the Gibbet on Horſeback, and ſaid unto him. *You know, Sir* Maximilian, *what gaming we have had, and how we have turned Days into Nights, and Nights into Days: I pray you in time to leave it off, and diſhonour God no more by breaking his Sabbaths, for he hath always enough to puniſh, as you now ſee me, who little thought to die thus.*

To which Sir *Maximilian* anſwer'd him, *Sir* Jervis, *I am much grieved for you, and I ſhall never forget what you have here ſaid*; whereunto Sir *Jervis* ſaid, *Look to it, do then.*

Further, he continu'd his Speech, ſaying, *Let no Man boaſt of the Abilities and Gifts of Nature, which God giveth him, for therein I diſpleaſed God, being tranſported with over-much Pride of my Pen, which obſequious Quill of mine procured my juſt Overthrow; upon the knitting of my Lord Chief Juſtice's Speech at my Arraignment, by reaſon of two or three Paſſages at the Bottom of my Letter, ſubſcribed with my own Hand, which I utterly had forgotten, becauſe I felt not any Sin; which when I heard, I ſaw none other but the* Finger of God *could thus point to this Fact; by this Means I do proteſt before God, and confeſs before you all, that I was ſo far overtaken by this bloody Fact, that for Satisfaction of the ſame, I willingly yield my deareſt Blood, to the Shame of this my Carcaſs, not being ſo much grieved for the ſame as for others, that I wiſh I had hanged in Chains perpetually, ſo that I had revealed at firſt the heinous Plot.*

Then ſhould I have ſaved the Lives of ſome already dead, ſome in the Tower, ſome in the City, ſome over Seas, ſo ſhould I have prevented many from being Widows, ſome from being Fatherleſs, and ſome from being Childleſs, among whom mine own Wife for one, and eight fatherleſs Children of mine, which I leave now behind

hind me, and God knows how many be guilty of this Fact, and when it will be ended.

The Lord Chief Juſtice, upon cloſing up of my Speeches at my Arraignment, ſaid I was an Anabaptiſt : *I would to God I were as clear from all other Sins, as from that, for I always deteſted that Condition.*

As for my Wife, ſome ſay ſhe is a Papiſt ; but true it is, ſhe comes ſo ſhort from a ſincere Proteſtant, *(I mean in that reſpect) that when ſhe is among* Papiſts *ſhe cannot well forbear them.*

Then he ſpake to the Sheriff, ſaying, *If it may be permitted without Offence, I have ſomewhat to ſay, and that is this,* Is it lawful for any one here to demand of me any Queſtions? *To which the Sheriff anſwer'd,* It is not lawful; *wherefore good Sir* Jervis (quoth he) *forbear. Sir* Jervis *thereunto ſaid, with doubling his Words,* It is enough, it is enough.

I have here (quoth he) *one that holdeth my Cloak, may I beſtow ſomewhat on him?* The Sheriff anſwer'd, *That you may Sir ; whereupon he call'd the young Man to him by his Name, who ſtood waiting at the Ladder's Foot, and gave him out of his Pocket ſome Pieces of Gold, or Silver,* Here, take this, ſpend it ; *which he with bitter Tears thankfully accepted.* Dr. *Whyting* and Dr. *Felton* ſtrained Courteſy, which of them ſhould begin a publick Prayer, fitting for this Party's Condition, one of them willed the other ; but at laſt Dr. *Whyting* ſaid, If you Sir *Jervis* can perform it your ſelf, you of all Men are fitteſt to do it, with Efficacy both of Soul and Spirit ; whereupon he ſaid, *I ſhall do my beſt then ; but my Hearers, I crave your charitable Conſtruction, if with half Words, and imperfect Speeches,* I chatter like a Crane.

His Prayer being ended, he ask'd if he might pray privately ; the Doctor ſaid, Yes Sir.

Then made he a ſhort Prayer to himſelf, with his Face cover'd ; and after he uncover'd it, and ſaid, *Now I have pray'd, now I muſt pay, I mean, do*

the laſt Office to Juſtice. With that Dr. *Whyting* ſaid, *Sir* Jervis, *you may ſtand one Step lower on the Ladder*; To whom the Sheriff anſwer'd, *It is better for him, Mr. Doctor, to be where he is: Stay* (quoth the Doctor) *to the Executioner, for he hath given a Watch-word, he is in private Prayer again. Yea*, quoth he, *I know that, for he hath given me a Watch-word, when I ſhall perform my Office to him.*

He uncover'd his Face after his ſecond ſhort Prayer, and firſt took his leave of all the Aſſembly, ſaying, with a chearful Voice and Countenance, *I pray you pray for me, who ſhall never more behold your Faces:* Then he ſaid with a great Fevency of Spirit, *Lord I deſire at thy Hands this bitter Cup of Death, as the Patient receiveth a bitter Potion, not once demanding what is in the Cup, but takes and drinks it off, be it never ſo bitter.*

As ſoon then as he had audibly ſaid, *Lord Jeſus receive my Soul*, which, it ſeems, was the Executioner's Watch-word, he preſently turned him off the Ladder; and being off, the Executioner's Man caught hold of one of his Feet, his own Man on the other Foot, whereby they ſuddenly weighed his Life; where hanging a ſmall Diſtance of Time, his Body not once ſtirred, only his Hands a little ſtirred and moved, being tied only with a little black Ribband; which a little before he had reached to the Executioner, putting up his Hands to him for that purpoſe: All which being ended, both Corps and high Gibbet were from thence removed.

The Execution of the Lord AUDLEY, May 14, 1631.

MErvin, Lord *Audley*, Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, having, the 25th of *April*, 1631, receiv'd Sentence of Death, a Warrant was iſſu'd for his Execution upon *Saturday* the 14th of *May* following; Notice whereof was given him, and his Coffin carried into the *Tower* about a Week before, that he might the better prepare himſelf for Death: The Dean of *Paul's*, Doctor *Winerſe*, failed not daily to viſit him, and to ſee how he ſtood, and to ſettle him in his Religion.

Being brought to the Scaffold, attended by the Dean of *Pauls* and Dr. *Wickham*, together with his Servants, he ſaluted the noble Perſonages, and whole Aſſembly, ſhewing to them all a very noble, manly and chearful Countenance, ſuch as ſeemed no ways daunted with the fear of Death. After a ſhort while ſhewing himſelf to the People, he addreſſed himſelf to Prayer, the Deans accompanying him in that Exerciſe, but ſomewhat apart; which being not long, he ſtood upon his Legs, and leaned upon the two Deans, conferring with them. Then he turned to the Lords, and ſpake to this Effect:

" I acknowledge with Thankfulneſs the great " Goodneſs of Almighty God, that it hath plea- " ſed his Divine Majeſty to beſtow on me many " Endowments, as Honour, Riches, and the like, " which I have miſpent; having been a vicious " Liver, and juſtly deſerved Death, for as much, " and in that the leaſt Sin at God's Hands juſtly " deſerveth Death, and no leſs; but for the two hei- " nous Crimes with which I am branded, con- " demned, and here to ſuffer for, I do here deny " them upon my Death, freely forgiving thoſe " that have accuſed me, and have been the Oc-

" caſion of my Death, even as freely as I my ſelf
" do deſire Forgiveneſs at God's Hands, which I
" hope to obtain thro' his infinite Goodneſs and
" Mercy: and ſomewhat the rather, by your
" Chriſtian Prayers, which I expect, and humbly
" beg of your Lordſhips and this whole Aſſem-
" bly. Now for as much as there hath been
" Speech and Rumour of my Unſettledneſs in my
" Religion, I have, for Explanation thereof, not
" only made Confeſſion of my Faith to thoſe two
" worthy Doctors, but for better Satisfaction to the
" World in that Point, expreſs'd the ſame in Wri-
" ting under my Hand ſigned; which as it is here
" ſet down, I deſire may be publickly read.

The Confeſſion of his Faith then was read by a young Gentleman, with a loud Voice, wherein he profeſſes he dies in the Faith of the Church of *England*.

After which he proceeded: " I acknowledge
" the great Juſtice and Mercy of the King's Ma-
" jeſty; his Juſtice in bringing me to the Bar;
" and his Mercy in affording me ſuch a Noble and
" Gracious Tryal here; and I give his Majeſty
" humble and hearty Thanks for aſſigning my
" Death to be in this Manner, contrary to the
" Sentence pronounced againſt me at my Arraign-
" ment: But there is a greater Favour than this,
" for which I am to render Thanks unto his Sa-
" cred Majeſty, and that is, the long time I have
" had to repent in; whereof (praiſed be Almighty
" God) I can ſpeak with Comfort, I have made
" good Uſe, and am now fully prepared for Death,
" and much the better, by the good Help and In-
" ſtruction of theſe two worthy Men, to whom I
" acknowledge my ſelf bounden, and do here, be-
" fore you all, give them hearty Thanks for their
" great Pains taken in coming to me, praying for
" me, and preaching and reading to me.

" And

" And I desire your Lordships to present my " humble Acknowledgment to his Majesty, for " his Goodness in sending them to me, and my " Thanks for the same.

" I do also from my Heart desire and beseech " Almighty God to bless the King's Majesty, the " Queen, and the young Prince, together with " all such other Issue as he shall hereafter in Mer- " cy bestow on them, and the whole State; and " my Trust and Desire is there may be ever one " of their Line to sway the Scepter of these King- " doms to the World's end.

" And I beseech, and do heartily pray for the " Welfare and happy Prosperity of the King and " Queen of *Bohemia*, with all their Princely Issue. " I do again desire your Lordships to make Ten- " der of my humble Acknowledgment of his Mer- " cy and Goodness.

" And now lastly, That you will not bend your " Eyes so much upon me, as your Hands and " Hearts to Heaven in Prayers for me; and so I " take my last Farewel of your Lordships and the " World.

Then he went again to his private Prayers; which being done, he prepar'd himself for Death, striving to shew the like Courage and Magnanimity which he had formerly done, unto the last; but Sight of the Headsman (whom yet he freely forgave, and took him by the Hand, bidding him do his Office manfully) together with the Apprehension of his near approaching End, made him somewhat to change Colour, and shew some Signs of trembling Passion; for his Hands shook a little in undoing his Band-strings; which his Man perceiving, stept to him and helpt him, as also off with his Doublet. Then taking leave again of the Lords, the Doctors, and his Man, saying a very short Prayer by himself, he pulled down his

Hand-

Handkerchief over his Face, and laid his Head upon the Block; which was taken off at one Blow.

The Execution of FITZPATRICK *and* BRODWAY, *the Lord* AUDLEY's *Servants.*

ON Wednesday, the 6th of *July*, 1631, they were brought to *Tyburn*; where, when the Executioner had ty'd the Halter about *Fitzpatrick*'s Neck, he said:

"Forasmuch as I am here, and, as it were, up-"on the Instant to suffer Death, I desire all lo-"ving Subjects and Members of the Church of "*Rome* to pray for me. *Then he proceeded to* "*pray to* our Saviour, his Mother, and the Saints; *in which he was interrupted by some Gentlemen, who told him, that the Beginning of his Prayer was good, for that he offer'd it to* Christ Jesus, *in whom only Salvation is to be found; as for the Virgin* Mary, *and the Saints, they could do him no good. But notwithstanding he persisted, saying,* "O yes, the blessed Virgin never "forsook or fail'd any that trusted in, or call'd "upon her; and therefore he would depend upon "her and the rest of the Saints, and so proceed-"ed to an Exhortation to Mr. *Brodway*, to cleave "to the same Opinion, and die in the *Romish* "Faith; for which to have him do, *he said*, if he "had it, he would give the whole World. *Unto which Motion* Brodway *gave no Answer, or seem'd not to regard it.* "Then he proceeded to shew how he "had been examin'd by my Lord Chief Justice, "touching the Corruptness of my Lord of *Castle-*"*haven*'s Life, wherein he said he confess'd no-"thing to prejudice the said Earl.

"That being within three Days after sent for "before the Lords of the Council, my Lord *Dor-*"*set* had intrap'd and ensnar'd him to his De-

"struction;

" ſtruction; for ſaying upon his Honour, and " ſpeaking it in the Plural Number (as the " Mouth of the whole Board) that whatſo- " ever he deliver'd ſhould no ways prejudice him- " ſelf; he thereby got him to declare the Earl " guilty of the Sin of Buggery; wherein himſelf " being a Party, was the only Cauſe he came " now to ſuffer Death; for which his Lordſhip's " Skill and Policy in ſifting him, together with a " Diſpenſation of his Promiſe and Oath, he free- " ly forgave him; ſaying further, the ſaid Lord " had done him no Wrong, becauſe he therein " was but an Inſtrument to ſend him out of this " World into a better. Then he demanded of the " Company if the Earl deny'd the Sin at his " Death; and wiſh'd my Lord had not (if he " did) for it was too true; his Lordſhip had both " bugger'd him, and he his Lordſhip. That it " was true (for ſome private Diſcontentment) he " bore a little Malice to the Earl and *Skipwith*, " for which he ask'd God Forgiveneſs. That for " *Brodway*, if he had done any thing to the Coun- " teſs, he did it not out of his own ill corrupt " Nature, but was provok'd and perſuaded to it by " the Earl.

" He clear'd the young Lord, as never being " any Occaſion or Means of his Father's Death, " in hiring, or perſuading him to give Evidence, " as he had done. He confeſs'd he had liv'd an " ill Life, in that he had delighted in Drinking, " Whoring, and all manner of Uncleanneſs; but " now, as he was heartily ſorry, ſo he doubted " not of Mercy of Almighty God, to pardon and " forgive him all his Sins, thro' and for the Merits " and Mediations-ſake of *Chriſt Jeſus*, the bleſſed " Virgin, and the Saints in Heaven.

" That he had fallen or run into theſe Sins, " (and eſpecially that which he came to die for) " by reaſon he had neglected, and not ſo duly, as " he ſhould have done, repair'd to his Ghoſtly " Father, to make Confeſſion, and take Inſtruc- " tions from him. That after he did make Con- " feſſion, and his Sins known to the Prieſt, he was " not only ſorry for them, but alſo reſolv'd never " to come into my Lord's Houſe again ; but it " was thro' Frailty, and becauſe he was not fur- " niſh'd of another Place.

So turning again to Mr. *Brodway*, and perſuading him to embrace the *Romiſh* Faith, wherein, as he perceiv'd, his Labour was in vain, ſo the Sheriff and other Perſons of Quality willed him to forbear, and ſhut up his Diſcourſe, unleſs he had any thing more to ſay to the purpoſe. Whereupon, praying for the King, Queen and State, he betook himſelf to private Prayer, and therein for the moſt part continu'd to his Death.

Mr. *Brodway* came, (and as it was thought by the Company, a true Penitent) and after fetching a deep Sigh at the Sight of the Tree, he lifted up his Eyes and Hands towards Heaven, making and ſaying to himſelf two ſhort Prayers ; ſo attending *Fitzpatrick*'s Diſcourſe, he ſate in private Meditation, often making it manifeſt he was in Prayer moſt of the time, and alſo rejoicing at the Aſſembly's well wiſhing of him ; for which he return'd Smiles and Thanks. His Time being come to ſtand up, and have the Halter put about his Neck, and ſo declare himſelf, he willingly ſuffer'd the one, and proceeded to the other. Firſt asking *Fitzpatrick* if he had done, he pull'd a Sheet of Paper out of his Pocket ; which being writ broadways, he could not ſpread it to read, therefore deſir'd to have his Hands unty'd ; which was done,

done, and he read it distinctly to the Assembly; the Effect whereof was, to declare himself guilty, in the Sight of Almighty God, of Death and Damnation; for that he had broke all the Commandments, in Thought, Word, and Deed, and sin'd in Pride of Life, Lust of the Eye, Conceit of his own Beauty, matchless Strength, and other natural Gifts, in Desire of Revenge, not pitying the Poor, unlawful Riches, not repairing to Sermons, not observing the Sabbath, *&c.* For all which and other his Sins whatsoever, he both desir'd of, and trusted in God for Pardon, and that thro' and for the only Merits of our Saviour Christ Jesus, his bitter Death and Passion. He expres's'd a strong Assurance, which his very Soul had, of Forgiveness, in that, thro' the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, he had laid such Hold on Christ as he had done. This Paper-writing contain'd his Confession and Prayer; also (as I remember) something of his slender Guiltiness and Desert of Death, but not so much. Then delivering that to the Sheriff, he open'd a little Book, entitled, *Learn to die*, and desir'd the Company to join with him; so reading over three short Prayers, the last whereof was compos'd only of Confession, and for Pardon, which Prayer he pronounc'd with great Comfort, at every *Amen* clapping himself on the Breast; he clos'd it up, and gave it to his ghostly Father, a Minister and Kinsman of his, who came along with him on Horseback close by the Cart. Then he pull'd out a little Paper, which contain'd an excellent Prayer of his own making; and when he had read it, and every one join'd with him in the *Amen*, he commended it also to the Sheriff; and then throwing away his Posy of Flowers, he rous'd up himself, and said to this Effect:

"Gentle-

" Gentlemen, Tho' true it is, what I formerly " have deliver'd touching my Guiltineſs and De- " ſert of Death, my Meaning was, and is, only " in reſpect of my Sins towards God, and no fur- " ther for Breach of the Laws of the Kingdom, " than only lying once with the Lady *Caſtlehaven*, " thro' Perſuaſion of the Earl, who was then in " Bed with her; and uſing ſome ſmall Force for " the purpoſe, I did emit, but not penetrate her " Body. I came not to my Lord with a " Deſire or Intent any Ways to ſerve him, " but was rather inclin'd for the Sea, only Mr. " *Skipwith* had drawn me thither for Society-ſake, " and not hearing from my Friends concerning " my intended Voyage, and being more kindly " reſpected by the Earl than I look'd for, I ſtaid " from Week to Week, and Month to Month, " contrary to my Intention. Then my Lord, " making me his Bed-fellow, did one Day, when " *Skipwith* was with him in the Garden, (but walk- " ing ſomewhat apart) break out in Speeches to " me to this Purpoſe: *Brodway*, thou art young, " luſty, and well-favour'd, and therefore canſt not " but prevail with any Woman thou attempteſt; " wherefore for that I am old, and cannot live " long, my Wife wholly delighting in Luſt, which " I am neither able nor willing to ſatisfy, thou " may'ſt do well to lie with her; and ſo pleaſing " her, after my Death marry her, and thereby " raiſe thy Fortune. *Fitzpatrick* knows my Lord " had ſollicited me again and again, hearing him " uſe this Language when we have been in Bed " together, and he lying at the Bed's Feet. Which " to clear, he charg'd *Fitzpatrick* to ſpeak his " Knowledge; who reply'd, *'Twas true.* Then he was ask'd by one of the Lords, *Whether, when my Lord ſollicited him, my Lady deſir'd to have him know her carnally?* " To which he ſaid, *No, he would*

" *not*

" *not wrong her, tho' ſhe hated him infinitely. But,*
" ſaid he, *I know well, if I were minded, and able*
" *to proffer, ſhe would not ſay nay; for Mr.* Skip-
" with *and* Amptill *lay with her commonly.*

" He added, that *Skipwith* confeſſed to him,
" he had often known her, and gotten a Child upon
" her, which ſhe, like a wicked Woman, had made
" away, which was the only and ſole Occaſion he
" the ſaid *Skipwith* now hated her, and therefore had
" turned to the young Lady *Audley*; all which he
" preſum'd *Skipwith* would confeſs upon his Oath.
" That the Counteſs was the wickedeſt Woman in
" the World, and had more to anſwer for, than
" any Woman that lived, as he thought. *At which Words, that Lord which ask'd him the former Queſtion, ſaid,* Grow not into a Paſſion, Mr. *Brodway*, and ſpeak nothing for Malice. *He anſwer'd,* " God
" forbid I ſhould, I am in Charity with all living
" People, and do as freely forgive my Lady *Caſtle-*
" *haven*, as I do deſire God to forgive me; but
" what I ſpeak, is true, as I ſhall preſently an-
" ſwer before him that redeem'd me, and the Ho-
" ly Ghoſt who ſanctify'd me: To whom be all
" Honour and Glory, now and for evermore.
" *Amen.*

" Then he proceeded further, and ſaid, That
" my Lord would have had him done it long be-
" fore; for one Night coming to him to his Bed-
" ſide, he caught him, and bid him come to Bed
" to him and his Wife; that thereupon he made
" to him as if he would; but being got from
" him, departed the Chamber, never intending
" to do ſo foul a Deed; and that for the Reaſons
" aforeſaid he hated her of all Women living.
" Howbeit, that one time, ſatisfying my Lord's
" Deſire, he came to Bed to them, where (being
" gratify'd) Nature provok'd him to a kind of
" Deſire, and he emitted, but did not enter her

" Body,

" Body, as he hop'd for Salvation ; that he never " knew any Woman carnally whilſt he liv'd in my " Lord's Houſe.

" That it was not his Intentions to bring to " Light either my Lord's or my Lady's Shame ; " but that when he was upon his Oath he could " not but ſpeak the Truth ; his Nature being ne- " ver prone to Lying ; or if it were in his Youth, " the good Correction of his Parents had wean'd " him from it, ſaying, that his Mother had often " told him the old Proverb, *A Liar is worſe than a* " *Thief* ; and he thought he had more Stripes for " that than all Faults elſe whatſoever ; that he had, " as he hoped, ſpoke nothing of Moment againſt " my Lord at his Arraignment ; he could not now " remember every thing ; if he had, he deſir'd Par- " don. And ſo concluding his Speech, prepar'd himſelf for Death ; pulling out a lac'd Handkerchief, he deſir'd the Executioner to tie it about his Head. Then pulling off his Garters, and unbuttoning his Doublet, Mr. *Goodcoale*, the Miniſter, ask'd him, *if he would not have a Pſalm.* He ſaid *Yes, with all my Heart.* Then he read the 143d *Pſalm* ; which Mr. *Brodway*, pulling up the Handkerchief, ſung very chearfully, never changing Colour at all. The Miniſter deſir'd him to make Confeſſion of his Faith ; ſo he pronounc'd aloud the *Belief.*

Mr. Goodcoale *ſaid, theſe are the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, according to the Church of* England, *into which Faith you was baptiz'd ; pray ſignify whether in that Faith you intend to die ?* " He ſaid Yes ; " for there is no other Faith (as I ſuppoſe) in " and by which a Man can be ſav'd. Then he " made Requeſt to the Sheriffs, and thoſe of " his Kindred there, that he might be bury'd " in his own Country. It was then told him, *that it was granted, and Order taken to have it ſo, wherefore he ſhould now mind his Prayers.* When his Kinſman

 ask'd

ask'd him, *if he had never another Prayer in his Pocket?* He ſaid, *No.* Then ask'd Mr. *Goodcoale, If he would ſay after him?* And he ſaid, *Yes, with all my Heart; but firſt he deſir'd the Executioner to tie his Hands again.* Which being done, Mr. *Goodcoale* ſaid a ſhort Prayer to recommend his Soul and Body to Almighty God, in and for the Merits of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion: To which *Brodway* and the People ſaid *Amen:* Then lifting up his Hands to Heaven, he ſaid, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit,* and the Cart was drawn away.

Fitzpatrick beheld him hanging, and lifting up his Hands, and commending himſelf to God, was executed in like manner.

CHARACTER *of* PRYN, *and his Fellow-Sufferers.*

THERE were three Perſons, ſays my Lord *Clarendon,* moſt notorious for their declared Malice againſt the Government of the Church by Biſhops, in their ſeveral Books and Writings which they had publiſh'd to corrupt the People, with Circumſtances very ſcandalous, and in Language very ſcurrilous and impudent, which all Men thought deſerv'd very exemplary Puniſhment. They were of the three ſeveral Profeſſions which had the moſt Influence upon the People, a Divine, a Common Lawyer, and a Doctor of Phyſick; none of them of Intereſt or any Eſteem with the worthy Part of their ſeveral Profeſſions, having been formerly all look'd upon under Characters of Reproach: Yet when they were all ſentenc'd, and for the Execution of that Sentence brought out to be puniſh'd as common and ſignal Rogues, expos'd upon Scaffolds to have their Ears cut off,

and their Faces and Foreheads branded with hot Irons (as the pooreſt and moſt mechanick Malefactors us'd to be, when they were not able to redeem themſelves by any Fine for their Treſpaſſes, or to ſatisfy any Damages for the Scandals they had rais'd againſt the good Name or Reputation of others). Men begun no more to conſider their Manners, but the Men, and each Profeſſion with Anger and Indignation enough thought their Education and Degrees, and Quality, would have ſecur'd them from ſuch infamous Judgments, and treaſur'd up Wrath for the time to come. *Clar. Vol. I.* 94.

Page 199. His Lordſhip ſays of *Pryn*: He was not unlearned in his Profeſſion of the Law, as far as Learning is acquir'd by the mere reading of Books; but being a Perſon of great Induſtry, had ſpent more time in reading Divinity; and, which mar'd that Divinity, in the Converſation of factious and hot-headed Divines: And ſo by a Mixture of all three, with the Rudeneſs and Arrogance of his own Nature, had contracted a proud and venomous Diſlike of the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*; and ſo by degrees (as the Progreſs is very natural) an equal Irreverence for the Government of the State too: Both which he vented in ſeveral abſurd, petulant and ſupercilious Diſcourſes in Print.

Dr. *Nalſon, Vol. I. p.* 798. obſerves, that *Pryn* liv'd to ſee himſelf and the Presbyterian Party, of which he was a moſt zealous Champion, recompens'd with Ignominy and Contempt: And adds, that he heard a familiar Acquaintance of Mr. *Pryn*'s aver, that he was ſo ſenſible both of the Folly and Miſchief of thoſe youthful and injudicious Eſſays of his unfortunate Pen, which were rather the Reſults of Prejudice and Revenge, than Law or Reaſon; that he has heard Mr. *Pryn* ſay,

That if the King had cut off his Head when he only cropt his Ears, he had done no more than Juſtice, and done God and the Nation good Service.

The Execution of the Earl of STRAFFORD, *Wedneſday* May 12, 1641.

HAving mounted the Scaffold, he made his Obeiſances, and began to take his laſt Farewel of his Friends, who appear'd much more concern'd than himſelf; and obſerving his Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, to weep exceſſively: Brother (ſaid he) with a chearful Briskneſs, What do you ſee in me to deſerve theſe Tears? Doth any indecent Fear betray in me a Guilt, or my innocent Boldneſs any Atheiſm? Think now that you are accompanying me the third time to my Marriage-Bed: Never did I throw off my Cloaths with greater Freedom and Content than in this Preparation to my Grave: That Stock [pointing to the Block] muſt be my Pillow, here ſhall I reſt from all my Labours: No Thoughts of Envy, no Dreams of Treaſon, Jealouſies or Cares for the King, the State, or my ſelf, ſhall interrupt this eaſy Sleep; therefore, Brother, with me pity thoſe who beſides their Intention have made me happy, rejoice in my Happineſs, rejoice in my Innocence.

Then kneeling down, he made this Proteſtation: I hope, Gentlemen, you do think that neither the Fear of Loſs, nor Love of Reputation, will ſuffer me to belie God and my own Conſcience at this time. I am now in the very Door going out, and my next Step muſt be from Time to Eternity either of Peace or Pain: To clear my ſelf before you all, I do here ſolemnly call God to witneſs I am not guilty, ſo far as I can underſtand, of the great Crime laid to my Charge, nor have ever

had the leaſt Inclination or Intention to damnify or prejudice the King, the State, the Laws, or the Religion of this Kingdom; but with my beſt Endeavours to ſerve all, and to ſupport all, *ſo may God be merciful to my Soul.*

Then riſing up, he ſaid he deſir'd to ſpeak ſomething to the People, but was afraid he ſhould be heard by few, in regard of the Noiſe; but having firſt fitted himſelf to the Block, and riſing again, he thus addreſs'd himſelf to the Spectators.

His SPEECH.

MY Lord Primate of *Ireland*, and my Lords, and the reſt of theſe noble Gentlemen: It is a great Comfort to me to have your Lordſhips by me this Day, becauſe I have been known to you a long time, and I now deſire to be heard a few Words. I come here, by the good Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God, to pay that laſt Debt I owe to Sin, which is Death; and by the Bleſſing of that God, to riſe again thro' the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt to Righteouſneſs, and Life Eternal. [Here he was a little interrupted,]

My Lords, I am come hither to ſubmit to that Judgment which hath paſſed againſt me, I do it with a very quiet and contented Mind; I thank God I do freely forgive all the World; a Forgiveneſs that is not ſpoken from the Teeth outward, (as they ſay) but from the very Heart: I ſpeak it in the Preſence of Almighty God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing Thought ariſing in me towards any Man living. I thank God I can ſay it, and truly too, my Conſcience bearing me witneſs, that in all my Imployments, ſince I had the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty, I never had any thing in the Purpoſe of my Heart, but what tended to the joint and indivi-

dual

dual Proſperity of King and People, altho' it hath been my ill Fortune to be miſconſtrued.

I am not the firſt that hath ſuffer'd in this kind: it is the common Portion of us all, while we are in this Life, to err; righteous Judgment we muſt wait for in another Place, for here we are very ſubject to be misjudged one of another; there is one thing that I deſire to free my ſelf of, and I am very confident [ſpeaking it now with much Chearfulneſs] that I ſhall obtain your Chriſtian Charity in the Belief of it. I was ſo far from being againſt Parliaments, that I did always think the Parliaments of *England* were the moſt happy Conſtitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the beſt Means under God to make the King and People happy.

For my Death I here acquit all the World, and beſeech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, tho' in the Intentions and Purpoſes of my Heart I am not guilty of what I die for: And, my Lord Primate, it is a great Comfort for me, that his Majeſty conceives me not meriting ſo ſevere and heavy a Puniſhment, as is the utmoſt Execution of this Sentence. I do infinitely rejoice in this Mercy of his, and I beſeech God to return it into his own Boſom, that he may find Mercy when he ſtands moſt in need of it.

I wiſh this Kingdom all the Proſperity and Happineſs in the World; I did it living, and now dying it is my Wiſh. I do moſt humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and deſire they would lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and conſider ſeriouſly, whether the Beginning of the Happineſs and Reformation of a Kingdom ſhould be written in Letters of Blood; conſider this when you are at your Homes, and let me be never ſo unhappy, as that the leaſt Drop of my Blood

ſhould riſe up in Judgment againſt any one of you; but I fear you are in a wrong Way.

My Lords, I have but one Word more, and with that I ſhall end. I profeſs that I die a true and obedient Son to the Church of *England*, wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and Proſperity be ever to it.

It hath been objected (if it were an Objection worth the anſwering) that I have been inclined to Popery; but I ſay truly from my Heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty Years of Age, to this preſent, going now upon forty-nine, I never had in my Heart to doubt of this Religion of the Church of *England*, nor ever had any Man the Boldneſs to ſuggeſt any ſuch thing to me, to the beſt of my Remembrance. And ſo being reconciled by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, into whoſe Boſom I hope I ſhall ſhortly be gathered, to thoſe eternal Happineſſes which ſhall never have end; I deſire heartily the Forgiveneſs of every Man for any raſh or unadviſed Words, or any thing done amiſs. And ſo, my Lords and Gentlemen, farewel; farewel all things of this World.

I deſire that you would be ſilent, and join with me in Prayer, and I truſt in God we ſhall all meet and live eternally in Heaven, there to receive the Accompliſhment of all Happineſs; where every Tear ſhall be wiped away from our Eyes, and every ſad Thought from our Hearts; and ſo God bleſs this Kingdom, and Jeſus have Mercy on my Soul.

Then turning himſelf about, he ſaluted all the Noblemen, and took a ſolemn Leave of all conſiderable Perſons upon the Scaffold, giving them his Hand.

After

After that, he ſaid, Gentlemen, I would ſay my Prayers, and entreat you all to pray with me, and for me; then his Chaplain laid the Book of *Common-Prayer* upon the Chair before him as he kneeled down, on which he Prayed almoſt a Quarter of an Hour, and then as long, or longer, without the Book, and concluded with the *Lord's-Prayer.*

Standing up, he ſpies his Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, and calls him to him, ſaying, Brother, we muſt part; remember me to my Siſter, and to my Wife, and carry my Bleſſing to my Son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient Son to the Church of *England*, and warn him that he bear no private Grudge, or Revenge, toward any Man concerning me; and bid him beware that he meddle not with Church-livings, for that will prove a Moth and Canker to him in his Eſtate; and wiſh him to content himſelf to be a Servant to his Country, not aiming at higher Preferments.

Aliter.] To his Son Mr. *Wentworth* he commends himſelf, and gives him charge to ſerve his God, to ſubmit to his King with all Faith and Allegiance in things temporal, to the Church in things ſpiritual; chargeth him again and again, as he will anſwer it to him in Heaven, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church; for if he did, it would be a Canker to eat up the reſt of his Eſtate.

Carry my Bleſſing alſo to my Daughters, *Anne* and *Arabella*, charge them to ſerve and fear God, and he will bleſs them; not forgetting my little Infant, who yet knows neither Good nor Evil, and cannot ſpeak for it ſelf; God ſpeak for it and bleſs it. Now, ſaid he, I have nigh done; one Stroke will make my Wife husbandleſs, my dear Children fatherleſs, and my poor Servants maſterleſs, and will ſeparate me from my dear Brother,

and all my Friends; but let God be to you and them all in all.

After this, going to take off his Doublet, and to make himſelf unready, he ſaid, I thank God I am not afraid of Death, nor daunted with any Diſcouragement riſing from any Fears, but do as chearfully put off my Doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to Bed; then he put off his Doublet, wound up his Hair with his Hands, and put on a white Cap.

Then he called, Where is the Man that is to do this laſt Office? [meaning the Executioner] call him to me; when he came and ask'd him Forgiveneſs, he told him, he forgave him and all the World. Then kneeling down by the Block, he went to Prayer again himſelf, the Primate of *Ireland* kneeling on the one Side, and the Miniſter on the other: To the which Miniſter, after Prayer, he turned himſelf, and ſpake ſome few Words ſoftly, having his Hands lifted up, and cloſed with the Miniſter's Hands.

Then bowing himſelf to lay his Head upon the Block, he told the Executioner, That he would firſt lay down his Head to try the Fitneſs of the Block, and take it up again before he would lay it down for good and all; and ſo he did: And before he laid it down again, he told the Executioner, That he would give him Warning when to ſtrike by ſtretching forth his Hands; and preſently laying down his Neck upon the Block, and ſtretching forth his Hands, the Executioner ſtruck off his Head at one Blow; and taking it up in his Hand, ſhewed it to all the People, and ſaid, *God ſave the King.*

His Body was afterwards embalmed, and appointed to be carried into *Yorkſhire*, there to be buried amongſt his Anceſtors.

He left theſe three Inſtructions for his Son in Writing.

Firſt, That he ſhould continue ſtill to be brought up under thoſe Governors to whom he had committed him; as being the beſt he could pick out of all thoſe within his Knowledge, and that he ſhould not change them, unleſs they were weary of him; that he ſhould rather want himſelf, than they ſhould want any thing they could deſire.

Secondly, He charged him, as he would anſwer it at the laſt Day, not to put himſelf upon any publick Imployments till he was thirty Years of Age at leaſt; and then if his Prince ſhould call him to publick Service, he ſhould carefully undertake it, to teſtify his Obedience; and withal to be faithful and ſincere to his Maſter, tho' he ſhould come to the ſame End that himſelf did.

Thirdly, That he ſhould never lay any Hand upon any thing that belonged to the Church. He foreſaw that Ruin was like to come upon the Revenues of the Church, and that perhaps they might be ſhared amongſt the Nobility and Gentry: But charg'd him not to meddle with them, for the Curſe of God would follow thoſe who meddled with ſuch things.

The Earl of STRAFFORD's Letter to his MAJESTY.

IT hath been my greateſt Grief in all my Troubles, to be taken as a Perſon that ſhould endeavour to preſent and ſet things amiſs between your Majeſty and your People, and to have given Counſel tending to the Diſquiet of your Majeſty and your three Kingdoms.

Moſt true it is, that ſuch an Attempt (my private Condition conſider'd) had been a great Madneſs, ſeeing,

thro'

thro' your gracious Favour, I was ſo provided, as I could not expect in any kind to mend my Fortune, or to pleaſe my Mind, more than by reſting where your bounteous Hand had placed me; nay, the Buſineſs is moſt mightily miſtaken; for unto your Majeſty it is well known, that my poor and humble Advices concluded ſtill in this, That your Majeſty ſhould never be happy, till there were a right Underſtanding procured betwixt you and them: No other Means to effect and ſettle this Happineſs, but by the Counſel and Aſſent of the Parliament; and no way to prevent the growing Evils of this State, but by putting your ſelf entirely upon the Loyalty and good Affection of your Subjects.

Yet (ſuch is my Misfortune) the Truth finds little Credit, the contrary (it ſeems) generally believ'd, and my ſelf reputed the Cauſe of this great Separation betwixt you and your People: Under a heavier Cenſure than this, I am perſuaded no Gentleman can ſuffer, and now I underſtand that the Minds of Men are the more incenſed againſt me, notwithſtanding your Majeſty hath declared, That in your Princely Opinion I am not guilty of Treaſon, nor are you ſatisfied in Conſcience to paſs the Bill. This brings me into a great Streight. Here is before me the Ruin of my Children and Family, hitherto untouch'd in all the Branches of it with any foul Crime. Here are before me the many Evils which may befall your ſacred Perſon, and the whole Kingdom, ſhould your ſelf and the Parliament be leſs ſatisfied the one with the other than is neceſſary for the King and People. Here are before me the things moſt valued, moſt feared by mortal Men, Life and Death: To ſay, Sir, there hath not been a Conflict within me about theſe things, were to make my ſelf leſs Man than (God knows) my Infirmities will give me leave; and to call a Deſtruction upon my ſelf, and my young Children, where the Intentions (at leaſt) of my Heart have been innocent of this great Offence, (may be believed) would find no eaſy Conſent from Fleſh and Blood.

But, out of much Sadneſs, I am come to a Reſolution of that which I take to be beſt becoming me, that is,

To look upon that which is principally to be conſider'd in itſelf, and that is doubtleſs the Proſperity of your ſacred Perſon and the Commonwealth, infinitely to be preferred before any Man's private Intereſt: And therefore, in few Words, as I have put my ſelf wholly upon the Honour and Juſtice of my Peers, and ſo clearly as I wiſh your Majeſty had been pleas'd to have ſpared that Declaration of yours on Saturday laſt, and to have left me entirely to their Lordſhips; ſo now (to ſet your Majeſty's Conſcience at Liberty) I do moſt humbly beſeech you, for the preventing of ſuch Miſchiefs as may happen by your Refuſal to paſs the Bill; by this Means to remove (praiſed be God I cannot ſay this accurſed, but I confeſs) this unfortunate thing forth of the way towards that bleſſed Agreement, which God, I truſt, ſhall for ever eſtabliſh betwixt you and your Subjects. Sir, my Conſent herein ſhall acquit you more to God, than all the World can do beſide. To a willing Man there is no Injury done, and as by God's Grace I forgive all the World, with a Calmneſs and Meekneſs of infinite Contentment to my diſlodging Soul; ſo, Sir, I can give the Life of this World with all Chearfulneſs imaginable, in the juſt Acknowledgment of your exceeding Favours, and only beg, that in your Goodneſs you would vouchſafe to caſt your gracious Regard upon my poor Son and his three Siſters, leſs or more, and no otherwiſe, than their unfortunate Father ſhall appear more or leſs guilty of this Death. God preſerve your Majeſty.

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble,

And Faithful Subject and Servant,

Tower, May 9. 1641. *STRAFFORD.*

His

His FAMILY.

Thomas, Earl of *Strafford*, was Son and Heir to Sir *William Wentworth*, of *Wentworth-Woodhouſe* in *Yorkſhire*, Bart. He was call'd to the Privy-Council by King *Charles* I. and by Letters Patents, dated the 22d of *July*, in the 4th Year of his Reign, advanced to the Title of Baron *Wentworth*, of *Wentworth-Woodhouſe*. The 10th of *December* following he was made Viſcount *Wentworth*, and conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and on the 12th of *January* he had the Title of Baron *Raby* conferred upon him, being deſcended from that great Family of *Nevil*, ſome time Lords of that Place, and was made Earl of *Strafford*: And laſtly, he was elected into the Society of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter. *Coll. Hiſt. Dict.*

NALSON'S CHARACTER *of the Lord* STRAFFORD.

Dr. *Nalſon* gives us this Account of the Lord *Strafford*'s Riſe: He ſays, the King's Neceſſities being great, the way of raiſing Money by Loan was put in Practice, and among others a Privy-Seal was ſent to Sir *Thomas Wentworth* for 40 *l.* which he declin'd the Payment of, as intrenching on the Subjects Property; whereupon he was confin'd, as were ſeveral other Gentlemen upon the ſame Occaſion, by which he became exceeding popular, and was look'd upon as a Confeſſor for the Liberty and Property of the People; and in the following Parliament, whereof he was a Member, and in which he began to diſplay his great Parts, he was much taken notice of, and obſerv'd even by the Court as a Perſon of uncommon Abilities,

and

and the gaining him to the King's Intereſt was by thoſe who manag'd the publick Affairs thought much for the Advancement of the King's Intereſt and Service. [Here Mr. *Nalſon* takes occaſion to obſerve how unſucceſsful this Procedure of gaining Men of Ability by Preferments and Honours prov'd to the King's Intereſt; for the King had no ſooner remov'd one, but another roſe in his Place, hoping to aſcend by the ſame Steps.]

Among the reſt of his Honours he obſerves the Title of *Raby* prov'd fatal to him, being an Honour to which Sir *Harry Vane*, who was poſſeſs'd of the Caſtle of *Raby*, had ſome Pretenſions, and was not a little ambitious of: Sir *Harry* was ſo ſtung with the Diſappointment, and ſo thirſty of Revenge, that tho' he warily ſmother'd his Reſentments, he was ever after an Enemy to the Earl, and for his ſake, to his Majeſty: He at length ſatiated his private Revenge, under Pretence of publick Juſtice; and when in all Likelihood the Earl would have eſcaped the Proſecution of his Adverſaries, he produc'd that fatal Scrip of Paper, of which Mention is made in his Tryal, which had ſo long lain dormant (or rather which was newly framed) upon which the Bill of Attainder was founded.

My Lord *Clarendon* gives him the following Character.

His CHARACTER *by* CLARENDON.

He was (ſays he) a Man of too high and ſevere a Deportment, and too great a Contemner of Ceremony to have many Friends at Court, and therefore could not but have Enemies enough. He was a Perſon of great Parts, and extraordinary Endowments of Nature, not unadorn'd with ſome Addition of Art and Learning, tho' that again

was more improv'd and illuſtrated by the other; for he had a readineſs of Conception, and ſharpneſs of Expreſſion, which made his Learning thought more than in Truth it was. His firſt Inclinations and Addreſſes to the Court were only to eſtabliſh his Greatneſs in the Country, where he apprehended ſome Acts of Power from the Lord *Savile*, who had been his Rival always there, and of late had ſtrengthen'd himſelf by being made a Privy-Counſellor and Officer at Court: But his firſt Attempts were ſo proſperous, that he contented not himſelf with being ſecure from that Lord's Power in the Country, but reſted not till he had bereav'd his Adverſary of all Power and Place in Court, and ſo ſent him down a moſt abject, diſconſolate old Man, to his Country, where he was to have the Superintendency over him too, by getting himſelf, at this time, made Lord Preſident of the North: Theſe Succeſſes, applied to a Nature too elate and haughty of it ſelf, and a quicker Progreſs into the greateſt Imployments and Truſt than uſual, made him more tranſported with Diſdain of other Men, and more contemning the Forms of Buſineſs, than haply he would, if he had met with ſome Interruptions in the Beginning, and had paſs'd in a more leiſurely Gradation to the Office of a Stateſman. He was a Perſon of great Obſervation, and a piercing Judgment, both in Things and Perſons; but his too good Skill in Perſons, made him judge the worſe of Things, for it was his Misfortune to be in a time when very few wiſe Men were equally employ'd with him; and ſcarce any but the Lord *Coventry* (whoſe Truſt was more confin'd) whoſe Faculties and Abilities were equal to his: So that upon the Matter he rely'd wholly upon himſelf; and diſcerning many Defects in moſt Men, he too much neglected what they ſaid or did. Of

all

all his Paſſions his Pride was moſt predominant, which a moderate Exerciſe of ill Fortune might have corrected and reform'd; and which was by the Hand of Heaven ſtrangely puniſh'd, by bringing his Deſtruction upon him by two things, which he moſt deſpis'd, *the People, and Sir* Harry Vane. In a Word, the Epitaph which *Plutarch* records, that *Sylla* wrote for himſelf, may not be unfitly apply'd to him; *That no Man did ever exceed him, either in doing Good to his Friends, or in doing Miſchief to his Enemies*, for his Acts of both kinds were moſt notorious. *Clar. Vol. I.* 150, *&c.*

CHARACTER *of Mr.* HAMPDEN, *who was kill'd* 1643. *See the Tryal between the King and* Hampden, *the laſt Tryal in the Octavo Edition of* STATE TRYALS.

MR. *Hampden* was a Man of great Cunning, and it may be of the moſt diſcerning Spirit, and of the greateſt Addreſs and Inſinuation, to bring any thing to paſs which he deſir'd, of any Man of that time, and who laid the Deſign deepeſt. He was a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and a fair Fortune; who, from a Life of great Pleaſure and Licence, had on a ſudden retir'd to extraordinary Sobriety and Strictneſs, and yet retain'd his uſual Chearfulneſs and Affability; which, together with the Opinion of his Wiſdom and Juſtice, and the Courage he had ſhown in oppoſing the Ship-money, rais'd his Reputation to a very great Height, not only in *Buckinghamſhire*, where he liv'd, but generally throughout the Kingdom: He was not a Man of many Words, and rarely begun the Diſcourſe, or made the firſt Entrance upon any Buſineſs that was aſſum'd, but a very weighty Speaker; and after he had heard a full Debate, and obſerv'd how the

Houſe

Houſe was like to be inclin'd, took up the Argument, and ſhortly and clearly, and craftily ſo ſtated it, that he commonly conducted it to the Concluſion he deſir'd; and if he found he could not do that, he was never without the Dexterity to divert the Debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the Negative, which might prove inconvenient in the future. He made ſo great a ſhew of Civility and Modeſty, and Humility, and always of miſtruſting his own Judgment, and eſteeming his, with whom he conferr'd for the preſent, that he ſeem'd to have no Opinions or Reſolutions, but ſuch as he contracted from the Information and Inſtruction he received upon the Diſcourſes of others; whom he had a wonderful Art of governing and leading into his Principles and Inclinations, whilſt he believ'd they wholly depended upon his Counſel and Advice: No Man had ever a greater Power over himſelf, or was leſs the Man that he ſeem'd to be, which appear'd to every body, when he cared leſs to keep on the Mask. *Vol. I.* 185.

Mr. *Hampden*, in an Engagement with Prince *Rupert*, was ſhot in the Shoulder with a Brace of Bullets, which brake the Bone, and within three Weeks after he died with extraordinary Pain, to as great a Conſternation of all his Party, as if their whole Army had been defeated. *Vol. II.* 264.

Many obſerv'd, that the Field in which the Skirmiſh was, and upon which Mr. *Hampden* receiv'd his Death's Wound (*Chalgrave-field*) was the ſame Place in which he had firſt executed the Ordinance of the Militia, and engag'd that County (in which his Reputation was very great) in this Rebellion; and it was confeſs'd by the Priſoners that were taken that Day, that upon the Alarm that Morning, after their Quarters were beaten up, he was exceeding ſollicitous to draw

Forces

Forces together to purſue the Enemy; and being a Colonel of Foot, put himſelf among thoſe Horſe as a Voluntier, who were firſt ready; and that when the Prince made a Stand, all the Officers were of Opinion to ſtay till their Body came up, and he alone (being Second to none but the General himſelf, in the Obſervance and Application of all Men) perſuaded and prevail'd with them to Advance: So violently did his Fate carry him, to pay the Mulct in the Place where he had committed the Tranſgreſſion about a Year before.

He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Buckinghamſhire*, and born to a fair Fortune, and of a moſt civil and affable Deportment. In his Entrance into the World, he indulg'd to himſelf all the Licence in Sports, and Exerciſes, and Company, which were us'd by Men of the moſt jolly Converſation. Afterwards he retir'd to a more reſerv'd and melancholy Society; yet preſerving his own natural Chearfulneſs and Vivacity, and above all, a flowing Courteſy to all Men: Tho' they who convers'd nearly with him, found him growing into a Diſlike of the Eccleſiaſtical Government of the Church, yet moſt believ'd it rather Diſlike of ſome Churchmen, and of ſome Introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might diſquiet the publick Peace. He was rather of Reputation in his own Country, than of publick Diſcourſe or Fame in the Kingdom, before the Buſineſs of Shipmoney: But then he grew the Argument of all Tongues, every Man enquiring who and what he was, that durſt at his own Charge ſupport the Liberty and Property of the Kingdom, and reſcue his Country, as he thought, from being made a Prey to the Court. His Carriage throughout this Agitation was with that rare Temper and Modeſty, that they who watch'd him narrowly

to find ſome Advantage againſt his Perſon, to make him leſs reſolute in his Cauſe, were compell'd to give him a juſt Teſtimony. And the Judgment that was given againſt him infinitely more advanc'd him, than the Service for which it was given. When the long Parliament begun (being return'd Knight of the Shire for the County where he liv'd) the Eyes of all Men were fix'd upon him, as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the Pilot that muſt ſteer the Veſſel through the Tempeſts and Rocks which threatned it. And I am perſuaded, his Power and Intereſt at that time was greater to do Good, or Hurt, than any Man's in the Kingdom, or than any Man of his Rank hath had in any time: For his Reputation of Honeſty was univerſal, and his Affections ſeem'd ſo publickly guided, that no corrupt or private Ends could byaſs them.

He was of that rare Affability and Temper in Debate, and of that ſeeming Humility and Submiſſion of Judgment, as if he brought no Opinion of his own with him, but a Deſire of Information and Inſtruction; yet he had ſo ſubtle a Way of Interrogating, and, under the Notion of Doubts, inſinuating his Objections, that he infuſed his own Opinions into thoſe from whom he pretended to learn and receive them; and even with them who were able to preſerve themſelves from his Infuſions, and diſcern'd thoſe Opinions to be fix'd in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the Character of an ingenious and conſcientious Perſon. He was indeed a very wiſe Man, and of great Parts, and poſſeſs'd with the moſt abſolute Spirit of Popularity, and the moſt abſolute Faculties to govern the People, of any Man I ever knew. For the firſt Year of the Parliament, he ſeem'd rather to moderate and ſoften the violent and diſtemper'd Humours, than to inflame

ſlame them. But wiſe and diſpaſſion'd Men plainly diſcern'd that that Moderation proceeded from Prudence, and Obſervation that the Seaſon was not ripe, rather than that he approv'd of the Moderation; and that he begot many Opinions and Motions, the Education whereof he committed to other Men, ſo far diſguiſing his own Deſigns, that he ſeem'd ſeldom to wiſh more than was concluded; and in many groſs Concluſions, which would hereafter contribute to Deſigns not yet ſet on foot, when he found them ſufficiently back'd by Majority of Voices, he would withdraw himſelf before the Queſtion, that he might ſeem not to conſent to ſo much viſible Unreaſonableneſs; which produc'd as great a Doubt in ſome, as it did Approbation in others of his Integrity. What Combination ſoever had been originally with the *Scots* for the Invaſion of *England*, and what further was enter'd into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any Alteration of the Government in Parliament, no Man doubts was at leaſt with the Privity of this Gentleman.

After he was among thoſe Members accus'd by the King of High Treaſon, he was much alter'd; his Nature and Carriage ſeeming much fiercer than it did before. And, without Queſtion, when he firſt drew his Sword, he threw away the Scabbard, for he paſſionately oppos'd the Overture made by the King for a Treaty from *Nottingham*, and as eminently all Expedients that might have produc'd any Accommodations in this that was at *Oxford*; and was principally relied on to prevent any Infuſions which might be made into the Earl of *Eſſex* towards Peace, or to render them ineffectual if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that Party, than the General himſelf. In the firſt Entrance into the Troubles, he undertook the Command of a Regiment of

Foot, and perform'd the Duty of a Colonel upon all Occaſions moſt punctually. He was very temperate in Diet, and a ſupreme Governor over all his Paſſions and Affections, and had thereby a great Power over other Mens. He was of an Induſtry and Vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the moſt laborious, and of Parts not to be impos'd upon by the moſt ſubtle or ſharp, and of a perſonal Courage equal to his beſt Parts; ſo that he was an Enemy not to be wiſh'd, whereever he might have been made a Friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was ſo, as any Man could deſerve to be, and therefore his Death was no leſs pleaſing to the one Party, than it was condol'd in the other: In a Word, what was ſaid of *Cinna* might well be applied to him. *He had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to perſuade, and a Hand to execute any Miſchief.* His Death therefore ſeem'd to be a great Deliverance to the Nation.

The Execution of Archbiſhop LAUD, *the* 10*th of* January, 1644.

HIS Grace being brought to the Scaffold, erected on *Tower-hill*, made the following Speech:

Good People,

This is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture, *Heb.* 12. 2. *Let us run with Patience the Race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus, the Author and Finiſher of our Faith; who, for the Joy that was ſet before him, endur'd the Croſs, deſpiſing the Shame, and is ſet down at the right Hand of the Throne of God.*

I have

I have been long in my Race, and how I have looked unto Jeſus, the Author and Finiſher of my Faith, he beſt knows: I am now come to the End of my Race, and here I find the Croſs; a Death of Shame: But the Shame muſt be deſpis'd, or no coming to the right Hand of God: Jeſus deſpiſed the Shame for me, and God forbid but I ſhould deſpiſe the Shame for him. I am going apace (as you ſee) towards the Red Sea, and my Feet are now upon the very Brink of it; an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the Land of Promiſe, for that was the Way thro' which he led his People; but before they came to it, he inſtituted a Paſſover for them, a Lamb it was, but muſt be eaten with four Herbs. I ſhall obey, and labour to digeſt the four Herbs as well as the Lamb; and I ſhall remember it is the Lord's Paſſover: I ſhall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the Hand that gathereth them, but look up only unto him who inſtituted that, and governs theſe. For Men can have no more Power over me than what is given from above. I am not in love with this Paſſage thro' the Red Sea, for I have the Weakneſs and Infirmity of Fleſh and Blood plentifully in me, and I have pray'd with my Saviour, *ut tranſiret Calix iſte*, that this Cup of red Wine might paſs from me; but if not, *God's Will, not mine, be done:* And I ſhall moſt willingly drink of this Cup as deep as he pleaſes, and enter into this Sea, yea, and paſs thro' it in the Way that he ſhall lead me; but I would have it remember'd, good People, that when God's Servants were in this boiſterous Sea, and *Aaron* amongſt them, the *Egyptians* who perſecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into the Sea, were drown'd in the ſame Waters, while they were in purſuit of them. ------ And as for this People, they are at this Day miſerably miſled; God of his

Mercy open their Eyes, that they may ſee the right Way ; for at this Day the Blind lead the Blind, and if they go on, both will certainly fall into the Ditch. Tho' the Weight of my Sentence be heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my Life. And tho' I am not only the firſt Archbiſhop, but the firſt Man that ever died by an Ordinance in Parliament, yet ſome of my Predeceſſors have gone this Way, tho' not by this Means. ---- Here is a great Clamour that I would have brought in Popery : I ſhall anſwer that more fully by and by. In the mean time, you know what the *Phariſees* ſaid againſt Chriſt himſelf, If we let him alone, all Men will believe in him, *& venient Romani*, and the *Romans* will come and take away our Place and Nation. Here was a cauſeleſs Cry againſt Chriſt, that the *Romans* would come : And ſee how juſt the Judgment was ; They crucified Chriſt for fear the *Romans* ſhould come, and his Death was it that brought in the *Romans* upon them : God puniſhing them with that which they moſt feared. And I pray God this Clamour of *venient Romani*, for which I have given no Cauſe, help not to bring them in : For the Pope never had ſuch an Harveſt in *England* ſince the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Diviſions that are among us. ---- This I ſhall be bold to ſpeak of the King, our Gracious Sovereign : He hath been much traduced alſo for bringing in Popery, but in my Conſcience (of which I ſhall give God a very preſent Account) I know him to be as free from the Charge as any Man living, and I hold him to be as ſound a Proteſtant (according to the Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd) as any Man in this Kingdom, and that he will venture his Life as far, and as freely, for it. And I think I do, or ſhould, know both his Affection to Religion, and his Grounds for it, as

fully

fully as any Man in *England.* ------ I have been accus'd as an Enemy to Parliaments. No! I underſtand them, and the Beneſit that comes by them, too well to be ſo; but I did miſlike the Miſgovernments of ſome Parliaments many Ways, and I had good Reaſon for it, for *Corruptio optimi eſt peſſima.* There is no Corruption in the World ſo bad as that which is of the beſt thing within itſelf; for the better the thing is in Nature, the worſe it is corrupted. And that being the higheſt Court, over which no other hath Juriſdiction; when it is miſinform'd, or miſgovern'd, the Subject is left without all Remedy: But I have done. I forgive all the World, all and every of thoſe bitter Enemies which have perſecuted me, and humbly deſire to be forgiven of God firſt, and then of every Man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have: Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg Forgiveneſs of him; and ſo I heartily deſire you to join in Prayers with me.

Having ended his Prayers, and finding the Scaffold crowded, he deſir'd they would give him room to die, that he might have an End of the Miſeries he had ſo long endur'd; and coming near the Block, he ſaid, *God's Will be done.* I am willing to go out of the World, none can be more willing to ſend me; and perceiving ſome People under the Scaffold thro' the Boards, he deſir'd the Chinks might be ſtop'd, or the People remov'd, *for he did not deſire his Blood ſhould fall upon their Heads.* Sir *John Clotworthy* demanded of him, what was the moſt comfortable ſaying a dying Man could have in his Mouth: He anſwer'd, *Cupio diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto.* Sir *John* ſtill preſs'd him with ſeveral impertinent Queſtions, to which his Grace anſwer'd with abundance of Meekneſs; and turning to the Executioner, he gave him Money, and ſaid, Here honeſt Friend, God forgive thee, and

I do, and do thy Office upon me with Mercy. Having made another ſhort Prayer, he laid his Head down upon the Block, and pray'd a little time to himſelf, after which he ſaid aloud, *Lord receive my Soul*; and this being the Signal, the Executioner immediately ſever'd his Head from his Body at one Blow. He was buried after the Manner of the Church of *England*, in the Church of *Allhallows, Barking*; this being the very Day the Liturgy was aboliſh'd by Ordinance of Parliament, and the Directory ſet up in the room of it. A Braſs Plate was nail'd on his Coffin with this Inſcription: *In hac Ciſtula conduntur Exuviæ* Gulielmi Laud, *Archiepiſcopi* Cantuarienſis, *qui ſecuri percuſſus Immortalitatem adiit Die* x Januarii, *Ætatis ſuæ* 73, *Archiepiſcopatus* XII.

His FAMILY, EDUCATION, *and* PROMOTIONS.

William Laud was born at *Reading* in *Barkſhire*, his Father being a principal Burgher of that Town: His Mother's Name was *Web*, Siſter to Sir *William Web*, Lord Mayor of *London*. He was admitted Commoner in St. *John's College*, *Oxon*, and took the Degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1608; and after ſeveral other Preferments, was promoted to the Biſhoprick of St. *David's* in 1622. In 1626, to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, and made Dean of *King's-Chappel* the ſame Year: Two Years after he was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *London*, and in 1633 was preferred to the See of *Canterbury*. His Zeal for promoting Uniformity in the Church procur'd him many Enemies, which upon the breaking out of the Rebellion grew ſtill more implacable, being further provok'd by the Archbiſhop's unalterable Loyalty. For theſe Reaſons, in the Beginning of that Revolt in the Reign of King *Charles* I. he was by the Prevalence of

the

the Faction committed to the Tower, and afterwards charg'd by the rebellious Parliament with a Deſign to introduce Popery, and reconcile the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, *&c.* The King being defeated at *Marſton-Moor*, the Rebels thought themſelves ſecure, and proceeded to ſentence him to Death, and upon the 10th of *January* 1644, he was murder'd by the Ax on *Tower-hill*, where his Behaviour was compos'd, pious, and well ſupported. *Col. Hiſt. Dict.*

His CHARACTER.

He was a Perſon of a regular Converſation, very charitable, and publick-ſpirited. His Parts and Induſtry were both extraordinary, and he was well acquainted with Men as well as Books: By theſe Advantages he became both an able Stateſman and good Divine. The moſt conſiderable of his Works is that againſt *Fiſher*, in which he very learnedly defends the Church of *England* againſt the Objections of his Adverſary. *Vide Cyprianus Anglicus*, *F. Lloyd's Memoirs*, *and Wharton's Life of Archbiſhop Laud.*

His CHARACTER *by* CLARENDON.

Within one Week after the King's Return from *Scotland*, Archbiſhop *Abbot* died at his Houſe at *Lambeth*. The King took very little time to conſider who ſhould be his Succeſſor, but the very next time the Biſhop of *London* came to him, his Majeſty entertain'd him very chearfully with this Compellation, *My Lord's Grace of Canterbury*, *you are very welcome*, and gave Order the ſame Day for the Diſpatch of all the neceſſary Forms for the Tranſlation; ſo that within a Month, or thereabouts, after the Death of the other Archbiſhop, he was compleatly inveſted in that high Dignity, and ſettled in his Palace at *Lambeth*. This great

Prelate

Prelate had been before in great Favour with the Duke of *Buckingham*, whoſe chief Confident he was, and by him recommended to the King as fitteſt to be truſted in the conferring all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, when he was but Biſhop of St. *David's*, or newly preferr'd to *Bath* and *Wells*; and from that time he entirely govern'd that Province without a Rival: So that his Promotion to *Canterbury* was long foreſeen and expected, nor was it attended with any Encreaſe of Envy or Diſlike.

He was a Man of great Parts and very exemplary Virtues, allay'd and diſcredited by ſome unpopular natural Infirmities; the greateſt of which was (beſides a haſty ſharp Way of expreſſing himſelf) that he believ'd Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners, was a Guard ſtrong enough to ſecure any Man in his Voyage thro' this World, in what Company ſoever he travell'd, and thro' what Ways ſoever he was to paſs: And ſure never any Man was better ſupplied with that Proviſion. He was born of honeſt Parents, who were well able to provide for his Education in the Schools of Learning, from whence they ſent him to St. *John's* College in *Oxford*, the worſt endow'd at that time of any in that famous Univerſity: From a Scholar he became a Fellow, and then the Preſident of the College, after he had receiv'd all the Graces and Degrees (the Proctorſhip and the Doctorſhip) could be obtain'd there.

He was always maligned and perſecuted by thoſe who were of the *Calvinian* Faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their uſual Maxim and Practice, call every Man they do not love *Papiſt*: And under this ſenſeleſs Appellation, they created him many Troubles and Vexations; and ſo far ſuppreſs'd him, that tho' he was the King's Chaplain, and taken notice of

for

for an excellent Preacher, and a Scholar of the moſt ſublime Parts, he had not any Preferment to invite him to leave his poor College, which only gave him Bread, till the Vigour of his Age was paſt: And when he was promoted by King *James*, it was but to a poor Biſhoprick in *Wales*, which was not ſo good a Support for a Biſhop as his College was for a private Scholar.

Parliaments in that time were frequent, and grew very buſy, and the Party, under which he had ſuffer'd a continual Perſecution, appear'd very powerful, and full of Deſign. And they who had the Courage to oppoſe them, begun to be taken notice of with Approbation and Countenance: Under this Stile he came to be firſt cheriſh'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had made ſome Experiments of the Temper of the other People, nothing to his Satisfaction. From this time he proſper'd at the Rate of his own Wiſhes, and being tranſplanted out of his cold barren Dioceſs of St. *David's* into a warmer Climate, he was left, as was ſaid before, by that great Favourite in that great Truſt with the King; who was ſufficiently indiſpos'd towards the Perſons, or the Principles of *Calvin's* Diſciples. When he came into great Authority, it may be he retain'd too keen a Memory of thoſe who had ſo unjuſtly and uncharitably perſecuted him before; and, I doubt, was ſo far tranſported with the ſame Paſſions he had reaſon to complain of in his Adverſaries, that as they accus'd him of Popery, becauſe he held ſome doctrinal Opinions which they lik'd not, tho' they were nothing allied to Popery: So he entertain'd too much Prejudice to ſome Perſons, as if they were Enemies to the Diſcipline of the Church, becauſe they concur'd with *Calvin* in ſome doctrinal Points, when they abhor'd his Diſcipline, and reverenc'd the Government of the Church,

and

and pray'd for the Peace of it with as much Zeal and Fervency as any in the Kingdom, as they made manifeſt in their Lives, and in their Sufferings with it and for it. He had from his Entrance into the World, without any Diſguiſe or Diſſimulation, declar'd his own Opinion of that *Claſſis* of Men: And as ſoon as it was in his Power, he did all he could to hinder the Growth and Increaſe of that Faction, and to reſtrain thoſe who were inclin'd to it, from doing the Miſchief they deſir'd to do. But his Power at Court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult Reformation, whilſt he had a Superior in the Church, who having the Reins in his Hand, could ſlacken them according to his own Humour and Indiſcretion, and was thought to be the more remiſs, to irritate his cholerick Diſpoſition. But when he had now the Primacy in his own Hand, the King being inſpir'd with the ſame Zeal, he thought he ſhould be to blame, and have much to anſwer for, if he did not make haſte to apply Remedies to thoſe Diſeaſes which he ſaw would grow apace.

In the End of *September* 1633, he was inveſted in the Title, Power, and Juriſdiction of Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and entirely in Poſſeſſion of the Revenue thereof, without a Rival in Church or State; that is, no Man profeſs'd to oppoſe his Greatneſs; and he had never interpos'd or appear'd in Matters of State to this time. His firſt Care was, that the Place he was remov'd from might be ſupplied with a Man who would be vigilant to pull up thoſe Weeds which the *London* Soil was too apt to nouriſh, and ſo drew his old Friend and Companion Dr. *Juxon* as near to him as he could: They had been Fellows together in one College in *Oxford*; and when he was firſt made Biſhop of St. *David's*, he made him Preſident of that College: When he could no longer keep the Deanery

Deanery of the Chappel-Royal, he made him his Succeſſor in that near Attendance upon the King: And now he was rais'd to be Archbiſhop, he eaſily prevail'd with the King to make the other Biſhop of *London*: The Archbiſhop's Heart was ſet upon the Advancement of the Church, in which he well knew he had the King's full Concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any Oppoſition, and that he ſhould need no other Aſſiſtance; but tho' the Nation was at this time generally well affected to the Church, yet ſome doctrinal Points in Controverſy had been of late Years agitated in the Pulpits with unuſual Warmth, the moſt popular Preachers, who had not look'd into the ancient Learning, took *Calvin*'s Word for what they advanc'd, and did all they could to propagate his Opinion in thoſe Points: They who had ſtudied more, and were better vers'd in the Antiquities of the Church, the Fathers, the Councils, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, with the ſame Heat and Paſſion, in preaching and writing, defended the contrary.

And becauſe in the late Diſpute in the *Dutch* Churches, the Opinions of the latter had been ſupported by *Jacobus Arminius*, the Divinity-Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, they were call'd *Arminians*: Either Party profeſs'd to adhere to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, (which had been ever wiſer than to determine the Controverſy.) And yet that Party here, which could leaſt ſupport themſelves with Reaſon, were very ſollicitous, according to the Ingenuity they always practiſe to advance any of their Pretences, to have the People believe that they who held with *Arminius* did intend to introduce Popery; and truly the other Side were no leſs willing to have it thought, that all who adher'd to *Calvin* in thoſe Controverſies, did in their Hearts likewiſe adhere

to

to him with reference to the Diſcipline, and deſir'd to change the Government of the Church, deſtroy the Biſhops, and to ſet up the Diſcipline he had eſtabliſh'd at *Geneva*; whereas, in Truth, none of the one Side were at all inclin'd to Popery, and very many of the other were moſt affectionate to the Peace and Proſperity of the Church, and very pious, learned Men.

The Archbiſhop had all his Life eminently oppos'd *Calvin*'s Doctrine in thoſe Controverſies, before the Name of *Arminius* was taken notice of, or his Opinions heard of; and thereupon, for want of another Name, they had call'd him a *Papiſt*, which no body believ'd him to be, and he had more manifeſted the contrary in his Diſputations and Writings than moſt Men had done; and it may be the other found the more ſevere and rigorous Uſage from him, for their propagating that Calumny againſt him: He was a Man of great Courage and Reſolution, and being moſt aſſur'd within himſelf that he propos'd no End in all his Actions and Deſigns but what was pious and juſt, he never ſtudied the eaſieſt Way to thoſe Ends; he thought, it may be, that any Art or Induſtry that Way would diſcredit, at leaſt make the Integrity of the End ſuſpected, let the Cauſe be what it will. He did court Perſons too little, nor cared to make his Deſigns and Purpoſes appear as candid as they were, by ſhewing them in any other Dreſs than their own natural Beauty, tho' perhaps in too rough a Manner; and did not conſider enough what Men ſaid, or were like to ſay of him. If the Faults and Vices were fit to be look'd into and diſcover'd, let the Perſons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were ſure to find no Connivance or Favour from him. He intended the Diſcipline of the Church ſhould be felt as well as ſpoken of, and that it ſhould be applied

plied to the greateſt and moſt ſplendid Tranſgreſſors, as well as to the Puniſhment of ſmaller Offences, and meaner Offenders, and thereupon call'd for, or cheriſh'd the Diſcovery of thoſe who were not careful to cover their own Iniquities, thinking they were out of the Reach of Juſtice: Perſons of Honour and great Quality were every Day cited into the High Commiſſion-Court, upon the Fame of their Incontinence, or other Scandal in their Lives, and were there proſecuted to their Shame and Puniſhment: And as the Shame (which they call'd an inſolent Triumph upon their Degree and Quality, and levying them with the common People) was never forgotten, but watch'd for Revenge; ſo the Fines impos'd there were the more queſtion'd and repin'd againſt, becauſe they were aſſign'd to the rebuilding and repairing St. *Paul's* Church; and thought therefore to be the more ſeverely impos'd, and the leſs compaſſionately reduc'd and excus'd: Which likewiſe made the Juriſdiction and Rigour of the Star-chamber more felt, and murmur'd againſt; and ſharpen'd many Men's Humours againſt the Biſhops, before they had any ill Intention towards the Church.

The Archbiſhop never abated any thing of his Severity and Rigour towards Men of all Conditions, or in the Sharpneſs of his Language and Expreſſions, which was ſo natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without ſome Commotion, when the Argument was not of Moment, nor bear Contradiction in Debate, even in the Council, where all Men are equally free, with that Patience and Temper, which was neceſſary; of which they who wiſh'd him not well took many Advantages, and would therefore contradict him, that he might be tranſported with ſome incident Paſſion; which, upon a ſhort Recollection, he was always ſorry for, and moſt readily

and

and heartily would make Acknowledgment. No Man ſo willingly made unkind Uſe of all thoſe Occaſions as the Lord *Cottington*, who being a Maſter of Temper, and of the moſt profound Diſſimulation, knew too well how to lead him into a Miſtake, and then drive him into Choler, and then expoſe him upon the Matter and the Manner to the Judgment of the Company; and he choſe to do this moſt, when the King was preſent, and then he would dine with him the next Day. *Clar.* 99.

Whatſoever was the Cauſe of it, this excellent Man, who ſtood not upon the Advantage-ground before, from the time of his Promotion to the Archbiſhoprick, or rather from that of his being Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, exceedingly provok'd or underwent the Envy, and Reproach and Malice of Men of all Qualities and Conditions, who agreed in nothing elſe: All which, tho' well known to him, were not enough conſider'd by him, who believ'd, as moſt Men did, the Government ſo firmly ſettled, that it could neither be ſhaken from within or without; and that leſs than a general Confuſion of Law and Goſpel could not hurt him, which was true too; but he did not foreſee how eaſily that Confuſion might be brought to paſs. *Pag.* 102.

He defended himſelf at his Tryal with great and undaunted Courage, and leſs Paſſion than was expected from his Conſtitution: He anſwer'd all their Objections with Clearneſs and irreſiſtible Reaſon, and convinc'd all impartial Men of his Integrity, and his Deteſtation of all treaſonable Intentions. So that tho' few excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to their Perſons, yet all reaſonable Men abſolv'd him from any foul Crime that the Law could take notice of and puniſh; however, when they had ſaid all againſt him they could, and he all for himſelf that need to be ſaid,

and

and no ſuch Crime appearing as the Lords would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of Death; they reſorted to their legiſlative Power, and by Ordinance of Parliament, as they call'd it, that is, by a Determination of thoſe Members who ſate in the Houſes (whereof in the Houſe of Peers there were not above twelve) they appointed him to be put to Death, as guilty of High Treaſon: The firſt time the two Houſes of Parliament had ever aſſum'd that Juriſdiction, or that ever Ordinance had been made to ſuch a Purpoſe; nor could any Rebellion be more againſt Law, than that murderous Act. *Clar. Vol. II.* 572.

When his Tryal was over, and the Ordinance paſs'd for his Execution, and it was demanded of him, according to Cuſtom, what he could ſay why he ſhould not ſuffer Death: He ſaid he had the King's Pardon, which he pleaded and tender'd to them, and deſir'd it might be allow'd. Whereupon he was ſent to the Tower, and the Pardon read in both Houſes; where, without any long Debate, it was declar'd to be of no Effect, and that the King could not pardon a Judgment of Parliament. And ſo without troubling themſelves further, they gave Order for his beheading, which he underwent with all Chriſtian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders, and Confuſion of his Enemies. Much hath been ſaid of the Perſon of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments and natural Infirmities, to which ſhall be added no more in this Place (his Memory deſerving a particular Celebration) than that his Learning, Piety and Virtue, have been attain'd by very few, and the greateſt of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the beſt of Men. *Vol. II.* 573.

The EXECUTION *of King* CHARLES I. *the 30th of* January, 1648.

THIS Day the Biſhop of *London* read Divine Service before his Majeſty, and the 27th of St. *Matthew*, the Hiſtory of our Saviour's Paſſion, being appointed by the Church for that Day, he gave the Biſhop Thanks for his ſeaſonable Choice of the Leſſon; but the Biſhop acquainting him that it was the Service of the Day, it comforted him exceedingly; then he proceeded to receive the Holy Sacrament. His Devotions being ended, he was brought from St. *James*'s to *White-Hall*, by a Regiment of Foot, beſides his private Guard of *Partiſans*; the Biſhop of *London* on the one Hand, and Colonel *Tomlinſon*, who had the Charge of him, on the other, bareheaded. The Guards marching a ſlow Pace, the King bid them go faſter, ſaying, that he now went before them to ſtrive for an heavenly Crown. Being come to the End of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the Long-Gallery in *White-hall*, where formerly he uſed to lodge, and there finding an unexpected Delay, the Scaffold being not ready, he paſt moſt of the Time in Prayer. About twelve a-clock, (his Majeſty having eat a bit of Bread, and drank a Glaſs of Claret) Colonel *Hacker*, with other Officers and Soldiers, brought the King, with the Biſhop, and Colonel *Tomlinſon*, thro' the Banqueting-houſe, to the Scaffold. A ſtrong Guard of ſeveral Regiments of Horſe and Foot were planted on all Sides, which hinder'd the near Approach of the People, and the King from being heard, and therefore he chiefly directed his Speech to the Biſhop and Colonel *Tomlinſon*.

His

His Majeſty's SPEECH upon the Scaffold.

I Shall be very little heard of any Body elſe; I ſhall therefore ſpeak a Word to you here: Indeed, I could hold my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make ſome Men think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt, as well as the Puniſhment: But I think it is my Duty to God and my Country, to clear myſelf, both as an honeſt Man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin firſt with my Innocency; in Troth, I think it not very needful to inſiſt long upon this; for all the World knows that I did never begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament; and I call God to Witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an Account, that I did never intend to incroach upon their Privileges; they began upon me. It is the Militia they began upon; they confeſs'd the Militia was mine, but they thought fit to have it from me: And, to be ſhort, if any Body will look to the *Dates of Commiſſions*, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, he will ſee clearly that they began theſe Troubles, not I. So that as for the Guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope in God that God will clear me of. I will not, I am in Charity, and God forbid I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parliament, there is no neceſſity of either: I hope they are free of this Guilt; for I believe, that ill Inſtruments between them and me have been the Cauſe of all this Bloodſhed; ſo that as I find myſelf clear of this, I hope, and pray God that they may too: Yet, for all this, God forbid I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay God's Judgments are juſt upon me. Many times he doth pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence,

that is ordinary. I will only ſay this, that an unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffer'd to take Effect, is puniſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence upon me: So far I have ſaid to ſhew you that I am an Innocent Man.

Now, to ſhew that I am a good Chriſtian, I hope there is a good Man [*Pointing to Biſhop* Juxon] that will bear me Witneſs, that I have forgiven all the World, and even thoſe in particular that have been the chief Cauſes of my Death; who they are God knows; I do not deſire to know: I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity muſt go farther; I wiſh that they may repent. For, indeed, they have committed a great Sin in that Particular. I pray God, with St. *Stephen*, that it be not laid to their Charge; nay, not only ſo, but that they may take the right Way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for my Charity commands me not only to forgive particular Men, but to endeavour, to the laſt Gaſp, the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wiſh with all my Soul (*I hope there are ſome here that will carry it farther*) and endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom. Now, Sirs, I muſt ſhew you both how you are out of the Way, and will put you in the Way. Firſt, you are out of the Way; for certainly all the Ways you ever had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conqueſt; certainly this is an ill Way; for Conqueſt, Sirs, in my Opinion, is never juſt, except there be a good and juſt Cauſe, either for Matter of Wrong, or a juſt Title; and then, if you go beyond the firſt Quarrel, that makes that unjuſt at the End that was juſt at firſt; if there be only Matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate ſaid to *Alexander*, that he was a great Robber, he was but a petty Robber. And ſo, Sirs, I think the Way you are in is much

out

out of the Way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the Way, believe it, you ſhall never go right, nor God will never proſper you, until you give God his Due, the King his Due (that is, my Succeſſor) and the People their Due: I am as much for them as any of you. You muſt give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to the Scripture) which is now out of Order; to ſet you in a way particularly now, I cannot; but only this, *A National Synod freely called, freely debated among themſelves, muſt ſettle this*, when every Opinion is freely heard. For the King [*Then turning to a Gentleman that touch'd the Ax*, he ſaid, *Hurt not the Ax, that may hurt me.*] Indeed, I will not------the Laws of the Land will clearly inſtruct you for that; therefore, becauſe it concerns my own Particular, I ſhall only give you a touch of it. For the People, truly I deſire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any Body whoſoever; but I muſt tell you, that their Liberty and Freedom conſiſt in having Government, thoſe Laws by which their Lives and their Goods may be moſt their own. It is not their having a Share in the Government, that is nothing appertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different Things; and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the People in that Liberty, as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy themſelves.

Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here, if I would have given way to an Arbitrary Way, to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge) that I am the Martyr of the People. In Troth, Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much longer: I will only ſay this to you, That I could have deſir'd a little time longer, becauſe I

would have a little better digeſted this I have ſaid, and therefore I hope you will excuſe me; I have deliver'd my Conſcience, I pray God you take thoſe Courſes that are the beſt for the Good of the Kingdom and your own Salvation.

Biſhop. Tho' your Majeſty's Affections may be very well known as to Religion; yet it may be expected that you ſhould ſay ſomething thereof for the World's Satisfaction.

King. I thank you heartily, my Lord, for that I had almoſt forgotten it. In Troth, Sirs, my Conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, that I die a Chriſtian, according to the Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, as I found it left me by my Father; and this honeſt Man, I think, will witneſs it.

Then turning to the Officers, he ſaid, Sirs, excuſe me for this ſame: I have a good Cauſe, and I have a gracious God, I will ſay no more.

Then to Colonel *Hacker* he ſaid, Take Care that they do not put me to Pain: And, Sir, this, and it pleaſe you -----

But a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King ſaid, Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax.

Then ſpeaking to the Executioner, he ſaid, I ſhall ſay but very ſhort Prayers, and when I thruſt out my Hands------

Then he called to the Biſhop for his Night-Cap, and having put it on, he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?* who deſir'd him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly, by the Help of the Executioner and the Biſhop. Then turning to Dr. *Juxon*, he ſaid, *I have a good Cauſe and a gracious God on my Side.*

Biſhop.

Biſhop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troubleſome, it is a ſhort one; but you may conſider it will ſoon carry you a very great way, it will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you will find a great deal of cordial Joy and Comfort.

King. I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no Diſturbance can be, no Diſturbance in the World.

Biſhop. You are exchanged from a Temporary to an Eternal Crown, a good Exchange.

Then the King ſaid to the Executioner, *Is my Hair well?* And took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to the Biſhop, ſaying, *Remember.* Then he put off his Doublet, and being in his Waſtecoat, he put on his Cloak again; then looking upon the Block, he ſaid to the Executioner, *You muſt ſet it faſt.*

Executioner. It is faſt, Sir.

King. When I put out my Hands this way (ſtretching them out) then ------- After that, having ſaid two or three Words to himſelf, as he ſtood with his Hands and Eyes lift up, immediately ſtooping down, he laid his Neck upon the Block: And then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King thinking he had been going to ſtrike, ſaid, *Stay for the Sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, an't pleaſe your Majeſty. After a little Pauſe, the King ſtretching forth his Hands, the Executioner, at one Blow, ſever'd his Head from his Body, and held it up and ſhew'd it to the People, ſaying, *Behold the Head of a Traitor*; after which the Corps was put into a Coffin, and the Biſhop and Mr. *Herbert* went with it to the Back-Stairs to have it embalmed; after embalming, his Head was ſewed on, and the Corps was wrapt in Lead, and the Coffin cover'd with a Velvet Pall, and then removed to

St. *James's*. Mr. *Herbert* then made Application to ſuch as were in Power, that it might be inter'd in *Henry* VII's Chappel; but 'twas deny'd, for that his burying there would attract infinite Numbers of all Sorts thither; which, as the Times then were, was judged unſafe and inconvenient. Mr. *Herbert* acquainting the Biſhop with this, they then reſolv'd to bury the King's Body in the royal Chappel of St. *George*, within the *Caſtle* of *Windſor*, both in regard that his Majeſty was Sovereign of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and that ſeveral Kings had been there inter'd; namely, King *Henry* VI, *Edward* IV, and *Henry* VIII, upon which Conſideration the Committee of Parliament was addreſs'd to the ſecond time, who, after ſome Deliberation, gave Orders, bearing Date *February 6*, 1648, authorizing Mr. *Herbert*, and Mr. *Anthony Mildmay* to bury the King's Body there. Accordingly the Corps was carried thither from St. *James's*, *Feb.* 7. in a Hearſe cover'd with black Velvet, drawn by ſix Horſes cover'd with black Cloth, and attended by about a dozen Gentlemen.

His CHARACTER.

He was of the moſt inoffenſive Diſpoſition, the moſt exemplary Piety, the greateſt Sobriety, Chaſtity and Mercy that any Prince has been endow'd with; and who might have ſaid that which *Pericles* was proud of upon his Death-Bed, concerning his Citizens: *That no* Engliſh *Man had ever worn a mourning Gown through his Occaſion.* Clar. Vol. 1. p. 76.

He was always the moſt punctual Obſerver of all Decency in his Devotion, and the ſtricteſt Promoter of the Ceremonies of the Church, as believing in his Soul the Church of *England* to be

inſti-

inſtituted the neareſt to the Practices of the Apoſtles, and the beſt for the Propagation and Advancement of Chriſtian Religion of any Church in the World; and, on the other ſide, tho' no Man was more averſe from the *Romiſh* Church than he was, nor better underſtood the Motives of their Separation from us, and Animoſity againſt us; he had the higheſt Diſlike and Prejudice to that Part of his own Subjects who were againſt the Government eſtabliſh'd, and did always look upon them as a very dangerous and ſeditious People, who would, under pretence of Conſcience, which kept them from ſubmitting to the ſpiritual Juriſdiction, take the firſt Opportunity they could find or make to withdraw from their temporal Subjection. *Pag.* 81.

To ſpeak firſt of his private Qualifications as a Man, before the mention of his princely and royal Virtues. He was, if ever any, the moſt worthy of the Title of an honeſt Man; ſo great a Lover of Juſtice, that no Temptation could diſpoſe him to a wrongful Action, except it was ſo diſguis'd to him that he believ'd it to be juſt. He had a Tenderneſs and Compaſſion of Nature, which reſtrain'd him from ever doing a hard hearted thing; and therefore he was ſo apt to grant Pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Land repreſented to him the Damage and Inſecurity to the Publick that flow'd from ſuch his Indulgence. And then he reſtrain'd himſelf from pardoning either Murders or Highway Robberies, and quickly diſcern'd the Fruits of his Severity, by a wonderful Reformation of thoſe Enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his Devotions: He was never known to enter upon his Recreations or Sports, tho' never ſo early in the Morning, before he had been at publick Prayers; ſo that on Hunting Days his Chaplains

lains were bound to a very early Attendance. He was likewiſe very ſtrict in obſerving the Hours of his private Cabinet Devotion; and was ſo ſevere an Exactor of Gravity and Reverence in all mention of Religion, that he could never endure any light or prophane Word, with what ſharpneſs of Wit ſoever it was cover'd; And tho' he was well pleas'd and delighted with reading Verſes made upon any Occaſion, no Man durſt bring before him any thing that was prophane or unclean, that kind of Wit had never any countenance there. He was ſo great an Example of conjugal Affection, that they who did not imitate him in that Particular, durſt not brag of their Liberty; and he did not only permit, but direct his Biſhops to proſecute thoſe ſcandalous Vices in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, againſt Perſons of Eminence, and near Relation to his Service. *Vol.* 3. 256.

His Kingly Virtues had ſome Mixture and Allay that hinder'd them from ſhining in full Luſtre, and from producing thoſe Fruits they ſhould have been attended with: He was not in his Nature very bountiful, tho' he gave very much. This appear'd more after the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death, after which thoſe Showers fell very rarely, and he pauſed too long in giving, which made thoſe to whom he gave leſs ſenſible of the Benefit. He kept State to the full, which made his Court very orderly, no Man preſuming to be ſeen in a Place where he had no Pretence to be. He ſaw and obſerv'd Men long before he receiv'd them about his Perſon, and did not love Strangers, nor very confident Men. He was a patient Hearer of Cauſes, which he frequently accuſtom'd himſelf to at the Council Board, and judg'd very well, and was dexterous in the mediating Part; ſo that he often put an End to

Cauſes

Cauſes by Perſuaſion, which the Stubbornneſs of Mens Humors made dilatory in Courts of Juſtice.

He was fearleſs in his Perſon, but in his riper Years not very enterprizing: He had an excellent Underſtanding, but was not confident enough of it, which made him oftentimes change his own Opinion for a worſe, and follow the Advice of Men that did not judge ſo well as himſelf. This made him more irreſolute than the Conjuncture of his Affairs would admit: If he had been of a rougher and more imperious Nature, he would have found more Reſpect and Duty, and his not applying ſome ſevere Cures to approaching Evils, proceeded from the Lenity of his Nature, and the Tenderneſs of his Conſcience, which in all Caſes of Blood made him chuſe the ſofter way, and not harken to ſevere Councils, how reaſonably ſoever urged. This only reſtrain'd him from purſuing his Advantage in the firſt *Scotch* Expedition, when, humanly ſpeaking, he might have reduc'd that Nation to the moſt entire Obedience that could have been wiſh'd; but no Man can ſay he had then many that advis'd him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful Indiſpoſition all his Council had to the War, or any other Fatigue. He was always a great Lover of the *Scotiſh* Nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that People, and beſieg'd by them always, having few *Engliſh* about him till he was King; and the major Number of his Servants being ſtill of that Nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among theſe no Man had ſuch an Aſcendant over him, by the humbleſt Inſinuations, as Duke *Hamilton* had.

As he excell'd in all other Virtues, ſo in Temperance he was ſo ſtrict, that he abhor'd all Debauchery to that degree, that at a great Feſtival Solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the

the Nobility of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* were entertain'd; being told by one who withdrew from thence what vaſt Draughts of Wine they drank, and that there was one Earl who had drank moſt of the reſt down, and was not himſelf mov'd or alter'd, the King ſaid that he deſerv'd to be hang'd; and that Earl coming ſhortly after into the Room, where his Majeſty was, in ſome Gaiety, to ſhew how unhurt he was from that Battle, the King ſent one to bid him withdraw from his Majeſty's Preſence, nor did he in ſome Days after appear before him.

So many miraculous Circumſtances contributed to this King's Ruin, that Men might well think that Heaven and Earth conſpir'd it. Though he was from the firſt Declenſion of his Power ſo much betray'd by his own Servants, that there were very few who remain'd faithful to him, yet that Treachery proceeded not always from any treaſonable Purpoſe to do him any Harm, but from particular and perſonal Animoſities againſt other Men. And afterwards the Terror that all Men were under of the Parliament, and the Guilt they were conſcious of themſelves, made them watch all Opportunities to make themſelves Gracious to thoſe that could do them good; and ſo they became Spies upon their Maſter, and from one piece of Knavery were harden'd and confirm'd to undertake another, till at laſt they had no hope of Preſervation but by the Deſtruction of their Maſter. And after all this, when a Man might reaſonably believe that leſs than a univerſal Defection of three Nations could not have reduc'd a great King to ſo ugly a Fate; it is moſt certain, that in that very Hour when he was wickedly Murder'd in the ſight of the Sun, he had as great a Share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much belov'd,

eſteem'd

eſteem'd and long'd for, by the People in general of the three Nations, as any of his Predeceſſors had ever been. To conclude, he was the worthieſt Gentleman, the beſt Maſter, the beſt Friend, the beſt Husband, the beſt Father, and the beſt Chriſtian that the Age, in which he liv'd, produc'd. And if he were ot the greateſt King, if he were without ſome Parts and Qualities which have made ſome Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was poſſeſs'd of half his Virtues and Endowments, and ſo much without any kind of Vice.

The Execution of Duke HAMILTON, Friday *the 9th of* March 1649. [*Taken from the Right Reverend Biſhop* Burnet's *Memoirs.*]

THE eighth of *March* 1649, the Duke, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen* (who had all receiv'd Sentence of Death) were brought into one Room: Having ſpent great part of that Night in taking leave of their Friends, and in their Devotions. The next Day the Duke made the following Speech to his Friends that attended him, which his Brother publiſh'd from the Original he ſent him.

I know you that are here to be true and faithful to me, I will therefore, in your hearing, ſay ſomewhat in order to myſelf and to my preſent Condition, and give you alſo this Copy of it; which, after I am gone, may, perhaps, be thought neceſſary to be publiſh'd as the laſt Teſtimony of my Loyalty to my King, for whom I now die, and of my Affection to my Country, for the purſuance of whoſe pious and loyal Commands I am now to ſuffer.

That my Religion hath always been, and ſtill is Orthodox, I am confident no Man doubts: I

ſhall

ſhall not therefore need to ſay much to that Particular, only that *I am of the true reform'd Proteſtant Religion, as it is profeſs'd in the Church of* Scotland.

I take God to Witneſs, that I have been conſtantly a loyal and faithful Subject and Servant to his late Majeſty, in ſpight of all Malice and Calumny: I have had the Honour, ſince my Childhood, to attend and be near him till now of late; and during all that time, I obſerv'd in him as eminent Virtues, and as little Vice as in any Man I ever knew; and I dare ſay, he never harbour'd Thought of countenancing Popery in any of his Dominions, otherwiſe than was allow'd by the Laws of *England*, and that among all his Subjects there could not be found a better Proteſtant than himſelf, and ſurely alſo he was free from having any Intent to exerciſe any Tyranny, or abſolute Power over his Subjects, and that he hath been ſo unfortunate, I rather impute the Cauſe of it to the Sins of his People, than to his own: For my own Part, I do proteſt never to have ſwerv'd from that true Allegiance which was due to him, and that hath conſtantly been paid (to my Comfort I ſpeak it) to his Progenitors by my Anceſtors, for many Ages, without Spot or Diſhonour; and I hope ſhall be ſtill, by my Succeſſors, to his Poſterity.

I do heartily wiſh well to, and pray for his Royal Iſſue, and ſhall die a true and loyal Subject to his eldeſt Son *Charles* II. the unqueſtionable King by Right of all his Father's Kingdoms. I hope, tho' I do not live to ſee it, that God's Juſtice and Goodneſs will in his own time eſtabliſh him on the Throne of his Father, which I doubt not ſome of you will ſee come to paſs; and I am confident till then, and ſo long as Men deeply plung'd in Guilt and Self-Intereſt uſurp Power

and

and Government, these Kingdoms will fall short either of Peace, or any other permanent Happiness.

I speak this from my just Affection to the Royal Race, and much Compassion to his Majesty's Subjects; but not from any Malice, Anger, or desire of Revenge against any, for what I have, or am to suffer, for I forgive all Men.

It is well known what Calumnies and Aspersions have been thrown upon me by Men of several Parties and Interests, not excepting those who would seem to carry much Affection to his late Majesty, as if I had express'd Disservice or Disloyalty to him; the which, how malicious and groundless they were, I appeal to God, who, with my own Conscience, clearly beareth Witness of my Innocency therein, and I shall beg Mercy from him to whom I am now to give an Account of all my Thoughts and Actions, as I have still had a faithful and loyal Heart to my Master.

It hath been a general Complaint that I persuaded his Majesty to pass the Act of continuing this Parliament. I dispute not whether the doing of it at that time might have been reputed good or bad, but surely it was not I that did persuade it; neither did I at all deal with his Majesty for his Consent to the Bill of Attainder for taking away the Life of the Earl of *Strafford*, whose great Parts and Affection, 'tis known, I highly valued: Yet some have been pleas'd to attribute to me the Cause of that Concession; but were his Majesty now living, I am confident he would publickly clear me in both these, as he hath been pleas'd many times in private formerly to do.

And truly I am not conscious to my self, (tho' I have been for many Years a Privy-Counsellor to him) of ever giving him any Advice that tended

to

to other Ends (as I conceiv'd) than the Good and Peace of his Majeſty and his Dominions.

It hath been rumour'd, ſince my laſt Impriſonment, that I ſhould confeſs my ſelf to be the greateſt Inſtrument under his Majeſty (by making uſe of his *Scotiſh* Great Seal) for authorizing the War in *Ireland*; a Report ſo falſe and ſimple, as, in my Opinion, judicious and honeſt Men will not believe it. And truly, as I am free from having Hand therein in any manner of way, ſo I am of nothing more confident, than that his Majeſty was alſo abſolutely free thereof, and that he was not in any Caſe a Cauſer or Countenancer of thoſe *Iriſh* Troubles.

I have been often examin'd touching Perſons of ſeveral Qualities within this Kingdom, that, as is ſuppos'd, did invite into *England* the late Army from *Scotland*, or promis'd Aſſiſtance after their coming; and of late much Perſuaſion hath been us'd with me to that Purpoſe, as that upon my Diſcovery thereof depended the only Means of my Preſervation. I will not ſay that I had any thing to reveal, which would have been ſatisfactory; but this I deſire you to atteſt to the World, that I have not accus'd, or ſaid any thing that may reflect on any Man, of what Degree ſoever, within the King's Dominions: And indeed it was ſo contrary to my Conſcience, and ſo derogatory to my Honour, that if I had been able, yet ſhould I never have prejudiced any in that Nature, tho' it had been to ſave me an hundred Lives.

Touching that foul and ſenſeleſs Slander, that I betray'd the Army under my Conduct, the Care and Pains I then took to prevent the loſs of it, and the near Approach of my ſuffering for it, will, I ſuppoſe, abundantly contradict this Aſperſion. I was ſatisfied with the Juſtneſs and Neceſſity of

that

that Engagement upon the Grounds of the Declaration of the Parliament of *Scotland*, fearing then the ſad Confuſions which have ſince follow'd here both in Church and State, and particularly the fatal Fall of my Maſter, to the Preſervation of whoſe Perſon I was by Obligation and natural Affections as paſſionately tied, as I could be by Duty and Allegiance.

And now I confeſs I am void of all Rancour or Diſpleaſure againſt any, tho' I am within few Hours to die, adjudged by a lawleſs and arbitrary Court, of purpoſe erected, as is ſaid, to deſtroy my Maſter, and ſome of his Servants, and for a great Part compos'd of Men mechanick and unfit to be Judges; my Death being decreed right or wrong, as is reported, before ever the Trial begun. And tho' my Death is no leſs than Murder, yet I forgive all, and pray to God to do it, and that my Blood be not laid to their Charge, or to ſome powerful and eminent Mens, who, as is thought, upon ſome ſiniſtrous Ends, have many Months ſince contriv'd my Deſtruction, which now is ready to take effect. And tho' I have anſwer'd to that Court in regard of the Juſtneſs of my Defence, which I thought would have weighed with them: Yet I never thought, nor do I acknowledge any Juriſdiction, or lawful Authority in the ſame, notwithſtanding I do with all Chriſtian Humility ſubmit to the Puniſhment, which for my other perſonal Sins the Lord hath juſtly brought upon me. I ſhould have ſpoken more, yet would not have ſaid ſo much, but for fear leſt either my Memory might ſlip it on the Scaffold, or that the Rudeneſs of ſome People, by Noiſe or otherwiſe, might have interrupted me ſpeaking on this Subject. So I thank God I am well prepar'd. God bleſs you, remember me to all my Friends. I know I have been a great Sin-

ner, yet thro' Faith I have an Aſſurance that God will forgive me, and have Mercy upon me, thro' the alone Suffering and Interceſſion of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour. *Amen.*

About nine a-clock the Officers call'd to the Priſoners to prepare to go, and they were carried in Sedans, ſtrongly guarded, to Sir *Robert Cotton's* Houſe: When they came to Sir *Robert Cotton's*, three or four Officers came from *Cromwell*, deſiring the Duke to make ſome Diſcoveries, who ſhould not only be prefer'd, but be made a great Man; but he refus'd, as he had formerly done on thoſe Occaſions, and ſaid, if he had as many Lives as Hairs on his Head, he would lay them all down, rather than redeem them by ſo baſe a Means. Then they all went to Prayers, and they had ſome excellent Preachers waiting on them, and praying with them. Some Wine was brought them, and they all drank one to another, and embrac'd and kiſs'd each other with much Tenderneſs. The Duke was firſt led to the Scaffold, and on the way other Officers came from *Cromwell*, renewing the former Offers, if he would make Diſcoveries, but he rejected them with ſcorn.

When the Duke came to the Scaffold, perceiving greater Silence than he expected, tho' he had reſolv'd to make no publick Speech, yet being invited by the Attention he obſerv'd, he ſpoke to the People; but as he had not premeditated it, no Copy remains but what was printed from the Notes of the Hearers, *and therefore Dr.* Burnet *ſays he only gives us the Heads of it*; as follows,

He addreſs'd himſelf to the Sheriff, and told him, he judg'd it not very neceſſary for him to ſpeak much, his Voice was ſo weak and low, that few of the Croud that look'd on would hear him; nor was he ever ſo much in love with ſpeaking, or with

with any thing he had to ſay, that he took much Delight in it : Yet ſince this was his laſt, he being by the Divine Providence of Almighty God brought juſtly to that End for his Sins, he would ſpeak a little to the Sheriff, for his Voice could not reach others. He was now to ſuffer as a Traitor to the Kingdom of *England*, a Country which he had ever lov'd equally with his own, not having intended any general Prejudice to it, or to any particular Perſon in it : His late Actings were the Commands of his own Country, which he could not diſobey. It is true, it had pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe of the Army under his Command, that it was ruin'd, and he for being cloathed with a Commiſſion to be General, ſtood now ready to die. He would not repent what he had pleaded for his own Defence, God was Juſt; nor would he ſay any thing of his Sentence, but that he did willingly ſubmit to God's Providence, acknowledging that on many Accounts he deſerv'd Puniſhment in this Life, as well as in the next, for he confeſs'd himſelf a great Sinner : Yet for his Comfort he knew there was a God in Heaven, who was very merciful, and that his Redeemer did ſit at his right Hand, and he was confident that he was mediating for him at that very Inſtant, being hopeful, thro' his all-ſufficient Merits, to be pardon'd all his Sins, and to be receiv'd into his Mercy, truſting only to the free Grace of God thro' Jeſus Chriſt. He declar'd he had never been tainted in the Religion profeſs'd and eſtabliſh'd in the Land, in which he had been bred from his Infancy : It was not this or that Mode or Fancy of Religion that was to be built on, but one that was right and ſure, and came from God.

Here obſerving ſome were taking Notes, he ſaid he did not expect that, or he had digeſted what he had ſaid into a better Method: But deſir'd that what he had ſaid might not be publiſh'd to his Diſadvantage, ſince he had not intended to ſpeak any thing when he came to that Place. Then he went on and ſaid, Many dreadful Aſperſions had been caſt on him, as if his Intentions had not been ſuch as he pretended; but he thank'd God he was unjuſtly blam'd: That for the King he had ever lov'd him, both as he was his King and his Maſter, with whom he had been bred many Years, and had been his Domeſtick-Servant, and that there was nothing the Parliament of *Scotland* declar'd for the King, that was not really intended by himſelf; and as he hazarded his Life for him one Way, ſo he now was to loſe it another; and that his Deſign of Leading in the Army to *England* was really that which was publiſh'd in the Declaration, in ſo far as concern'd the King: He was not then to ſpeak of the reſt of the Declaration, which had many other Particulars in it; and for what he ſaid of his Duty to the King, there was no Reaſon to ſuſpect him of Flattery, or any other End in ſaying it (God having now ſo diſpos'd of his Majeſty) but tho' he could gain nothing by it, yet he ow'd the freeing himſelf of that Calumny to Truth, by which all Men ſhall gain for ever. There had been many Diſcourſes founded on a Part of the *Scotiſh* Declaration, which mention'd an Invitation to come to *England*, upon which he had been much labour'd for diſcovering the Inviters; but he had and did ſtill remit himſelf to the Declaration, without any other Anſwer. He was ever willing to ſerve this Nation in any thing was in his Power, which was known to many worthy Perſons in it; and he would ſtill have continued in thoſe Reſolutions, had thoſe, in whoſe Hands the

the Power was then, thought fit to have preſerv'd his Life. But ſince he was thenceforth to be of no more uſe, all he could do, was to wiſh the Kingdom Happineſs and Peace, and to pray that his Blood might be the laſt ſhould be ſhed: And tho' perhaps he had ſome Reluctance within himſelf at the Suffering for this Fact, yet he freely forgave all Men, and carried no Rancour with him to the Grave; but did ſubmit to the Will of him who created Heaven and Earth, and himſelf, a poor ſinful Creature then ſpeaking before him: He conceiv'd it could contribute to no End for him to ſpeak of State Buſineſs, of the Government of the Kingdom, or things of that Nature; his own Inclinations had been ſtill for Peace. He was never an ill Inſtrument betwixt the King and his People, nor had he acted to the Prejudice of the Parliament. And as he had not meddled much in thoſe Wars, ſo he was never wanting in his Prayers to Almighty God for his King's Happineſs, and he earneſtly prayed God to direct his Majeſty (who then reigned) that he might do what ſhould tend to his Glory, and the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdoms. He ſaid he was of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, which he had profeſs'd in his own Country where he was born and bred; but for particular Opinions he was not rigid, he knew many godly Men had Scruples about divers things, wherein he had never concern'd himſelf; nor did Difference of Opinion (which was never more than at this time) move him. His own was clear. He pray'd the Lord to forgive him his Sins, as he freely forgave even thoſe againſt whom he had the greateſt Grounds of Animoſity, remembring that Prayer, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.*

He diſcover'd a great Compoſure by his Looks and Manner of Expreſſion; and when he was deſir'd to change the Poſture he ſtood in, ſince the Sun ſhin'd full in his Face: He anſwer'd preſently, no, it would not burn it; and he hoped to ſee a brighter Sun than that very ſpeedily.

After the Duke had done ſpeaking, he call'd for the Executioner, and deſir'd to know how he ſhould fit his Body for the Blow, and told him his Servants would give him Satisfaction. Then he called to his Servants, and commanded them to remember him kindly to divers of his Friends in *England*, particularly to his Mother-in-law, the Counteſs of *Denbigh*, to whom he had ever paid a filial Reſpect, and to the old Counteſs of *Devonſhire*: He bid them tell her ſhe would no more queſtion his Loyalty (which ſhe had done ſometimes in Raillery) ſince he was now to ſeal it with his Blood: Then he kneel'd down and prayed, after which Dr. *Sibbald* entertain'd him with ſome pious Diſcourſes; then the Duke pray'd a ſhort Prayer himſelf, and with a chearful Countenance embrac'd the Doctor, and ſaid, *Truly I bleſs God I do not fear, I have an Aſſurance that is grounded here* (laying his Hand on his Heart) *that gives me more true Joy than ever I had. I paſs out of a miſerable World, to go to an eternal and glorious Kingdom; and tho' I have been a moſt ſinful Creature, yet I know God's Mercy is infinite; and I bleſs my God I go with ſo clear a Conſcience, that I know not the Man I have perſonally injur'd.* Then embracing his Servants, he ſaid to every one of them, *You have been very faithful to me, the Lord bleſs you.* He turn'd next to the Executioner, and after he had obſerv'd how he ſhould lay his Body, he told him he was to ſay a ſhort Prayer to his God while he lay all along, and ſhould give a Sign by ſtretching out his right Hand, and then he was to do his Duty;

whom

whom he freely forgave, as he did all the World. And then he ſtretched himſelf out on the Ground, and having plac'd his Head right, he lay a little while praying, with great Appearance of Devotion, and then gave the Sign: Upon which the Executioner, at one Blow, ſever'd his Head from his Body, which was receiv'd in a Crimſon Taffety Scarf by two of his Servants, kneeling by him, and was, together with his Body, immediately put in a Coffin, which was ready on the Scaffold, and from thence convey'd to a Houſe in the *Meuſe*, from whence it was, according to the Orders he had given, ſent down by Sea to *Scotland*, and inter'd in the Burial-place of his Family.

The CHARACTER *of* JAMES *Duke of* HAMILTON, *&c. taken from Dr.* BURNET's *Memoirs.*

Thus lived and died *James*, Duke of *Hamilton*, who was born at *Hamilton* the 19th of *June*, 1606. His Parents were *James*, Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, and Lady *Anne Cunningham*, Daughter to the Earl of *Glencairn*. He was of a middle Stature, his Body well-ſhap'd, and his Limbs proportion'd and ſtrait; in his laſt Years he inclin'd to Fatneſs; his Complexion and Hair were Black, but his Countenance was pleaſant, and full of Life, and ſhewed a great Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition; his Health was regular, ſuitable to his Diet, and free of Sickneſs or Pain, only in his laſt Years he was a little ſubject to the Stone: But when his Body was open'd, all his Inwards were found ſound and entire; ſo that had not that fatal Stroke brought his Days to a too early Period, he might probably have been very long liv'd.

At the time of his Father's coming to Court, the Duke of *Buckingham* (being then in great Favour with King *James*, and desiring to strengthen his Family with noble Alliances) agreed a Marriage betwixt him and the Lady *Mary Feilding*, Daughter to *William*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and the Lady *Susanna Villiers*, Sister to the Duke of *Buckingham*; upon which his Father sent for him to Court, to be married, when he himself was fourteen Years of Age, and the Lady design'd for him but seven. This broke off the Course of Studies, in which he had been educated till then in *Scotland*: And tho' he was sent afterwards to the University of *Oxford*, yet the Interruption that his Stay at Court put to his Education in Letters, was such, that he never recover'd it. After the Years of consummating the intended Marriage were come, he was forc'd to it, not without great Aversion, occasion'd partly by the Disproportion of their Ages, and partly by some other secret Considerations.

He lived with his Lady for some Years in no good Terms, and that concurring with other Motives, made him leave the Court upon his Father's Death: But her excellent Qualities did afterwards overcome that Aversion into as much Affection as he was capable of. She died the 10th of *May*, in the Year 1638, and left her Lord, a most sad and afflicted Person: And tho' his Spirit was too great to sink under any Burden, yet all his Life after he remembred her with much tender Affection. She died indeed in a good time for her own Repose, when her Lord was beginning to engage in the Affairs of *Scotland*, which prov'd so fatal both to his Quiet and Life.

But the Distractions of the following Years concurring with the affectionate Remembrance of his Lady, which rather increas'd than abated with Time;

Time; kept him from the Thoughts of re-engaging in a married Life. Neither did the Death of his Sons ſhake him from that Purpoſe, ſince he had ſo noble a Succeſſor ſecured for his Family in the Perſon of his Brother; and next to him he had two Daughters, who were dear to him, far beyond the ordinary Rate of Children, on whom he got his Dignity and Fortune entail'd, in caſe his Brother died without Sons.

His Religion was Proteſtant and reform'd; and as he was a zealous Enemy to Popery, ſo he was no leſs earneſt for a good Correſpondence among all the reformed Churches, in particular betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, and therefore was a great Patron and Promoter of the Deſigns of Mr. *Dury*, who beſtow'd ſo much of his Travel, and ſo many of his Years in driving on that deſir'd Union: For I find by many of *Dury's* Letters to him, that as he owed a great Part of his Subſiſtence to the Money and Places were procured for him by the Duke, both from the King and my Lord of *Canterbury*; ſo his beſt Addreſſes to the *Swediſh* Court, and the Princes of *Germany*, were thoſe he had from him; and therefore he continued giving him an Account of his Succeſs, as to his Patron and Benefactor.

As for our unhappy Differences which have divided this Iſland, he judg'd neither the one nor the other worth the Blood was ſhed in the Quarrel; and the Exceſs he had ſeen on both Hands, cured him from being a Zealot for either. He was diſſatisfied with the Courſes ſome of the Biſhops had follow'd before the Troubles began, and could not but impute their firſt Riſe to the Provocations had been given by them: But he was no leſs offended with the violent Spirits of moſt of the Covenanters, and particularly with their Oppoſition to Royal Authority. As long

as

as the King employ'd him for the Preſervation of Epiſcopacy, he ſerv'd him faithfully; and tho' afterwards he preſſed him much for his Conſent to the Abolition of that Government in *Scotland*, it was not from any Prejudice himſelf had at it, but flowed only from the Affection he had to his Majeſty, ſince he ſaw it could not have been preſerv'd at that time, without very viſible Hazard both to King and Country: And ſo he took the National Covenant at the King's Command, *Anno* 1641, in the Parliament of *Scotland*.

He was all his Life a great Honourer of true Piety wherever he ſaw it, notwithſtanding any Miſtakes that might have been mingled with it; ſo that whatſoever particular Ground of Reſentments he had at any who (he judged) fear'd God, the Conſideration of that did overcome and ſtifle it: But his firſt Impriſonment in 1643, was the happieſt time of his Life to him, for there he had a truer Proſpect of Things ſet before him, which wrought a Change on him, diſcernable by thoſe who knew him beſt. This made him frequently acknowledge God's great Goodneſs to him in that Reſtraint: For then he learnt to deſpiſe the fooliſh Pleaſures of Sin, and the debaſing Vanities of a falſe World, which had formerly poſſeſs'd too great a Room in his Thoughts. It is true, he choſe to be religious in ſecret, and therefore gave no other Vent to it in his Diſcourſe than what he judged himſelf obliged to, which was chiefly to his Children, to whom he always recommended the Fear and Love of God, as that wherein himſelf had found his only Joy and Repoſe. The following Words are a Part of one of his Letters to them, which he wrote a little before his laſt going to *England*.

" In all Croſſes, even of the higheſt Nature, " there is no other Remedy but Patience, and " with Alacrity to ſubmit to the Good-will and " Pleaſure of our Glorious Creator, and be con- " tented therewith ; which I adviſe you to learn " in your tender Age, having enjoyed that Bleſ- " ſing my ſelf, and found great Comfort in it " while involved in the Middle of infinite Dan- " gers.

He was a conſtant Reader of the Scriptures, and during his Impriſonment they were his only Companions, other Books being for a great while denied him ; and he making a Virtue of that Neceſſity, became a diligent and ſerious Reader of thoſe Holy Oracles, and ſtudied to take the Meaſures of his Actions from them, and not from the fooliſh Dreams and Conjectures of Aſtrology ; tho' the enquiring after, and taking notice of theſe, be among the injurious Imputations Obloquy faſtened upon him. But ſo far was he from any Regard to them, that an Aſtrologer coming to him in *Germany* with a Paper, wherein he ſaid he ſhould read a noble Fortune ; he, after he had ſent him away, threw it into the Fire, without once opening it : And indeed he was ſo far from flattering himſelf with the Hopes of great Succeſs in any of his Undertakings, that he rather apprehended himſelf under ſome inauſpicious Star, that croſſed all his Attempts, which made him in his latter Years long for ſome ſecret Retirement out of the Noiſe of Buſineſs. And in his laſt Expedition into *England*, he was ſo far from promiſing himſelf great Matters, that the Night before he marched, when he was taking leave of one of his Friends, he ſaid, he not only knew that ſuch Attempts were doubtful, but apprehended that what he was then engaging in, might prove not only dangerous, but deſtructive to himſelf ; neverthe-

leſs

leſs he was reſolved either to go thro' it ſucceſsfully, or to periſh in the Attempt, and never ſurvive it; adding, that the laſt was what he look'd for, and therefore he took his Leave as never to meet again.

But notwithſtanding all the Misfortunes that either lay upon him, or did hang over him, he preſerved the greateſt Calmneſs in his Mind that could be imagin'd: Which appear'd in an unclouded Serenity that dwelt always in his Looks, and diſcover'd him ever well pleas'd. And tho' the Greatneſs of his Mind, and the Sweetneſs of his natural Temper might have contributed much to that Tranquillity; yet certainly it took its Riſe from another Source, and flowed chiefly from his Confidence in God, and the Security he had in the Innocency of his own Heart.

His Accompliſhments were great, tho' cultivated only by his own Thoughts, and improved by Experience; for he was no great Scholar, neither was he bred abroad: His Judgment was profound, his Foreſight great, his Style was ſmooth and without Affectation, for he ſpoke with a Native Eloquence. One Advantage he had beyond all he engaged with in debating, that he was never fretted nor exaſperated, and ſpake at the ſame Rate without Clamouring or Eagerneſs. He had ſeen ſo much of the Baſeneſs of many Men, that it inclin'd him in the End to Jealouſy, which made him reſerved to moſt People; and of this I find divers complaining in their Letters.

For his Affection and Duty to his Prince, it hath appeared ſo much in his Hiſtory, that little remains to be ſaid in his Character. It is true, ſome were pleaſed to ſay, that he treated with foreign Princes, for ſeconding him in his own Pretenſions to the Crown of *Scotland*: But this Forgery was ſo ill-grounded, that he had ſignal Proofs to the con-

contrary. When he firſt engaged in the *German* Deſign, one wrote to him from the *Spaniſh* Court in the Name of the Miniſters of that Monarch, making him great Promiſes if he would deſiſt from it: But his Anſwer was, that Duty, Gratitude, and Inclination concurred to tie him inſeparably to his Maſter's Intereſts, and that no Conſideration either of Hope or Fear, was able to ſhake him from his Fidelity to them. Neither did any thing obſtruct his being more employ'd and truſted in *Germany*, than his conſtant adhering to the King's Pleaſure and Intereſt; for had he given himſelf up to the Will of the *Swediſh* King, he would have been quickly put in another Capacity, and might have had about him one of the beſt Armies in *Germany*; ſince all the *Scotiſh* Officers, who at that time were many and conſiderable, inclin'd to have form'd an Army apart, and ſerved under him, had the King of *Sweden* given way to it.

When he was claiming his Eſtate and Rights of *Chaſtleherault* in *France*, Cardinal *Richelieu* appointed Sir *James Hamilton*, whom he had ſent over to negotiate that Affair, to tell him, that he ſhould be not only ſettled in that, but have more likewiſe, if he would enter into a cloſe Correſpondence with him, and be a faithful Servant to the *French* Crown. His Anſwer was, that he ow'd indeed the greateſt Duty and Dependance to the King of *France*, of any Prince next his own King; and therefore would faithfully ſerve all his Intereſts after the King's. But nothing was to be expected from him that might, upon any Conſideration, prejudice his Maſter's Service, neither would he engage in any Correſpondence without his Knowledge and Allowance; adding, that he was confident his Eminence was too faithful a Miniſter to that Monarch whom he ſerved, to

like him the worſe for his Honeſty to his own Maſter. Theſe Inſtances will evince how far he was from pretending to any Intereſts in his Correſpondence with Foreign Princes, different from the King's, whom he ſerved with as much Affection as Duty. And indeed the Love he bore his Perſon, was no leſs than the Duty he paid to his Authority, for he did not deny but the former made him digeſt ſome things, which perhaps otherwiſe he had not borne ſo well. This kept him far from vilifying his Majeſty's Perſon, or ſpeaking unhandſomely of him, as ſome accus'd him. It may be ſuppos'd, that had he been guilty of that, it would have appear'd more to his Friends than Strangers, ſince Prudence would have taught a reſerve to them, tho' Duty had not enjoin'd it: But thoſe who converſed moſt with him, ſaw ſo much of his Affection and Eſteem for that Prince, that many of them have told the Writer [Dr. *Burnet*] he was the furtheſt from it that could be, ſince he ſtudied by all Means to infuſe that Value in others for him, which poſſeſs'd his own Mind. It is true, his Calmneſs made many, who knew not how natural that Temper was to him, ſuſpect he was not in earneſt, becauſe he did not bluſter out in Heats of Paſſion, upon every Occaſion; for as he was not eaſily inflam'd, ſo he could not well perſonate a Paſſion when he was free of it. All his Advices to the King were for ſettling Matters without hazarding on a bloody Deciſion, knowing well, that no Quarrels are ſo mortal, as thoſe that follow upon the cloſeſt Ties; therefore he was far from acting that infamous Office of Incendiary, which ſome faſtned on him. And it was his ſuggeſting and preſſing gentler Methods, which engaged ſome fiery Spirits into ſuch Oppoſition to him; and from hence it was, that when he was put to a Review of thoſe Advices

he

he offer'd to his Majeſty; he ſaid, He would not ſtudy to juſtify them all, ſince he was far from the Vanity of magnifying his own Counſels; but all he could anſwer for, was his good Intention, which was not to be meaſur'd by Succeſs.

As for his diſcloſing the King's Deſigns to his Enemies, Hell could have deviſed nothing farther from Truth: For not only does the Silence of all his Letters that are in my Hands refute that; but when ſome afterwards, who had been leading Men in the Covenant, broke with him, with ſuch Animoſity, and when by ſome of thoſe much Pains was taken to poſſeſs the King with Jealouſies of him, it is not to be doubted, but if there had been a Shadow of Truth for thoſe Imputations, ſome Particular would have appear'd, or ſome Letters had been preſerv'd to have juſtify'd theſe Inſinuations. But nothing was ſo much as ever pretended for this, beyond Whiſpers and general Stories.

If all his Friends were not at all times ſo fixed to their Duty as they ought to have been, that left no Blame upon him; for no Man can be liable for his Friends, nor charg'd with the Faults of other Men: But when any of them ſtrayed from their Duty, his Friendſhip made him not the leſs, but the more ſevere to them; and many of them being yet alive, have witneſſed with what honeſt Zeal he always ſtudied to engage them to a cordial Adherence to the King's Service. But to ſum up all, thoſe, who after they ſee how, in his laſt Speech, deliver'd at his Death, he begs Pardon and Mercy from God, as he hath been a faithful Servant to his Maſter, and do ſtill retain their Jealouſies, are beyond the Cure of any Perſuaſion; for none but a deſperate Atheiſt could have adventur'd ſo far with a defiled Conſcience. Neither can it be alledged here, that all in thoſe

Times

Times pretended to be for the King: For perhaps many thought the Methods they took were the beſt for ſecuring and ſettling his Throne. But had the Duke been faulty, as the World accus'd him, it muſt not have been a Miſtake in his Thoughts, but a Crookedneſs of his Heart, a betraying of his Truſt, and a falſifying of his Engagements: And who can ſuppoſe that the Parties, who were prevalent both in *England* and *Scotland* at the time of his Death, and purſued him and his Memory with all the Exceſſes of Malice, would not have diſcover'd ſuch Treachery, to load him with the greater Infamy, if there had been any Grounds for it, ſince they were the Perſons who muſt have known it beſt?

As for that ridiculous and deviliſh Forgery of his pretending to the Crown of *Scotland*, never any were alledged to have heard a Hint of it from himſelf, no not in Raillery; and certainly if ſo great a Deſign had ever been diſcover'd to any Perſon, it muſt have been to his Friends, and he muſt have taken Pains to have made ſome Party ſure for it: But for this nothing was ever whiſper'd but Surmiſes, and thoſe hanging ſo ill together, that they retain'd not ſo much as the Shadow of Probability.

For his Country, as he had as great Intereſt in it as any Subject, ſo his Affection yielded to none: And it is certain, that if his Counſels to the King ſeem at any time to fall ſhort of the higher Ways of Authority, nothing but his Affection to his Country gave him the Biaſs; for he confeſſed, the thing in the World at which he had the greateſt Horror, was the engaging in a Civil War with his Countrymen.

He was far from any Deſigns of engroſſing either Power or Places of Advantage to himſelf, and his Friends; nor was he ever the Occaſion of

any

any Burden to the Country; for the Aſſignments he had upon ſome Taxations, were only for Payment of the Debts he had contracted by his Majeſty's Command for his Expedition to *Germany*. And ſo little fond was he of being the King's Commiſſioner in *Scotland*, that in divers of his Letters he propos'd others to his Majeſty for that Truſt, proteſting it was a Place of all other he hated moſt; and when he ſaw Jealouſies taken at his being in that Truſt, as if the King had been to govern *Scotland* by a Commiſſioner, he preſſed his Majeſty to change him; ſo careful was he to avoid every thing which might be a Grievance to his Country, and retard the King's Service.

He was the great Patron of *Scotiſh Men* in the Court, which drew, on ſeveral Occaſions, a large Share of Malice upon him: As appear'd particularly in the Caſe of one Colonel *Leſley*, whom Colonel *Sanderſon*'s Friends were purſuing in the Court, alledging that *Leſley* had kill'd that Colonel unworthily in *Muſcovia*. The Crime was not committed in the King's Dominions, and *Leſley* was legally acquitted of it in *Ruſſia*, who upon a national Account, being a *Scotiſh Man*, laid Claim to the Duke's Protection; but this irritated Colonel *Sanderſon*'s Brother (who pretends to have written *The Hiſtory of King* Charles I.) into ſo much Rage againſt him, that forgetting the Laws of Hiſtory, he breaks out, on all Occaſions, into the moſt paſſionate Railings, that his ſpightful, but blunt and impotent Malice could deviſe. And the beſt of all is, he bewrays his Ignorance as well as his Paſſion, in all the Accounts he gives of the *Scotiſh* Affairs; ſo that it is hard to ſay, whether his Folly in attempting to write a Hiſtory on ſuch ſlender Informations, or his Impudence in forging or venting Lies with ſuch Confidence, deſerves the ſeverer Cenſure.

And ſince I mention this *Leſley*, I ſhall only add, that tho' *Sanderſon* tells a formal Story of the ſignal Judgments of God on him in his Death, he was alive many Years after that Book was publiſh'd, which can be well proved by many who knew him.

The Duke was very ſumptuous and magnificent in his Way of Living, but abhorred that debauch'd Cuſtom of Entertainments by Drinking, and was an Example of Temperance; which coſt him dear in *Denmark*, where he refuſing the ordinary Entertainments of that Court in Drinking, was not only ill us'd, but made to pay a great Sum, under the Pretence of Paſſage-dues: Temperance was particularly recommended to him by his Majeſty, when he went to *Germany*; and his returning from that Court without tranſgreſſing theſe Laws, was ſuch an Evidence of his obſerving them, that afterwards few would tempt him to thoſe Exceſſes.

Of all Virtues he eſteem'd Ingenuity and Candor moſt, as that which was the Ground of all Confidence, and the only Security among Men; and therefore recommended it chiefly to others, and ſtudied to obſerve it moſt himſelf. I confeſs, when I conſider his whole Method of framing and carrying on his Deſigns, how ſtrait and candid they were; if I oft admire his Invention, I do much more eſteem the Ingenuity of his Proceedings: for I never find him veiling Truth with a Lie, nor carrying on Buſineſs with a Cheat: And to ſpeak freely, the greateſt departing from theſe Rules appear'd in the Declaration emitted in *April*, 1648; where, among other Things, the Parliament declar'd, They would not admit his Majeſty to the Exerciſe of his Royal Authority, till he by Oath obliged himſelf to ſwear, and ratify the Covenant. The Duke ſtuck long e're he would

would give way to this; at length finding the violent Party that croſſed the Engagement implacable; and being deſirous to withdraw from them all Colours or Pretences for oppoſing that Deſign, he yielded to it; and at that time ſaid to a Friend of his, that the Preſervation of the King went ſo near his Heart, that he could refuſe nothing which might make way for that. But it was far from his Thoughts to ſeclude the King from the Exerciſe of his Royal Power, and therefore it was excuſed at the ſame time, both by the Letters his Brother wrote to the King, and in the Inſtructions ſent by Sir *William Fleeming* to the Queen and Prince, and by Sir *William Bellenden* to the Prince of *Orange*. I have alſo a Journal, which he took with his own Hand, of what paſſed in that Parliament, wherein he wrote, when that Act was put to the Vote, that (though he gave his Vote to it) it was not his Opinion. And thus I lay open both his Fault, and the Temptation that led him to it, ſo that if ever any officious Lie was of a venial Guilt, ſure this was: Yet who knows, if among the many and wiſe Councils, for which God might have permitted that Army's Miſcarriage, as a Puniſhment for our other Sins, we not being ripe for a Deliverance, this departing from the ſevere Rules of Ingenuity and Virtue might not have been one procuring Cauſe? But this is the only Inſtance of this Nature I have met with, in the whole Survey of his Actions and Papers.

As for the Mildneſs and Gentleneſs of his Nature, no Day went over him without giving new Diſcoveries of it. For it was very hard to provoke him, but no leſs eaſy to appeaſe him: He was not unequal in his Humor, but as one left him they found him, being always chearful and ever the ſame. And whatever Aſpirings might

have been in his Mind, his Carriage was the freeſt of Haughtineſs that could be, both to Equals and Inferiors: He was both eaſy to addreſs to, and affable in his Converſe; and labour'd to oblige all People. And in his Command he was far from the common Practice of many, who are very careful to raiſe all the Money they can, and to oppreſs the Countries where they march or quarter. It is true, the Earl of *Calander* did draw as much Money as poſſible from the Places they paſs'd through with their Army, but the Duke would meddle with none of it: And when *Calander* offer'd 450 Pounds to his Steward, he would not touch it till he ſpoke with his Maſter; who charg'd him ſtrictly not to meddle with it, and acknowledg'd he had done like a faithful Servant in not taking it.

It was ſo impoſſible for him to reſent Injuries, that when ſome of his Vaſſals had offended him, ſo that he was reſolved to make them ſenſible of it whenever it lay in his way, it no ſooner came to be ſo, but their firſt Addreſs broke through all his Diſpleaſure: And never did the ſettled Compoſure of his Mind appear more than at *Utoxeter*, when in the midſt of all that Diſorder he preſerved his uſual Temper. The Generoſity of his Mind made him ſo tender towards all in Trouble, even though deſerved, that he was ſcarce capable of puniſhing any even for their Faults.

The Execution of the Lord CAPEL, *the 9th of* March, *1649.*

THE Lord *Capel* being call'd to his Execution, he walk'd through *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſaluting ſuch of his Friends and Acquaintance as he ſaw there, with a very ſerene Countenance, accompanied with his Friend Dr. *Morley*, who had

had been with him from the time of his Sentence: But at the Foot of the Scaffold, the Soldiers ſtopping the Doctor, his Lordſhip took his Leave of him, and embracing him, thank'd him, and ſaid he ſhould go no further, having an Apprehenſion he might receive ſome Affront from that rude People after his Death. (The Chaplains, who attended Duke *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Holland*, being Men of the Times, and the Doctor being well known to be moſt contrary.) *Clar. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *p.* 272.

As ſoon as his Lordſhip had aſcended the Scaffold, he ſaid he came not as the two former [Duke *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Holland*] attended with a Miniſter, having before prepar'd his way for Death; and advancing to the Front of the Scaffold, he made the following Speech.

Gentlemen,

The Concluſion that I made with thoſe that ſent me hither, and are the Cauſe of this violent Death of mine, ſhall be the beginning of what I ſhall ſay to you: When I made an Addreſs to them (which was the laſt) I told them with much Sincerity, that I would pray to the God of all Mercies that they might be Partakers of his ineſtimable and boundleſs Mercies in Jeſus Chriſt; and truly, I ſtill pray that Prayer; and I beſeech the God of Heaven to forgive any Injury they have done to me, from my Soul I wiſh it, and truly this I tell you as a Chriſtian, to let you ſee I am a Chriſtian; but it is neceſſary I ſhould tell you ſomewhat more, that I am a Proteſtant, and truly I am a Proteſtant, and very much in love with the Profeſſion of it, after the manner it was eſtabliſh'd in *England* by the 39 Articles, a bleſſed way of Profeſſion, and ſuch a one as truly I never knew none ſo good: I am ſo far from being

a Papiſt, which ſome have very unworthily charg'd me withal, that truly I profeſs to you, that tho' I love good Works, and commend good Works, yet I hold they have nothing at all to do in the Matter of Salvation. My Anchor-hold is this, That Chriſt loved me and gave himſelf for me; that is that I reſt upon. And truly ſomething I ſhall ſay to you as a Citizen of the whole World, and in that Conſideration I am here condemn'd to die, contrary to the Law that governs all the World, that is, the Law of the Sword: I had the Protection of that for my Life and the Honour of it; but I will not trouble you much with this Diſcourſe, becauſe in another Place I have ſpoken very largely and liberally of it; I believe you will hear by other means what Arguments I us'd in that Caſe. But truly that that is ſtranger, you that are *Engliſhmen*, behold here an *Engliſhman* now before you, and acknowledg'd a Peer, not condemn'd to die by any Law of *England*. Nay, ſhall I tell you more, which is ſtrangeſt of all, contrary to all the Laws of *England* which I know of? And truly I will tell you, in the Matter of the civil Part of my Death, and the Cauſe that I have maintain'd; I die, I take it, for maintaining the fifth Commandment, enjoin'd by God himſelf, which enjoins Reverence and Obedience to Parents. All Divines, on all hands, tho' they contradict one another in many ſeveral Opinions, yet moſt Divines do acknowledge that here is intended Magiſtracy and Order; and certainly I have obey'd that Magiſtracy and that Order under which I have liv'd, which I was bound to obey; and truly, I do ſay very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth Commandment given by God himſelf, and written by his own Finger. And now, Gentlemen, I will take this Opportunity to tell you,

you, that I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater Ingenuity, than his that ſaid of himſelf; *For ſuffering an unjuſt Judgment upon another, himſelf was brought to ſuffer by an unjuſt Judgment.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all Men that are concern'd in it may take the Occaſion of it, of humble Repentance to God Almighty for it; I do here profeſs to you, that truly I did give my Vote to that Bill of the Earl of *Strafford*; I doubt not but God Almighty hath waſh'd that away with a more precious Blood, that is, with the Blood of his Son, and my dear Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt; and I hope he will waſh it away from all thoſe that are guilty of it. Truly, this I may ſay, I had not the leaſt part, nor the leaſt degree of Malice in the doing of it: But I muſt confeſs again to God's Glory, and the Accuſation of my own Frailty, and the Frailty of my Nature, that truly it was an unworthy Cowardize not to reſiſt ſo great a Torrent as carried that Buſineſs at that time. And truly this I think I am moſt guilty of, but Malice I had none; but whatſoever it was, God, I am ſure, hath pardon'd it, hath given me the Aſſurance of it, that Chriſt Jeſus his Blood hath waſh'd it away; and truly I do from my Soul wiſh that all Men that have any Stain by it may ſeriouſly repent, and receive a Remiſſion and Pardon from God for it. And now, Gentlemen, we have had an Occaſion, by this Intimation, to remember his Majeſty, our King that laſt was; and I cannot ſpeak of him, or think of it, but I muſt needs ſay, that, in my Opinion, that have had time to conſider all the Images of all the greateſt and moſt virtuous Princes in the World; and truly, in my Opinion, there was not a more virtuous and more ſufficient Prince known in the World than our gracious King *Charles*, that died laſt: God Almighty preſerve our King that now

is, his Son; God ſend him more fortunate and longer Days, God Almighty ſo aſſiſt him, that he may exceed both the Virtues and Sufficiencies of his Father; for certainly, I that have been a Councellor to him, and have liv'd long with him, and in a time when Diſcovery is eaſily enough made, for he was young (about 15 or 16 Years of Age) thoſe Years I was with him, truly I never ſaw greater Hopes of Virtue in any young Perſon than in him: Great Judgment, great Underſtanding, ſtrong Apprehenſions, much Honour in his Nature, and truly a very perfect *Engliſhman* in his Inclinations. I pray God reſtore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one to another, to the Happineſs both of you and him, that he may long live and reign among you; and that that Family may reign till thy Kingdom come; that is, while all temporal Power is conſummated: I beſeech God of his Mercy give much Happineſs to this your King, and to you that in it ſhall be his Subjects, by the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt.

Truly, I like my Beginning ſo well, that I will make my Concluſion with it, that is, that God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and ineſtimable Grace and Mercy, to thoſe that are the Cauſers of my coming hither; I pray God give them as much Mercy as their own Hearts can wiſh; for my part, I will not accuſe any one of them of Malice, truly I will not; nay, I will not think there was any Malice in them; what other Ends there are I know not, nor I will not examine, but let it be what it will, from my very Soul I forgive them every one; and ſo the Lord of Heaven bleſs you all, God Almighty be infinite in Goodneſs and Mercy to you, and direct you in thoſe ways of Obedience to his Commands to his Majeſty, that this Kingdom may

be

be a happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in ſo good and ſo obedient a People; God Almighty keep you all, God Almighty preſerve this Kingdom, God Almighty preſerve you all.

Then he call'd for the Executioner, to whom he gave five Pounds, and ſaid, I not only forgive thee from my Soul, but deſire God to give thee Grace for a better Employment. *And having ſtood ſtill a while, he ſaid,* God Almighty ſtanch this Blood, God Almighty ſtanch, ſtanch, ſtanch, this Iſſue of Blood, this will not do the Buſineſs, God Almighty find out another way to do it. Having taken leave of his Friends and Servants, he betook himſelf to his Prayers; and upon a Sign given, the Executioner ſever'd his Head from his Body.

His Family.

The Lord *Capel* was Son and Heir of Sir *Arthur Capel* of *Hadham-Hall* in *Hertfordſhire* (deſcended from Sir *William Capel*, Lord Mayor of *London*, *Anno* 1504, 20 *Hen.* VII.) He was advanced to the Dignity of Baron of the Realm, by the Title of Lord *Capel* of *Hadham*, *Anno* 1641, 17 *Car.* I. He put himſelf in Arms, and raiſed ſome Troops of Horſe for his Majeſty's Service, at his own Charge, during the Rebellion. The King being a Priſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*, he endeavour'd, with what Strength he could raiſe, to reſcue him; but miſcarrying, ſuffer'd Death for the glorious Attempt. *Coll. Hiſt. Dict.*

Nothing can better diſcover the Sedateneſs and Compoſure of this Gentleman's Mind, when he was about to lay his Head upon the Block, than the Dialogue between his Lordſhip and the Executioner, which was prov'd at *Hulet*'s Tryal, part whereof is hereafter inſerted, *viz.*

Lord *Capel.* Was't thou the Man that cut off the King my Maſter's Head? *Ex-*

Executioner. Yes, God forgive me, and this was the Ax.

Then the Lord Capel *took the Ax and kiſs'd it.*

Lord *Capel.* And, Sirrah, wer't thou not afraid?

Executioner. They made me cut it off, and gave me thirty Pounds for my Pains. *See Tryals of the Regicides,* Fol. Ed. Vol. 1. p. 913. 8vo Ed. p. 750.

Lord CAPEL's CHARACTER.

His Death, ſays the Lord *Clarendon,* depriv'd the Nation of the nobleſt Champion it had. He was a Man in whom the Malice of his Enemies could diſcover very few Faults, and whom his Friends could not wiſh better accompliſh'd; whom *Cromwell's* own Character well deſcrib'd, and who, indeed, *would never have been contented to live under that Government.* His Memory all Men lov'd and reverenc'd, tho' few follow'd his Example; he had always liv'd in a State of great Plenty and general Eſtimation, having a very noble Fortune of his own by Deſcent, and a fair Addition to it by his Marriage, with an excellent Wife, a Lady of very worthy Extraction, of great Virtue and Beauty, by whom he had a numerous Iſſue of both Sexes, in which he took great Joy and Comfort; ſo that no Man was more happy in all his Domeſtick Affairs; and he was ſo much the more happy, in that he thought himſelf moſt bleſſed in them.

And yet the King's Honour was no ſooner violated, and his juſt Power invaded, than he threw all thoſe Bleſſings behind him; and having no other Obligations to the Crown, than thoſe which his Honour and Conſcience ſuggeſted to him, he frankly engag'd his Perſon and his Fortune,

tune, from the Beginning of the Troubles, as many others did, in all Actions and Enterprizes of the greateſt Hazard and Danger, and continued to the End without ever making one falſe Step, as few others did, though he had once, by the Iniquity of a Faction that then prevail'd, an Indignity put upon him, that might have excus'd him for ſome Remiſſion of his former Warmth. But it made no other Impreſſion upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilſt they would let him alone, and with the ſame Cheerfulneſs to obey the firſt Summons when he was call'd out, which was quickly after.

In a Word, he was a Man, that whoever ſhall after him deſerve beſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, he can never think himſelf undervalued, when he ſhall hear that his Courage, Virtue and Fidelity, are laid in the Ballance with, and compar'd to thoſe of my Lord *Capel.* *Clar. Hiſt. Vol.* 3. *p.* 273.

LILBURNE'S CHARACTER, *who was try'd Anno* 1649.

JOHN Lilburne, before the Troubles, was a poor Bookbinder, and for procuring ſome ſeditious Pamphlets, againſt the Church and State, to be printed and diſperſed, was ſeverely ſentenc'd by the Star-Chamber, and receiv'd a ſharp Caſtigation, which made him ſtill more obſtinate and malicious againſt the Government: And, as he afterwards confeſs'd, in the Melancholy of his Impriſonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he rais'd in himſelf a marvellous Inclination and Appetite to ſuffer in the Defence, or for the Vindication of any oppreſs'd Truth, and found himſelf very much confirm'd in that Spirit; and in that time diligently collected and read all thoſe Libels and Books which had antiently, as well as lately been written

written againſt the Church; from whence, with their Venom, he had likewiſe contracted the Impudence and Bitterneſs of their Stile; and, by Practice, brought himſelf to the Faculty of writing like them: And ſo when that Licence broke in, of printing all that Malice and Wit could ſuggeſt, he publiſh'd ſome Pamphlets in his own Name, full of that Confidence and Virulency, which might aſperſe the Government moſt, to the Senſe of the People, and to their Humour. When the War began, he put himſelf into the Army, and was taken Priſoner by the King's Forces in that Engagement at *Brentford*, ſhortly after the Battle of *Edge-hill*; and being then a Man much known and talk'd of for his Qualities above-mention'd, he was not ſo well treated in Priſon as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the Chief Juſtice to be tried for Treaſon by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* (in which Method the King intended then to have proceeded againſt the Rebels which ſhould be taken) he behav'd himſelf with ſo great Impudence in extolling the Power of the Parliament, that it was manifeſt he had an Ambition to have been made a Martyr for that Cauſe. But as he was liberally ſupplied from his Friends at *London*, (and the Parliament in expreſs Terms declar'd that they would inflict Puniſhment upon the Priſoners they had of the King's Party, in the ſame manner as *Lilburne* and the reſt ſhould ſuffer at *Oxford*) ſo he did find Means to corrupt the Marſhal who had the Cuſtody of him, and made his Eſcape into the Parliament Quarters; where he was receiv'd with publick Joy, as a Champion that had defy'd the King in his own Court. From this time he was entertain'd by *Cromwell* with great Familiarity, and in his Conteſts with the Parliament was of much Uſe to him, and Privacy with

him.

him. But he began then to find him of ſo reſtleſs and unruly a Spirit, and to make thoſe Advances in Religion againſt the *Presbyterians*, before he thought it ſeaſonable; that he diſpens'd with his Preſence in the Army, where he was an Officer of Name, and made him reſide in *London*, where he wiſh'd that Temper ſhould be improv'd. And when the Parliament was ſo much offended with his ſeditious Humour, and the Pamphlets he publiſh'd every Day in Religion, with Reflections upon their Proceedings, that they reſolv'd to proſecute him with great Vigour (towards which the Aſſembly of Divines, which he had likewiſe provok'd, contributed their Deſire and Demand) *Cromwell* writ a very paſſionate Letter to the Parliament, that they would not ſo much diſcourage their Army, that was fighting for them, as to cenſure an Officer of it for his Opinion in Point of Conſcience, for the Liberty whereof, and to free themſelves from the Shackles in which the Biſhops would enſlave them, that Army had been principally rais'd.

Upon which all further Proſecution againſt *Lilburne* was declin'd at that time, tho' he declin'd not the further Provocation, and continu'd to make the Proceedings of the Parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that *Cromwell* had diſpers'd that Parliament, and was in effect in Poſſeſſion of the Sovereign Power, *Lilburne* withdrew his Favour for him, and thought him now an Enemy worthy of his Diſpleaſure, and both in Diſcourſes and Writings, in Pamphlets and Invectives, loaded him with all the Aſperſions of Hypocriſy, Lying and Tyranny, and all other Imputations and Reproaches, which either he deſerv'd, or the Malice or Bitterneſs of the other's Nature could ſuggeſt to him, to make him the moſt univerſally odious, that a faithleſs perjur'd Perſon could be.

Cromwell

Cromwell could bear ill Language and Reproaches with leſs Diſturbance and Concern than any Perſon in Authority had ever done; yet the Proſecution this Man exercis'd him with, made him plainly diſcern that it would be impoſſible to preſerve his Dignity, or to have any Security in the Government while this Licence continu'd; and therefore, after he had ſet Spies upon him to obſerve his Actions, and collect his Words, and upon Advice with the Council at Law of the State, was confidently inform'd, that as well by the old eſtabliſh'd Laws, as by new Ordinances, *Lilburne* was guilty of High Treaſon, and had forfeited his Life if he were proſecuted in any Court of Juſtice; he caus'd him to be ſent to *Newgate*, and at the next Seſſions to be indicted of High Treaſon: All the Judges being preſent, and the Council at Law to enforce the Evidence, and all Care being taken to return ſuch a Jury as might be fit for the Importance of the Caſe; *Lilburne* appear'd undaunted, and with the Confidence of a Man that was to play a Prize before the People for their own Liberty, he pleaded Not guilty, and heard all the Charge and Evidence againſt him with Patience enough, ſave that by interrupting the Lawyers ſometimes who proſecuted him, and by ſharp Anſwers to ſome Queſtions of the Judges, he ſhew'd that he had no Reverence for their Perſons, nor any Submiſſion to their Authority. The whole Day was ſpent in his Tryal, and when he came to make his Defence, he mingled ſo much Law in his Diſcourſe to invalidate their Authority, and to make it appear ſo tyrannical, that neither their Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates, were in any Degree ſecure whilſt that Uſurpation was exercis'd, and anſwer'd all the Matters objected againſt him with ſuch an Aſſurance, making them to contain nothing of High Treaſon, and that to

be

be a Government againſt which High Treaſon could not be committed. He defended himſelf with that Vigour, and charm'd the Jury ſo powerfully, that, againſt all the Direction and Charge the Judges could give them (who aſſur'd them that the Words and Actions fully prov'd againſt the Priſoner were High Treaſon by the Law, and that they were bound by all the Obligations of Conſcience to find him guilty) after no long Conſultation between themſelves, they return'd with their Verdict that he was *Not guilty*, nor could they be perſuaded by the Judges to change or recede from their Verdict, which infinitely enrag'd and perplex'd *Cromwell*, who look'd upon it as a greater Defeat than the Loſs of a Battle would have been. And tho' *Lilburne* was acquitted on another Proſecution in the Year 1653, yet *Cromwell* would never ſuffer him to be ſet at Liberty, as by Law he ought to have been, but ſent him from Priſon to Priſon, and kept him enclos'd there till he himſelf died. *Clar. Vol. III.* 503.

Dr. *Nalſon* ſums up the Character of *John Lilburne* in few Words: He ſays, He was a Man of a reſtleſs, boiling and unwearied Spirit, condemn'd by his ungovernable Temper to perpetual Troubles and Quarrels with his Superiors, and always oppoſing himſelf to the Power that was uppermoſt. *Nalſon's Col. Vol. I.* 512. After his ſecond Tryal, being impriſon'd by the Protector in *Dover* Caſtle, he there met with ſome of the Sect of the *Quakers*, who brought him over to their Opinions, in which he continu'd to his Death, and his Body was convey'd by the Brethren to their Meeting-houſe at the *Bull and Mouth* in *London*, where it was put into a plain Coffin, without any Covering, and from thence was carried with the Head forwards (in Oppoſition to the ancient ſuperſtitious

perſtitious Cuſtom) to the new Church-yard by *Bethlem*, where it was interr'd.

The Execution of Mr. CHRISTOPHER LOVE, *Auguſt* 22, 1651.

MR. *Love* was brought from the Tower by the Sheriffs of *London* to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, about two a-clock in the Afternoon: The Miniſters that accompanied him were Mr. *Aſh*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Manton*. When he was upon the Scaffold, Sheriff *Titchburn* ſhewed him the Warrant for his Suffering, telling him, that he took no Pleaſure in this Work, but it was a Duty laid upon him. Mr. *Love*, I believe it, Sir. Sheriff *Titchburn*, I have done my Duty for you. Mr. *Love*, The Lord bleſs you. *Lieutenant of the Tower*, The Lord ſtrengthen you in this Hour of your Temptation. Mr. *Love*, Sir, I bleſs God, my Heart is in Heaven, I am well. Then turning to Sheriff *Titchburn*, he ſaid, May I have the Liberty to ſpeak and pray? Sheriff *Titchburn*, Yes: But I deſire you to conſider, we have the other [meaning Mr. *Gibbons*] to execute afterwards, and ſix a-clock is our Hour; but we will give you as much time as we can. Mr. *Love*, I ſhall be the briefer. Then he put off his Hat two ſeveral times to the People, and ſpake as followeth:

Beloved Chriſtians,

I am made this Day a Spectacle unto God, Angels, and Men: And among Men, I am made a Grief to the Godly, a Laughing-ſtock to the Wicked, and a Gazing-ſtock to all; yet bleſſed be my God, not a Terror to myſelf. Altho' there be but little between me and Death; yet this bears up my Heart, there is but little between

me

me and Heaven. It comforted Dr. *Taylor*, the Martyr, when he was going to Execution, that there were but two Stiles between him and his Father's Houſe; there is a leſſer Way between me and my Father's Houſe; but two Steps between me and Glory; it is but lying down upon the Block, and I ſhall aſcend upon a Throne. I am this Day ſailing towards the Ocean of Eternity, thro' a rough Paſſage to my Haven of Reſt; thro' a Red Sea to the promiſed Land. Methinks I hear God ſay to me as he did to *Moſes*, *Go up to Mount* Nebo, *and die there*: So to me, *Go up to* Tower-hill, *and die there*. *Iſaac* ſaid of himſelf, that he was old, and yet he knew not the Day of his Death; but I cannot ſay ſo, I am young, and yet I know the Day of my Death, and I know the kind of my Death, and the Place of my Death alſo. I am put to ſuch a kind of Death as two famous Preachers of the Goſpel were put to before me, *John* the Baptiſt, and *Paul* the Apoſtle, they were both beheaded; you have Mention of the one in Scripture Story, and of the other in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. And I read in *Rev.* 20. 4. *The Saints were beheaded for the Word of God, and for the Teſtimony of Jeſus*: But herein is the Diſadvantage which I lie under in the Thoughts of many, they judge that I ſuffer not for the Word of God, or for Conſcience, but for meddling with State Matters. To this I ſhall briefly ſay, That it is an old Guiſe of the Devil, to impute the Cauſe of God's Peoples Sufferings, to be Contrivements againſt the State, when in Truth it is their Religion and Conſcience they are perſecuted for: The Rulers of *Iſrael* would have put *Jeremy* to Death upon a civil Account, tho' indeed it was only the Truth of his Prophecy that made the Rulers angry with him; and yet upon a civil Account they pretend he muſt die, be-

cauſe he fell away to the *Chaldeans*, and would have brought in foreign Forces to invade them: The ſame thing is laid to my Charge, of which I am as innocent as *Jeremy* was. Yea, I find other Inſtances in Scripture, wherein the Cauſe of the Saints Sufferings were ſtill imputed to their meddling with State Matters. *Paul*, tho' he did but preach Jeſus Chriſt, yet he muſt die, if the People might have their Will, under Pretence that he was a Mover of Sedition. Upon a civil Account my Life is pretended to be taken away, whereas indeed it is becauſe I purſue my Covenant, and will not proſtitute my Principles and Conſcience to the Ambition and Luſts of Men. Beloved, I am this Day making a double Exchange, I am changing a Pulpit for a Scaffold, and a Scaffold for a Throne; and I might add a third, I am changeing this numerous Multitude, the Preſence of this numerous Multitude on *Tower-hill*, for the innumerable Company of Saints and Angels in Heaven, the holy Hill of *Sion*; and I am changing a Guard of Soldiers for a Guard of Angels, which will receive me, and carry me into *Abraham*'s Boſom. This Scaffold is the beſt Pulpit that ever I preach'd in; in my Church-Pulpit, God thro' his Grace made me an Inſtrument to bring others to Heaven; but in this Pulpit he will bring me to Heaven. Theſe are the laſt Words that I ſhall ſpeak in this World, and it may be I ſhall bring more Glory to God by this one Speech on a Scaffold, than I have done by many Sermons in a Pulpit.

Before I lay down my Neck upon the Block, I ſhall lay open my Cauſe unto the People that hear me this Day, that I might not die under all that Obloquy and Reproach that is caſt upon me; and in doing it, I ſhall avoid all Rancor, all Bitterneſs of Spirit, Animoſity and Revenge; God

is

is my Record, whom I ſerve in the Spirit; I ſpeak the Truth, and lie not; I do not bring a revengeful Heart unto the Scaffold. This Day, before I came here, upon my bended Knees I have beg'd Mercy for them that denied Mercy to me, and I have prayed God to forgive them who would not forgive me; I have forgiven from my Heart the worſt Enemy I have in all the World; and this is the worſt that I wiſh to my Accuſers and Proſecutors, who have purſued my Blood, that I might meet their Souls in Heaven.

I ſhall divide my Speech into three Parts: I ſhall ſpeak ſomething concerning my Charge, and a Word concerning my Accuſers and touching my Judges, without any Animoſity at all; and then ſomething concerning myſelf, for my own Vindication, and then a Word of Exhortation, and ſo I ſhall commit my Soul to God.

Concerning my Charge, it is black and hideous, many things falſly ſuggeſted, hardly a Line of it true, and nothing Capital ſufficiently prov'd againſt me by any one Act that I am conſcious to myſelf I did. The Charge is high and full, but the Proof empty and low; tho' there were eight Witneſſes that came in againſt me, yet none of them did prove that ever I writ any Letter, or directed any Man to write a Letter into *Scotland*, or into foreign Parts; no Man did prove that I ſent away any Letter, that I received any Letter, that I collected or gave, or lent any Money to aſſiſt or promote the *Scotiſh* War: This is all that is ſworn againſt me, that I was preſent where Letters were read, and that I made a Motion for Money to give to *Maſſey*; ſo that (Beloved) my Preſence at, and Concealment of Letters that were receiv'd and ſent from foreign Parts, is that for which I muſt die.

As concerning my Accuſers, I ſhall not ſay much ; I do forgive them with all my Heart, and I pray God forgive them alſo. Yet what the Evangeliſt ſaid concerning Chriſt's Accuſers, I may (without Vanity or Falſhood) ſay of mine, That they did not agree amongſt themſelves : One Witneſs ſwears one thing, and another the quite contrary; yea, not only did they contradict one another, but ſometimes a ſingle Witneſs contradicted himſelf. And tho' their Teſtimony did condemn my Perſon, yet I have condemned their Teſtimony. And truly there are many remarkable Circumſtances that I might take notice of, either in, or before, or ſince the Trial, that might be worthy Obſervation ; but I will not inſiſt upon it, only in the general (for I ſhall name none of my Accuſers) ſome of them have ſent to me, to pray me to forgive them the Wrong they have done me : And one of them hath written to me under his own Hand, to pray me to forgive him the Wrong that he hath done me ; and told me withal, that that Day I ſhould die a violent Death, his Life would be no Comfort to him, becauſe he was an Inſtrument in taking away of mine. Others of the Witneſſes were ſome terrified before they would teſtify ; ſome were hired, ſome fined before they would bear Witneſs againſt me. But I will be off of this. As concerning my Judges, I will not judge them, and yet I will not juſtify them : I will ſay but this of them, I believe that what moved *Herod* to cut off *John* Baptiſt's Head, that moved them to cut off mine ; and that was for his Oath's ſake : *Herod*, to avoid Perjury, would commit Murder ; whereas if *John*'s Head had been upon his Shoulders, he would have been guilty of neither.

I have

I have ſomething in the ſecond Place to ſpeak concerning myſelf, and then I ſhall come briefly to a Concluſion. Concerning myſelf, I have gone thro' various Reports; there are many Sons of Slander, whoſe Mouths are as open Sepulchres, in which they would bury my Name, before my Friends can bury my Body; but my Comfort is, there will be a Reſurrection of Names as well as Bodies at the laſt Day: God will not only wipe off all Tears from my Eyes this Day, but he will alſo wipe off all Blots and Reproaches from my Name before many Days be over; and tho' my Body will ſoon rot under Ground, yet my Hope is, my Name will not rot above it. I am not ignorant what Calumnies are caſt upon me, and more likely to be after I am dead and gone. The very Night before my intended Execution, the laſt Month, there was an inſulting Letter written to me, to tell me, that after my Death there ſhould be ſomething publiſh'd againſt me to my Shame. I hope you will have ſo much Charity as not to believe Reproaches caſt upon a dead Man, who will be ſilent in the Grave, and not able to ſpeak a Word in his own Juſtification. I am aſperſed both as to my Practice, and as to my Principles. I ſhall begin with the firſt. There are five Aſperſions, as to my Practice, that are laid upon me, That I am a Liar, an Extortioner, an Adulterer, a Murderer, and a turbulent Perſon: Crimes ſcandalous in any Man, but much more abominable in a Miniſter. Now I hope you will believe a dying Man, who dares not look God in the Face with a Lie in his Mouth: I am accus'd of lying, that what I denied before the High Court of Juſtice, that that afterwards I ſhould confeſs, or elſe was proved againſt me. Now in the Preſence of God I tell you, as I would confeſs nothing that was criminal, ſo I did deny no-

thing that was true ; and that I may ſeal it to you with my Blood, the ſame Proteſtations I made before the High Court, I ſhall make briefly now. 1. That I never writ Letter to the King, Queen, Church or State of *Scotland*, or to any particular Perſon of the *Scotiſh* Nation, ſince the Wars began, to this Day. 2. That I never received any Letter writ to me, either from the King, or from the Queen, or from the Church or State of *Scotland*, or from any particular Perſon of the *Scotiſh* Nation, ſince the Wars began, to this Day. 3. That I never collected, gave or lent one Penny of Money, either to the King, Queen, Church or State of *Scotland*, or to any particular Perſon to ſend into *Scotland*, to any Perſon of the *Scotiſh* Nation, to this Day. It is true, I did confeſs, tho' it was not prov'd (and haply upon that Ground the Miſtake might ariſe) I did give Money to *Maſſey*, and I did alſo write a Letter to him ; but he is of the *Engliſh*, not of the *Scotiſh* Nation. That for which I come here, is only for moving for Money for him, and that not upon a military Account, but merely to relieve his perſonal Neceſſities, and for being preſent where Letters were read from him and others. And altho' Man hath condemned me, yet I am ſo far from thinking that either God or my own Conſcience condemns me, as ſinning in what I am condemn'd for, that both God and my own Conſcience doth acquit me : And what I ſaid at the Bar, when I receiv'd my Sentence, that I ſhall ſay upon the Scaffold, That for thoſe things for which I am condemned, neither God nor my own Conſcience condemns me.

Again, I am accuſed to be an Extortioner ; and this is in the Mouths ---- I am loth to name them, becauſe I will avoid all Rancor : But I am charged as if I ſhould be a grievous Extortioner, to receive thirty Pounds for the Loan of three

hundred

hundred Pounds, beſides eight Pounds *per Cent.* for Intereſt, which in the Preſence of God, and of you all, I do declare to you, is a moſt notorious and abominable Falſhood.

I am accuſed likewiſe to be an Adulterer, and this Report is not in the Mouths of mean Men, but in the Mouths of thoſe that ſit at the Stern: As if I were a debauched Perſon, and were guilty of Uncleanneſs. Now I tell you, as *Luther* ſaid of himſelf in another Caſe, that he was not tempted to Covetouſneſs; ſo thro' the Grace of God I can ſay, I have not been tempted in all my Life to Uncleanneſs. It doth not much grieve me, tho' theſe Slanders be caſt upon me: I know my Betters have been worſe accuſed before me: *Athanaſius* was accuſed by two Harlots, that he had committed Folly with them; and yet the Man was chaſt and innocent. *Beza* was charged not only with Drunkenneſs, but with Laſciviouſneſs alſo; and many others have been accuſed with the ſame, if not with worſe Slanders than I have been.

But (that which goeth neareſt my Heart) I am accus'd to be a Murderer alſo; and this is a Charge high indeed; I am charged with the Guilt of all the Blood of *Scotland*; whereas, did I lie under the Guilt of one Drop of Blood, I could not look upon God with ſo chearful a Countenance, and I could not be fill'd with ſo peaceable a Heart and Conſcience as I have at this Day. I bleſs my God, I am free from the Blood of all Men: Thoſe who lay this to my Charge, they do to me as *Nero* did to the Chriſtians: He ſet *Rome* on fire, and then charged the Chriſtians with it: So they put *England* and *Scotland* into a Flame, and yet charge me with the Guilt of that Blood, who have poured forth Tears to God Night and Day, to quench the Burning which

theſe Mens Ambitions and Luſts have kindled: And I would fain know of any Man what Act it is that I have done? Or what is it that was proved in the High Court againſt me, that makes me guilty of *Scotland*'s Blood? Did I ever invite the *Scots* to invade *England*? What Man doth lay that to my Charge? Did I ever encourage the *Engliſh* Army to invade *Scotland*? What Action is it that I have done that makes me guilty of that Blood? Indeed this I have done, and this I have, and this I do ſtand to; I have, as a private Man, prayed unto God many a Day, and kept many a Faſt, wherein I have ſought God that there might be an Agreement between the King and the *Scots*, upon the Intereſt of Religion and Terms of the Covenant: Now, by what Conſequence can this be ſtrain'd, to charge me with *Scotland*'s Blood? For my Part, I was but only at one Meeting where the Queſtion was propos'd (Faſts only excepted) what ſhould be thought fit to be done to promote the Agreement between the King and the *Scots*? and that was moved in my Houſe: And to that End, when there were ſome things there propoſed which they call'd a Commiſſion, or Inſtructions to ſend to *Holland*; as ſoon as ever I heard them, I did declare againſt them. I did declare that it was an Act of high Preſumption for private Perſons to commiſſionate; an Act of notorious Falſhood, to ſay it was in the Name of the *Presbyterian* Party, when none knew of it (that I know of) but only thoſe few then preſent. Now this is only a political Engine to make the *Presbyterian* Party odious, who are the beſt Friends to a well order'd Government, of any ſort of People in the World.

I am

I am accuſed likewiſe to be a Man of a turbulent Spirit, to be an Enemy to the Peace and Quiet of the Nation. Now, as to this, let my Congregation and my Domeſtical Relations judge for me, whether I am not a Man that would fain have lived quiet in the Land: I am as *Jeremy* was, *born a Man of Contention*; not actively, I contend, I ſtrive with none: But paſſively, many ſtrive and contend with me. God is my Witneſs, my Judgment hath put me upon endeavouring after all honourable and juſt Ways for Peace and Love among the Godly. The Grief of my Heart hath been for the Diviſions, and the Deſire of my Soul for an Union among God's People. But when I ſpeak of an Union, I would not be miſunderſtood, I do not mean a State Union, to engage to the preſent Power, that is againſt my Principles; that is to ſay, *A Confederacy with them that ſay, A Confederacy*: That is, rather a Combination than a Goſpel Union: O join not with them, leſt ye be conſumed in their Sins; they who get Power into their Hands by Policy, and uſe it with Cruelty, will loſe it with Ignominy. It was ſaid of Pope *Boniface*, He did enter into the Popedom like a Fox, reign'd like a Lion, but died like a Dog. Beloved, the Union for which I plead, is a Church Union; to wit, Love among the Godly; for this the Deſires of my Soul have ever been, that thoſe that fear God might walk Hand in Hand in the Fellowſhip of the Goſpel, both in Truth and Love: If this Union be not, I am afraid, through our Diviſions, a Company of looſe Libertines will ariſe, who will endeavour not only to overthrow the Doctrine of Faith, and the Power of Godlineſs, but even good Manners alſo. I remember an Obſervation of holy *Greenham's*, giving his Judgment upon the State of *England*, ſaith he, *There is great Fear that Popery*

is coming into England, *and I fear it too ; But* (ſays he) *I fear more the coming in of Atheiſm into* England *than the coming in of Popery;* and truly, that is my Fear alſo. Thus as to my Practice: A Word now as to my Principles.

I am accus'd to be an Apoſtate, to be a Turncoat, to be this, to be that, to be any thing but what I am: In the general, I will tell you, I bleſs my God, a High-Court, a long Sword, a bloody Scaffold, have not made me in the leaſt to alter my Principles, or to wrong my Conſcience: And that I might diſcover to you my Principles, I hope I ſhall do it with Freedom ; I will irritate and provoke none; what I ſhall ſay, ſhall not be an Irritation or Provocation of others, at leaſt not intended by me; but only as a genuine and clear Manifeſtation of my own Principles how they ſtand.

Firſt then, my Principles, as to Civil and Religious Affairs, I do declare that I die with my Judgment ſet againſt Malignity, I do hate both Name and Thing; I ſtill retain as vehement a Deteſtation of a Malignant Intereſt as ever I did; yet I would not be miſunderſtood: I do not underſtand, nor count the godly Party, our covenanting Brethren in *Scotland*, to be a Malignant Party ; nor the *Scots* defending their Nation and Title of their King to be a Malignant Intereſt, but an honeſt and juſtifiable Cauſe.

Secondly, Tho' I am againſt Malignity, yet I am not againſt, but for a regulated Monarchy ; a mixt Monarchy, ſuch as ours is, I judge to be the beſt Government in the World: I did, it's true, in my Place and Calling, oppoſe the Forces of the late King, but I was never againſt the Office ; I am not only againſt Court-Paraſites, who would ſcrew up Monarchy into Tyranny, but againſt thoſe who pull down Monarchy to bring in Anarchy. *Thirdly*,

Thirdly, I was never for putting the King to death, whoſe Perſon I did promiſe in my Covenant to preſerve: It is true, I did in my Place and Calling oppoſe his Forces, but I did never endeavour to deſtroy his Perſon. There is a Scandal rais'd of me, that in a Sermon at *Windſor*, I ſhould have theſe Words, that *It would never be well with* England, *till the King were let blood in the Neck-vein*; which Speech I utterly deteſt, profeſſing, as a dying Man, in the preſence of God and of you all, I never ſpake ſuch Words, as relating to him: Tho' my Judgment was for bringing Malignants, who did ſeduce him and draw him from his Parliament, to condign Puniſhment; yet I deem'd it an ill way to cure the Body-Politick, by cutting off the political Head.

Fourthly, I die with my Judgment abſolutely ſet againſt the Engagement; I pray God forgive them that impoſe and ſubſcribe it, and preſerve thoſe that refuſe it.

Fifthly, I would not in the next place be look'd upon, now I am a dying Man, as a Man owning this preſent Government; I die with my Judgment againſt it: It is true, in a Caſe of Life, I did petition the preſent Power, and did give them the Titles they take to themſelves, and that others give them; but herein I did not wrong nor thwart my Principles; there are many Inſtances in Scripture to juſtify this: *Huſhai* did give the Title of King to *Abſalom*, tho' *Abſalom* had no Right to that Title; for *David* was the lawful King: And *David* himſelf gave him that Title as well as *Huſhai*. And *Calvin* he gave the Title to the *French* King, calling him *the moſt Chriſtian King*, yet we know he was a Papiſt: And we give a Title to King *Henry* VIII. and call him *the Defender of the Faith*, and yet he had no Right to that Title; for he was an Oppoſer, not a Defen-

ed

der of the Faith; that Title was given him upon an evil ground, becauſe he oppoſed the Faith; he oppoſed the Doctrine of *Luther*, therefore the Pope gave him that Title, *The Defender of the Faith*; and yet none did ſcruple to give him that Title that was then commonly given him.

Sixthly, in the next place (I diſcover my Judgment, I provoke none, only tell you what my own Thoughts are, that ſo after I am dead and gone, I might not be belied, for I dare not now bely my Principles) my Judgment is againſt the Invaſion of the *Scotiſh* Nation by the *Engliſh* Army. They, who gave us a friendly Aſſiſtance, who are joyned with us in the ſame Covenant, who drew a Sword with us in the ſame Quarrel, ſhould I live a Thouſand Years, I ſhould never draw Sword againſt them; but the *Engliſh* Army have forgot the Brotherly Covenant: So that *Scotland* may ſay as *Edom*, *The Men of my Confederacy, who were at Peace with me, have riſen up and prevailed againſt me*: Becauſe *Scotland* will not be a Commonwealth, they ſhall not be a People; becauſe they will not break Covenant, ſome Men would have them broken; becauſe they will not lay their Conſciences waſte, their Land muſt be laid waſte.

Laſtly, and ſo I have done, (only with a Word of Exhortation) I die cleaving to all thoſe Oaths, Vows, Covenants, and Proteſtations that were impoſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, as owning them, and dying with my Judgment for them; to the Proteſtation, the Vow and Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant. And this I tell you all, I had rather die a Covenant-keeper, than live a Covenant-breaker.

I am now come to the third and laſt part of my Speech, and ſo I ſhall have done, and commit my Soul to God who gave it. My Exhortation firſt ſhall be to this great City, unto the godly Miniſtry

ſtry of it; and unto my own Congregation, from whom Death parts me, which nothing elſe could.

To the City I wiſh an Affluence and Confluence of all Bleſſings upon it; and yet I fear grey Hairs, as the ſad Symptoms of a Declenſion, are here and there upon *London*, and yet ſhe knows it not. O *London*, *London*, God is ſtaining the Pride of all thy Glory. Thy Glory is flying away like a Bird; Contempt of the Miniſtry, Oppoſition againſt Reformation, general Apoſtacy, Covenant-breaking have brought *London* low, and I fear will yet bring it lower; I tremble to think what Evils are coming upon it: This City it is the Receptacle of all Errors; that as your Commodities are vented and ſpread from hence into every Corner of the Land, ſo have Hereſies and Blaſphemies had their firſt Riſe from this great and populous City, and from hence are ſpread into all Countries.

To the Inhabitants of this City I commend but theſe few Particulars: Firſt let me beg you to love your painful and your godly Miniſters: If they be taken away, you are like to have worſe come in their rooms. I know the Presbyterian Miniſters are the great Eye-ſore, who have formerly been counted the Chariots and Horſemen of *Iſrael:* But I will ſay of *London* (as was ſaid of *Leyden*, *That after* Junius, *an Orthodox Miniſter, was taken away*, Arminius, *that peſtilent Heretick, came in his room.*) If your godly Miniſters (and there have been Ten already at one blow taken from you) if they be taken away, *Arminians*, *Anabaptiſts*, nay *Jeſuits* are likely to ſupply their rooms, if God in Mercy prevent not. 2. Submit your ſelves to Church-Government; that would lay a Curb and Reſtraint upon your Luſts: It is a golden and eaſie Yoak, to which if you do not ſubmit, God may lay a heavy and an iron Yoak upon your Necks. 3. Take heed of thoſe Doctrines that come under

der the Notion of *New Light:* Thoſe Doctrines you ought to ſuſpect, whether true, which the Broachers of them ſay are new; for Truth is as old as the Bible. A remarkable Paſſage I would ſuggeſt unto you, in *Deut* xxxii. *verſ.* 17. It is ſaid there, *They choſe them new Gods that were newly come up*; and what were theſe *new Gods?* The next Words tell you, they were old Devils; *for they ſacrificed to Devils, and not to God:* Now their ſacrificing to old Devils is call'd a *ſacrificing* (to deceive the People) *to new Gods, that were newly come up*; yet their new Gods were but old Devils. Why, ſo I ſay, tho' many things go under the notion of *new Light*, yet they are but old Darkneſs, old Hereſies rak'd out of the Dunghil, and which were buried in former Ages of the Church, with Contempt and Reproach, many Hundred Years ago. 4. Bewail your great Loſs which you have, in the taking away of ſo many Miniſters out of your City; there are Ten Miniſters (if I miſtake not) that have been taken away and remov'd at one Blow, who were burning and ſhining Lights in their ſeveral Candleſticks, and bright Stars in their ſeveral Orbs; tho' I am not worthy of the World, and therefore am taken out of it; yet, as for my ſuffering Brethren, who are now in Bonds and Baniſhment, the World is not worthy of them. 5. Again, in the next place, take heed of engaging in a War againſt your Brethren of the *Scotiſh* Nation: For my part, I have oppos'd the Tyranny of a King, but I never oppos'd the Title.------Take heed what you do.

I have ſomething in the next place to ſpeak to the godly Miniſtry of this City: Were it not that I am a dying Man, I would not ſpeak to ſuch reverend and grave Men; I would ſay as *Elihu* did (being but a young Man) *Multitude*

of

of Years ſhould teach Wiſdom, and I would hold my tongue; but the Words of a dying Man take, whether they be diſcreet or no; or ſo well order'd or manag'd, or no; as to them, I would firſt deſire God to ſhew them Mercy, who have beg'd Mercy for me; now at the Day of my Death I would beg but this of them, that as they have not been aſham'd of my Chain, ſo they would now wax confident by my Bonds, and by my Blood. I know they are maligned and threatned, yet my Prayer for them is that in *Act.* iv. 29. *And now, O Lord, behold their Threatnings, and grant that thy Servants may preach thy Word with all Boldneſs.* Tho' I am but young, yet I will offer my young Experience to my grave Fathers and Brethren, and that is this; Now I am to die, I have abundance of Peace in my own Conſcience, that I have ſet my ſelf againſt the Sins and Apoſtacies of this preſent Age. It is true, my Faithfulneſs hath procur'd me Ill-will from Men, but it hath purchas'd me Peace with God: I have liv'd in Peace, and I ſhall die in Peace: That which I have to beſeech of the Miniſters is this, to beg them to keep up Church-Government; whatever God doth with the Governments of the World, turning Kingdoms upſide down, yet the Government of the Church ſhall ſtand; and of all Governments, I die with this Perſuaſion, that the Presbyterial Government makes moſt for Purity and Unity throughout the Churches of the Saints. I would beg them therefore to keep up Church-Government, that they would not let their Elderſhips fall, that they would take heed of too general Admiſſions to the Lord's Supper, that they be not too prodigal of the Blood of Chriſt, by too general Admiſſions of Men to the Supper of the Lord, that ſealing Ordinance. And now I am ſpeaking to them,

them, I ſhall ſpeak a Word of them, and ſo I have done: I have heard many Clamours ſince I came to Priſon, as if all the City-Miniſters were engag'd in the Plot (as 'tis call'd) that I am condemn'd for: Now, as a dying Man, I tell you, that all the Miniſters that were preſent at the Meetings, and had a hand in the Buſineſs for which I am to be put to death, are either in Priſon, or they are diſcover'd already; and therefore I do here, upon my Death, free the Miniſters of the City, who are not yet in Trouble, nor diſcover'd to the Committee of Examinations; none of them had a hand in the Buſineſs in which I was engaged; in which my Conſcience tells me, I have not ſin'd. I have done immediately, for I would fain be at my Father's Houſe.

I have but a Word to ſpeak to my own Congregation; I return Praiſes unto God, and Thankfulneſs to them, for the Love I have had from them; I found them a ſolid, judicious, and many of them a religious People: The Miniſtry of that learned Man, Mr. *Anth. Burgeſs*, did much good amongſt them; tho' I have cauſe to be humbled, that my weak Miniſtry did but little. They afforded me a great deal of Love, and a liberal Maintenance; and this is all I deſire of them, that they would chuſe a godly, learned, and orthodox Miniſter to ſucceed, ſuch an one as may keep up and carry on Church-Government: It would be a great Comfort to me before I go to Heaven, if I had but this Perſuaſion, that a learned, orthodox, godly Man ſhould fill that Pulpit. And for Encouragement to any godly Miniſter whoſe Lot may be to ſucceed me, I will ſay this, that he will have as comfortable a Livelihood, and as loving a People, as are any People in *London*, a few only excepted: I had as much Satisfaction among them as ever I had in any Condition

in

in all my Life, and ſhould never have parted from them, had not Death now parted us; to which I do ſubmit with all Chriſtian Meekneſs and Chearfulneſs. I am now drawing to an end of my Speech, and to an end of my Life together; but before I do expire my laſt Breath, I ſhall deſire to juſtify God, and to condemn my ſelf in all that is brought upon me. Here I come to that which you call an untimely End, and a ſhameful Death; but (bleſſed be God) it is my Glory, and it is my Comfort: I ſhall juſtify God, he is righteous, becauſe I have ſinned; he is righteous, tho' he cut me off in the midſt of my Days, and in the midſt of my Miniſtry: I cannot complain that Complaint in *Pſalm* xliv. 12. *Thou ſelleſt thy people for nought, and doſt not encreaſe thy wealth by their Price.* My Blood it ſhall not be ſpilt for nought; I may do more good by my Death, than by my Life, and glorify God more in dying upon a Scaffold, than if I had died of a Diſeaſe upon my Bed. I bleſs my God, I have not the leaſt Trouble upon my Spirit; but I do with as much Quietneſs of Mind lie down (I hope I ſhall) upon the Block, as if I were going to lie down upon my Bed to take my Reſt. If Men hunger after my Fleſh, and thirſt after my Blood, let them have it, it will haſten my Happineſs, and their Ruine, and greaten their Guiltineſs: Tho' I am a Man of an obſcure Family, of mean Parentage, ſo that my Blood is not as the Blood of Nobles, yet I will ſay it is a Chriſtian's Blood, a Miniſter's Blood, yea, it is innocent Blood alſo: My Body, my dead Body, it will be a Morſel, which I believe will hardly be digeſted, and my Blood it will be bad Food for this Infant-Commonwealth (as Mr. *Prideaux* call'd it) to ſuck upon: Mine is not Malignant Blood, tho' here I am brought as a grievous and notorious Offender.

Now, Beloved, I ſhall not only juſtify God (as I do without a Complement; for he were very juſt, if my Priſon had been Hell, and this Scaffold the bottomleſs Pit; I have deſerved both; ſo that I do not only juſtify God) but I deſire this day to magnify God, to magnify the Riches of his glorious Grace, that ſuch an one as I, born in an obſcure Country (in *Wales*) of obſcure Parents, that God ſhould look upon me, and ſingle me out from amongſt all my Kindred, to be an Object of his everlaſting Love; that when as the firſt Fourteen Years of my Life I never heard a Sermon, yet in the Fifteenth Year of my Life God (through his Grace) did convert me. And here I ſpeak it without Vanity (for what ſhould a dying Man be proud of?) tho' I am accus'd of many ſcandalous Evils, yet (I ſpeak to the Praiſe and Glory of my God) for theſe Twenty Years God hath kept me, that I have not fallen into any ſcandalous Sin; I have labour'd to keep a good Conſcience from my Youth up, and I magnify his Grace, that he hath not only made me a Chriſtian, but a Miniſter, and judg'd me faithful to put me into the Miniſtry: And tho' the Office be trodden upon and diſgraced, yet it is my Glory that I die a deſpiſed Miniſter; I had rather be a Preacher in a Pulpit, than a Prince upon a Throne; I had rather be an Inſtrument to bring Souls to Heaven, than to have all the Nations bring in Tribute to me: I am not only a Chriſtian and a Preacher, but whatever Men judge, I am a Martyr too, I ſpeak it without Vanity; would I have renounc'd my Covenant, and debauch'd my Conſcience, and ventur'd my Soul, there might have been hopes of ſaving my Life, that I ſhould not have come to this place; but bleſſed be my God, I have made the beſt Choice, I have choſen Affliction rather than Sin, and

therefore

therefore welcome Scaffold, and welcome Axe and welcome Block, and welcome Death, and welcome All, becauſe it will ſend me to my Father's Houſe: I have great cauſe to magnify God's Grace, that he hath ſtood by me during mine Impriſonment; it hath been a time of no little Temptation to me, yet (bleſſed be his Grace) he hath ſtood by me and ſtrengthned me; I magnify his Grace, that tho' now I come to die a violent Death, yet that Death is not a Terror to me; through the Blood of ſprinkling, the Fear of Death is taken out of my Heart; God is not a Terror to me, therefore Death is not dreadful to me; I bleſs my God, I ſpeak it without Vanity, I have formerly had more Fear in the drawing of a Tooth, than now I have at the cutting off my Head: I was for ſome Five or Six Years under a Spirit of Bondage, and did fear Death exceedingly; but when the Fear of Death was upon me, Death was not near me; but now Death is near me, the Fear of it is far from me: And bleſſed be my Saviour, that hath the Sting of Death in his own Sides, and ſo makes the Grave a Bed of Reſt to me, and makes Death (the laſt Enemy) to be a Friend, tho' he be a grim Friend. Further, I bleſs my God, that tho' Men have judg'd me to be caſt out of the World, yet that God hath not caſt me out of the Hearts and Prayers of his People; I had rather be caſt out of the World, than caſt out of the Hearts of godly Men. Some think me (it is true) not worthy to live; and yet others judge I do not deſerve to die: But God will judge all, I will judge no Man.

I have now done, I have no more to ſay, but to deſire the Help of all your Prayers, that God would give me the Continuance and Supply of divine Grace to carry me through this great Work

that I am now about: That as I am to do a Work I never did, ſo I may have a Strength I never had: That I may put off this Body with as much Quietneſs and Comfort of Mind, as ever I put off my Cloaths to go to Bed: And now I am to commend my Soul to God, and to receive my fatal Blow, I am comforted in this, *Tho' Men kill me, they cannot damn me; and tho' they thruſt me out of the World, yet they cannot ſhut me out of Heaven.* I am now going to my long Home, and you are going to your ſhort Homes; but I will tell you, I ſhall be at Home before you; I ſhall be at my Father's Houſe, before you will be at your own Houſes: I am now going to the Heavenly *Jeruſalem*, to the innumerable Company of Angels, to Jeſus the Mediator of the new Covenant, to the Spirits of juſt Men made perfect, and to God the Judge of all, *In whoſe Preſence there is Fulneſs of Joy, and at whoſe Right Hand are Pleaſures for evermore.* I conclude with the Speech of the Apoſtle, 2 *Tim.* iv. 6, 7. *I am now to be offer'd up, and the Time of my Departure is at hand; I have finiſh'd my courſe, I have fought the good Fight, I have kept the Faith, henceforth there is a Crown of Righteouſneſs laid up for me; and not for me only, but for all them that love the appearing of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, through whoſe Blood, when my Blood is ſhed, I expect Remiſſion of Sins and eternal Salvation. And ſo the Lord bleſs you all.

Then turning to the Sheriff, he ſaid, May I pray?

Sh. *Titchburn.* Yes, but conſider the Time.

Mr. *Love.* I have done, Sir. Then turning to the People, he ſaid, Beloved, I will but pray a little while with you, to commend my Soul to God, and I have done.

His Prayers being ended, he ſubmitted to the Block with great Chearfulneſs, and the Executioner did his Office.

Mr. Love's

Mr. Love's CHARACTER.

As to Mr. *Love's* Character, it may be gather'd in ſome meaſure from the Account he gives of himſelf at his Tryal, (*Vol.* 1. *p.* 690. *fol. Edit.* and *p.* 603. 8^vo *Ed.*) *viz.*

I do ſolemnly proteſt I am no Malignant, or ever had a malignant Deſign, or carried on a malignant Intereſt: I engaged many in the Parliament's Quarrel againſt the King; and tho' I gave but little, yet I gave all I had in the World (Books and Cloaths excepted) When I was Maſter of Arts at *Oxon*, I was the firſt that refus'd ſigning the Canons concerning the Prelates and Common-Prayer, for which I was expell'd the Congregation-houſe. About 1640, or 41, I was impriſon'd at *Newcaſtle*, for ſpeaking againſt the Errors of the Service-book; and was the firſt Miniſter, after the Wars began between the King and Parliament, that was apprehended for preaching Treaſon; and was afterwards complain'd of by the King's Commiſſioners for a Sermon I preach'd at *Uxbridge*: And now this great Trouble is fallen on me, 'tis not the Fear of Death that concerns me; but that I ſhould receive it from thoſe Hands for whom I have done and ſuffer'd ſo much; with whom I have been engaged in the ſame Quarrel, and joined in the ſame Covenant: *This exceedingly touches me.*

My Lord *Clarendon* informs us, that at the Treaty of *Uxbridge* Mr. *Love* attended the Commiſſioners for the Parliament thither (I ſuppoſe in Quality of a Chaplain;) and the firſt Day of the Commiſſioners meeting being on a Market-day, when there uſually was a Sermon, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, Mr. *Love* preach'd, and told his Audience, which conſiſted of the People of the Town, and thoſe who came to Market, the Church be-

ing very full, " That they were not to expect any " Good from the Treaty, for that they came from " *Oxford* with Hearts full of Blood, and that there " was as great a Diſtance between this Treaty and " Peace, as between Heaven and Hell, and that " they intended only to amuſe the People with Ex- " pectation of Peace, till they were able to do " ſome notable Miſchief to them. " And enveigh'd ſo ſeditiouſly againſt all Cavaliers, that is, againſt all who follow'd the King, and againſt the Perſons of the King's Commiſſioners, that he could be underſtood to intend nothing elſe but to ſtir up the People to mutiny, and in it to do ſome Act of Violence upon the Commiſſioners.

The King's Commiſſioners complaining of this Uſage, and demanding publick Juſtice; the Parliament's Commiſſioners ſeem'd troubled at it, and promis'd to examine the Matter, and cauſe ſome ſevere Puniſhment to be inflicted on the Man: But afterwards they ſaid they had no Authority to puniſh him, but that they had cauſed him to be ſharply reprehended, and to be ſent out of the Town. (*Clar. Hiſt. Vol. II. p.* 579.)

My Lord *Clarendon* tells us further, that *Cromwell* having diſcover'd *Love* to be in the Plot with the *Scots*, for bringing in the King, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition the Presbyterians could make, who appear'd publickly with their utmoſt Power in his Behalf, He procur'd him to be condemn'd and executed. And it is wonderful (ſays that noble Hiſtorian) what Operation this Presbyterian-Spirit had upon the Minds of thoſe who were poſſeſs'd by it. This poor Man, *Love*, who had been guilty of as much Treaſon againſt the King, from the beginning of the Rebellion, as the Pulpit cou'd contain, was ſo much without Remorſe for any Wickedneſs of that kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing ſo much

much as of being ſuſpected to repent, or that he was brought to ſuffer for his Affection to the King. And therefore when he was upon the Scaffold, where he appear'd with a marvellous Undauntedneſs, he ſeem'd ſo much delighted with the Memory of all that he had done againſt the late King, and againſt the Biſhops, that he could not even then forbear to ſpeak with Animoſity and Bitterneſs againſt both, and expreſs'd great Satisfaction of Mind for what he had done againſt them, and was as much tranſported with the inward Joy of Mind that he felt in being brought thither to die as a Martyr, and to give Teſtimony for the Covenant (whatſoever he had done, being in the purſuit of the Ends, *he ſaid*, of that ſanctified Obligation to which he was in and by his Conſcience engaged.) And in this raving Fit, without ſo much as praying for the King, otherwiſe than that he might propagate the Covenant, he laid his Head upon the Block with as much Courage as the braveſt and honeſteſt Man cou'd do on the moſt pious Occaſion. *Clar. Vol. III. p.* 434.

I have been inform'd, that ſuch Application was made to the Protector for Mr. *Love*'s Life, that he granted him a Pardon; but that the Protector being then in the North, the Expreſs, who carried it, fell into the Hands of ſome Cavaliers before he arriv'd at *London*; and it being conſider'd, that no Man had been a greater Incendiary, or purſu'd the King's Friends with more Violence than this Gentleman, it was agreed to detain the Expreſs 'till he was executed; which they did, to the inexpreſſible Grief of the Presbyterians.

The Execution of the Hon. Col. JOHN PENRUDDOCK, *the 16th of* May *1655.*

AS he was aſcending the Scaffold, he ſaid, This, I hope, will prove to be like *Jacob*'s Ladder; tho' the Feet of it reſt on Earth, yet I doubt not but the Top of it reacheth to Heaven.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he ſpoke to the People as follows:

Gentlemen,

It hath ever been the Cuſtom of all Perſons whatſoever, when they come to die, to give ſome Satisfaction to the World, whether they be guilty of the Fact of which they ſtand charged. The Crime for which I am now to die, is Loyalty, (but) in this Age call'd High-Treaſon. I cannot deny but I was at *Southmoulton*, in this County; but whether my being there, or my Actions there, amount to ſo high a Crime as High-Treaſon, I leave to the World, and to the Law, to judge: Truly, if I were conſcious to my ſelf of any baſe Ends that I had in this Undertaking, I would not be ſo injurious to my own Soul, or diſingenuous to you, as not to make a publick Acknowledgment thereof. I ſuppoſe that divers Perſons, according as they are biaſs'd in their ſeveral Intereſts and Relations, give their Opinions to the World concerning us. I conceive it impoſſible therefore, ſo to expreſs my ſelf in this Particular, as not to expoſe both my Judgment and Reputation to the Cenſure of many whom I ſhall leave behind me; becauſe I will not put others (therefore) upon a Breach of Charity concerning me, or my Actions, I have thought fit to decline all Diſcourſes which may give them a Capacity either to injure themſelves, or me; my Tryal was publick, and my ſe-

veral

veral Examinations (I believe) will be produc'd when I am in my Grave: I will refer you therefore to the firſt, which I am ſure ſome of you heard; and to the latter, which many of you (in good time) may ſee; had Captain *Crook* done himſelf and us that Right which a Gentleman and a Soldier ought to have done, I had not now been here. The Man I forgive with all my heart: But truly, Gentlemen, his proteſting againſt thoſe Articles he himſelf, with ſo many Proteſtations and Importunities put upon us, hath drawn ſo much Diſhonour and Blood upon his Head, that I fear ſome heavy Judgment will purſue him; tho' he hath been falſe to us, I pray God I do not prove a true Prophet to him; nay, I muſt ſay more, that coming on the Road to *Exon*, he, the ſaid Captain *Crook*, told me, Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff* was a gallant Gentleman, and that he was ſorry he was not taken with us; that then he might have had the Benefit of our Articles; but now, ſaid he, I have beſet all the Country for him, ſo that he cannot eſcape, but muſt be hang'd. He alſo queſtion'd me, as I paſs'd through *Salisbury* from *London*, whether he had given me Conditions, which I endeavouring to make appear to Major *Butler*, he interrupted me, and unwillingly confeſs'd it, ſaying I proffer'd him Four Hundred Pounds to perform his Articles; which had been a ſtrange Proffer of mine, had I not really condition'd with him; and I told him then (having found him unworthy) I would have given him Five Hundred Pounds, believing him to be mercenary; to make it yet farther appear, I injure him not, by ſtiling him unworthy; after theſe Articles were given, he proffer'd to piſtol me, if I did not perſuade another Houſe to yield, which then were boldly reſiſting; to which my Servant, *John Biby* (now a Priſoner) reply'd, I hope you will

will not be ſo unworthy as to break the Law of Arms. Thus much I am obliged to ſay to the Honour of the Soldiery, That they have been ſo far from breaking any Articles given to others, that they have rather better'd them than otherwiſe. It is now our Misfortune to be made Precedents and Examples together: But I will not do the Protector ſo much Injury, as to load him with Diſhonour, ſince I have been inform'd, that he would have made our Conditions good, if *Crook*, that gave them, had not abjur'd them. This is not a Time for me to enlarge upon any Subject, ſince I am now become the Subject of Death; but ſince the Articles were drawn by my Hand, I thought my ſelf oblig'd to a particular Juſtification of them. I could tell you of ſome Soldiers which are turn'd out of his Troop for defending thoſe Conditions of ours; but let that paſs, and henceforward, inſtead of Life, Liberty, and Eſtate, (which were the Articles agreed upon) let Drawing, Hanging, and Quartering bear the Denomination of Captain *Crook's* Articles. However, I thank the Protector for granting me this honourable Death. I ſhould now give you an Account of my Faith; but truly, Gentlemen, this poor Nation is rent into ſo many ſeveral Opinions, that it is impoſſible for me to give you mine, without diſpleaſing ſome of you; however, if any Man be ſo critical as to enquire of what Faith I die, I ſhall refer him to the Apoſtles, *Athanaſius*, and the *Nicene*-Creed, and to the Teſtimony of this reverend Gentleman, Dr. *Short*, to whom I have unboſom'd my ſelf: And if this do not ſatisfy, look in the Thirty Nine Articles of the Catholick Church of *England*, to them I have ſubſcribed, and do own them as authentick. Having now given you an Account concerning my ſelf, I hold my ſelf obliged in Duty to ſome of my Friends,

Friends, to take off a Suſpicion which lies upon them ; I mean, as to ſome Perſons of Honour, which upon my Examination I was charged to have held Correſpondency with ; the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, and my Lord of *Pembroke*, were the Perſons nominated to me; I did then acquit them, and do now ſecond it with this Proteſtation, that I never held any Correſpondency with either, or any of them, in relation to this particular Buſineſs, or indeed to any thing which concern'd the Protector, or his Government : As for the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, I ſaw him ſome twelve Years ſince, and not later ; and if I ſhould ſee him here preſent, I believe I ſhould not know him ; and for the Earl of *Pembroke*, he was not a Man likely to whom I ſhould diſcover my Thoughts, becauſe he is a Man of contrary Judgment. I was examin'd likewiſe concerning my Brother *Freke*, my Couſin *Haſtings*, Mr. *Dorrington*, and others : It is probable their Eſtates may make them liable to this my Condition ; but I do here ſo far acquit them, as to give the World this further Proteſtation, that I am confident they are as innocent in this Buſineſs as the youngeſt Child here : I have no more to ſay to you now, but to let you know that I am in Charity with all Men, I thank God ; I both can and do forgive my greateſt Perſecutors, and all that ever had any Hand in my Death. I have offer'd the Protector as good Security for my future Demeanour, as I ſuppoſe he could have expected, if he had thought fit to have given me my Life, certainly I ſhould not have been ſo ungrateful as to have employ'd it againſt him. I do humbly ſubmit to God's Pleaſure, knowing that the Iſſues of Life and Death are in his Hand ; my Blood is but a ſmall Sacrifice, if it had been ſaved, I am ſo much a Gentleman

as

as to have given Thanks to him that preſerv'd it, and ſo much a Chriſtian as to forgive them which take it ; but ſeeing God by his Providence hath call'd me to lay it down, I willingly ſubmit to it, tho' terrible to Nature ; but bleſſed be my Saviour, who hath taken out the Sting ; ſo that I look upon it, without Terror, Death is a Debt, and a due Debt ; and it hath pleaſed God to make me ſo good a Husband that I am come to pay it before it is due. I am not aſham'd of the Cauſe for which I die, but rather rejoice that I am thought worthy to ſuffer in the Defence and Cauſe of God's true Church, my lawful King, the Liberty of the Subject, and Privilege of Parliaments; therefore I hope none of my Alliance and Friends will be aſham'd of it ; it is ſo far from pulling down my Family, that I look upon it as the raiſing of it one Story higher ; neither was I ſo prodigal of Nature, as to throw away my Life, but have uſed (tho' none but honourable and honeſt) means to preſerve it. Theſe unhappy Times indeed have been very fatal to my Family, two of my Brothers already ſlain, and my ſelf going to the Slaughter ; it is God's Will, and I humbly ſubmit to that Providence. I muſt render an Acknowledgment of the great Civilities that I have receiv'd from this City of *Exon*, and ſome Perſons of Quality, and for their plentiful Proviſion made for the Priſoners. I thank Mr. *Sheriff* for his Favour towards us, in particular to myſelf, and I deſire him to preſent my due Reſpects to the Protector, and tho' he had no Mercy for myſelf, yet that he would have reſpect to my Family. I am now a ſtripping off my Cloaths to fight a Duel with Death (I conceive no other Duel lawful) but my Saviour hath pulled out the Sting of this mine Enemy, by making himſelf a Sacrifice for me, and truly I do not think that Man deſerving one Drop of his Blood that will

not

not ſpend all for him in ſo good a Cauſe. The Truth is, Gentlemen, in this Age Treaſon is an *Individuum Vagum*, like the Wind in the Goſpel, it bloweth where it liſteth: So now Treaſon is what they pleaſe, and lighteth upon whom they will. Indeed no Man, except he will be a Traitor, can avoid this Cenſure of Treaſon. I know not to what End it may come, but I pray God my own and my Brother's Blood, that is now to die with me, may be the laſt upon this ſcore: Now, Gentlemen, you may ſee what a Condition you are in without a King; you have no Law to protect you, no Rule to walk by when you perform your Duty to God, your King and Country; you diſpleaſe the Arbitrary Power now ſet up (I cannot call it Government) I ſhall leave you to peruſe my Tryal, and there you ſhall ſee what a Condition this poor Nation is brought into; and (no Queſtion) will be utterly deſtroy'd, if not reſtor'd (by loyal Subjects) to its old and glorious Government; I pray God he lay not his Judgments upon *England* for their ſluggiſhneſs in doing their Duty, and readineſs to put their Hands in their Boſoms, or rather taking Part with the Enemy of Truth. The Lord open their Eyes, that they may be no longer led, or drawn into ſuch Snares, elſe the Child that is unborn will curſe the Day of their Parents Birth; God Almighty preſerve my lawful King, *Charles* II. from the Hands of his Enemies, and break down that Wall of Pride and Rebellion, which ſo long hath kept him from his juſt Rights. God preſerve his Royal Mother, and all his Majeſty's Royal Brethren, and incline their Hearts to ſeek after him; God incline the Hearts of all true *Engliſh*-men to ſtand up as one Man to bring in the King, and redeem themſelves and this poor Kingdom out of its more than *Egyptian* Slavery.

As

As I have now put off theſe Garments of Cloth, ſo I hope I have put off my Garments of Sin, and have put on the Robes of Chriſt's Righteouſneſs here, which will bring me to the Enjoyment of his glorious Robes anon. Then he kneel'd down and kiſs'd the Block, and ſaid thus; I commit my Soul to God my Creator and Redeemer, Look upon me, O Lord, at my laſt gaſping, hear my Prayer, and the Prayers of all good People; I thank thee, O God, for all thy Diſpenſations towards me. Then kneeling down, he pray'd moſt devoutly. Then he deſir'd to ſee the Ax, and kiſſed it, ſaying, I am like to have a ſharp Paſſage of it, but my Saviour hath ſweeten'd it unto me. Then he ſaid, If I would have been ſo unworthy as others have been, I ſuppoſe I might by a Lie have ſaved my Life, which I ſcorn to purchaſe at ſuch a rate; I defy ſuch Temptations and them that gave them me. Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, good Will towards Men, and the Lord have Mercy upon my poor Soul. *Amen.* So laying his Neck upon the Block, after ſome private Ejaculations, he gave the Headſman a Sign with his Hand, who at one Blow ſever'd his Head from his Body.

The honourable Colonel JOHN PENRUDDOCK'S CHARACTER.

The Colonel was a Gentleman of a fair Fortune in the Weſt of *England*, and of great Zeal for the King's Service: He join'd Major-General *Wagſtaff* with a conſiderable Party when he ſurpriz'd *Salisbury*, and ſeiz'd the Protector's Judges and High Sheriff in their Beds; never was there a bolder Attempt, or better executed on their Part. The Gentlemen that were actually engag'd in it, and their Followers, hardly amounted

mounted to two hundred Men: And to ſee them poſſeſs themſelves of one of the principal Cities of the Kingdom, at a time when the Judges and all the Civil Power of the Country were aſſembled there at the Aſſizes, when the Uſurpers were in full Peace, and had a good Army of *Veteran* Troops at their Command. (*Clar. Hiſt. Vol. III. p.* 556.) To ſee them in theſe Circumſtances publickly proclaim the King in that great City, when few Men dare to name him: This was an Action the greateſt Hero would have been proud to have had a Share in, and for which every Gentleman concern'd ought to have had a Statue erected to his Honour.

Nor ſhould the want of Succeſs leſſen the Glory of the Action in the Opinion of any conſiderate Man: For had the other Counties done their Duty according to their reſpective Engagements, they had probably been Inſtruments of the greateſt Deliverance that ever an oppreſſed People were ſenſible of. The noble Hiſtorian indeed attributes their ill Fortune in ſome meaſure to their too great Compaſſion, and *unſeaſonable* Tenderneſs in Matters of Blood (and to this in other Parts of his Hiſtory he alſo aſcribes the Misfortunes of their great Maſter.) But if this was an Error, ſurely it was an Error on the right Hand: And admitting they were miſtaken in the Means, the End was nevertheleſs glorious.

It was an Attempt to reſcue themſelves and their Fellow-Subjects from Slavery, from the Inſults of thoſe who had heretofore been their Servants, or were ſprung from the meaneſt Mechanicks! It was to reſtore both King and People to their ancient Rights. It was for the Reſtoration of their Laws, and of their holy Religion.

And accordingly we find, when they were drag'd to their Executions, the Principles, on which they acted, inſpir'd them with a ſuitable Courage and Reſolution, and they died profeſſing their Loyalty to their Prince, and glorying in their late great Attempt, and only bewail'd the Supineneſs of their Fellow-Subjects, whoſe too great Sluggiſhneſs and Inactivity had render'd the Deſign abortive.

The dying Speech of Captain HUGH GROVE, *of* Chiſenburg, *in the Pariſh of* Enford, *in the County of* Wilts, *Eſq; who was executed with Colonel* PENRUDDOCK *the 16th of* May, *1655, in the Caſtle of* Exon.

Good People,

I never was guilty of much Rhetorick, nor ever lov'd long Speeches in my Life, and therefore you cannot expect either of them from me now at my Death. All that I ſhall deſire of you, beſides your hearty Prayers for my Soul, is, that you would bear me witneſs I die a true Son of the Church of *England*, as it was eſtabliſh'd by King *Edward* VI. Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* I. of ever bleſſed Memory; that I die a loyal Subject to King *Charles* II. my undoubted Sovereign, and a Lover of the good old Laws of the Land, the juſt Privileges of Parliaments, and Rights and Liberties of the People; for the re-eſtabliſhing of all which, I did undertake this Engagement, and for which I am ready to lay down my Life. God forgive the bloody-minded Jury, and thoſe that procur'd 'em. God forgive Capt. *Crook* for denying his Articles ſo unworthily. God forgive Mr. *Dove*, and all other Perſons ſwearing ſo maliciouſly and falſly againſt me. God forgive all mine Enemies, I heartily forgive

forgive them. God bleſs the King, and all that love him, turn the Hearts of all that hate him. God bleſs you all, and be merciful to you, and to my Soul. *Amen.* So meekly laying his Neck to the Block, and giving a Sign, his Head at one Blow, and a Draw of the Ax, was ſevered from his Body.

The Execution of JOHN HEWET, *D. D. on Tueſday the 8th of* June, 1658.

THIS Day, about Noon, Dr. *Hewet* was brought forth to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, whither being come (together with Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmeſtry*, and another Divine) he fell upon his Knees, and prayed privately for the Space of a Quarter of an Hour; after that he pray'd audibly for a good Space.

After which Prayer he addreſſed himſelf to the People in the following Words:

I am now become a publick Spectacle to Men and Angels, and (I hope) God, who is Omniſcient, is now beholding me with much Pity, and great Mercy and Compaſſion; and the more, becauſe I am now come to that End that his own Son came into the World for, to bear witneſs to the Truth; he himſelf ſaid, *For this End was I born, for this Cauſe came I into the World, that I ſhould bear witneſs to the Truth:* I was brought into the World (the Chriſtian World) for to bear witneſs to the Truth of the Goſpel, as a common Chriſtian; I was brought into the World (the Church) as a Miniſter of his bleſſed Word and Sacraments; [Bleſſed be his Name for that great Honour and Dignity;] and I came into the World to die more immediately for the Teſtimony of JESUS, which God hath now called me to. I came into this World (this Common-wealth)

to be a Member thereof, to bear witneſs to the Truths of the Cuſtoms, the Laws, the Liberties, and Privileges thereof; ſo I am a Member of the Common-wealth: And methinks it ſeems to me a ſtrange Thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty, and Privileges, and I pleading for the Privileges, the Laws, the Statutes, and the Cuſtoms of this Land, yet I ſhould die by thoſe that ſhould ſtand for the Laws, the Statutes, and Privileges of the Land: And I am here beheld by thoſe that plead for their Liberties, and I hope I am pitied, becauſe I here give up myſelf willingly and freely to be a State-Martyr for the publick Good; and I had rather die many Deaths myſelf, than betray my Fellow-Freemen to ſo many Inconveniencies, that they might be like to ſuffer, by being ſubject to the Wills of them that willed me to this Death.

And it is worthy Remembrance, that Mr. *Solicitor* having impeached me of Treaſon to the Commiſſioners of the Court againſt his Highneſs, I did often (when brought before thoſe Commiſſioners) plead for the Liberties of the People of *England*; tho' I had no Knowledge of the Law, yet I had Inſtruction from thoſe that were learned in the Law, and had ſeveral Law-Caſes and Precedents put into my Hand, tho' not by them, and urged ſeveral Law-Caſes; and made my Appeal: Firſt, for the Judicature that I was to be tried by, Whether it were according to Law? Whether it were according to the Act? And whether it were according to the Words of the ſaid Act? I did appeal to have the ſaid Act argued by learned Lawyers on both Sides, and then to be reſolved by his Highneſs's own Council, which was denied me; [This by the by] I preſſing the Argument, made a ſecond Appeal, that thoſe Judges, if they would give ſingly their ſeveral Judgments that it was a

juſt and lawful Court of Judicature, I would anſwer to my Charge. I did make another Appeal to thoſe that were his Highneſs's Council, and pleaded againſt me, that if they would deliver it to me under their Hands to be according to Law, I would then go on to plead and anſwer to the Charge. What was then ſaid further, my Spirits being faint, I ſhall not ſay much, but only this, I was taken in three Defaults upon Formality of the Court. It ſeems it is a Cuſtom in all Courts, (which I did not know before) that if they anſwer not the third time ſpeaking by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of three Defaults, and proceeded againſt as mute: [I had no ſuch Knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of thoſe Defaults: And when I would have pleaded, and reſolved to begin to plead, I was taken from the Bar. I did the next Day make my Petition to the Court in the Painted Chamber; two Petitions were preſented, the ſame in effect; the former the Title was miſtaken: Yet becauſe the Title was miſtaken, and no Anſwer was given, therefore it was that another Petition was drawn up to the ſame Effect, with a new Title given, (as I remember) preſented by the Serjeant at Arms, and one writ it over in ſuch haſte, leſt they ſhould be drawn out of the Painted Chamber into the Court, that I had not time to read it over, only I ſubſcribed my Name, and there was in the Front of the Petition a Word left out, but what the Word was I know not; and this was taken ſo ill, as if I had put an Affront and Contempt on the Court; and it was thought they would have heard me plead; and then, becauſe of that Miſtake, they ſent Word I ſhould have my Anſwer when I came into the Court, and my Anſwer was the Sentence of Condemnation. And therefore, I pray with all my

Soul, that God would forgive all thoſe that occaſioned the Charge to be drawn againſt me, to give ſuch unjuſt things againſt me: I pray with all my Soul, that God would forgive all thoſe that upon ſo ſlender and ſmall Grounds adjudg'd me to die, taking Advantage of ſuch ſimple Ignorance, as I was in. And I had, at the very Beginning of my Pleading, engag'd their Honours no Advantage ſhould be taken againſt me to my Prejudice, that in as much as I underſtood nothing of the Law: And having heard that a Man in the Nicety of the Law might be loſt in the Severity thereof, merely for ſpeaking a Word out of ſimple Ignorance; I made it my Prayer to them, that no Advantage might be taken againſt me, to the Prejudice of my Perſon; and there was to me a ſeeming Conſent, for the Preſident told me, there ſhould be no Advantage taken againſt me; and upon theſe Conſiderations I am afraid there was too great Uncharitableneſs: But I pray God forgive them from the very Bottom of my Soul, and I deſire that even thoſe that ſhed my Blood, may have Bowels of the God of Mercy ſhed for them.

And now having given you the Occaſion of my coming hither, it is fit I ſhould give you ſomewhat as concerning myſelf, as I am a Chriſtian, and as I am a Clergy-man: Firſt, as I am a Chriſtian, I thank God I was baptized to the Holy Church, ſo I was baptized to be a Member of the Holy Catholick Church; that is, the Church of *England*, which I dare ſay, for Purity of Doctrine, and orderly Diſcipline, till a ſad Reformation had ſpoiled the Face of the Church, and made it a Query, whether it was a Church or no: I ſay, it was more purely Divine and Apoſtolical than any other Doctrine or Church in the Chriſtian World, whether National, or Claſſical,

or

or Congregational. And I muſt tell you, That as I am a Member of this Church, ſo I am a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, and ſhall give a moſt juſt Confeſſion of my Faith, both negatively, and affirmatively. Negatively, I am ſo a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all Sects, Schiſms, Sedition, and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively ſo, that as I hold Communion with, ſo I love and honour all Chriſtians in the World that love the ſame Lord JESUS in Sincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with thoſe Truths that are abſolutely neceſſary, and clearly demonſtrated in the Word of God, both in the Old and New Teſtament, tho' in Charity diſſenting from ſome others that are not neceſſary. And I, as I am thus a Chriſtian, I hope for Salvation, thro' the Merits of Chriſt Jeſus; his Blood I rely on, his Merits I truſt to, for the Salvation of my own Soul. Tho' to this Faith good Works are neceſſary, not meritorious in us, but only made meritorious by Chriſt his Death; by his All-ſufficiency, by his Satisfaction, and his Righteouſneſs, they become meritorious; but in us they are no other than as defiled Rags. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, ſo I told you I was a Member of this Community, and ſo pleaded for the Liberties and Privileges thereof. I muſt now anſwer ſomething I am aſperſed withal in the World.

They talk of ſomething of a Plot, and a treaſonable Deſign, and that I had a great Intereſt in the Knowledge and Practice thereof, and that for the ſaving my Life, I would have diſcover'd and betray'd I cannot tell what: I hope my Converſation hath not been ſuch here in this City, where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I ſhould intermeddle in ſuch an Action, and go ſo contrary to the Practice of my

Profeſſion; and I hope there are none ſo uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a Knowledge of that Deſign.

Here I muſt come to Particulars for a Plot, of having a Deſign upon the City of *London*, for the firing of it: I ſo much tremble at the Thought of the thing that ſhould have been done, as they ſay, for the carrying on of ſuch a Deſign, (if my Heart deceive me not) had I known it, I ſo much abhor the thing, I ſhould have been the firſt Diſcoverer of it: Nor ever had I Correſpondency or Meetings with ſuch Perſons as would have carried on ſuch a Deſign. Is is ſaid likewiſe, I entertain'd the Earl, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*; to my Remembrance I never ſaw the Face of that honourable Perſon in my Life. It is ſaid, one Lord's Day I did preach at St. *Gregory's*, and the next Lord's Day I was at *Bruſſels*, or *Bruges*, and kiſs'd the King's Hand, and brought I cannot tell what Orders and Inſtructions from him: This I ſhall ſay, for theſe three Years laſt paſt together, I have not been ſixty Miles from this City of *London*, and I think it is ſomewhat further to either of thoſe Places than threeſcore Miles. It is ſaid that I kept Correſpondence with one *Mallory* and *Biſhop*: They are Perſons I have heard of their Names, but never ſaw their Faces, and to my Knowledge I do not know they know me; nor do I know them at all, but only as I have heard of their Names. And whoſoever elſe hath ſuggeſted ſuch things againſt me, I know not.

His Highneſs was pleas'd to tell me, I was like a flaming Torch in the midſt of a Sheaf of Corn: He meaning, I being a publick Preacher, was able to ſet the City on Fire by Sedition and Combuſtions, and promoting Deſigns. Here truly I do ſay, and have it from many of thoſe that are Judges of the High Court, that upon Examination

tion of the Buſineſs they have not found me a Meddler at all in theſe Affairs. And truly I muſt needs ſay therefore, that it was a very uncharitable Act in 'em (whoever they were) that brought ſuch Accuſations againſt me, and irritated his Highneſs againſt me: I will not ſay it was Malice, it might be Zeal; but it was raſh Zeal which caus'd me to be ſentenc'd to this Place: The God of Mercy pardon and forgive them all. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, and as a Member of the Community where on Behalf I have been ſpeaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himſelf did for his Diſciples; when he was to be taken from them, he bleſſed them, and aſcended up to Heaven. My Truſt is in the Mercy of the Moſt High, I ſhall not miſcarry; and however my Days are ſhorten'd by this unexpected Doom, and ſhall be brought untimely to the Grave, I cannot go without my Prayers for a Bleſſing upon all the People of this Land, and cannot but bleſs them all in the Name of God, and beſeech God to bleſs them in all their Ways, and his Bleſſing be upon them.

After this, he joyned in publick Prayer with Dr. *Wild* and Dr. *Warmeſtry*, he all the while lying flat upon his Breaſt.

Then he addreſſed himſelf to private Prayer, wherein he continued a certain time.

After this he prepar'd himſelf for the Block, and with a black Ribbon bound over his Eyes, lying with his Breaſt over the Block, he prayed again for a ſhort while; then laid his Neck upon the Block, and after ſome ſhort and private Ejaculations, the Executioner (having notice that he was ready) at one Blow ſever'd his Head from his Body; which was put into a Coffin, and conveyed away by his Friends.

The Confluence of People of all ſorts to behold theſe Executions was very great, the like to which hath not been obſerv'd.

Dr. JOHN HEWET'S CHARACTER.

Dr. *Hewet* was born a Gentleman, and bred a Scholar, and was a Divine before the beginning of the Troubles: He liv'd in *Oxford* and in the Army 'till the End of the War, and continu'd afterwards to preach, with great Applauſe, in a little Church in *London*; where, by the Affection of the Pariſh, he was admitted, ſince he was enough known to lie under the Brand of Malignity. When the Lord *Falconbridge* married *Cromwel*'s Daughter (who had us'd ſecretly to frequent his Church) after the Ceremony of the Time, he was made choice of to marry 'em according to the Order of the Church; which engaged both that Lord and Lady to uſe their utmoſt Credit with the Protector to preſerve his Life; but he was inexorable, and deſirous that the Churchmen, *upon whom he look'd as his mortal Enemies*, ſhou'd ſee what they were to truſt to, if they ſtood in need of his Mercy. It was believ'd, if the Doctor had pleaded, he might have been acquitted, ſince in Truth he never had been with the King at *Cologne* or *Bruges*, as he was charged to have been: And they had Blood enough in their Power to pour out; for beſides theſe two Gentlemen, to whom they granted the Favour to be beheaded, there were Three others, Col. *Aſhton*, *Stacey*, and *Bettely*, condemn'd by the ſame Court, who were treated with more Severity, and were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, with the utmoſt Rigour, in ſeveral great Streets of the City, to make the deeper Impreſſion upon the People, the Two laſt being Citizens. But all Men appear'd ſo nauſeated with Blood, and ſo tir'd with thoſe abomi-

abominable Spectacles, that *Cromwel* thought it beſt to pardon the reſt who were condemn'd, or rather reprieve them; amongſt whom *Mallory* was one, who was not at liberty 'till the King's Return, and was more troubled for the Weakneſs he had been guilty of, than they were againſt whom he had treſpaſs'd. (*Clar. Vol.* III. *p.*624.)

The Execution of Sir HENRY SLINGSBY, *on* Tueſday, *the* 8*th of* June 1658.

ABout Eleven of the Clock, Sir *Henry Slingsby* was brought from the Tower to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*; whither being come, he fell upon his Knees, and for a ſhort Space pray'd privately.

Then ſtanding up, he did in a ſhort Speech, and with a very low Voice, addreſs himſelf to Mr. Sheriff *Robinſon*, telling him, that what he had to ſay he would ſpeak to him; which was to this purpoſe:

That he had receiv'd a Sentence to die, upon account of his endeavouring to betray the Garriſon of Hull: *But ſaid, All that he did in that Buſineſs he was drawn into by others.*

That the Officers of that Garriſon did believe he had ſome greater Deſign in hand, and therefore they would needs pump him to the bottom: But what he ſpoke to them in private was brought into Evidence againſt him. He likewiſe ſaid, *That he did no more than any Perſon would have done that was ſo brought on.*

That he had made many Applications (by his Friends) for a Reprieve, but found his Highneſs was inexorable.

He did confeſs, that he did deliver a Commiſſion (as it was charged againſt him:) But ſaid, that it was an old Commiſſion, and what he meant was well known to himſelf; but what Conſtructions others had made of it might appear by his preſent Condition.

He

He diſcover'd little Senſe of Sorrow, or Fear of Death; but ſaid, *He was ready to ſubmit*, or Words to like purpoſe.

Then he addreſſed himſelf to private Prayer again; and kneeling down to the Block, he pray'd privately for a ſhort ſpace: Then laid his Head upon the Block, and at the Sign given, the Executioner ſever'd his Head from his Body at one Blow: And his Friends put his Body into a Coffin, and remov'd it into a cloſe Coach prepared near the Place.

Sir HEN. SLINGSBY's CHARACTER.

Sir *Henry Slingsby* was in the firſt Rank of the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire*, and was return'd to ſerve as a Member in the Parliament that continu'd ſo many Years, where he ſat 'till the Troubles began; and having no Relation to, or Dependence upon the Court, he was ſway'd only by his Conſcience to deteſt the violent and undutiful Behaviour of that Parliament. He was a Gentleman of a good Underſtanding, but of a very melancholick Nature, and of very few Words; and when he could ſtay no longer, with a good Conſcience, in their Councils, in which he never concurr'd, he went into his Country, and join'd with the firſt who took up Arms for the King. And when the War was ended, he remain'd ſtill in his own Houſe, prepar'd and diſpos'd to run the Fortune of the Crown in any other Attempt. And having a good Fortune, and a general Reputation, had a greater Influence upon the People than they who talk'd more and louder; and was known to be irreconcileable to the new Government; and therefore was cut off, notwithſtanding very great Interceſſion to preſerve him: For he was Uncle to the Lord *Falconbridge*, who engag'd his Wife, and all his new Allies to

inter-

intercede for him without Effect. When he was brought to die, he ſpent very little Time in Diſcourſe, but told them, *He was to die for being an honeſt Man, of which he was very glad.* (Clar. Hiſt. *Vol.* III. *p.* 623.)

The Execution of Major-General HARRISON, *the Day of* October, 1660. *By a Friend of the General's.*

THE Sheriff came that Morning that he was to die, and told him, that in half an Hour he muſt be gone; he anſwer'd, that he was ready, and would not have him ſtay at all on his account. But the Sheriff left him to ſtay a little longer, and in the mean time, he was longing for the Sheriff's coming, and as his Friends judg'd he was in haſte to be gone, and ſaid, He was going about a great Work for the Lord that Day; and that his Support was, that his Sufferings were upon the account of *Jehovah*, the Lord of Hoſts. He ſaid, He look'd upon this as a clear Anſwer of his Prayers; for many a time, ſaid he, have I begg'd of the Lord, That if he had any hard Thing, any reproachful Work, or contemptible Service to be done by his People, That I ſhould be employ'd in it; *And now bleſſed be the Name of God, who accounteth me worthy to be put upon this Service for my Lord Chriſt: Oh, this is nothing to what Chriſt hath ſuffer'd for me!*

He parted with his Wife and Friends with great Joy and Chearfulneſs, as he did uſe to do when going ſome Journey, or about ſome Service for the Lord. He told his Wife he had nothing to leave her but his Bible; but that he was aſſured that God would make up all her Loſſes in due time; and deſired, that thoſe that did love him, ſhould manifeſt their Love in being loving and tender to his dear Wife.

Some

Some Paſſages at the Dungeon Door, as he came forth: The Sheriff commanding the Keeper to acquaint Mr. *Harriſon* he muſt go to ſuffer: The Keeper came forth, and return'd Anſwer, That he was ready when he pleas'd: Then the Sheriff commanded the Keeper to fetch him forth; ſo he came forth immediately, ſooner than was expected; (running down the Stairs with a ſmiling Countenance) by reaſon of his ſudden coming, the Door (that he was to go up a pair of Stairs at) was not open'd, which occaſion'd his Stay in the Hall till the Keeper could be found; and there one Mrs. *M.* took him by the Hand, and ſaid, with a loud Voice, *Bleſſed be the great God of Hoſts, that hath enabled you, and call'd you forth to bear your Teſtimony; the God of all Grace and Peace be with you, and keep you faithful to the Death, that you may receive a Crown of Life.* With that one of the Officers pulled the Woman away by the Shoulder, ſaying, Away with this Woman, ſhe ſtands prating here. But the Major-Gen. replied, Be not offended with her, ſhe ſpeaks Scripture-Language: So they thruſt her away from him, and would not permit any to ſpeak more to him in that Place. Then he ſpake, ſaying, *I bleſs the Lord that hath called me forth, and hath enabled me in the Power of his Strength, to offer my Life with Satisfaction and Chearfulneſs, in Obedience to the Will of God. I bleſs the Lord, I am full of the Manifeſtation of his Love in the Lord Jeſus; it's a Day of Joy to my Soul. I ſay God hath enabled me, to whom all the Powers of the World are but as the Drop of a Bucket*; and ſaid he, *I do find ſo much of the Joy of the Lord coming in, that I am carried far above the Fear of Death, being going to receive that glorious and incorruptible Crown which Chriſt hath prepared for me.*

Then

Then he was carried into a Room where the common Priſoners were, and told them what a ſad thing it was to be condemn'd to die, and to want the Love and Favour of God; But it's not ſo with me; for tho' I die, yet I know I ſhall live with Chriſt to all Eternity, and this is out of the exceeding Riches of the Grace of God; for he it is that maketh the Difference: For as I am in myſelf, I am a baſe, vile, and nothing Creature; but compleat in him who is the Head of all Principalities and Powers. Poor Men! I wiſh you all as well as I do my own Soul. Oh that you did but know Chriſt! his Bowels earn towards the greateſt of Sinners; his Blood is ſufficient to do away the deepeſt Iniquity; he waiteth to be gracious, and is willing to receive all that come unto him: Oh therefore labour to come to Chriſt! your Time in this World is ſhort and uncertain; you are walking upon the Brink of Eternity, and are ready to drop in every Moment; if you die without the Fear of our God, you will be miſerable for ever and ever; but if you come to know Chriſt to be yours, it will be your Joy and Happineſs World without End. He then put his Hands into his Pocket and gave them ſome Money, and wiſh'd them to take heed of ſinning againſt the Lord. And from thence was carried upon the Leads on the Top of *Newgate*, ſo that he could ſee the greateſt Part of the City; he then ſaid, *The Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulneſs thereof, and there is nothing hid from his Eyes.* From thence he was carry'd down two Pair of Stairs, where he was tied about the Back, Breaſt, and Shoulders; he took the Rope in his Hand and ſaid, *Friends take notice that God gives me Power to receive this with Thankſgiving*, and he help'd the Serjeant to put on the Rope. Then a Friend came weeping to him to take her leave of him,

he

he ſaid, *Hinder me not, for I am going about a Work for my Maſter.* Then looking about him, ſaid, *Sirs, it's eaſy to follow God when he makes a Hedge about us, and makes liberal Proviſion for us; but it's hard for moſt to follow him in ſuch a Diſpenſation as this; and yet my Lord and Maſter is as ſweet and glorious to me now, as he was in the time of my greateſt Proſperity.*

He alſo ſaid, this I can ſay for myſelf, *That according to the Light that God hath given me, I have ſerved him and my Country with Integrity and Uprightneſs of Heart, not willingly, nor wittingly wronging any:* But this have I done with much Infirmity and Weakneſs. One telling him, that he did not know how to underſtand the Mind of God in ſuch a Diſpenſation as this. He ſaid, *Wait upon the Lord; for you know not what the Lord is leading to, and what the End of the Lord will be.*

After this, addreſſing himſelf to a Gentleman, he ſaid, *I dare not, nor cannot be a Pleaſer of Men*: A Friend anſwer'd, it appear'd ſo by your declining *Cromwell*'s Intereſt; which Words he aſſented to, and further ſaid, *The manner of my ſpeaking before the Court may ſeem ſtrange to ſome; but my Deſign was not to approve myſelf before Men, but God; and what I ſaid, was according to my Conſcience.* And as the Rope was tying on, he repeated *Iſaac*'s Words to *Abraham*; *Father, here is the Wood, but where is the Sacrifice?* and alſo ſaid, *If the Lord ſee good, he can provide another Sacrifice, he can deliver thoſe that are appointed to die; but his Will be done, Death is not terrible to me; yea, it is no more to me than a Ruſh, I have learn'd to die long ago.* And was often heard to ſay, concerning the Lord's Diſpenſation to him and his People, *Shall not the Lord do with his own what it pleaſeth him?* And ſo parting with his Friend, went down Stairs to the Sledge, and ask'd which way muſt I ſit? for I am

not

not acquainted with this : *Good is the Lord in all his Ways.* Then he was carried away in the Sledge, having a ſweet ſmiling Countenance, with his Eyes and Hands lifted up to Heaven, his Countenance never changing in all the Way as he went to the Place of Execution, but was mighty cheerful, to the Aſtoniſhment of many. He call'd ſeveral times in the Way, and ſpoke aloud, *I go to ſuffer upon the Account of the moſt glorious Cauſe that ever was in the World.* As he was going to ſuffer, one in a Deriſion call'd to him and ſaid, *Where is your Good Old Cauſe ?* He with a cheerful Smile clapt his Hand on his Breaſt, and ſaid, *Here it is, and I am going to ſeal it with my Blood.* And when he came to the Sight of the Gallows, he was tranſported with Joy, and his Servant ask'd him how he did ; he anſwer'd, never better in my Life : His Servant told him, Sir, there is a Crown of Glory ready prepar'd for you. O yes, ſaid he, I ſee it ; when he was taken off the Sledge, the Hangman deſir'd him to forgive him. I do forgive thee, ſaid he, with all my Heart, as it is a Sin againſt me ; and told him he wiſh'd him all Happineſs. And further ſaid, alas poor Man thou doſt it ignorantly ; the Lord grant that this Sin may not be laid to thy Charge : And putting his Hand into his Pocket, gave him all the Money he had; and ſo parting with his Servant, hugging of him in his Arms, he went up the Ladder with an undaunted Countenance.

Major

Major General HARRISON's *Speech upon the Ladder.*

Gentlemen,

I Did not expect to have ſpoken a Word to you at this time; but ſeeing there is a Silence commanded, I will ſpeak ſomething of the Work God had in Hand in our Days.

Many of you have been Witneſſes of the Finger of God that hath been ſeen amongſt us of late Years, in the Deliverance of his People from their Oppreſſors, and in bringing to Judgment thoſe that were guilty of the precious Blood of the dear Servants of the Lord. And how God did witneſs thereto by many wonderful and evident Teſtimonies, as it were immediately from Heaven; inſomuch that many of our Enemies, who were Perſons of no mean Quality, were forc'd to confeſs, *That God was with us; And if God did but ſtand neuter, they ſhould not value us:* And therefore, ſeeing the Finger of God hath been pleading this Cauſe, I ſhall not need to ſpeak much to it: In which Work I with others were engag'd; for the which, I do from my Soul bleſs the Name of God, who out of the exceeding Riches of his Grace accounted me worthy to be inſtrumental in ſo glorious a Work; and tho' I am wrongfully charged with Murder and Blood-ſhed, yet I muſt tell you, I have kept a good Conſcience both towards God, and towards Man; I never had Malice againſt any Man, neither did I act maliciouſly towards any Perſon, but as I judged them to be Enemies to God and his People; and the Lord is my Witneſs that I have done what I did out of the Sincerity of my Heart to the Lord. I bleſs God I have no Guilt upon my Conſcience, but the Spirit of God beareth Witneſs that my Actions

are

are acceptable to the Lord, thro' *Jeſus Chriſt*; tho' I have been compaſſed about with manifold Infirmities, Failings and Imperfections in my holieſt Duties; but in this I have Comfort and Conſolation, that I have Peace with God, and do ſee all my Sins waſh'd away in the Blood of my dear Saviour. And I do declare as before the Lord, that I would not be guilty wittingly, nor willingly of the Blood of the meaneſt Son, no not for ten thouſand Worlds, much leſs of the Blood of ſuch as I am charged with.

I have again and again beſought the Lord with Tears to make known his Will and Mind unto me concerning it, and to this Day he hath rather confirmed me in the Juſtice of it, and therefore I leave it to him, and to him I commit my Ways; but ſome that were eminent in the Work, did wickedly turn aſide themſelves, and to ſet up their Neſts on high, which cauſed great Diſhonour to the Name of God, and the Profeſſion they had made. And the Lord knows I could have ſuffer'd more than this, rather than have fallen in with them in that Iniquity, tho' I was offer'd what I would if I would have joined with them; my Aim in all my Proceedings was the Glory of God, and the Good of his People, and the Welfare of the whole Common-wealth.

The People obſerving him to tremble in his Hands and Legs, he taking notice of it, ſaid:

Gentlemen, By reaſon of ſome Scoffing that I do hear, I judge that ſome do think I am afraid to die by the Shaking I have in my Hands and Knees; I tell you no, but it is by reaſon of much Blood I have loſt in the Wars, and many Wounds I have receiv'd in my Body, which cauſed this Shaking and Weakneſs in my Nerves; I have had it this twelve Years; I ſpeak this to the Praiſe and Glory of God; he hath carried me above

the Fear of Death; and I value not my Life, becauſe I go to my Father, and am aſſured I ſhall take it up again.

Gentlemen, Take notice, that for being inſtrumental in that Cauſe and Intereſt of the Son of God, which hath been pleaded amongſt us, and which God hath witneſſed to by Appeals and wonderful Victories, I am brought to this Place to ſuffer Death this Day; and if I had ten thouſand Lives, I could freely and chearfully lay them down all to witneſs to this Matter.

Oh what am I, poor Worm, that I ſhould be accounted worthy to ſuffer any thing for the ſake of my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt! I have gone joyfully and willingly many a time to lay down my Life upon the Account of Chriſt, but never with ſo much Joy and Freedom as at this time; I do not lay down my Life by Conſtraint, but willingly; for if I had been minded to have run away, I might have had many Opportunities; but being ſo clear in the thing, I durſt not turn my Back, nor ſtep a Foot out of the Way, by reaſon I had been engaged in the Service of ſo glorious and great a God. However, Men preſume to call it by hard Names; yet I believe, e're it be long, the Lord will make it known from Heaven that there was more of God in it than Men are now aware of: *All the Gods of the Nations are but Idols; they have Eyes but ſee not, and Mouths but ſpeak not, and cannot ſave thoſe that truſt in them. But my God is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, before whom all you here, and all Nations, are but as a Drop of a Bucket. And he will never leave thoſe that truly truſt in him, unto whoſe Glory I ſhall ſurely go, and ſhall ſit on the right Hand of Chriſt in Heaven, it may be to judge thoſe that have unjuſtly judged me*, Matth. 25. 33, 34. 1 Cor. 6. 2.

The

The Sheriff minding him of the Shortneſs of Time, if he had any thing to ſay to the People he might.

He ſaid, I do deſire as from my own Soul, that they and every one may fear the Lord, that they may conſider their latter End, and ſo it may be well with them; and even for the worſt of thoſe that have been moſt malicious againſt me, from my Soul I would forgive 'em all ſo far as any thing concerns me; and ſo far as it concerns the Cauſe and Glory of God, I leave it for him to plead; and as for the Cauſe of God, I am willing to juſtify it by my Sufferings, according to the good Pleaſure of his Will.

I have been this Morning, before I came hither, ſo hurried up and down Stairs, (the meaning whereof I knew not) that my Spirits are almoſt ſpent; therefore you may not expect much from me.

Oh the Greatneſs of the Love of God to ſuch a poor, vile, and nothing Creature as I am! what am I that *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhould ſhed his Heart's Blood for me, that I might be happy to all Eternity, that I might be made a Son of God, and an Heir of Heaven! Oh, that Chriſt ſhould undergo ſo great Sufferings and Reproaches for me, and ſhould not I be willing to lay down my Life and ſuffer Reproaches for him that hath ſo loved me! Bleſſed be the Name of God that I have a Life to loſe upon ſo glorious, and ſo honourable an Account: Then praying to himſelf, with Tears; and having ended, the Hang-man pull'd down his Cap; but he thruſt it up again, ſaying, I have one Word more to the Lord's People, that deſire to ſerve him with an upright Heart: Let 'em not think hardly of any of the good Ways of God for all this; for I have been near this ſeven Years a ſuffering Perſon, and have found the Way of

God to be a perfect Way, his Word a tried Word, a Buckler to them that truſt in him, and will make known his glorious Arm in the Sight of all Nations. And tho' we may ſuffer hard Things, yet he hath a gracious End, and will make a good End for his own Glory, and the Good of his People; therefore be chearful in the Lord your God, hold faſt that which you have, and be not afraid of ſuffering; for God will make hard and bitter Things ſweet and eaſy to all thoſe that truſt in him: Keep cloſe to the good Confeſſion you have made of Jeſus Chriſt, and look to the Recompence of Reward; be not diſcouraged by reaſon of the Cloud that now is upon you; for the Sun will ſhine, and God will give a Teſtimony unto what he hath been a doing in a ſhort Time.

And now I deſire to commit my Concernments into the Hands of my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, he that hath deliver'd himſelf for the chief of Sinners; he that came into the World, was made Fleſh, and was crucified; that hath loved me, and waſhed me from my Sins in his own Blood, and is riſen again, ſitting at the right Hand of God, making Interceſſion for me.

And as for me, Oh! who am I? poor, baſe, vile Worm, that God ſhould deal thus by me: for this will make me come the ſooner into his Glory, and to inherit the Kingdom, and that Crown prepar'd for me! Oh, I have ſerved a good Lord and Maſter, which hath helped me from my Beginning to this Day, and hath carried me thro' many Difficulties, Trials, Straits, and Temptations, and hath always been a very preſent Help in Time of Trouble; he hath cover'd my Head many times in the Day of Battle: By God I have leaped over a Wall, by God I have run thro' a Troop,

Troop, and by my God I will go thro' this Death, and he will make it eaſy to me. Now into thy Hands, O Lord Jeſus, I commit my Spirit. *Then he was turn'd off.*

The CHARACTER *of Col.* THO. HARRISON.

The King being taken from *Hurſt*'s-Caſtle, was received by Col. *Harriſon* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, by whom he was to be conducted to *Windſor*-Caſtle. *Harriſon* was the Son of a Butcher, near *Nantwich* in *Cheſhire*, and had been bred up in the place of a Clerk under a Lawyer of good Account in thoſe Parts; which kind of Education introduces Men into the Language and Practice of Buſineſs; and if it be not reſiſted by the great Ingenuity of the Perſon, inclines young Men to more Pride than any other kind of Breeding, and diſpoſes them to be pragmatical and inſolent, tho' they have the Skill to conceal it from their Maſters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cheriſh it. When the Rebellion firſt began, this Man quitted his Maſter, who had relation to the King's Service, and diſcharg'd his Duty faithfully, and put himſelf into the Parliament-Army, where having firſt obtained the Office of a Cornet, he got up, by Diligence and Sobriety, to the State of a Captain, without any ſignal Notice taken of him, till the new Model of the Army, when *Cromwel*, who poſſibly had Knowledge of him before, found him of a Spirit and Diſpoſition fit for his Service, much given to Prayer and Preaching, and otherwiſe of an Underſtanding capable to be truſted in any Buſineſs, to which his Clerkſhip contributed very much, and then he was preferred very faſt; ſo that by the Time the King was brought to the Army, he had been a Colonel of Horſe,

and look'd upon as inferiour to few, after *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, in the Council of Officers, and in the Government of the Agitators; and there were few Men with whom *Cromwel* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the Conduct of any thing committed to him; he receiv'd the King with outward Reſpect, kept himſelf bare, but attended him with great Strictneſs, and was not to be approached by any Addreſs, anſwering Queſtions in ſhort and few Words, and when importun'd with Rudeneſs, he manifeſted an Apprehenſion that the King had ſome thought of making an Eſcape, and did things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at *Windſor*, and ſo to paſs by *Bagſhot*, the King expreſs'd a Deſire to ſee his little Park at *Bagſhot*, and ſo to dine at the Lodge there, a Place where he had uſed to take much Pleaſure, and did not diſſemble the knowing that the Lord *Newburgh*, who had lately married the Lady *Aubigney*, liv'd there, and ſaid, he would ſend a Servant to let that Lady know that he would dine with her, that ſhe might provide a Dinner for him. *Harriſon* well knew the Affection of that Lord and Lady, and was very unwilling he ſhould make any Stay there; but finding the King ſo fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwiſe remov'd from it, than by abſolutely refuſing him to go thither, he choſe to conſent, and that his Majeſty ſhould ſend a Servant, which he did the Night before he intended to dine there. Before the King came thither, *Harriſon* had ſent ſome Horſe, with an Officer, to ſearch the Houſe, and all about the Park, that he might be ſure no Company lurk'd which might make ſome Attempt. The King having ſpent three or four Hours at the Lord *Newburgh*'s with very much Satisfaction to himſelf, tho' he was not ſuffer'd to be in any Room without the Com-

pany

pany of ſix or ſeven Soldiers, who ſuffer'd little to be ſpoken, except it was ſo loud that they could hear it too, he took a ſad Farewel, appearing to have little Hopes of ever ſeeing 'em again. The Lord *Newburgh* rode ſome Miles into the Foreſt to wait upon the King, 'till he was requir'd by *Harriſon* to return. In this Journey *Harriſon* obſerving that the King had always an Apprehenſion that there was a Purpoſe to murder him, and had once let fall ſome Words of the Odiouſneſs and Wickedneſs of ſuch an Aſſaſſination and Murder, which could never be ſafe to the Perſon who undertook it: *Harriſon* told him plainly, "That "he need not entertain any ſuch Imagination or "Apprehenſion; that the Parliament had too "much Honour and Juſtice to cheriſh ſo foul an "Intention, and aſſur'd him, that whatever the "Parliament reſolv'd to do, would be very pub-"lick, and in a way of Juſtice, to which the "World ſhould be Witneſs, and never would en-"dure a Thought of ſecret Violence." Which his Majeſty could not perſuade himſelf to believe, nor did imagin they durſt ever produce him in the ſight of the People, under any Form whatſoever of publick Tryal. *Clarend. Hiſt. Vol.* III. *p.* 246.

When *Cromwel* laſt model'd his Army, *Harriſon* was diſcarded, with many other Officers who had the greateſt Names in the Factions of Religion; (*Clar. Vol.* III. *p.* 595.) They had gone very great Lengths with the Uſurper; but when he aſſum'd the Regal Power, and they found they were to be excluded any Share in the Government, they begun to ſhew their Diſaffection to him, as they had done to their former Governours. And as the Protector well knew how to manage that Enthuſiaſtick Zeal with which his Officers were inſpir'd, to the Deſtruction of eve-

ry other Power; ſo when he had ſerv'd his Ends of them, he ſlighted the Oppoſition they pretended to make to his Tyranny, and ſhew'd them of how little Signification and Influence they were, when they had depriv'd themſelves of his ſuperiour Direction and Conduct.

The Execution of Mr. JOHN CAREW, *the day of* October 1660. *as related by a Friend of his.*

THE Day he ſuffer'd, and the Hour being come, the Rope being ty'd about him, he rejoyc'd exceedingly, ſaying, Oh! What am I, that I ſhould be bound for the Cauſe and Intereſt of the Son of God? And when he was coming down *Newgate* Stairs, to go into the Sledge, in a very ſmiling, chearful manner, he utter'd Words to this effect; My Lord Jeſus, for the Joy that was ſet before him, endur'd the Croſs, and deſpiſed the Shame, and is now ſet down on the right Hand of God; whoſe Steps I deſire to follow. It was alſo obſerv'd, that the Chearfulneſs of his Countenance, all the way as he went to the Gibbet, remain'd, to the Encouragement of the Faithful, and Admiration of Enemies, uttering by the way many chearful Expreſſions, ſetting forth his Joy in the Lord.

When he was brought to the Gibbet, before he went up the Ladder (his Hands being bound) he exhorted ſeveral Friends ſtanding by, to be faithful unto Death, and not to be aſhamed of the Cauſe for which they ſuffered, and they ſhould receive a Crown of Life. And further ſaid to a Friend that ſtood by, That he hoped the Truths of the Kingdom which he had preach'd up and down would not be the leſs eſteemed, for that he came now to ſeal them with his Blood.

Mr. CAREW's *Speech upon the Ladder.*

TRuly, it is not Words, nor that which I have to ſpeak in mine own Spirit, will glorify God, or give any Advantage to your Souls, or unto me: But it is, if I may ſpeak a few Words in the Spirit of the Lord, and in the Power of his Might, and from an unfeigned Love unto Jeſus Chriſt: That would indeed give me an open Entrance, and make my Paſſage very ſweet; and a Bleſſing may be behind, even upon you. The firſt thing (indeed) that hath been very weighty (and I deſire to leave it upon all, upon Saints as well as upon thoſe that are not acquainted with Jeſus Chriſt) that Eternity, Immortality, and eternal Life, it is a wonderful thing; the Thoughts and Apprehenſions of it are able to ſwallow up a poor Soul: We little think what it is; he that knows moſt of God, and moſt of Chriſt, and hath the greateſt Meaſure of the Anointing, he little, little knows what it is to appear before the holy, the moſt glorious, the moſt righteous God of Heaven and Earth; to ſtand before his Judgment Seat, before Jeſus Chriſt that is at his Right Hand: And where all the holy Angels are ſo aſhamed (becauſe of the Glory of God) that they fall down and cover their Faces, and cry *Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which art, and waſt, and art to come.* And therefore, if ſuch glorious Creatures, if ſuch excellent Spirits as theſe Seraphins and Cherubins be, if they do fall down before the Glory and Majeſty of this moſt excellent and wonderful God, how ſhould Duſt and Aſhes do? And how ſhould they fear and tremble to appear before him? And therefore, I ſay, think of this, and of the Righteouſneſs of God, as well as of his Glory and Majeſty, and of his Juſtice; that

when

when for one Sin he threw down the Angels (thoſe glorious Spirits) into Hell, and he would take no Ranſom or Redemption for them; and tho' he hath Mercy on the Sons of Men (according to his own Election and Purpoſe, and according to that that he hath purchaſed for himſelf in Chriſt Jeſus before the Foundation of the World was laid) yet in time he made his Son a Sacrifice before Men and Angels, to bring his choſen ones to Glory. That he ſhould take Pleaſure to ſend his own Son out of his Boſom, who was the Delight of his Soul, and bruiſe him for our Sins; yet it pleaſed the Father to bruiſe him. The moſt holy and righteous God, that had but one Son, one only begotten Son (that was the Delight of his Soul) and ſhould take Pleaſure to bruiſe him, that we might be healed, and laid Stripes upon him that we might be healed! Oh! the Heighth and Depth, Oh! the Length and Breadth of the Love of God in Chriſt Jeſus unto poor Souls. Oh! this is that the Angels do deſire to ſtoop down and look into, and to know more of this great Myſtery of the Love of God in Chriſt: And that God ſhould take upon him the Nature of Man, and put him into that glorious Union with his own Son; and that he ſhould leave the Angels, tho' Chriſt was made a little lower than they for ſuffering Death for us: Yet now, becauſe the Nature of Man is united to the Godhead by virtue of that Marriage and Union, we become the Sons of God, and Heirs of Glory. Thoſe that are adopted by Jeſus Chriſt are brought near to the Throne of Glory, are in a high and glorious Communion and Fellowſhip with the Father and Spirit, owned of all the holy Angels. And therefore they do ſtand without the Throne (as in ſeveral Places of the *Revelations*) *and round about the Elders, and round about*

thoſe

thoſe that were given to the Lamb (as in the fifth of the *Revelations*, and many other Scriptures) they ſtand without; but there is another Company within, which is the 24 Elders, and four living Creatures, they fall down and worſhip God, they are nearer than the Angels; Oh! who hath credited, who hath believed this Report, and to whom is the Arm of the Lord revealed? Oh! how many Profeſſors are there in this Day, in this Nation, that call upon the Name of Chriſt, and that ſay they ſhall be ſaved by Chriſt, and do live and truſt moſt in their own Works and Righteouſneſs; and never come to the Knowledge and Underſtanding of this great Myſtery of the Love of God in Chriſt? who never received thoſe Teachings from the Anointing, and according to the new Covenant, where it is promiſed, that they ſhall be all taught of God; all the Children of God ſhall be taught of him, and there is no one can teach theſe but the Father, none can draw them to the Son but the Father; and no Man can come to the Father but through the Son: And this great Myſtery is both by the Light and Operation of the holy Spirit, who makes the new Creature in the Soul: O that God would pour out of his holy Spirit; that God would pour out the Spirit of the new Covenant, and the Spirit of the Goſpel, and the Spirit that can declare the Myſtery of God's Word in the Spirit, and that he hath made manifeſt through Jeſus Chriſt. Oh! there is much talking and ſpeaking in the Name of Chriſt, and how many Men ſpend little time in getting Evidences in the Power and Demonſtration of the Spirit, and come to apprehend God in Chriſt, that ſpeak of him? Oh! there are few of theſe the Lord knows. O that the anointing may be poured out more now, according to this Faith, in the way of this Grace,

and

and in this Love of God, even in the electing Love of the Father; and in the redeeming Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, according to the purchaſed Poſſeſſion that he hath obtained through his own Righteouſneſs, wherein God hath been juſt alſo, in juſtifying the Ungodly; and among them, ſuch a poor ſimple Piece of Duſt and Aſhes as I have been, and have to this Day little glorified my Father; and yet I can call him Father, thro' ſome meaſure of his Spirit, and Father according to the Spirit of Adoption too; and can ſay the Lord Jeſus hath given himſelf for me, and I take the Lord Jeſus Chriſt as the great Gift of the Father, deſiring to bear witneſs of that Love, and of that wonderful Grace and Glory, that he hath made me Partaker of in and thro' him. Oh! bleſſed be the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who hath called me to this Hope, and who hath made me Partaker of this Glory, that the Saints are enlightned in. And now I long to ſee the Face of this Father, and of his Son, tho' I have ſuch a Number of Sins in me; and tho' I have an Intereſt in him, and can call him Father at any time without doubt, and in full Aſſurance of Faith in the holy Spirit; yet if Jeſus Chriſt were not there, to preſent me faultleſs before the Preſence of God, I ſhould be afraid to appear before him; but he is able to do it, and therefore ſaith the Apoſtle, *Now unto him that is able to ſave you, and to preſent you faultleſs before the Preſence of his Glory with exceeding Joy*, &c. I am a poor ſinful Piece, full of Iniquity, laden with many Burdens, that have a Body of Death that I carry about me, and I am now about to lay it down, and my Soul ſhall enter into eternal Life, and be made perfect in a Moment, thro' the mighty Power of God that hath wrought that glorious Work of raiſing Chriſt from the Dead.

Oh!

Oh! all my Strength, and all my Joy, and all my Life is in Chriſt, and in him alone; and I have a Righteouſneſs already of his working, according to his own Grace, and according to his own mighty Power, and according to his own Mercy, that he hath been pleaſed to work in me; and ſo hath been pleaſed to keep me in a very wicked and in a very evil Day, by the Power of his Grace. And I deſire to glorify my Father, and many Years have I been in that Work, that hath been of late in this Nation; a few and evil have been the Days of my Pilgrimage, but I have deſired to ſerve the Lord with Faithfulneſs, and in the Integrity of my Soul, without Prejudice againſt any Creature, and it hath been the Deſire of my Soul to approve my ſelf faithful towards God, and towards Man: And what I have done, I have done it in Obedience to the Lord; that I had in my Eye, and in my Heart. There are many things laid upon many of thoſe that profeſs the Kingdom and glorious Appearance of Jeſus Chriſt, as if they were Enemies to Magiſtracy and Miniſtry; and, as if ſo be we were for the Deſtruction of the Laws and Properties of Mankind; therefore ſhall I ſpeak a few Words unto that: And if indeed we were ſuch, we were fit to be turn'd out of the World; as ſome now think they ſhould do God good Service in ſending ſuch poor Creatures quickly from hence. There is no ſuch thing; I deſire to bear Witneſs to the true Magiſtracy, that Magiſtracy that is in the Word of the Lord. And that true Miniſtry, which Miniſtry is a Miniſtry from the Anointing; that doth bear Witneſs to the Lord Jeſus, and hath his holy Spirit. That Teſtimony I deſire to bear; and that Teſtimony I deſire to ſtand faithful in, with Integrity to the Lord Jeſus, as King of Saints, and King of Nations. And therefore

it is, I ſay, to have a Magiſtracy as at the firſt, and Counſellors as at the beginning, Men fearing God and hating Covetouſneſs. And that Miniſtry as doth preach the everlaſting Goſpel.

Here Mr. *Sheriff* interrupted him, ſaying, *'Tis deſired that you ſpend the reſt of your Time in preparing your ſelf.* Another ſaid, *You ſpend your ſelf, Sir, in this Diſcourſe.* Another ſaid, *It rains.* Then Mr. *Carew* ſaid, *I will pray.*

His Prayer being ended, a Friend that ſtood by ſaid, *It is expected you ſhould ſpeak ſomething to the Matter of your Suffering.* The Under-Sheriff ſaid, *'Tis not to be ſuffer'd, What are you, that you put on Men to ſpeak? What are you, Sir?*

Mr. *Carew* ſaid, *Farewel my dear Friends, farewel; the Lord keep you faithful.* The Friend ſaid, *We part with you with much Joy in our Souls.*

Mr. *Carew* ſaid to the Executioner, *Stay a while, I will ſpeak one Word,* and then ſaid very ſolemnly with a loud Voice, *Lord Jeſus receive my Soul, Lord Jeſus into thy Arms I commend my Spirit.* And then was turn'd off.

Mr. John Cooke's *Execution, the 16th Day of October, 1660, as related by a Friend of his.*

Mr. Cooke *to Mr.* Peters *in the Dungeon ſaid.*

BRother *Peters*, we ſhall be in Heaven to morrow in Bliſs and Glory; what a bleſſed Thing is that? my very Heart leaps within me for Joy; I am now juſt as I was in the Storm, almoſt in Sight of Heaven; read me *Iſaiah* 43. 9, 10. *Iſa.* 61. 10, 11. *Hoſ.* 13. 14.

Then looking upon his Bed, ſaid, that ſhall be my laſt Pillow; I will lay me down and ſleep a while, and he ſlept about an Hour and half, and then awoke, ſaying, Now farewel Sleep, no more Sleep in this World, and farewel Darkneſs and

and Night, I am going where there ſhall be no Night, neither need of a Candle, nor of the Sun, for the Lord will give us Light, *yea, the Lord will be our everlaſting Light, and our God will be our Glory.*

And welcome every Thing that gives Notice the Hour is at Hand, welcome the Cock that crows, welcome ſweet Death, my good Friend, that will bring me ſo near Eternity. O bleſſed be God, bleſſed be his Name; Oh this Chriſt is a bleſſed Chriſt! he anſwereth all Things, and within few Hours we ſhall be crown'd with Glory and Victory; bleſſed be our Lord Jeſus that hath given us the Victory over Sin and Death. Welcome Mr. *Loman*, my Keeper, welcome Angels, that will within a few Hours take the Office, and guard me into Eternity.

At Midnight he pray'd very fervently, and the common Priſoners heard him, and ſeem'd very ſorrowful by their Expreſſions, ſaying, Sir, the Lord be with you; O that our Souls might go where your Soul goes.

About the Morning, ſpeaking to Mrs. *Cooke*, ſaid, Lamb do not diſhonour my laſt Wedding-day by any Trouble for me: For if all my Judges did but know what Glory I ſhall be in before twelve a-clock, they would deſire to be with me.

And let the Executioner make what haſte he can, I ſhall be before-hand with him; for before he can ſay, here is the Head of a Traitor, I ſhall be in Heaven. *Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly, my Soul longeth for thee, and I wait to hear thy Voice, ſaying, come up hither, and immediately I ſhall be in the Spirit, and then ſhall I for ever be with the Lord.* And at Midnight there was a Cry heard, the Bridegroom cometh, and they that were ready went in

unto

unto the Marriage ; *This Day I ſhall enter into the Joy of my Lord.*

Come, Brother *Peters*, let us knock at Heaven Gates this Morning, God will open the Doors of Eternity to us before twelve a-clock, and let us into that innumerable Company of Saints and Angels, *and to the Souls of juſt Men made perfect*, and then we ſhall never part more, but be with the Lord for ever and ever, ſinging Praiſes, ſinging Praiſes to our Lord and everlaſting King to all Eternity : He ſaid further, O what a good Maſter have I ſerv'd, that ſtands by me now, and ſupports me! with his everlaſting Arm he bears me up ; then ſaid, *Come away my beloved, make haſte, and be thou like unto a young Roe, or a young Hart upon the Mountains of Spices.* Behold I come Lord Jeſus, I come full Sail to thee, I come upon the Wing of Faith, Lord Jeſus receive me ; and going to lie down upon his Bed, he ſaid, It is no more to go to die to morrow than it is to go to ſleep to night. I bleſs the Lord I am free from Trouble, and my poor Heart is as full of ſpiritual Comfort as ever it can hold, *and this Joy can no Man take from me.*

The Doors of the Priſon being open'd in the Morning, he ſpent that little Time he had left in Prayer and heavenly Diſcourſe with Friends that came to viſit him, preparing himſelf for his Suffering, with ſuch a Chearfulneſs, as was an Aſtoniſhment to the Spectators.

Then ſpeaking to his Wife, ſaid, Farewel my dear Lamb, I am now going to the Souls under the Altar, that cry, How long, O Lord, Holy and True, doſt thou not judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on Earth ? and when I am gone, my Blood will cry and do them more Hurt than if I had liv'd. But I am now going to Eternity, bleſſed be God, be not troubled for me,

but

but rejoice, becauſe I go to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God. And after ſome Time ſpent in Prayer, he deſir'd his Wife not to with-hold him by an Unwillingneſs to part with him now, when God call'd for him, to be offer'd up as a Sacrifice for his Name and Cauſe.

After a little Pauſe, ſhe freely gave him up to the Lord; to which he replied, Now all the Work is done, and ſaid, I reſign thee up to Jeſus Chriſt, to be thy Husband, to whom alſo I am going to be married in Glory this Day.

His Wife ſhedding Tears, he ſaid, Why weepeſt thou? let them weep who part and ſhall never meet again; but I am confident we ſhall have a glorious Meeting in Heaven; here our Comforts have been mixt with Chequer-work of Troubles, but in Heaven all Tears ſhall be wip'd from our Eyes.

He ask'd ſeveral times if the Sheriff was not come, ſaying, why ſtay the Wheels of his Chariot? why do they drive ſo heavily? I am ready, bleſſed be God, I have nothing to do but to die.

Word being brought that the Sheriff was come, he makes haſte to be gone, and his Wife ſtepping after him, took him by the Arm; whereupon he ſaid, *O do not hinder me from going to Jeſus Chriſt!*

And then with a chearful Countenance, taking leave of his Friends, he went to the Sledge that carried him, whereon was alſo carried the Head of Major General *Thomas Harriſon*, with the Face bare towards him; and notwithſtanding that diſmal Sight, he paſſed rejoicingly thro' the Streets, as one borne up by that Spirit, which Man could not caſt down. Being come to the Place of Execution, when he was taken out of the Sledge, he ſaid, *This is the eaſieſt Chariot that ever I rid in in all my Life.*

Being come upon the Ladder, and the Rope put about his Neck, he rejoiced, saying, *Blessed be the Name of God, that I am bound for the sake of Christ.*

Then he addres's'd himself to God in Prayer.

Having ended his Prayer, he made the following Speech :

Mr. Sheriff and Gentlemen,

THE most glorious Sight that ever was seen in the World was our Lord Jesus Christ upon the Cross ; and the most glorious Sight next to that, is to see any poor Creature suffer for him in his Cause.

I desire to speak a few Words briefly, to let you understand what a glorious Work the Lord hath been pleas'd to accomplish upon my Spirit. I bless the Lord, I have ransack'd into every Corner of my Heart, and I have searched into all my Sins, actual and original, secret and open, known and unknown, so far as the Lord hath discover'd them to me ; and I have confessed them all with a penitential bleeding Heart, and contrite Spirit ; blessed be his Name, he hath been pleas'd to come in abundant manner, and hath been pleas'd to shew me that the only Remedy is the Blood of Christ ; and I have, blessed be the Lord, applied that precious Blood to my poor Soul, and have laid hold upon a Christ, by a true and lively Faith ; and there is a sweet Calm and Serenity in my Soul and Conscience, blessed be thy Name. I desire to glorify God, and to give him the Glory of all, and to take Shame unto myself for any Sins that I have ever committed, that I know to be Sin ; and therefore, I desire to rejoice in the God of my Salvation ; as *Isa.* 61. 10. *I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my Soul shall be joyful in my God, for he hath cloathed me with the Garment of Salvation ;*

vation; he hath cover'd me with the Robe of Righteouſneſs, as a Bridegroom decketh himſelf with Ornaments: And as a Bride adorneth herſelf with Jewels, even ſo the Lord delighteth in me. And as the Earth bringeth forth her Buds, and as the Garden cauſeth the things that are ſown in it to ſpring forth, ſo the Lord will cauſe Righteouſneſs and Praiſe to ſpring forth before all Nations.

And *Iſaiah* 43. 9, 10. *Ye are my Witneſſes, ſaith the Lord,* I do deſire to bear a Teſtimony unto God, and to Jeſus Chriſt, for Juſtice and Truth, and Righteouſneſs and Holineſs.

The Lord knows I have no Malice upon my Heart againſt any Man or Woman living upon the Face of the Earth; neither againſt Jury that found me guilty, nor Court that paſſed Sentence; I deſire freely to forgive every one from the Bottom of my Heart. And as concerning this great Diſpenſation, you may (it may be) deſire to hear ſomething of it. Truly, I ſay, As to the King's Majeſty, I have not any hard Thoughts concerning him: My Prayer ſhall be for him that his Throne may be upheld by Truth, and by Mercy; for *by Mercy*, as *Prov.* 23. *the Throne is upheld.* But I muſt needs ſay, that poor we have been bought and ſold by our Brethren, as *Joſeph* was.

Brother hath betray'd Brother to Death; and that Scripture is in a great Meaſure fulfill'd, *Mat.* 10. 21. *The Father againſt the Son, and the Son againſt the Father; and Brother ſhall deliver up Brother to Death.* I deſire for my own Part to kiſs the Rod; and I do deſire (if it may pleaſe the King's Majeſty) that no more Blood may be ſhed after mine: It may be the Lord will put it into his own Breaſt.

Here is a poor Brother coming, I am afraid that he is not fit to die at this Time; I could wiſh that his Majeſty might ſhew ſome Mercy.

The Sheriff interrupted in Words to this effect: *Let that alone, for the King's Majesty hath Clemency enough for all but his Father's Murderers.*

Mr. *Cooke* replied, Then I shall proceed to speak something concerning my Profession and Faith, which, I bless the Lord, is founded upon the Rock Christ Jesus. I do not expect Salvation for any thing I have ever done, but only lay hold upon Christ as a naked Christ, and there to bottom my Soul.

I can say, to the Praise and Glory of God, that I have endeavour'd in my Place, and to my Power, to do that which might be to God's Glory, according to the best of my Understanding. I have stood for a Gospel Magistracy and Ministry, and that many Delays in the Law might be removed, (and that thing I have much suffer'd for) I say it's good both for King and People, that many Delays in Matter of Justice should be removed, and that publick Justice might be speedily and cheaply administred.

And as for my Profession, I am of the congregational Way; I desire to own it, and am for Liberty of Conscience, and all that walk humbly and holily before the Lord; and desire to walk in the Fear of the Lord, and I believe it is a Truth, and there can be nothing said against it. I do confess I am not convinc'd of any thing I have done amiss, as to that I have been charg'd with, I am not indeed; neither did I understand the Plea of the Court; that if the Lords and Commons had brought the King to the Bar, and had set him over them again, their bringing him to the Bar had been Treason.

I desire never to repent of any thing therein I have done; but I desire to own the Cause of God and Christ; and am here to bear witness to it,

and

and ſo far as I know any thing of myſelf, I can freely confeſs it.

Here the Sheriff interrupted him again, deſiring him to forbear any ſuch Expreſſions.

Mr. *Cooke* replied, It hath not been the Manner of *Engliſh* Men to inſult over a dying Man, nor in other Countries among *Turks* or *Galliaſſes*.

The Lord bleſs every one of us, and help us, that we may look more to the Honour and Glory of God than the Concernments of our own Lives: For alas, what is a poor miſerable Life to us, but that therein we might give Honour and Glory to the God of all our Mercies?

And if there be any here of that Congregation to which I was related in the time that I lived here, I would commend to them that Scripture, *Phil.* 2. 17, 18. *Yea, and if I be offer'd up upon the Sacrifice and Service of the Faith, I joy and rejoice with you all, for the ſame Cauſe alſo do you joy and rejoice with me.* And *Deut.* 18. 11. *The Lord God of your Fathers make you a thouſand times more than you are, and bleſs you as he hath promiſed.* The Lord be pleas'd to ſpeak Comfort to them, and to all them that fear the Lord.

The Lord keep *England* from Popery, and from Superſtition, and keep it from Prophaneneſs, and that there may not be an Inundation of Antichriſt in the Land. And that is all the Harm I wiſh unto it.

The Lord hath forgiven me many thouſand Talents, and therefore I may well forgive thoſe few Pence that are owing unto me. I bleſs the Lord I have nothing lying upon my Conſcience, but I can unboſom myſelf to every one, and to the Throne of free Grace, in the Simplicity of my Spirit; I have endeavour'd to do nothing but with a good Conſcience, and thro' the Integrity

of my Heart, tho' accompanied with many Frailties.

I desire to bless the Lord, my Lot was rather in *Ireland* than here, here I have been more known where I have given the Offence.

The Sheriff again interrupted him,

Mr. *Cooke* replies, Sir, I pray take notice of it, I think I am the first Man that ever was hanged for demanding of Justice, therefore I hope you will not interrupt me.

I suppose you were there, and do bear me witness in your Conscience, that there was not any thing then, that I did not communicate to the Court, that I now speak upon the Ladder.

If you will believe the Words of a dying Man, I say, as I must give an Account, I have nothing lieth upon my Conscience. We must all meet together at the great Day of the Lord, to give an Account of all our Actions, (and then it will appear) the Lord grant we may meet with Joy and Comfort.

I have a poor Wife and Child, and some Friends left, I desire you that come along with me, to commend to them *Isai.* 54. 4. 5, and 10 ver.

I hope the King and Parliament will consider our poor Friends as to their Estates, you know that those Lords that formerly suffer'd under the Parliament, did not lose all their Estates; I hope there will be some Consideration as to Justice, (lest that our small Estates prove a Poison amongst their great deal) and my poor Wife and Relations suffer.

The Lord grant that Mercy may be shewed, that Mercy and Righteousness may magnify and exalt itself above Justice. I shall not hold you long; I shall desire, in the Fear of the Lord, to give myself (as in *Rom.* 12. 1.) *A living Sacrifice,*

Holy

Holy and acceptable unto God, which is but a reaſonable Service.

And ſo I do intreat that I may have a little Time to call upon the Lord, unleſs there be any thing more deſir'd, or any one that would ask me a Queſtion.

Truly I forgive all from my Heart, I have nothing upon my Heart to accuſe any of them withal. I bleſs the Lord I have a clear Conſcience, I ſay it in the Integrity and Simplicity of my Heart, (I do now appeal to the great God, to whom I muſt give an Account of what I have done) knowing that all my Guilt is waſhed away in the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, (and before him I hope to appear) and have nothing elſe to plead any thing at all for me.

And ſo I hope that I have declar'd myſelf with Simplicity and Integrity, in a few Words, that you may underſtand my Mind.

Then he went to his Prayers again; after which he was turn'd off.

A Letter written from the Tower *to a Chriſtian Friend by Mr.* Cooke.

SIR,

NOW, in anſwer to your loving Inquiry, how it fares with my better Part, I bleſs God I never found ſo much internal ſpiritual Solace and unmixt Joy and Comfort, as I have experimented in theſe five Months Indurance, 2 *Cor.* 1. 3, 4, 5. Let never any Chriſtian fear a Priſon, it being the only Place, where (wanting other Books) a Man may beſt ſtudy the Book of the Knowledge of himſelf, having a long Vacation from all Buſineſs; but praying unto, and praiſing God in Chriſt, by the Spirit's Aſſiſtance. I cannot take *Martha's* Part, for none muſt come

to me ; not *Mary*'s Part, to wait upon the Ordinances, which my Soul thirſts after ; therefore my Chamber is like the *Sanctum ſanctorum*, where wittingly none may enter but the High Prieſt of our Profeſſion, the Lord Jeſus. I did not think that there had been ſo much Ignorance, Impotence, Impatience, Ingratitude, Pride, inordinate Affection to Creature Comforts, Revenge, Diffidence of God, Self-love, and Iniquity of all ſorts in me, as I find there is ; who am not only a poor Sinner, but Sin itſelf, a very Maſs of Sin. I find it very hard to rely nakedly on God's Goodneſs, not to feel the Heat of Perſecution, not to be careful when all is taken away, *Jer.* 7. 17. Lo, ſo this Darkneſs and Filthineſs of Spirit is only diſcovered by the Light of Chriſt, by whoſe Lowlineſs in waſhing the Apoſtles Feet, I ſee my Loftineſs and want of Condeſcenſion when I had Power ; by his Patience, my many Paſſions and Heart-riſings againſt Inſtruments ; by his Obedience to the Death, my Reluctancies ; by his Faithfulneſs, my former Back-ſlidings ; by his Fruitfulneſs, and doing God, *Acts* 10. 38. my Barrenneſs, and the little Good I did when I had Opportunity ; and by his Liberality, my Penuriouſneſs ; whereby I adore and acknowledge his Juſtice that he hath moſt righteouſly depriv'd me of my Liberty and Eſtate ; all which drives me nearer to Chriſt, and makes me take faſter hold of his Righteouſneſs. I now underſtand (through Grace) how precious he is, 1 *Pet.* 2. 7. if it were not for Chriſt, what a miſerable Condition were I now in, that might ſuddenly be ſent to contend with the Wrath of God in everlaſting Burnings ? and this makes me love Chriſt the more, having forgiven me more than others ; and having had ten thouſand Talents forgiven me, I would forgive any Wrong-doers ; and this keeps me humble, and from Cenſoriouſneſs.

ſoriouſneſs. I bleſs God I have ranſack'd into every Corner of my Soul, I have with *David*, *Job*, *Eſay*, and *Paul*, bewailed my hereditary Diſeaſe and Heart-corruption. I feel it is as a rotten Tooth that akes, would fain be rid of it, and have condemn'd myſelf for it, cried out againſt it, as the raviſhed Damſel, *Deut.* 22. 26. The like for Sins done in my Inclination, which by preventing Grace are ſecret, and only known to God; and I have mourned over my ſecret Sins, only known to God and myſelf; over the Sins of my Youth, which were committed faſter than can be nam'd; for thoſe which I did not know to be Sin, and thoſe that I have forgotten; and eſpecially for my actually known Sins, committed againſt Love and Light, Promiſes and Covenants. I have confeſs'd them all with a heavy bleeding, broken and contrite Spirit; and O that I had all Sin, as Sin, in a greater Execration! my Grief is for having offended ſo gracious a Father, that will not damn me for it; if there were no Hell nor Judge, I would rather die than willingly offend him any more, and I cannot ſatisfy divine Juſtice for one vain Thought, therefore I fly to Chriſt, and cloſe with him, upon a free Promiſe, as a poor Penitent Sinner; no Merits but the Merits of my Saviour; I take in whole Chriſt, and not one Drop of my puddled Water ſhall be mingled with the Ocean of his pure and perfect Righteouſneſs; and I give up myſelf wholly to him, as by a Deed of Gift, to be at his Diſpoſe; and I know he hath receiv'd me; *I am my Beloved's, and my Beloved is mine*, and all is mine, 1 *Cor.* 3. 22. Death itſelf; I have a ſweet Certificate from Heaven of the Pardon of Sin, Juſtification, Reconciliation, and Adoption. I know God's Heart, and his Eyes are upon me pepetually, 2 *Cor.* 2. 15. That no tender Father, or Mother, can have ſo ſpecial a

Care

Care of any ſick, impriſoned Child, as he hath of me. I believe that God, who hath given a Property to the Needle to keep fixt, tho' the Ship overturn, will keep me faithful to the Death, and that I ſhall receive the Crown of Life, and ſtand with as much Confidence at the great Day, as if I had never ſinned; and herein I am confirmed by the Teſtimony of the Spirit, and Scripture Evidences.

Bleſſed be God I do love the Saints; every one that ſuffers in this Cauſe is as dear to me as my own Soul; my Sighs have been many, and my Heart faint, ſince I came hither, not for my own Condition (for it is happy) but for the Afflictions of *Joſeph*; ſcarce a poor Saint permitted to breath in *Iriſh* Air: Thoſe that will not ſwear and be drunk, or have Prayer in their Families, are counted Fanaticks, *Eſa.* 50. 15. I have a dear Reſpect to all God's Commandments, ſpiritual Joy is no Stranger to me: I love the Word and Ordinances more than my appointed Food. I deſire that all my Thoughts, Words and Actions, may pleaſe God, and that all that he does may pleaſe me; and I do freely forgive my Adverſaries, the Lord herein encreaſe my Faith, *Luke* 17. 5. and I bleſs God I have a quiet Conſcience as to the World, and which is good alſo for being juſtified by Chriſt, apprehended by Faith. I have Peace with God, *Rom.* 5. 1. and ſo I deſcend to the Cauſe for which I am in Bonds, which is as good as ever it was; and I believe there is not a Saint that hath engaged with us, but will wiſh at the laſt Day that he had ſealed to the Truth of it with his Blood, if thereunto called; for I am ſatisfied that it is the moſt noble and glorious Cauſe that has been agitated for God and Chriſt ſince the Apoſtolical Times; being for Truth, Holineſs, and Righteouſneſs, for our Liberties as

Men

Men and as Chriſtians, for removing of all Yokes and Oppreſſions, for a Goſpel Magiſtracy and Miniſtry, and not only for the Prieſtly and Prophetical Offices of Chriſt Jeſus, but for his Kingly alſo: The peculiar Light and Work of this Generation being to diſcover and oppoſe the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Tyrannies intended upon the Nations, by the Pope's *Leger-de-main*, to exalt Chriſt as Lord and King over Mens Conſciences, to magnify and make the Law of God honourable, and authentick every where, and to give Juſtice and Mercy the upper Hand. As I hear nothing what they intend to do with me, ſo I am not much ſollicitous about it; I do freely truſt God to make what Bargain for me he pleaſes. I believe they are as angry with me as any Man in the Nations, becauſe *Litera Scripta manet*, but their Cauſe requires rather Silence than Eloquence; as for that againſt Monarchy unaccountable they will be aſhamed to oppoſe it, that which teaches thence, is the ſtating the Caſe, for which I had Vouchers, and Warrants for every Word, but now they plow with our Heifers; yet great is the Truth, and that will prevail, as for petitioning there is not any. I cannot confeſs any Guilt, it is ſuch a Cauſe that the Martyrs would gladly come again from Heaven to ſuffer for, if they might, tho' too many object againſt me, 1 *Pet.* 4. 15. *Let none of you ſuffer as a Murderer*: I look upon it as the moſt noble and higheſt Act of Juſtice that our Story can parallel; and ſo far as I had a Hand in it, never any one Action in all my Life comes to my Mind with leſs regret, or trouble of Conſcience than that does; for the Blood muſt lie upon him, or the Parliament; and I am ſure I had no more Malice in my Heart, than when I was in my Cradle: All that I can be ſorry for, is, that I had not ſuch pure,

and

and unbyaſs'd Aims, as the Glory of God and Exaltation of Chriſt therein, as I ſhould have had; I neither did any thing *dubitante*, or *reluctante Conſcientia*; I was ſo far from a Gain-ſaying Conſcience in any thing I acted, that I never ſcrupled in the leaſt, and the Generality of the People have ſince owned it: I was in Mercy a poor Advocate for Chriſt, and the People of *England*; and if by my Blood their Cauſe may be watered, I ſay (as *Phil.* 2. 17, 18.) to you and the reſt of the Church of Chriſt, if I be offer'd upon the Sacrifice and Service of your Faith, let us rejoice together: It has been counted ſhameful for Soldiers to run from their Colours, or deſert their Maſters, and Principles, but it is more odious for a Counſellor to prevaricate and betray his Client's Cauſe: I am perſuaded that all thoſe that have had a chief Hand, and are now giving Judgment againſt themſelves, and all good People, in all thoſe Points which they formerly contended for, againſt the King; as the Lawfulneſs of the War, which was granted both here and at *Edenburgh*; the Militia, negative Voice, Power to diſſolve Parliaments, conferring great Offices (as King *James* ſaid, *ſo long as I make Biſhops and Judges, I will have what Religion and Laws I pleaſe*) As they are moſt abominable Prevaricators of the honeſt Intereſt, for they will wiſh, at the laſt Day, that they had been *Jews*, *Turks*, or *Indians*; for the greater Light, the greater is their Apoſtacy and Ingratitude, 2 *Pet.* 2. 21. and ſure they will have a peculiar Judgment by themſelves; for they do openly proclaim the Cauſe of *Barrabas* before the Cauſe of *Jeſus*. *Peter* denied Chriſt, and *Judas* betray'd him; but it was before his Paſſion and Aſcenſion, they never ſaw the wonderful Works which our Eyes have beheld; but what ſhall we ſay, If the Treachery of *Judas* help forward the

Work

Work of our Salvation, why may we not hope that God is whetting his Tools, and gone back to fetch a greater Blow againſt his Oppreſſors? *Iſaac* muſt not die, tho' the Knife be at his Throat, *Gen.* 12. 14. our Caſe ſeems to be like theirs; under proud *Haman* the Gallows was erected, but the Royal Seed preſerved, *Heſt.* 6. 13. *Numb.* 23. The Story of *Balaam* is much upon my Heart, the Shout of King Jeſus to reign in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs is among his People, I hope as much as ever; and there is no Inchantment againſt *Jacob*, therefore he muſt not be afraid; I am purſuaded we ſhall fare the better for the thouſand Curſes we had between *Cheſter* and *London*, 2 Sam. 16. 12.

Now having endeavour'd to ſatisfy you that the great Work is over, as to my eternal Salvation, and my Opinion of the Goodneſs of our Cauſe; I ſhall further entreat your Patience to tell you that I am fully convinc'd, that next to that unſpeakable Gift of Chriſt, the greateſt Grace and Mercy that God can beſtow upon any of us, is to call for and enable us to lay down our Lives upon this Account; ſuffering for Chriſt being a ſtrong Argument of his Electing Love, *Acts* ix. 15, 16. and a greater matter of rejoycing, *Acts* xxiii. 11. Be of good cheer *Paul*; therefore he forbids Tears for him upon that ſcore, *Acts* xxi. 13. and I have charged my poor Lamb not to wear any Black for me (if ſhe have wherewith to buy it;) for I ſhall be in *White*, *Rev.* vi. 11. the Apoſtle rejoyced to be counted worthy to ſuffer Shame for Chriſt, and would not but ſpeak what they ſaw with the Eyes of Faith, and heard with the Ears of the Spirit, *Acts* iv. 20. and v. 41. and *Paul* gloried in the Tribulation, rejoycing in hope of the Glory of God, *Rom.* v. 23. and took pleaſure in Reproaches, Neceſſity, and

Perſe-

Perſecutions for Chriſt, 2 *Cor.* xii. 10. ſo *Moſes*, *Heb.* xi. 26. for the Recompence of Reward which is God himſelf, *Gen.* xv. 1. and the Times cannot be ſo full of Terrour and Diſcouragement as the Scriptures are full of Comfort and Incitations in this particular, to us the Lord's Priſoners, *Mat.* v. 10, 12. why are we ſorrowful when Chriſt bids us to be joyful? *Mat.* x. 25, 27. There is no Safety but to be on Chriſt's Side; for the Son of Man ſhall come in his Glory, and the Saints alſo, *Mark* viii. 33, 38. they are not the Words of a Child, but of Chriſt, not ſpoken to affright us, but for our Animadverſion; Oh this perfidious Generation! How will that Word be made good to the Amazement of our timorous Profeſſors, *John* xvi. 21. The Ax or a Halter will be leſs Pain than the Pangs of Child-birth, *John* xv. 18, 21. we are in nothing to be terrify'd, 1 *Phil.* xxviii. 29. Conſtancy in ſuffering for good Principles is matter of Glory in the Churches, and Tribulation will be the Portion of our Troubles, 2 *Theſ.* i. 4. to the end is very precious, 1 *Theſ.* iii. 8. we live if we ſtand faſt in the Lord: I know you, and my dear Brethren and Siſters are of *Paul's* Mind; if I die in my Bed, being a Church-Member, you will, by the Rule of Charity, judge me happy; I cannot do you more Service than to bear my Witneſs in this Cauſe of Chriſt, wherein you are ſo much concern'd; I find our Text appropriate to our Condition, *John* xii. 23. to 27. Chriſt's Death was like ſowing of Corn, which ſeem'd loſt, but was our Life; ſo he that counts not his Life dear for Chriſt, tho' the World count him miſerable, yet he hath two ſpecial Promiſes to be where Chriſt is, and that the Father will honour him, it is a following of Chriſt in dying for him, actively or in Affection, as appears, *Joh.* xiii. 36. xxi. 19.

by

by a Conformity to his Death, *Phil.* iii. 10. *Rev.* xiv. 3. ſome read which died for the Lord, as *Rev.* xx. 4. and xix. 10. which now is counted as bad as Treaſon, *Heb.* xii. has an ineffable Sweetneſs in it, *Chap.* xi. is the little Book of Martyrs, xii. 1. the Spirit ſays, follow your Leaders, he is a Coward that will not follow ſuch free Examples; Chriſt and the Saints behold you, and ye are Witneſſes for Chriſt as they were, but muſt forſake all Sin, eſpecially your *Dalilahs*, *Herodias*, and *Rimmons*, and ſtrive againſt it; and ye have need of Patience, but ye will faint and be weary, unleſs ye look unto Jeſus and fear not, for he is as well the Finiſher of your Faith as the Father of it, he deſpiſed the Shame; what need you care if they ſay behold the Head, or the Heart of a Traytor, when your better Part is in Heaven, and reproves us for being too parſimonious of our Blood? we muſt be prepared for ſuffering, *cruore ſanctorum rigatur Eccleſia.* *Luther* was troubled that he carried his Blood to his Grave, he loved the Chriſt's Croſs more than the 24 Letters, and loved not half-Chriſtians, that were only for doing and not for ſuffering; and tho' our Sin deſerve Death, as from the Lord, yet our Enemies mind them not, they puniſh us for being Judges, Advocates, and Soldiers for our Lord Jeſus, *Pſal.* xxxviii. 20.

And as the ſpiritual Man overcomes the Animal, ſo I am reaſoning myſelf againſt Senſe into a Willingneſs to die, for either the Times will be better or worſe; is there not in probability a great Flood of Oppreſſion and Perſecution coming upon the Godly? Will not the righteous Soul of a juſt *Lot* be vexed with the horrible Prophaneneſs, Malignity, and Contempt of Chriſt's pure Ordinances that abound every where? We have heard Juſtice and Tyranny, Truth and Falſhood, the Form and the Power of Godlineſs pleading toge-

ther,

ther, and Judgment was given for God and his People; but all ſeems to be revers'd, and what was but *injurie* or *neſciente* before, is now a formal and material Contempt, and Deſpight to God and Chriſt, and the Spirit of Grace in whomſoever breathing; and what Comfort is there in a Son, if the Ark be taken, 1 *Sam.* iv. 20, 21. ſhe regarded it not, the Bleſſing is to ſee our Children with Peace upon *Iſrael*, *Pſal.* cxxviii. 5, 6. it is a Mercy to be taken away from the Evil to come, *Eſay* lvii. 1. beſtowed upon *Joſiah* as a Favour, being tender-hearted, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 19. 'tis a rich Mercy to get into our heavenly Houſe and Harbour before the Storm come, 2 *Cor.* v. how much more bleſſed to give our polluted Blood for his ſake who ſhed his moſt precious Blood for us? and if the Times prove good, for civil or ſacred Liberties; *Moſes* envied not thoſe that were to go into *Canaan*, becauſe he was inveſted with a better Poſſeſſion, a heavenly Country, *Heb.* xi. 16. if there be ſuch glorious Times to be expected upon Earth as you and I have diſcourſed of, I am ſure there is no leſs Joy in Heaven; and we that are there ſhall have no Cauſe to envy our militant Brethren; beſides, as for myſelf, I can expect to do little for God, I am three parts dead, 70 being divided into four, the Shadows of the Evening are upon me, and Aches and Pains are inſeparable Companions; if now Chriſt ſhould graciouſly accept of my poor crazy Body, and bring me to an honourable and eaſy Death for him, bleſſed be his Name for ever, 1 *Chr.* xxix. 10. to 16. The Heathen could ſay, *Dulce eſt pro patria mori, pro Chriſto mori dulciſſimum.* How did the *Romans* glory to die for their Liberties, and after for the Glory of their *Cæſars?* And how glad are the poor *Spaniards* and *Muſcovites* that they have a Life, a Wife, or a Son, for their King? And how glad are the

City

City that their Feaſtings will be receiv'd? A Popiſh Friar told me lately, that if he were of my Opinion for Aſſurance of Salvation, he would not willingly live an Hour longer for all *Ireland*; yet Saints too much fear this grim Porter Death, tho' when executed we go from the Croſs to the Crown, *Jam.* i. 12. Indeed it is below the Profeſſion that we have made, to be now troubled; in Proſperity I would be a Worm, but now the Lord makes us bold as Lions, that being call'd to ſuffer after ſo bleſſed an Example, we may think it an Honour to pledge our Maſter in his own Cup, and commit the keeping of our Souls to him in well-doing as unto a faithful Creator, 1 *Pet.* ii. 21. and iv. 19. for he will never leave nor forſake us, but will give us Shoulders to bear what he lays upon us, 1 *Cor.* x. 13. Let us therefore who are the Children of *Zion* be joyful in our King, as others (who one day will appear to be Fanaticks indeed) rejoyce in them, for theſe preſent Sufferings are not worthy to be compared with our future Glory, *Rom.* viii. 18.

Sir, I bleſs God I have an invincible Peace and a ſecret Joy ſurpaſſing my Expreſſion; *and I preſs towards the Mark*, *Phil.* iii. 14. yet divine Cordials are not conſtant, but often ſome fainting Fits, and Diſpondencies; the Spirit bloweth where it liſteth; where it is not comforting, it is ſupporting, *Eſay* xl. 29. and xli. 10. if I were not very feeble, how could God's Power appear in my Weakneſs? I bleſs his Name that his Arrows are not within me, nor do the Terrors of Death take hold upon me, as *Job* vi. 4. for I never was better as to the Frame and Temper of Mind and Body, than ſince my Reſtraint; and bleſſed be the Comforter I am not long without him. My Couſin *Harriſon* is very full of ſpiritual Comfort (as the Gentleman Jailor tells me) and bids me

chear up, and indeed it will be a Mercy, if thoſe who are called forth to teſtify for Chriſt prove courageous, as *Joſ.* 1. 9. but truly as for my Part, it does not lie on that Side; I fear, leſt I may be too much exalted with the Honour of it, tho' I know the Lord can ſoon withdraw; we live by Faith, and not by Sight; our Happineſs is in our Union, rather than in Communion and ſenſible Guſts; and I rather fear a lingring Death with Severity; ſome for Baniſhment, *Ezek.* 7. 16. *&c.* but let the Lord do with me as he pleaſeth, as *Joab* ſaid, 1 *Chr.* 19. 13. *Omnia co-operantur in bonum*, *Rom.* 8. 28. So having unboſom'd my Heart unto you, that you and ſuch whom you judge faithful and ſecret, may the better ſpread my Condition before the Lord, I would intreat you to beg for me more particularly; 1. That God would ſet home upon my Heart, and fulfil in me with Power your ſweet Scripture (for which I heartily thank you) 2 *Tim.* 1. 7, 8, 9, 12. that I may not be afraid of their Terrors, nor troubled, but may ſanctify the Lord at that time, and be able to anſwer all Oppoſers, that they may be aſham'd when we ſuffer for well-doing, 1 *Pet.* 3. 14. to 18. 2. That I and the reſt of our Brethren and Companions in Tribulation, and in the Kingdom and Patience of Jeſus Chriſt, for the Word of God and his Teſtimony, may be ſtrengthned with all Might, according to Chriſt's Glorious Power, unto all Patience and Long-ſuffering with Joyfulneſs, as *Paul* pray'd for the *Coloſſians*, *Col.* 1. 9. to 14. being fill'd with Knowledge, Wiſdom, and ſpiritual Underſtanding, and feeling thoſe Grounds of Joy as an Inheritance of Light, and Deliverance from the Power of Darkneſs, that we may be *Teſtes* and *Conteſtes*, to agree in our Teſtimonies, and not diſparage ſo good a Cauſe. 3. That we may be ready not only to be bound,

bound, but to die for Chriſt, and the Vindication and Juſtification of his Evangelical Doctrine; we have made high Profeſſion and Confeſſion of the everlaſting Goſpel, and it is a bleſſed Thing to believe with the Heart, and confeſs with our Mouths, and in our Lives, and by active Martyrdom, as *Brooke*, *Ireton*, *Hampden*, *Pickering*, and others, have worthily done, who are ſafely arrived, expecting us, and we are yet upon the Waves; but the moſt excellent, honourable, rich and fruitful Confeſſion of Chriſt, whereby we can make the moſt efficacious Demonſtration of our Election and Faith in Chriſt, and Love in his glorious Perſon, with moſt ſupreme Illuſtration of God's Glory, is to lay down our Lives as the Martyrs did, to ſeal and confirm the Truth of our Profeſſions with our Blood, for the Cauſe of Chriſt, and Safety of our Brethren, *Rom.* 16. 4. 1 *John* 3. 16. as our bleſſed Maſter, after he had confeſſed and preach'd the Glory of God, and our Salvation, confirm'd and approv'd all by Miracles, and his moſt holy Life made a good Confeſſion under *Pontius Pilate*, 1 *Tim.* 6. 13. without which all had been ineffectual: So I have often thought for the Diſcovery of Hypocrites, cementing of the Saints in more concording Affections, Trial of Faith, exerciſing of Patience, and Love to Chriſt, and for many other glorious Ends, God would call for ſome of his Childrens Blood, which will be the greater Favour to them whom he ſhall count worthy of it, becauſe I think this will rather be a *Julian* than a *Neronian* Perſecution, always provided that we be found in the Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace; that God does not love us, becauſe we live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly, in this preſent World, and are willing to forſake all, and loſe our Lives for him.

But becauſe he loves us, and has ſingled us out from the World, therefore he enables us ſo to live, and to do ſingular things for his Honour and Glory, and willingly to *follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goeth*, Rev. 14. 4. *For the Love of Chriſt conſtraineth us*, 2 Cor. 5. 14. O that we had more enlarged Hearts for our King Jeſus! 4. (That you may fully hit my Condition) I have ſome Trouble upon me concerning the Loſs of my temporal Eſtate, eſpecially for my poor, tender loving Wife and Child: I was a Purchaſer, and had a Stock of Cattle, and being wrongfully made Priſoner two Months before any Speech of a King, I was ſurpriz'd and could ſave nothing, nor get 20 *l.* of my Eſtate ſince *Michaelmas* laſt. They promiſed to bear my Charges to *London*; but at *Cheſter* I was forc'd to borrow Money, or muſt have come afoot: Therefore pray be earneſt with the Lord, that we may take the ſpoiling of our Goods more joyfully, knowing that we have in Heaven better and an enduring Subſtance, *Heb.* 10. 34. and that we may not faint at theſe momentary Afflictions, which work ſo well for us, (wherein Riches and Honours are not ſo) according to that Paſſage, 2 *Cor.* 4. the three laſt Verſes, and be affected with eternal Joys. It is ſaid that I ſhall be put down into the Hole for Non-payment of great Fees: My Comfort is, that God will be with me there, they cannot ſhut out God's Spirit from me, which is an everlaſting Spring and Jubile, nor will that be ſo bad as *Jeremiah*'s Dungeon, nor as *Joſeph*'s Irons, which enter'd into his Soul, tho' indeed we are ſold by our Brethren as *Joſeph* was, that the Scripture may be fulfill'd, *The Brother ſhall deliver up the Brother to Death*, Matth. 10. 21.

I know not how to conclude, not knowing when I may have another Opportunity to converſe with you. I am overjoy'd to think they cannot reach

my

my Soul, and that our Cauſe is invincible, and it will be a Happineſs if God ſee it good that none might ſuffer Death, but ſuch whoſe Souls are out of Danger; but being upon the Account of civil Liberties as well as ſpiritual, our only wiſe Father will order all for his own Glory, and this only ſilences all Murmurings, and Maſter ſave thy ſelf, that what he pleaſes muſt needs be beſt for us; he being Infinite Wiſdom, Love, Power and Goodneſs. Had the King made his Way by the Sword, we might expect his ſoreſt Strokes; but for the Men of *Keilah* to deliver us up for the Parliament to ſacrifice us: Theſe Men that ſit by a Common-wealth Writ, for whoſe Privileges we adventur'd our All, and who cannot condemn us, but muſt give up the Cauſe, and give Judgment againſt themſelves, and all the good People in the Nation; let the *Indians* judge of it, if any of the Elect think hardly of us, that we do not cry *peccavi*, and make our Recantation; it will not laſt long, and it is no matter what others ſay, for they muſt receive their Judgment at the Bar of Chriſt, and we ſhall judge our Judges; therefore let us not entertain Damps of Diſpondencies. My Rejoycing is in a good God, a good Cauſe, a good Conſcience; I have the Juſtice of Heaven on my Side, and God's Loving-kindneſs, which is better than Life; if we find Injuſtice and Cruelty here, Men's Law at *Weſtminſter* will be adjudged Treaſon in Heaven, it will not be long before all Tears ſhall be wiped from our Eyes; and if our Innocencies be not vindicated and cleared up in this Life, as *Job*'s, *Mordecai*'s, *Joſeph*'s, and *Daniel*'s and *Suſanna*'s were; yet at the Revelation of the righteous Judgment of God, it will appear before Men and Angels, that we are not Traitors, nor Murderers, nor Phanaticks; but true Chriſtians, and good Commonwealths-

men, fixt and conſtant to the Principles of Sanctity, Truth, Juſtice, and Mercy, which the Parliament and Army declar'd and engag'd for; and to that noble Principle of preferring the Univerſality, before a Particularity; that we ſought the publick Good, and would have infranchiſed the People, and ſecured the Welfare of the whole groaning Creation, if the Nation had not more delighted in Servitude, than in Freedom. And if we now ſuffer a Martyrdom of Body, we ſhall be ſome of the Souls under the Altar, crying, *How long, O Lord! holy and true*; and tho' we can patiently digeſt their Tortures, and leave all Vengeance to whom it belongs, yet who knows but that our Blood may be their Poiſon? but then after all unjuſt Sentences of Men, how ſweet and honourable will the Judgment of Chriſt be, *Matth.* 25. (*Euge bone ſerve*) of entring into our Maſter's Joy, when the Kings of the Earth, and the chief Captains and Dukes of *Edom* ſhall wiſh the Mountains and Rocks to fall upon them, *Rev.* 5. 16. I bleſs God my poor Wife does much encourage me to be faithful to the Death, and ſhe is a Meet-helper indeed, who helps her Husband ſo to Heaven, as in a fiery Chariot; ſhe is one who bears an unfeigned Love to Chriſt and all the Saints; I intreat your tender Care of her and my Child, *providebit Deus*, Jer. 49. 11. I ſhall leave her that Scripture, and *Eſa.* 54. 5. to 8. while they cannot take away by Confiſcation; when we were in the Storm we took our leaves each of the other; and tho' we have not paid our Vows at *Bethel*, yet I truſt (as was then promiſed) we ſhall be willing to go to Chriſt, if he call thro' a Sea of Blood. But, O the infinite Wiſdom and Love of God, and the unſearchable Riches of his Grace! that if I had been drowned, the Malignants would have ſaid, tho' he eſcaped by Land, yet

divine

divine Vengeance overtook him at Sea; that now he ſhould vouchſafe me (poor me, as *Gideon* ſaid, *Judges* 6. 15. one of the meaneſt Lawyers in *Weſtminſter-Hall*) the Honour of Bonds, and an effectual Martyrdom for being an Advocate for my bleſſed Advocate, and the good People of *England*.

I have been the larger, not knowing what Uſe this may be of, if my Mouth ſhould be ſtop'd; if you hear any Report of me contrary hereunto, believe it not, ſo you have my Heart; and I had rather be buried alive, than my Tongue or Hand ſhould differ from it. O pray much for me, and pray again and mend your Prayers, as I have great need to do, if you know what pitiful, poor, ſhort and confuſed Prayers I make in a Day; yet Father into thy Hands I commend my Spirit is a Prayer, no Period better than Prayer; therefore now unto him that is able to keep you (and me) from falling, and to preſent you (and me) faultleſs, before the Preſence of his Glory, with exceeding Joy: To the only wiſe God, our Saviour, be Glory and Majeſty, Dominion and Power, now and for ever, *Amen*.

Yours for ever in our Dear Redeemer,

JOHN COOKE.

The Execution of THOMAS SCOT, *the Regicide, the 17th Day of* October, 1660.

THE Night before Execution, when he was in the Dungeon, he was (as he had been that Day) ſomewhat ſadder than at other times; and one ask'd him, if any particular Thing lay on him? He ſaid, No; but the Lord was pleaſed to ſuſpend his comforting Preſence: But, ſaid he (with an humble Boldneſs I would ſpeak it) The Lord ſhall not put me off with any thing beſides himſelf. After having ſpent ſome Hours in Prayer, as at other Times, about Midnight we left him, and his Fellows, that they might get a little Reſt, for the Support of their natural Spirits; and in three or four Hours his Wife, Children, and many other Friends return'd. When we came, we found them praying: As ſoon as Colonel *Scroop* had ended, Mr. *Scot* turned about, and opening his Arms, he imbraced his Wife, and one of his Daughters: Ah, ſaid he, my dear ones, *God is good, he is come, he is come! I am full, I am full. O bleſs the Lord for me, and with me! O my Soul, and all that is within me, magnify the Lord!* By and by he went to Prayer himſelf; and one would have thought he had been (as it were) in Heaven, his Soul was ſo enlarged in bleſſing, praiſing and magnifying the God of his Salvation. O! ſaid he to his Wife, *I would not change this dark Room for the beſt Star-Chamber under Heaven.* He deſir'd his Friends and Relations would not be ſolicitous for his Body; but let them do what they pleaſed, and exerciſe what Cruelty they would; ſaying, it was meet it ſhould be ſo: And that the dead Bodies of the Witneſſes muſt be unburied, that the Scriptures might be fulfill'd.

Some

Some Part of his Prayer was, to bleſs the Lord, that (as the Pſalmiſt ſaid) tho' he came in there weeping, and fearing that he had not yet been bearing precious Seed, yet now they were returning rejoicing and triumphing, and carrying their Sheaves with them. Call us not (ſaid he) *Marahs* (as ſhe once ſaid) but call us *Naomies*; for we came in hither (ſome of us) *empty*, but we are going out *full:* The Lord hath not writ *bitter* things, but *good* of us; for this is glorious Grace, *That we are counted worthy to ſuffer for GOD and his CAUSE.* Oh! What ſhall we render to the Lord? We will *take the Cup of Salvation, and call upon the Name of the Lord.* Oh our Souls, bleſs the Lord! and we do with our Souls bleſs thee, that we have an Eternity to bleſs thee in; for no leſs will ſatisfy our Souls. And now, O bleſſed and glorious God! ſhall we be among thy Worthies? If poſſible, let us attain to the firſt three; but if we attain not to ſo glorious a Teſtimony as that, yet, O Lord! let us be among thy Worthies. We deſire to glorify thy great and bleſſed Name, that thou haſt in any Meaſure enabled us to encourage our Hearts in the Lord our God, at ſuch a time as this, when eighty are (as it were) in the Flames; and the People ſpeak of worſe than ſtoning us. When ſome ſpake of the Reproaches of the People, he ſaid, he accounted that his Honour.

Mr. SCOT's *Speech upon the Ladder.*

Gentlemen, I ſtand here a Spectacle to GOD, to Angels, and Men: To GOD and Angels, to whom I hope I am ſhortly a going. And now to you I owe it; to God, and the Nation, and myſelf, to ſay ſomething concerning each. For myſelf, I think it may become me to tell you how,

and

and why I came hither; and ſomething in the general, concerning my Capacity. In the Beginning of theſe Troubles I was (as many others were) unſatisfy'd. I ſaw Liberties and Religion in the Nation in great Danger, to my beſt Apprehenſion; I ſaw the Approaches of Popery in a great Meaſure coming in upon us: I ſaw-----

Upon which the *Sheriff* interrupted him in theſe Words: *If you will betake yourſelf to Prayer, you may.*

Mr. *Scot* replied, *I ſhall not ſpeak to reproach any*-----

The *Sheriff* interrupted him again, ſaying, *You have but a little Time, Mr.* Scot, *therefore betake that little Time to Prayer.*

Mr. *Scot* replied, *I ſhall ſpeak*-----

The *Sheriff* interrupted him again, ſaying, *I beſeech you, Sir, betake yourſelf to Prayer.*

Mr. *Scot* ſaid, *it may become me to give an Account of myſelf, becauſe*-----

The *Sheriff* interrupted him again, ſaying, *It doth not become you to ſpeak any ſuch thing here, therefore I beſeech you betake yourſelf to Prayer; it is but a little time you have to live: You know, Mr.* Scot, *that is the moſt needful thing.*

Mr. *Scot* replied, *'Tis ſo*-----

The *Sheriff* interrupted again, ſaying, *Sir, But when you came upon the Stage, you depriv'd yourſelf very much.*

Then ſaid Mr. *Scot, I thought to tell you how I came hither*----

Here the *Sheriff* interrupted again, (or elſe ſome one beſide the *Sheriff*) and ſpake to this Effect. *Every Body knows, that*----

Mr. *Scot* ſaid, *Sir, 'Tis hard that an* Engliſhman *hath not Liberty to ſpeak*----

The *Sheriff* interrupted again, ſaying, *I cannot ſuffer you to ſpeak any ſuch thing.*

Mr. *Scot*

Mr. *Scot* ſaid, *I ſhall ſay no more but this, That it is a very mean and bad Cauſe that will not bear the Words of a dying Man; it is not ordinarily denied to People in this Condition*-----

The *Sheriff* interrupted again, ſaying, *Sir, You had a fair Tryal, and you were found guilty.*

Mr. *Scot* replied, *'Tis according to my Mind to ſpeak what may be ſaid*-----

Here the *Under-Sheriff* interrupted, ſaying, *It hath been denied unto your Predeceſſors, and will be denied unto you.*

Then he pray'd; wherein he has this Expreſſion, *I ſay again, to the Praiſe of the free Grace of God, I bleſs his Name, he hath engaged me in a Cauſe not to be repented of. I ſay, in a Cauſe not to be repented of.*

His Prayer being ended, he was turn'd off.

HUGH PETERS's *Execution, the 17th of* October, 1660, *as related by a Friend of his.*

MR. *Peters*, as is well known, was exerciſed under a great Conflict in his own Spirit, during the time of his Impriſonment, fearing (as he would often ſay) that he ſhould not go thro' his Sufferings with Courage and Comfort, and ſaid to Friends, that he was ſomewhat unprepar'd for Death, and therefore unwilling to die; ſomething he ſaid he had committed, and other things omitted, which troubled him; but tho' it was a cloudy and dark Day with him for a Seaſon; yet the Light of God's Grace and Favour would break forth at laſt.

And ſurely the Favour of God did at the laſt appear, for a little before he went forth to Execution (as many can teſtify) he was well compoſed in his Spirit, and chearfully ſaid, I thank God

now

now I can die, I can look Death in the Face and not be afraid.

As for that ſlanderous Report which was took, much receiv'd by good People as well as bad, to wit, that he was guilty of Uncleanneſs; a Friend coming to him in Priſon, put that Queſtion ſeriouſly and ſoberly to his Soul. To which he reply'd, That he bleſſed the Lord he was wholly clear in that Matter, and that he never knew any Woman but his own Wife.

A Night or two before he ſuffer'd, two of the Epiſcopal Clergy, who, as ſome report, were the King's Chaplains, came to give him a Viſit; they endeavour'd to make Advantage of the Temptations wherewith he was then aſſaulted, and to perſuade him to a Repentance and Recantation of his former Activity in the Parliament Cauſe, which they endeavour'd to enforce upon him by a Promiſe of Pardon from the King, in caſe he would herein hearken to them. But tho' he was then much afflicted in his Spirit, yet the Lord did help him to bear up with much Courage againſt the Inſinuations of that ſort of Men, and told them he had no Cauſe in the leaſt to repent of his adhering to that Intereſt; but rather, that he had in the Proſecution thereof done no more for God and his People in theſe Nations; and with Civility diſmiſſing thoſe Viſitants, he applied himſelf to ſome other Miniſters then preſent, whom he judged more able to ſpeak a Word in Seaſon to him under theſe great Trials, wherewith the Lord was then pleas'd to exerciſe him.

Being carried upon the Sledge to Execution, and made to ſit therein within the Rails at *Charing-croſs*, to behold the Execution of Mr. *Cooke*, one came to him, and upbraided him with the Death of the King, bidding him (with opprobrious Language) to repent: He reply'd, Friend,

you

you do not well to trample upon a dying Man; you are greatly miſtaken, I had nothing to do in the Death of the King.

When Mr. *Cooke* was cut down, and brought to be quarter'd, one they call'd Colonel *Turner*, called to the Sheriff's Men to bring Mr. *Peters* near, that he might ſee it, and by and by the Hangman came to him, all beſmear'd in Blood, and rubbing his bloody Hands together, he tauntingly ask'd, Come, how do you like this Mr. *Peters*, how do you like this Work? To whom he reply'd, I am not (I thank God) terrified at it, you may do your worſt.

When he was going to his Execution, he look'd about and eſpy'd a Man, to whom he gave a Piece of Gold (having bowed it firſt) and deſir'd him to go to the Place where his Daughter lodg'd, and to carry that to her as a Token from him, and to let her know *that his Heart was as full of Comfort as it could be; and that before that Piece ſhould come to her Hands, he ſhould be with God in Glory.*

Being upon the Ladder, he ſpake to the Sheriff, ſaying, *Sir, you have here ſlain one of the Servants of God before mine Eyes, and have made me to behold it, on purpoſe to terrify and diſcourage me, but God hath made it an Ordinance to me for my ſtrengthning and Encouragement.*

When he was going to die, he ſaid, *What, Fleſh, art thou unwilling to go to God thro' the Fire and Jaws of Death? Oh* (ſaid he) *this is a good Day, he is come that I have long look'd for, and I ſhall be with him in Glory*, and ſo ſmiled when he went away.

What Mr. *Peters* ſaid further at his Execution, either in his Speech or Prayer, it could not be taken, in regard his Voice was low at that time, and the People uncivil.

The Execution of GREGORY CLEMENTS, *the Regicide, the 17th of October, 1660, as related by a Friend of his.*

MR. *Clements* was very ſilent both in the time of his Impriſonment at *Newgate*, and at the Time and Place of his Execution at *Charing-Croſs*, only this it is ſaid, that he expreſs'd his Trouble (to ſome Friends in the Priſon) for yielding ſo far to the Importunity of his Relations, as to plead guilty to the Indictment: And tho' he ſpoke little at the Place of Execution, yet (ſo far as could be judged by ſome diſcerning Perſons that were near him) he departed this Life in Peace.

The Execution of Colonel JOHN JONES, *the Regicide, the 17th of* October, *1660.*

SPeaking of the Sledge in which he was to be carried to Execution; it is (ſaid he) like *Elijah*'s fiery Chariot, only it goes thro' *Fleet-ſtreet.*

The Time of his Departure being come, this aged Gentleman was drawn in one Sledge, with his aged Companion Colonel *Scroop*, whoſe grave and graceful Countenances, accompanied with Courage and Chearfulneſs, cauſed great Admiration and Compaſſion in the Spectators, as they paſſed along the Streets to *Charing-Croſs*, the Place of their Execution: And after the Executioner had done his Part upon three others that Day, he was ſo drunk with Blood, that like one ſurfeited, he grew ſick at Stomach; and not being able himſelf, he ſet his Boy to finiſh the Tragedy upon Colonel *Jones*; who coming up the Ladder with the like Chearfulneſs as his Brethren did before him,

him, and being placed fit for Execution, he proceeded to ſpeak as followeth :

Colonel JOHN JONES's *Speech upon the Ladder.*

There are two things that are neceſſary now I am going thro' this narrow Gate or Paſſage to the eternal Majeſty ; I ſay, two things are neceſſary as to the occaſion of my coming hither to receive my Father's good Pleaſure.

Firſt, *Peace with God.* Secondly, *Peace with Man.*

I ſhall ſpeak ſomething to each of theſe ; and in the firſt Place, ſpeak ſomething of the Court wherein I receiv'd the Sentence : It hath been reported, as I was told, that I confeſs'd this Fact, and confeſs'd that I was guilty of Murder, as under thoſe ſeveral Expreſſions that are in the Indictment, *viz.* ------

I deſire to clear myſelf before the Lord, and before the World, in that Particular ; for ſhould I grant that I was guilty in Reality and Truth of Murder and Malice, *viz.* ------

I ſhould bely my own Conſcience, and draw upon me a greater weight than I could bear. But thus far I do confeſs, I was willing to make the Work as ſhort as I could ; and becauſe I would not ſtand ſo long, I told them I would take the firſt Jury that came ; and when a Jury was call'd, then I did confeſs ſo much as I was convinc'd of, as to the Matter of Fact ; I deſire you will judge charitably of this that I ſpeak at this time, as in the Preſence of the Lord, that it is not ſo really, (*viz.* that I acknowledg'd myſelf guilty of Murder) I had no ſuch thing in my Heart.

I muſt confeſs I very freely quit his Majeſty, conſidering what he doth in this Caſe is the Part of a loving Son to a Father, eſpecially the Judges telling

telling him that it is the Law; and I conceive that the Court did nothing but what they, to their beſt Underſtandings, judged right as to Law; therefore I freely acquit the Court, tho' there was not enough ſaid to ſatisfy ſuch a poor Creature as I am, in ſo great and deep a Point as that was: As for all others, I do not know any Man on the Earth, to whom I do bear any Malice, but I am in perfect Charity with all Men, and I hope the Lord is in Charity with me: And therefore, as I deſire to have Forgiveneſs myſelf from all thoſe I have offended, even ſo I do freely forgive all thoſe that have in any Meaſure offended me.

The next thing is towards God, and it is that which ſhould be laſt upon my Heart: It is not expected that I ſhould give an Account here of my State and Condition, for that is betwixt God and my own Soul; and I do, thro' the Grace and Goodneſs of God, firmly believe that my Redemption is wrought, and my Pardon is ſealed, and that I ſhall be immediately in my Father's Arms, and that I ſhall be tranſlated and brought to behold the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in Glory, with Comfort and Fulneſs of Joy.

Then he betook himſelf to his Prayers.

His Prayers being ended, he ſaid, Mr. Sheriff, I muſt needs return you many Thanks for your Civility.

Sher. Repl. I am glad to hear ſuch an ingenuous Confeſſion, and that you make ſuch an End, and that you have not gone into any reviling Language, as ſome others have done before.

After this he committed his Soul to God, and was turn'd off.

The Execution of Colonel DANIEL AXTEL, *and Colonel* FRANCIS HACKER, *Regicides, the 19th Day of* October, 1660, *as related by a Friend of theirs.*

THE Day of their Execution being come, ſeveral godly Miniſters ſpent ſome time in Prayer with Colonel *Axtel* and Colonel *Hacker*; and many Friends coming in to pay their laſt Reſpects, Colonel *Axtel* ſeeing one of his familiar Friends and Companions, ſaid, My dear Brother, thou art better than I am, and yet I muſt go to Heaven before thee for all that.

He very chearfully ſaid to divers then with him, dear Friends, rejoice, I am going where ye ſhall be alſo, yea, where we ſhall be for ever with the Lord, and never part, and be without any more Change; I beſeech you follow the Lamb whereever he goeth, tho' he may lead you in a harſh, diſmal and difficult Way; yet at laſt he will bring you into a pleaſant Path, and cauſe you to lie down in green Paſtures, in the Land of Reſt; *Oh be faithful unto the Death, and he will give you a Crown of Life*, as he hath given to your ſuffering Brethren.

Oh! all that we have, or do ſuffer, is but to make Chriſt and Heaven more ſweet, dear and glorious to us; all the ſad Steps we ſhall tread on this Ladder, is but to mount us to Heaven, for at the Top are Angels ready to receive us, as was on *Jacob*'s Ladder. All the things I meet with move me not, I bleſs my God, for I am ſure to fight a good Fight, and finiſh my Courſe with Joy.

Afterwards taking his leave of his Son, imbracing him in his Arms, he ſaid, My dear Son, fare thee well, I muſt leave thee, get an Intereſt

in Chriſt, and love him, nothing elſe will ſtand thee in ſtead but an Intereſt in him.

Then calling for his Bible, he hug'd it, ſaying, this hath the whole Cauſe in it, and I may carry this without Offence. And calling to a Friend, he deſir'd him to remember his Love to the Congregation where he was a Member, and after took his leave of all his Friends, exhorting them with much Chearfulneſs to love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and keep cloſe to him, and ſo with great Joy addreſſed himſelf to go to his next Work.

Colonel *Francis Hacker* was a Man of few Words, and had not the Gift of Oratory to deliver himſelf as others could, yet was very ſweetly borne up under his Suffering, and had a very comfortable Aſſurance that God had pardon'd and accepted him in the Blood of Chriſt; he had been a Profeſſor of Religion many Years in the Presbyterian Way, and a great Lover of godly Miniſters; a Man of juſt and honeſt Converſation amongſt Men, and one that deſir'd to walk blameleſs in the Sight of God; his Fellow-Priſoner did ſay, he did believe that Colonel *Hacker* had an Intereſt in Jeſus Chriſt.

Colonel *Hacker* declar'd to ſeveral of his own Friends, a little before he ſuffer'd, that the greateſt Trouble he had upon his Spirit was, *That he had formerly borne too great a Prejudice in his Heart towards the good People of God that differ'd from him in Judgment.* And then broke forth into this Admiration. *O what am I, poor vile Worm, that God ſhould count me worthy to ſuffer with ſuch precious Souls as theſe are, againſt whom I have been formerly ſo much prejudiced!*

And thus theſe two gracious Perſons having finiſh'd their Courſe, and the Time of their Departure being at hand, were both brought forth of Priſon.

Priſon. The Sledge being ready for them, they took their Leave of ſome Friends that ſtood at the Door, and Colonel *Axtel* deſir'd them to be at the Place of Execution; and both entring the Sledge, they caſt up their Eyes towards that God to whom they were coming; then with a chearful Countenance, ſetting themſelves down, they were drawn to *Tyburne*, the Place of Execution, where a Cart was ſet ready, into which they both aſcended, their Countenance not at all chang'd, tho' now the King of Terrors ſtared them in the Face; the Ropes being then put about their Necks, and a burning Fire kindled before their Faces; and being there ready to receive that Sentence which Nature would have ſunk under, if Grace had not ſupported. Firſt Colonel *Axtel* applies himſelf to the Sheriff in theſe following Words:

Colonel AXTEL's *Speech* at Tyburne, Oct. 19. 1660.

Mr. *Sheriff*, I am now, as you ſee, come to the Place of Execution, according to my Sentence, I deſire your Leave that I may ſpeak freely, and without Interruption; firſt to this People, and then to God, for it is the laſt that I ſhall ſpeak in this World, and I hope it will redound to your Account.

Mr. *Sheriff's Reply.* Sir, you know what the Court prohibited you to ſpeak, and what was ſpoken at the Bar of the Court was there decided, therefore it is needleſs to repeat it here. I hope you will keep to the preſent Buſineſs that concerns you, and not go out into Impertinencies; and becauſe you have but a little Time, ſpend it to your beſt Advantage, and the Good of the People, and then you ſhall not be interrupted; or to the ſame effect.

Colonel *Axtel* begins. I ſay, the very Cauſe for which I have engaged is contain'd in this Book of God, (*having the Bible in his Hand*) both in the civil and religious Rights of it, which I leave to you (*giving the Book to Mr.* Knowles.)

You ſee a dead Man living, and yet I hope I ſhall live to all Eternity, thro' the Mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, the Mediator of the Covenant of free Grace.

I muſt truly tell you, that before theſe late Wars, it pleas'd the Lord to call me by his Grace, thro' the Work of the Miniſtry; and afterwards keeping a Day of Humiliation in Faſting and Prayer, with Mr. *Simeon Aſh*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Woodcocke*, and other Miniſters, in *Laurence-lane*, they did ſo clearly ſtate the Cauſe of the Parliament, that I was fully convinc'd in my own Conſcience of the Juſtneſs of the War, and thereupon engaged in the Parliament-Service (which as I did and do believe) was the Cauſe of the Lord, I ventur'd my Life freely for it, and now die for it.

Then Mr. *Sheriff* ſaid to this purpoſe, Sir, remember your ſelf.

Colonel *Axtel* proceeds: And after the Work of the Lord was done in *England*, my Lot caſt me in the Service of *Ireland*, and I thank the Lord I was ſerviceable to the *Engliſh* Nation in that Country, and have diſcharg'd my Duty fully, according to the Truſt committed to me there.

As for the Fact for which I now ſuffer, it is for Words, only for Words, and but for Words, and the Sentence is already reverſed in my own Conſcience, and it will be reverſed by Jeſus Chriſt by and by; I pray God, from the very Bottom of my Soul, to forgive all that have had any Hand in my Death, both Witneſſes and Jury, and the Court that paſſed Sentence; for conſidering the Doctrine of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as he hath laid

it

it down, *Mat.* 5. 44. *It hath been ſaid of old time, love your Neighbours, and hate your Enemies; but I ſay unto you, love your Enemies, and pray for them that hate and deſpitefully uſe you, that you may be the Children of your Father which is in Heaven.*

I deſire, according to this Doctrine, from the Bottom of my Heart, that God would give them true Repentance, and not lay their Sin to their Charge, nor my Blood, which by God's Law and Man's (I think) could not juſtly have been brought here to ſuffer: But I bleſs God I have ſome comfortable Aſſurance that I ſhall be imbraced in the Arms of Chriſt, and have Cauſe to hope that his Spirit ſhall carry my Soul into the Father's Hands.

And if the Glory of this Sunſhine be ſo great (the Sun then ſhining bright) how much more is the Glory of the Son of God, who is the Son of Righteouſneſs?

I think it convenient to give you ſome Account of my Faith.

I believe all things written in the Old and New Teſtament, as the Principles and Doctrine of a Believer's Faith; I believe the bleſſed Ordinances of Chriſt, that it is our Duty to hear the Word preach'd, to ſeek unto God in Prayer, and to perform Family Duties, and to walk in the Communion of Saints; and for my own Part, I am a Member of a Congregation, which I judge to be the Way of Chriſt, (and were it for that only I were to die, I could witneſs to it) which is a Company of Men born again by his Grace, that walk in the Ways of Chriſt blameleſs and harmleſs. I believe Jeſus Chriſt died for poor Sinners, of whom I am Chief, as the Apoſtle *Paul* ſaith, *This is a faithful Saying, and worthy of all Acceptation, that Chriſt Jeſus came into the World to ſave Sinners, of whom I am Chief.* And if the Apoſtle might ſay ſo, much more may I.

My Friends and Countrymen, I have reaſon to bewail my own unprofitable Life, having been very unfruitful unto the People of the Lord, the Lord knows I have much Fault upon my Heart; were it not for the Blood of Chriſt that cleanſeth and waſheth me, according to his Promiſe, ſaying, *I loved you, and waſhed away your Sins in my own Blood.* For there is no Remiſſion of Sins without the Blood of Chriſt. I deſire you all to loath and caſt off Sin, it were better to ſuffer than to ſin, it is better to die than to ſin; nothing could grieve our Saviour but Sin, and therefore have a care of that: You and I muſt meet one Day at the Bar of Chriſt, and the Son of God ſhall be our Judge, for God hath committed all Judgment to the Son, *that all Men ſhould honour the Son as they honour the Father.* This Day is a Reſemblance of that Day, therefore be ſerious; I beg as much Good to your immortal Souls as I expect to enjoy by and by. I beſeech you beg of God that he would ſave your Souls, and omit no Opportunity thro' the Strength of the Lord to believe, and put your Truſt in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; be ſure to labour after Aſſurance of your Intereſt in him, or elſe you will be of all Men moſt miſerable; for I of all Men were moſt miſerable, if I had not believed to *ſee the Goodneſs of the Lord in the Land of the Living.*

Bleſſed be the Lord that brings me into this State, let the Way or Means be what it will; it is God's Sovereignty, who made theſe Creatures ſo, to diſpoſe of them how he pleaſeth, and God hath ordained this Death for me from all Eternity. The Lord Chriſt often pray'd, *Thy Will be done*; this is the Lord's Will. He hath numbred my Days, and my Times are in his Hand. Many ſeek the Rulers Favour, but every one's Judgment is from the Lord. When *Pilate* ſaid unto

Chriſt,

Chriſt, *Knoweſt thou not that I have Power to crucify thee?* Chriſt anſwer'd him, *Thou couldeſt have no Power againſt me, except it were given thee from above.* Therefore I acknowledge the righteous Hand of God; he is righteous, but I am ſinful; *Therefore will I bear God's Indignation, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him.*

It is ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt, *That for the Joy ſet before him he endured the Croſs, and deſpiſed the Shame, and is ſet down at the right Hand of God,* where I hope to ſee him by and by in Glory and Majeſty, and to ſee his Angels and Believers worſhipping of him, and therefore I deſpiſe the Shame. Our Saviour died upon the Croſs without Sin, I am a ſinful Creature, a wretched Sinner, and ſhall I expect better than he that was my Maſter? He who was holy, and never had a ſinful Thought in all his Life; and died not for himſelf, but for us, that we might live thro' his Death; that thro' his Poverty we might be made Rich. And Chriſt having done this for his People, it ſhould not be in their Eyes thought a deſpicable Thing that we ſhould ſuffer for him, having been engaged in the Work of God. But Chriſt muſt prevail in Righteouſneſs, and he will prevail.

Now, Mr. *Sheriff*, I thank you for your Civility, and for this Leave.

After this Colonel *Hacker* ſpoke ſomething privately to him, whereupon Colonel *Axtel* ſaid, Mr. *Sheriff*, muſt we both die together?

Mr. *Sheriff* anſwer'd, Yes.

Then Colonel *Hacker* read a Paper which he had in his Hand, a Copy whereof followeth:

FRiends and Country-men, all that have known me in my beſt Eſtate, have not known me to have been a Man of Oratory, and that God hath not given me the Gift of Utterance, as to others, therefore I have only this

briefly to ſay unto you that are Spectators : As the Parliament ſtated the War, I did out of Judgment and Conſcience join with them in the common Cauſe, and have thro' Grace been faithful to it according to my Meaſure. And as for that which now I am condemned for, I do freely forgive both Judges, Jury, and Witneſſes, and all others ; and I thank the Lord, to whom I am now going, at whoſe Tribunal I muſt render an Account, I have nothing lies upon my Conſcience as Guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the Sentence reverſt. I do now apply myſelf unto God by Prayer, and do deſire the hearty Prayers of all that fear God, that I may have a ſweet Paſſage from this mortal Life to that immortal Life, which God hath prepar'd for all that are in Chriſt Jeſus.

FRANCIS HACKER.

After the reading of this, he deſir'd that Colonel *Axtel* would be both their Mouths to God in Prayer.

And then Colonel *Axtel* ſaid, I deſire all that fear the Lord to hear with Patience, and to lift up their Hearts to ſeek the Lord with me, that we may have his Strength, and the Preſence of his Spirit from this World to everlaſting Life.

After he had ended his Prayer, he gave the *Sheriff* Thanks again for his Civility ; and then turning to Colonel *Hacker*, they ſaluted and embraced each other in their Arms, and ſaid, The Lord ſweeten our Paſſage, and give us a happy Meeting with himſelf in Glory.

Then pulling his Cap over his Eyes, expecting, as is ſuppos'd, that the Cart ſhould be drawn away ; with his Hands lifted up, he utter'd theſe Words with a loud and audible Voice, Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit : But the Cart ſtaying a little longer, he lift up his Hands the ſecond Time,

and

and with the like audible and loud Voice, ſaid, Into thy Hands, O Father! I commend my Spirit: And yet in regard there was no Man found to put forward the Horſe to draw away the Cart, until the common Hang-man came down out of the Cart himſelf to do it; the Carman, as many Witneſſes affirm, ſaying, he would loſe his Cart and Horſe before he would have a Hand in hanging ſuch a Man; by this Means he had Opportunity to lift up his Hands, and utter the like Words the third Time alſo.

One thing more is very remarkable, that when Colonel *Axtel* and Colonel *Hacker* were taken out of the Sledge into the Cart, the Spectators being in great Numbers there, behaved themſelves very civilly, only two Perſons among them, as ſoon as the Ropes were put about their Necks, cried out very earneſtly, Hang them, hang them, Rogues, Traitors, Murderers; Hang-man, draw away the Cart: Whereupon a Man that ſtood by them, deſir'd them to be civil, and ſaid, Gentlemen, this is not civil, for the Sheriff knoweth what he hath to do; and thereupon they were ſilent, and gave Attention to Colonel *Axtel*'s Speech and Prayer; but before he had done, thoſe very Perſons were ſo affected, that they could not refrain from pouring out many Tears upon the Place, and went aſide to a Place a little more retir'd to weep; and that Man that before deſir'd them to be civil, went after them and beheld them, to his great Admiration, as himſelf hath narrated.

The Execution of Col. ADRIAN SCROOP, *the Regicide,* Octob. 17. 1660. *as related by a Friend of his.*

WHEN the Time approach'd for his Execution, Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Clement* were firſt carried away in the Sleds, and the ſame Sleds were afterwards to come and carry Col. *Scroop* and Col. *Jones*; during that time, ſays Col. *Scroop*, Well Brother *Jones*, do you ſpend your Time as the Lord ſhall direct you, I intend to take a little Sleep, for I ſlept not well laſt Night; and my Countenance is not ſo freſh as I would have it. Thereupon he laid him down, and ſlept ſo ſoundly, that he ſnored very loud, and ſo continued un-'till the Sled came for him: Whereupon, being awaken'd, he riſeth up; and a Friend taking him in his Arms, ask'd him how he did? He anſwers, Very well, I thank God, never better in all my Life.

And now, ſaith he, *will I waſh mine Hands in Innocency; ſo will I compaſs thine Altar, O Lord:* And ſo with great Chearfulneſs went to Execution.

Col. *Adrian Scroop*, and Col. *John Jones*, (two comely ancient Gentlemen) were both drawn upon that Sled which carried Mr. *Scot*; and being come to *Charing-Croſs*, the Place of Execution, Col. *Scroop* was firſt brought up to the Ladder, where he ſpake as followeth.

Col. SCROOP'S SPEECH *at Execution.*

You ſee an Object here, that hath been in a better Place; but howſoever the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath ſent me to this Place, that in this Place I ſhould die. I have no Animoſity nor Malice againſt any Man, nor ever had I; neither have I

any

any evil Will to thoſe that brought me hither, nor to the Jury that found me guilty, nor Judges that paſſed Sentence; nor to him through whoſe means I was brought here to ſuffer. I ſay, once more, the Lord forgive him, I ſhall not name him; for I come not hither to reflect upon any Man's Perſon.

I will not tell you what my Breeding hath been, becauſe it is not good for any Man (eſpecially at ſuch a time as this) to boaſt of his Lineage nor Breeding; but this I ſhall ſay, that I was born and bred a Gentleman.

As for my Carriage, it may be ſome that look upon me here, know what it hath been: Howſoever the Lord knows all, and the Lord God is Judge of all, and he will judge; I ſhall ſubmit my ſelf to his Judgment, which is a righteous Judgment. The Judgment of Men may go wrong, but God's Judgment is right, I ſhall ſubmit to his Way. The Lord he is the *Rock of Ages*, and my Support under this great Weight that is now upon me: I look up to him alone, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is my Saviour and my Redeemer; I am going into his Arms, bleſſed be his Name, I follow him, he is gone before me the ſame way: Therefore it is no Reproach or Shame to follow the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to die in his Cauſe; for that is it which I judge I am now going to do.

That which I do deſire of you (here are a great many Spectators both on the Right Hand and on the Left) is, That this Day may repreſent to you the general Day of the Judgment of Chriſt, where you muſt appear, and there every Man muſt receive according to their Works: And at that time it will be known; I ſay, at that time it will be known and ſeen, whoſe Works are righteous, and whoſe are not: Therefore I would wiſh you, and deſire you, to judge charitably of me.

His Speech being ended, he went to Prayers, after which he was turn'd off. *The*

The Execution of JOHN JAMES, NOV. 26. 1661. *as related by his Friends.*

A Little before his going forth, ſeeing ſome of his Friends come in who had particularly deſired to accompany him to the Place of Execution, ſaid, *Here comes my Bride-Men*, embracing them with much Joy. But, ſaid he, *Muſt not the Sacrifice be bound?* One anſwer'd, *Yea, it muſt be bound with Cords*: He rejoycing, ſaid, ſo he had heard.

Soon after the Keeper came into the Room, and calling him down to deliver him to the Sheriff, he told him he was a welcome Meſſenger, he had waited long for him; and ſo he came with Joy after the Keeper, from his Chamber into the Preſs-yard, where hearing the Noiſe of the Multitude without, ſaid to a Friend, *There would be by-and-by as many Hallelujahs, as Shoutings of the People without*; and there they bound him about the Back with a new Cord, and ſo had him into the Street like a Sheep to the Slaughter; with a ſweet ſmiling Countenance he came into the Street, where he was a Gazing-ſtock unto the Multitude, and ſo being placed upon the Sled, drawn by a Team of Horſes, attended by the Sheriffs Men, and a Company of Foot-ſoldiers, was drawn along to *Tyburn*; the Way out of the Town being very foul, he was drawn thro' very much Water and Dirt, beſides the very much ſlapping of the Horſes that went beſides him, yet for all this he was borne up with much Joy and Chearfulneſs, not at all diſmayed or terrified.

Being come to the Place of Execution, he ask'd Mr. *Sterling* the Sheriff, whether he might not have liberty to ſpeak to the People? He told him he might, if he would not ſpeak ſeditiouſly, (or

Words

Words to that purpoſe.) Then *John James* addreſſed himſelf to ſpeak as followeth:

The laſt SPEECH *of* JOHN JAMES, *at* Tyburn.

Firſt of all, that which I have to ſay before I go out of this World, is, to remove that which hath been thrown upon me by way of Aſperſion, as if I were a Jeſuite. * Here at this Place, at this Time, are ſome that knew me from my Childhood, and can clear me in this Particular; and therefore I ſhall only ſay this to it, That I am an Engliſh-man, never was out of the Nation in all my Life; never had any Knowledge of any other Tongue but the Engliſh Tongue, therefore altogether uncapable of ſuch Work and Employment as Jeſuites are uſually put upon, they being commonly Men of great Parts and Learning, which I am not. I ſhall only ſpeak this in reſpect of my Parentage and Education; I came of a very mean Family; I may truly ſay, as once *Gideon* did, *My Family is the leaſt in all Manaſſeh, and I am the leaſt in the Family:* And in truth I may juſtly ſay, my Family, the Family that I came of, it was a very mean Family, the meaneſt among all the Families of the People of the Lord at that Day, as I knew of; and for my Parents, they were People fearing God, thoſe that durſt not for their Lives, I ſay, they were thoſe that durſt not for their Lives ſtain their Conſciences in reſpect of Idolatry and Superſtition that was up at that day.

I ſhall not need to ſpeak any more to that, I came not here to boaſt of my Parentage; I declare

---

* *This Vindication was occaſion'd by the coming of a Courtier, (and, as ſome ſaid, one of the Bed-chamber) two or three Nights before he ſuffer'd, to know if he was not a Jeſuite, and if he had not been beyond the Seas.*

clare I came of a mean Family, only my Parents were People fearing God, and did, to their utmoſt, endeavour what they could to bring me up in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord; and I hope my Father at his Death had not ought to be charged with by way of Blame: And my Mother is yet alive, and attained to a good old Age, and I truſt ſo ſhe is. But I ſhall not trouble you more about this Matter; for I only ſpeak this, to take off that which was caſt upon me, wherein I judged the Name of God would have ſuffer'd, had I not cleared myſelf.

The ſecond thing that I ſhall ſay, is, what I am in my Principles, what I am in reſpect of my Religion and Judgment, and I ſhall be brief as to that. I do own the Title of a *Baptized Believer*, I do own the *Ordinances* and *Appointments* of Jeſus Chriſt, I do own all the Principles in *Heb. 6.* 1, 2. about the Doctrine of *Faith towards God*, and *Repentance from dead Works*, the Doctrine of *Baptiſms* and *laying on of Hands*, the *Reſurrection of the Dead*, and *eternal Judgment*. Theſe are the Principles that I deſire to own, and have in ſome weak meaſure been found walking in: I do not only own the Principles and Doctrines, declared in the ſixth of the *Hebrews*, but I do own the Commandments of God, the *Ten Commandments*, as they are expreſſed in the 20th of *Exodus*. I do here, as before the Lord, teſtify, I durſt not, I durſt not willingly break the leaſt of thoſe Commandments to ſave my Life; I do declare that the rather, becauſe I would inform Perſons that I do own the Lord's holy Sabbath, the *ſeventh* Day of the Week to be the *Lord's Sabbath*; you know the Commandment, *Remember that thou keep holy the Seventh Day.* I ſhall forbear to ſpeak any more to that.

Again, further, in reſpect of my Principle (as that for which I judge I am here this day to ſuffer)

fer) That I do own the Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, (to wit) the *viſible Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt here on Earth*, and I do deſire to declare it humbly and in the Fear of the Lord, *That JESUS CHRIST the Son of God is King of all the Nations in the World*, according to that in *Rev.* 11. 15. upon the ſounding of the ſeventh Trumpet there was a great Voice in Heaven, *The Kingdoms of this World are become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt; and He ſhall reign for ever and ever.* There needs no more to be ſaid, tho' many more Scriptures might be brought to prove that it is ſo. It cannot be a ſpiritual Kingdom, the Text cannot be allegorical; for the Text ſaith expreſly, *The Kingdoms of This World*, &c. I ſhall endeavour not to tire you with many Words; I do not come here (the Lord knows) to ſow Sedition, I have it not upon my Heart, it hath not been my Practice, tho' this be the pretended Cauſe of bringing me hither; but the Lord knows, before whom I ſtand, and with whom I ſhall ſhortly be, that whatever I am accuſed of, as to Matter of *Fact*, I am free from it; I deſire you may hear it, and take notice of it, the Things charged upon me are notoriouſly falſe, I ſpeak it as my laſt Words, the Lord that knows all Hearts, and one Day will call all Men to an Account, knows I ſpeak true, both in reſpect of the Manner of the thing charg'd upon me, and in reſpect of the Matter, notwithſtanding that ſeveral Witneſſes took the Boldneſs to ſwear it in Court. I do in the fear of the Lord alſo tell you, that I bleſs the Lord I have not the leaſt hard Thought of them that ſwore againſt me, I have not the leaſt hard Thought upon that account, nor the leaſt riſing of Spirit againſt either Judge, Jury, or Witneſſes, or any other, the Lord knows it, but have ſought their Pardon upon my bended Knees, and I hope further ſhall do it, if

God

God permit. I have one Word to ſay to the People of God, and that is this; I would entreat you not to think ever the worſe of the Ways of God, becauſe you ſee ſuch a poor Worm as I brought hither to ſuffer upon that Account, let not the aſſembling of your ſelves together be any way a burden to you; know that Word, *Forſake not the aſſembling of your ſelves together, as the manner of ſome is, but be inſtructing one another ſo much the more as you ſee the Day approaching*, Heb. 10. 25. and let not any of the Ways of God, any of the Ordinances of God, any of the Commandments of God be ever the worſe in your Eyes, becauſe a poor Worm that has profeſſed them, and has in ſome poor meaſure taſted in them of the Love of God, is brought hither, do not think the Words and Commandments of God are the worſe for that; and I would entreat you that you would ſtick cloſe to them, whatever Diſpenſation may be at the Door, which no Man here knows one or other: But I ſay, whatever the Ways and Diſpenſations of God may be, tho' you may expect to ſuffer more and more, yet know that was the Way that our Lord did go, the Captain of our Salvation was made perfect through Sufferings; and the Apoſtles and holy Chriſtians of old counted it great Joy, they accounted it great Joy to be filling up the Meaſure of Chriſt's Sufferings that are behind. And now, my dear Friends, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, be exhorted in the Fear of God, not only to ſtick to thoſe Ordinances and Commandments of God, wherein you are enlightned, but take that good Word of God, in 1 *Chron.* 28. 8. it was *David's* Advice to *Solomon*, the Words are, *Solomon my Son, keep and ſeek for all*, &c. do not content your ſelves with what you do already know, but endeavour, in the Fear of the Lord, to be ſeeking after more. I would further charge every

one

one of the People of the Lord, to have a care of defiling themſelves with any Idolatry, with any Superſtition, by treading in By-paths that may not ſuit the Mind of God, however it may be accepted in the Land.

I ſhall not trouble you with much more, only a Word to thoſe that have not yet an Intereſt in Jeſus Chriſt, that cannot call God *Father*, I beſeech ſuch to conſider, it may be that God hath a mind, by the Words of a dying Man, to do their Souls good, and I would add a Word; I beſeech you conſider, though you may not go the ſame Way I go, you do not know how ſoon God may call for you by Death; and therefore I ſpeak to them that are young ones in the firſt place, *That they remember their Creator in the Days of their Youth, before the evil Day is come*, and the Days wherein they themſelves ſhall ſay, *they have no Pleaſure in them.* And to thoſe that are antient, that have ſpent the greateſt part of their Time here, in ſporting in their own Luſts, I would only ſay this to 'em, There is yet a Day of Grace, *To day if you will hear his Voice.* Jeſus Chriſt is held forth in the Goſpel freely; He holds forth his Blood freely; for the worſt of Sinners are not too old, nor too wicked, nor too great, they are not too unclean for Jeſus Chriſt to pity; and therefore Friends, conſider in the Fear of the Lord whereabouts you are, and how the Caſe ſtands with your poor Souls. I have ſaid what I have to ſay, only I would deſire that I might have liberty to wait upon God, to commit my Soul, and the Concernments of each other to the Lord in Prayer. Then he addreſs'd himſelf to the Lord in Prayer.

His Prayer being ended, he ſaid he could not ſpeak more, being very much tired, and his Body brought very low. The Hangman ſaid, *The Lord receive your Soul.* He reply'd, *I thank you.*

Then another ſaid, *This is a happy Day.* He ſaid, *I bleſs the Lord it is ſo.* The other ſaid, *The Lord make your Paſſage eaſy.* He ſaid, *I truſt he will ſo.* One ask'd if he had any thing to ſay to the Sheriff? He ſaid, *No, but only thank him for his Civility.* Then the Hangman having prepared him for his Death, drew away the Cart, *John James* ſaid aloud, (lifting up his Hands) *Father, into thy Hands I commit my Spirit,* and ſo finiſhed his Courſe.

The Sheriff and Hangman were ſo civil to him in his Execution, as to ſuffer him to be dead before he was cut down; the Hangman taking out his Heart, and burning his Members and Entrails, return'd his Head and Quarters back to *Newgate,* put in a Basket in a Cart, and from thence were diſpoſed by the King, *viz.* his Quarters to the Gates of the City, and his Head firſt upon the Bridge, but afterwards (by Appointment) taken down thence, and put upon a Pole in *White-Chappel,* over-againſt the Paſſage to the Meeting-place, where he and his Company were apprehended.

The Execution of Sir HEN. VANE, *the 14th of* June, *1662. related by a Friend of Sir* Harry's.

HE ſaid, God bid *Moſes* go to the top of Mount *Piſgah* and die: So he bid him go up to the top of *Tower-Hill* and die.

Several Friends being with him in his Chamber this Morning, he oft encouraged them to Chearfulneſs, as well by his Example as Expreſſion. In all his Deportment, he ſhew'd himſelf marvellouſly fitted to meet the King of Terrors, without the leaſt Affrightment. But to ſhew where his Strength lay, he ſaid, He was a poor unworthy Wretch, and had nothing but the Grace and Goodneſs of God to depend upon. He ſaid

more-

moreover, Death ſhrunk from him, rather than he from it. Upon the Occaſion of parting with his Relations, he ſaid, There is ſome Fleſh remaining yet, but I muſt caſt it behind me, and preſs forward to my Father.

Then one of the Sheriff's Men came in and told him, There was no Sled to come, but he was to walk on foot.

He told his Friends, the Sheriff's Chaplain came to him at Twelve of the Clock that Night, with an Order for his Execution, telling him, he was come to bring him that fatal Meſſage of Death. I think, Friends, that in this Meſſage was no Diſmalneſs at all. After the Receipt of which, I ſlept four Hours ſo ſoundly, that the Lord hath made it ſufficient for me, and now I am going to ſleep my laſt, after which I ſhall need Sleep no more.

Then Mr. Sheriff coming into the Room, was friendly ſaluted by him, and after a little Pauſe, communicated a Prohibition that he ſaid he had receiv'd, which was, That he muſt not ſpeak any thing againſt his Majeſty, or the Government. His Anſwer to this he himſelf relates on the Scaffold. He further told Mr. Sheriff, he was ready; but the Sheriff ſaid, he was not, nor could be this half hour yet; Then, Sir, it reſts on you, not on me (ſaid Sir *Henry*) for I have been ready this half hour. Then the Sheriff, at his Requeſt, promiſed him his Servants ſhould attend him on the Scaffold, and be civilly dealt with; neither of which were performed; for (notwithſtanding this Promiſe) they were beaten and kept off the Scaffold, till he ſaid, What, have I never a Servant here?

After this, one of the Sheriff's Men came and told him, there muſt be a Sled; to which Sir *Henry* replied, Any way, how they pleaſe, for I long to be at home, to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, which is beſt of all. He went very

chearfully and readily down the Stairs from his Chamber, and ſeated himſelf on the Sled, (Friends and Servants ſtanding about him) then he was forthwith drawn away towards the Scaffold. As he went, ſome in the *Tower* (Priſoners as well as others) ſpake to him, praying the Lord to go with him. And after he was out of the *Tower*, from the tops of Houſes, and out of Windows, the People uſed ſuch Means and Geſtures as might beſt diſcover, at a diſtance, their Reſpects and Love to him, crying aloud, The Lord go with you, the great God of Heaven and Earth appear in you, and for you ; whereof he took what Notice he was capable in thoſe Circumſtances, in a chearful manner accepting their Reſpect, putting off his Hat and bowing to them. Being ask'd ſeveral times, how he did, by ſome about him, he anſwer'd, Never better in all my life. Another replied, How ſhould he do ill that ſuffers for ſo glorious a Cauſe? To which a tall black Man ſaid, Many ſuffer'd for a better Cauſe; And may for a worſe, ſaid Sir *Henry*; wiſhing, That when they come to ſeal their *better Cauſe* (as he call'd it) with their Blood (as he was now going to ſeal his) they might not find themſelves deceiv'd ; and as to this Cauſe, ſaid he, it hath given Life in Death to all the Owners of it, and Sufferers for it.

Being paſs'd within the Rails on *Tower-hill*, there were many loud Acclamations of the People, crying out, The Lord Jeſus go with your dear Soul, *&c.* One told him, That was the moſt glorious Seat he ever ſate on ; he anſwer'd, It is ſo indeed, and rejoyced exceedingly.

Being come to the Scaffold, he chearfully aſcends, and being up, after the Crowd on the Scaffold was broken in two pieces, to make way for him, he ſhew'd himſelf to the People on the front of the Scaffold, with that noble and chriſtian-like

Deport-

Deportment, that he rather ſeem'd a Looker on, than the Perſon concern'd in the Execution, inſomuch that it was difficult to perſuade many of the People that he was the Priſoner. But when they knew that the Gentleman in the black Suit and Cloak (with a ſcarlet ſilk Waſtcoat, the victorious Colour ſhewing itſelf at the Breaſt) was the Priſoner, they generally admir'd that noble and great Preſence he appear'd with. How chearful he is! ſaid ſome: He does not look like a dying Man! ſaid others; with many like Speeches, as aſtoniſhed with that ſtrange Appearance he ſhined forth in.

Then (Silence being commanded by the Sheriff) lifting up his Hands and Eyes towards Heaven, and reſting his Hands on the Rails; and taking a very ſerious, compoſed, and majeſtick View of the great Multitude about him, he ſpake as follows.

His Speech on the Scaffold.

Gentlemen, Fellow-Countrymen, and Chriſtians,

WHEN Mr. Sheriff came to me this Morning, and told me he had receiv'd a Command from the King, that I ſhould ſay nothing reflecting upon his Majeſty or the Government; I anſwer'd, I ſhould confine and order my Speech, as near as I could, ſo as to be leaſt offenſive, ſaving my Faithfulneſs to the Truſt repoſed in me, which I muſt ever diſcharge with a good Conſcience unto Death; for I ever valued a Man according to his Faithfulneſs to the Truſt repoſed in him, even on his Majeſty's Behalf, in the late Controverſy. And if you dare truſt my Diſcretion, Mr. Sheriff, I ſhall do nothing but what becomes a good Chriſtian and an

Engliſhman; and ſo I hope I ſhall be civilly dealt with.

When Mr. Sheriff's Chaplain came to me laſt Night about twelve of the Clock, to bring me, as he call'd it, the fatal Meſſage of Death, it pleaſed the Lord to bring that Scripture to my Mind in the third of *Zechary*, to intimate to me, that he was now taking away my filthy Garments, cauſing mine Iniquities to paſs from me, with intention to give me change of Rayment, and that my Mortal ſhould put on Immortality.

I ſuppoſe you may wonder when I ſhall tell you that I am not brought hither according to any known Law of the Land. It is true, I have been before a Court of Juſtice (and am now going to appear before a greater Tribunal, where I am to give an Account of all my Actions) under their Sentence I ſtand here at this time. When I was before them, I could not have the Liberty and Privilege of an *Engliſhman*, the Grounds, Reaſons, and Cauſes of the Actings I was charg'd with, duly conſider'd; I therefore deſir'd the Judges that they would ſet their Seals to my Bill of Exceptions; I preſs'd hard for it again and again, as the Right of myſelf and every free-born *Engliſhman*, by the Law of the Land, but was finally deny'd it -------

Here Sir *John Robinſon* (Lieutenant of the *Tower*) interrupted him, ſaying, Sir, you muſt not go on thus, and (in a furious manner, generally obſerv'd, even to the Diſſatisfaction of ſome of their own Attendants) ſaid that he rail'd againſt the Judges, and that it was a Lye, and I am here, ſays he, to teſtify that it is falſe.

Sir *Henry Vane* replied, God will judge between me and you in this Matter. I ſpeak but Matter of Fact, and cannot you bear that? 'Tis evident the Judges have refus'd to ſign my Bill of Exceptions

tions——Then the Trumpets were order'd to ſound or murre in his Face, with a contemptible Noiſe, to hinder his being heard: At which Sir *Henry* (lifting up his Hand, and then laying it on his Breaſt) ſaid, What mean you, Gentlemen? is this your Uſage of me? did you uſe all the reſt ſo? I had even done, as to that, could you have been patient, but ſeeing you cannot bear it, I ſhall only ſay this, *That whereas the Judges have refuſed to ſeal that with their Hands that they have done, I am come to ſeal that with my Blood that I have done.* Therefore leaving this Matter, which I perceive will not be borne, I judge it meet to give you ſome Account of my Life.

I might tell you I was born a Gentleman, had the Education, Temper, and Spirit of a Gentleman, as well as others, being (in my youthful Days) inclin'd to the Vanities of this World, and to that which they call *Goodfellowſhip*, judging it to be the only means of accompliſhing a Gentleman. But about the fourteenth or fifteenth Year of my Age (which is about thirty-four or five Years ſince) God was pleas'd to lay the Foundation or Ground-work of Repentance in me, for the bringing me home to himſelf, by his wonderful, rich, and free Grace, revealing his Son in me, that by the Knowledge of the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom he hath ſent, I might (even whilſt here in the Body) be made Partaker of eternal Life in the firſt Fruits of it.

When my Conſcience was thus awaken'd, I found my former Courſe to be Diſloyalty to God, Prophaneneſs, and a way of Sin and Death, which I did with Tears and Bitterneſs bewail, as I had cauſe to do. Since that Foundation of Repentance laid in me, through Grace I have been kept ſtedfaſt, deſiring to walk in all good Conſcience towards God and towards Men, ac-

cording to the beſt Light and Underſtanding God gave me. For this I was willing to turn my Back upon my Eſtate, expoſe myſelf to Hazards in foreign Parts; yea, nothing ſeem'd difficult to me, ſo I might preſerve Faith and a good Conſcience, which I prefer before all things; and do earneſtly perſuade all People rather to ſuffer the higheſt Contradictions from Men, than diſobey God, by contradicting the Light of their own Conſcience. In this it is I ſtand with ſo much Comfort and Boldneſs before you all this Day, and upon this Occaſion, being aſſur'd that I ſhall at laſt ſit down in Glory with Chriſt, at his right Hand, I ſtand here this Day to reſign up my Spirit into the Hands of that God that gave it me. Death is but a little Word, but 'tis a great Work to die, it is to be but once done, and after this cometh the Judgment, even the Judgment of the great God, which it concerns us all to prepare for. And by this Act I do receive a Diſcharge once for all out of Priſon, even the Priſon of the mortal Body alſo, which, to a true Chriſtian, is a burdenſome Weight.

In all reſpects, wherein I have been concern'd and engag'd, as to the Publick, my Deſign hath been to accompliſh good Things for theſe Nations. Then (lifting up his Eyes, and ſpreading his Hands) he ſaid, I do here appeal to the great God of Heaven, and all this Aſſembly, or any other Perſons, to ſhew wherein I have defiled my Hands with any Man's Blood or Eſtate, or that I have ſought myſelf in any publick Capacity or Place I have been in.

The Cauſe was three times ſtated.

Firſt, In the *Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons.*

Secondly, In the *Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant*------- Upon this the Trumpets ſounded,

the

the Sheriff catch'd at the Paper in his Hand, and Sir *John Robinſon*, who at firſt had acknowledg'd that he had nothing to do there, wiſhing the Sheriff to ſee to it, yet found himſelf ſomething to do now, furiouſly calling for the Writers Books, and ſaying, He treats of Rebellion, and you write it. Hereupon ſix Note-Books were deliver'd up. The Priſoner was very patient and compoſed under all theſe Injuries, and Soundings of the Trumpets ſeveral times in his Face, only ſaying, 'Twas hard he might not be ſuffer'd to ſpeak; but, ſays he, my Uſage from Man is no harder than was my Lord and Maſter's; and all that will live his Life this Day, muſt expect hard Dealing from the worldly Spirit---The Trumpets ſounded again, to hinder his being heard. Then again *Robinſon*, and two or three others, endeavour'd to ſnatch the Paper out of Sir *Henry's* Hand; but he kept it for a while, now and then reading part of it; afterwards, tearing it in pieces, he deliver'd it to a Friend behind him, who was preſently forc'd to deliver it to the Sheriff. Then they put their Hands into his Pockets for Papers (as was pretended) which bred great Confuſion and Diſſatisfaction to the Spectators, ſeeing a Priſoner ſo ſtrangely handled in his dying Words. This was exceedingly remarkable in the midſt of all this Diſorder, the Priſoner himſelf was obſerved to be of the moſt conſtant compoſed Spirit and Countenance, which he throughout ſo excellently manifeſted, that a Royaliſt ſwore he dy'd like a Prince.

The Priſoner ſuſpecting beforehand the Diſorder aforemention'd, writ the main Subſtance of what he intended to ſpeak on the Scaffold in that Paper they catch'd at, and which he tore in pieces, delivering it to a Friend, from whom the Sheriff had it as aboveſaid; the true Copy where-

of

of was, by the Priſoner, carefully committed to a ſafe Hand before he came to the Scaffold, which take as follows.

The Work which I am at this time call'd unto, in this Place (as upon a publick Theatre) is to die, and receive a Diſcharge, once for all, out of Priſon, to do that which is but once to be done; the doing or not doing of which well, and as becomes a Chriſtian, does much depend upon the Life we have been taught of God to lead, before we come to this: They that live in the Faith do alſo die in it; Faith is ſo far from leaving Chriſtians in this Hour, that the Work of it breaks forth then into its greateſt Power, as if till then it were not enough at freedom to do its Office, that is, to look into the things that are unſeen with moſt Stedfaſtneſs, Certainty, and Delight, which is the great Sweetner of Death and Remover of its Sting.

Give me leave therefore, in a very few Words, to give you an Account of my Life, and of the wonderful great Grace and Mercy of God, in bringing me home to himſelf, and revealing his Son in me; that by the Knowledge of the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom he hath ſent, I might (even whilſt here in the Body) be made Partaker of eternal Life, in the firſt Fruits of it, and at laſt ſit down with Chriſt in Glory at his right Hand.

Here I ſhall mention ſome remarkable Paſſages and Changes of my Life; in particular, how unſought for by myſelf I was call'd to be a Member of the *long Parliament*, what little Advantage I had by it, and by what Steps I became ſatisfied with the Cauſe I was engag'd in and did purſue the ſame.

What

What the Cauſe was, did firſt ſhew itſelf in the firſt *Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons.*

Secondly, In *The Solemn League and Covenant.*

Thirdly, In *the more refin'd purſuit of it by the Commons Houſe, in their Actings ſingle*; with what Reſult they were growing up into, which was in the Breaſt of the Houſe, and unknown; or what the three Propoſals, mention'd in my Charge, would have come to at laſt, I ſhall not need now to ſay; but only, from all put together, to aſſert, That this Cauſe, which was owned by the Parliament, was the Cauſe of God, and for the promoting of the Kingdom of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, wherein are comprehended our Liberties and Duties, both as Men and as Chriſtians.

And ſince it hath pleaſed God, who ſeparated me from the Womb to the Knowledge and Service of the Goſpel of his Son, to ſeparate me alſo to this hard and difficult Service at this time, and to ſingle me out to the Defence and Juſtification of this his Cauſe, I could not conſent, by any Words or Actions of mine, that the Innocent Blood that hath been ſhed in the Defence of it, throughout the whole War (the Guilt and moral Evil of which muſt and does certainly lie ſomewhere) did lie at my Door, or at theirs that have been the faithful Adherers to this Cauſe. This is with ſuch Evidence upon my Heart, that I am moſt freely and chearfully willing to put the greateſt Seal to it I am capable, which is, the pouring out of my very Blood in witneſs to it; which is all I ſhall need to ſay in this Place and at this Time, having ſpoken at large to it in my Defence at my Tryal, intending to have ſaid more the laſt Day, as what I thought was reaſonable for Arreſt of the Judgment, but I was not permitted then to ſpeak it; both which may,

with

with Time and God's Providence, come to publick View.

And I muſt ſtill aſſert, that I remain wholly unſatisfied that the Courſe of Proceedings againſt me at my Tryal were according to Law, but that I was run upon and deſtroy'd, contrary to Right, and the Liberties of *Magna Charta*, under the Form only of Juſtice; which I leave to God to decide, who is the Judge of the whole World, and to clear my Innocency; whilſt in the mean time I beſeech him to forgive them, and all that have had a Hand in my Death; and that the Lord, in his great Mercy, will not lay it to their Charge.

And I do account the Lot of mine no other, than what is to be expected by thoſe that are not of the World, but whom Chriſt hath choſen out of it; for the Servant is not greater than his Lord: And if they have done this to the green Tree, they will do it much more to the dry.

However, I ſhall not altogether excuſe myſelf. I know, that by many Weakneſſes and Failures, I have given occaſion enough of the ill Uſage I have met with from Men, tho', in the main, the Lord knows the Sincerity and Integrity of my Heart, whatever Aſperſions and Reproaches I have or do lie under. I know alſo that God is juſt in bringing this Sentence and Condemnation upon me for my Sins; there is a Body of Sin and Death in me deſerves this Sentence; and there is a Similitude and Likeneſs alſo, that, as a Chriſtian, God thinks me worthy to bear with my Lord and Head, in many Circumſtances, in reference to theſe Dealings I have met with; in the Good I have been endeavouring for many Years to be doing in theſe Nations, and eſpecially now at laſt, in being numbred among Tranſgreſſors, and made a publick Sacrifice, thro' the Wrath and Contradictions

dictions of Men, and in having finiſhed my Courſe, and fought the good Fight of Faith, and reſiſted in a Way of Suffering (as you ſee) even unto Blood.

This is but the needful Preparation the Lord hath been working in me, to the receiving of the Crown of Immortality, which he hath prepar'd for them that love him. The Proſpect whereof is ſo chearing, that thro' the Joy (in it) that is ſet before the Eyes of my Faith, I can, thro' Mercy, *endure the Croſs*, *deſpiſe this Shame*, and am become *more than Conqueror*, thro' Chriſt that hath loved me.

For my Life, Eſtate and all, is not ſo dear to me as my Service to God, to his Cauſe, to the Kingdom of Chriſt, and the future Welfare of my Country; and I am taught, according to the Example, as well as that moſt Chriſtian Saying of a noble Perſon that lately died after this publick Manner in *Scotland*; *How much better is it to chuſe Affliction and the Croſs, than to ſin or draw back from the Service of the living God, into the Ways of Apoſtacy and Perdition?*

That noble Perſon, whoſe Memory I honour, was with myſelf at the beginning and making of the *Solemn League and Covenant*; the Matter of which, and the holy Ends therein contain'd, I fully aſſent unto, and have been as deſirous to obſerve; but the *rigid* Way of proſecuting it, and the *oppreſſing Uniformity* that hath been endeavour'd by it, I never approv'd.

This were ſufficient to vindicate me from the falſe Aſperſions and Calumnies which have been laid upon me, of *Jeſuitiſm* and *Popery*, and almoſt what not, to make my Name of ill Savour with *good Men*; which dark Miſts do now diſpel of themſelves, or at leaſt ought, and need no Pains of mine in making an Apology.

For

For if any Man ſeek a Proof of Chriſt in me, let him read it in this Action of my Death, which will not ceaſe to ſpeak when I am gone; *And henceforth let no Man trouble me, for I bear in my Body the Marks of the Lord Jeſus.*

I ſhall not deſire in this Place to take up much time, but only, as my laſt Words, leave this with you: *That as the preſent Storm we now lie under, and the dark Clouds that yet hang over the reformed Churches of Chriſt, (which are coming thicker and thicker for a Seaſon) were not unforeſeen by me for many Years paſt (as ſome Writings of mine declare): So the coming of Chriſt in theſe Clouds, in order to a ſpeedy and ſudden Revival of his Cauſe, and ſpreading his Kingdom over the Face of the whole Earth, is moſt clear to the Eye of my Faith, even that Faith in which I die, whereby the Kingdoms of this World ſhall become the Kingdom of our Lord, and of his Chriſt.* Amen. *Even ſo, come Lord Jeſus.*

Before the Stroke, he ſpake to this Effect: *I bleſs the Lord, who hath accounted me worthy to ſuffer for his Name. Bleſſed be the Lord that I have kept a Conſcience void of Offence to this Day. I bleſs the Lord I have not deſerted the righteous Cauſe, for which I ſuffer.*

But his very laſt Words of all at the Block were as followeth: *Father, glorify thy Servant in the Sight of Men, that he may glorify thee in the Diſcharge of his Duty to thee and to his Country.*

It was obſerv'd, that no Signs of inward Fear appear'd by any trembling or ſhaking of his Hands, or any other Parts of his Body, all along on the Scaffold. Yea, an ancient Traveller and curious Obſerver of the Demeanour of Perſons in ſuch publick Executions, did narrowly eye his Countenance to the laſt Breath, and his Head immediately after the Separation; he obſerv'd that his Countenance did not in the leaſt change; and

whereas

whereas the Heads of all he had before ſeen, did ſome way or other move after ſevering, which argued ſome Reluctancy and Unwillingneſs to that Parting-blow; the Head of this Sufferer lay perfectly ſtill, immediately upon the Separation: On which he ſaid to this purpoſe, That his Death was by the free Conſent and Act of his Mind; which Animadverſion notably accords with what the Sufferer himſelf had before expreſs'd, in differencing a Death by rational Choice, from that by Sickneſs, which is with Conſtraint upon the Body. He deſir'd to be diſſolv'd, and to be with Chriſt.

The CHARACTER *of Sir* HENRY VANE *the younger.*

Sir *Henry Vane* was a Man of great Natural Parts, and of very profound Diſſimulation, of a quick Conception, and very ready, ſharp, and weighty Expreſſion; he had an unuſual Aſpect, which, tho' it might naturally proceed both from his Father and Mother, neither of which were beautiful Perſons, yet made Men think there was ſomething in him extraordinary, and his whole Life made good that Imagination; within a very ſhort time after he return'd from his Studies in *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, where, tho' he was under the Care of a very worthy Tutor, he liv'd not with great Exactneſs, he ſpent ſome little time in *France*, and more in *Geneva*; and after his Return into *England*, contracted a full Prejudice and Bitterneſs againſt the Church, both againſt the Form of Government and the Liturgy, which was generally in great Reverence, even with many of thoſe who were not Friends to the other in this Giddineſs, which then much diſpleaſed, or ſeem'd to diſpleaſe his Father, who ſtill appear'd

appear'd highly conformable, and exceeding ſharp againſt thoſe who were not ; he tranſported himſelf into *New England*, a Colony, within few Years before planted by a Mixture of all Religions, which diſpoſed the Profeſſors to diſlike the Government of the Church, who were qualified by the King's Charter to chuſe their own Government and Governors, under the Obligation that every Man ſhould take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which all the firſt Planters did when they receiv'd their Charter, before they tranſported themſelves from hence; nor was there in many Years the leaſt Scruple amongſt 'em of complying with thoſe Obligations, ſo far Men were in the Infancy of their Schiſm from refuſing to take lawful Oaths : He was no ſooner landed there, but his Parts made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably his Quality, being the eldeſt Son of a Privy-Counſellor, might give him ſome Advantage, inſomuch that when the next Seaſon came for the Election of the Magiſtrates, he was choſen their Governor ; in which Place he had ſo ill Fortune, his working and unquiet Fancy raiſing and refuſing a thouſand Scruples of Conſcience, which they had not brought over with them, nor heard of before; that he, unſatisfy'd with them, and they with him, tranſported himſelf into *England*, having ſow'd ſuch Seed of Diſſenſion there, as grew up too proſperouſly, and miſerably divided the poor Colony into ſeveral Factions, Diviſions, and Perſecutions of each other; which ſtill continue , to the great Prejudice of that Plantation, inſomuch as ſome of them, upon the Ground of the firſt Expedition, Liberty of Conſcience, have withdrawn themſelves from their Juriſdiction, and obtain'd other Charters from the King, by which, in other Forms of Government, they have enlarg'd their Plantation within

new

new Limits, adjacent to the other. He was no ſooner return'd from *England*, than he ſeem'd to be much reform'd from his Extravagancies, and with his Father's Approbation and Direction married a Lady of a good Family, and by his Father's Credit with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was High Admiral of *England*, was join'd preſently and jointly with Sir *William Ruſſel*, in the Office of Treaſurer of the Navy (a Place of great Truſt and Profit) which he equally ſhar'd with the other, and ſeem'd a Man well ſatisfy'd and compos'd to the Government, when his Father receiv'd the Diſobligation from the Lord *Stafford*, by his being created Baron of *Raby*, the Houſe and Land of *Vane*, which Title he had promis'd himſelf; but it was unluckily caſt upon the Earl, purely out of Contempt of *Vane*; they ſuck'd in all the Thoughts of Revenge imaginable, and from thence the Son betook himſelf to the Friendſhip of Mr. *Pym*, and all diſcontented and ſeditious Perſons, and contributed all that Intelligence that deſign'd the Ruin of the Earl, and which grafted him in the entire Confidence of thoſe who promoted the ſame; ſo that nothing was conceal'd from him, tho' it is believ'd that he communicated his own Thoughts to very few.

The Execution of GEORGE PHILIPS, THOMAS TONGE, NATHANIEL GIBBS, *and* FRANCIS STUBBS, *on Monday*, December 22, 1662.

THE 22d of *December*, *George Philips*, *Thomas Tonge*, *Nathaniel Gibbs*, and *Francis Stubbs*, were drawn on two Hurdles, *viz. Philips* and *Tonge* in one, and *Gibbs* and *Stubbs* in the other, to the common Place of Execution at *Tyburn*: Where being come, they were receiv'd into a Cart

under the Gallows; and the Executioner desiring them severally to forgive him, they all declar'd they did freely forgive him and all their Enemies, and did severally salute each other with this Phrase, *Welcome Brother*; and to one another said, *We are now launching into the Deep.* They being all ty'd up, *Philips* gave the Executioner a small Sum of Money, and the rest directed the Executioner to take out of their Pockets a small Parcel of Money, as their Gift to him; and *Philips* afterwards bended a Six-pence, and presented it to a Friend of his, Mr. *Stroud*; and a Shilling likewise bended to one Mr. *Clark*. Then the Under-Sheriff of *Middlesex* acquainted them they had all free Liberty to speak, provided they did not reflect upon his Majesty, or the present Government; which they all promised not to do, and thanked him for his Civility. And then *Philips* began in the Manner following:

Friends and Country-men,

I am come this Day to pay that great Debt that I owe to Nature; it is a Work that had need be well done, for it is but once to be done. My Hope is now above; and for what I now come to suffer, for my own Part, I bless God, in whose Presence I now speak, as a dying Man, I had not any murderous Thought against the King; but I have pray'd for him, and wish'd that he might Live and Reign, and long Reign in Righteousness; and that God would make his Crown a Crown of Righteousness upon his Head, and bless him in his Government, so that he may not know any of these Occasions more: For my Part, I have ventur'd my Life for his Majesty; it was far from my Heart to do any thing of that Nature. The Lord receive my Soul. I freely forgive all Men, as I hope to be forgiven of God: I never did act any thing, but only this, which

was my Ignorance of the Laws, that I did not diſcover it; and I was juſtly found Guilty, for not diſcovering. I have done, Mr. Sheriff; but hope, after my Brethren have ſpoken, we may have liberty to call upon the Lord.

Und. Sher. It will not be denied you.

Then Mr. *Tonge* began in this manner.

Friends and Country-men,

You ſee me here a dying Man: I have ſometimes been in ſome Mens Company, where I have heard them contriving the Buſineſs for which I am condemned to die; and that which led me to join with them was this, I was, and had been ſometimes in the Army; and I have looked upon this Cauſe to be good. As for his Majeſty, the Lord bleſs him, and proſper him, and put it into his Heart, that he may be a Nurſing-Father indeed to his Country.

Und. Sher. Have you any more to ſay? You may ſpeak.

Tonge. I have nothing more.

And then *Gibbs* proceeded and ſaid, Country-men and Friends, and I hope Chriſtians, and the laſt Conſideration is that that makes me the more free to ſpeak to you; we all profeſs to own God and Jeſus Chriſt to be our Saviour, our Redeemer, our Sanctifier, and Giver of, and Beſtower upon us eternal Life; this ſhould excite our Souls to love one another; and upon the account of God's Love, that God has ſo loved us as to give Jeſus Chriſt, to reconcile us Sinners to God, we ought to love one another, it is his great Command. Truly, as to the Cauſe for which I am brought here, God, the great Judge of Heaven and Earth, before whom I ſtand, knows that in the Place where I have liv'd, I behav'd myſelf as an obedient Subject; and when there was an Inſurrection by the *Fifth-Monarchy* Men, I went out in my own

Perſon, tho' I had Servants as well as others, purely out of Affection to his Majeſty, knowing that in the Peace of his Government I ſhould have Peace, and ſo I went out, hazarded my Life, and continu'd out till all was quiet. I was at a Neighbour's Houſe drinking of a Cup of Beer on *Tueſday* Night in the Kitchen alone, ſave only the Man of the Houſe and the Maid; theſe Men came in, one *Hill* and *Riggs*, that are the Witneſſes againſt me; there were *Riggs* and *Hill* and this *Stubbs*, and one *Beazeley*; and I being alone in the Kitchen, they ask'd for one *Gibbs*; the People of the Houſe told me there were ſome Gentlemen would ſpeak with me; I wiſhed them to direct them to me, and they came to me; and thro' the Ignorance of the Law, which, it ſeems, runs thus, If any Words treaſonable againſt his Majeſty are ſpoken, it is Treaſon to conceal 'em: So thus I have given you, in part, the Cauſe of my being here.

Hereupon Information was given to the King's Majeſty, that I ſhould ſay there would be a Riſing, and that *All-hallows* Eve was the Time; that there were Arms ſent into the Country, and that *Ludlow* was to be General; and this was charged upon me by the King's Majeſty, when I came before him to be examin'd: And upon *Hill's* and *Riggs's* Oath, I was ſent to the *Tower*, and kept a long time a Priſoner, examin'd three or four times over by the Lords of his Majeſty's Council. I have one Word more; as touching my Judgment, I am reputed in the World to be one of thoſe that is called by the Name of *Anabaptiſt*, a Name of Deriſion and Scorn; one is an *Anabaptiſt*, one an *Independent*, one a *Presbyterian*, one this, and one that, and one the other; who gave theſe Nick-Names to Chriſtians? There is but one God, one Lord Jeſus, one Baptiſm, one Hope.

Hope of Glory : How comes the Body of Chriſt, or the Members of Chriſt to be called theſe Nick-Names? But now, as I am one that do profeſs Faith in God through the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and do ſtand before you all, and before the Lord, I know no other God, but the eternal and living God, that hath made the World, and that rules and reigns, and diſpoſes all his Creatures; I do believe in this God, he has been gracious to me a poor Sinner, and to all poor Sinners, that when we, by reaſon of Sin, had forfeited all our Mercies, and were under Wrath and everlaſting Deſtruction, and muſt periſh for ever; that God did out of his rich Grace and tender Mercies give his only begotten Son, according to his Promiſe, to be the Bleſſing of God to the poor Gentiles, according as the Scripture did declare; the Scripture foreſeeing that God would juſtify the Heathens through Faith, preached before the Goſpel to *Abraham*, ſaying, In thee ſhall all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed: He ſpeaks not of the natural Seed of *Abraham*, but of Chriſt; ſo that all the Bleſſings that God did convey to the ſinful World, are by the means of Jeſus Chriſt, whom God in the Fulneſs of Time did ſend his Son, born of a Woman, to redeem poor Sinners under the Law; and herein was the great Grace and Mercy of God towards all Sinners, that he was ſo gracious to ſend his beloved Son out of his own Boſom to take our Natures upon him, who were defiled, and curſed, and condemned, and ſeparated from God. I ſay, Jeſus Chriſt took our Natures upon him, and for this very End to do the Will of his heavenly Father, *Lo it is written in the Volume of thy Book*, I come to do thy Will, O God; and it was his Meat and Drink to do his Will; and what was that, but that we might be ſanctified through the offering up of the Body of Jeſus

Chriſt for our Sins, to tread the Wine-preſs of his Father's Wrath, and to endure the Croſs, and bear all our Sins in his own Body, that made his Soul heavy unto Death: He was a Surety for us and our Sins, and for our ſakes the Lord laid on him the Iniquity of us all, and he hath borne our Grief and endured our Puniſhment; it made his Soul cry out, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? or elſe we muſt for ever be baniſhed out of the Preſence of God, and never have any Hopes of Glory, of Faith, or of Salvation, had not the Son of God become our Mediator and Surety; ſo there is one God, and one Mediator, the Man Chriſt Jeſus. He gave himſelf a Ranſom for all our Sins, to free us from the Wrath to come, everlaſting Deſtruction, and from the Worm that never dies. O that we could ever be thankful to God, live to him that hath ſo loved us, as to ſend his Son to die for us, and is by the almighty Power of God raiſed from the Dead, and now ſits at the Right Hand of God, and ever lives to make Interceſſion.

Truly, Friends, this is not the Love of Man, but the Love of God, and therefore eternal Love. God ſo loved the World; it is God's Love, he loved Sinners, ungodly ones; he did ſo love them as to give his only begotten Son to ſave them, to reconcile them, to uphold them, to redeem them from Wrath to come; it was to ſeek and ſave them that were loſt. This is a faithful Saying, and worthy of all Acceptation, that Jeſus Chriſt came into the World to ſave Sinners. We all, like Sheep, had gone aſtray, and muſt periſh in our Sins, had not the Lord Jeſus been ſent of his Father, out of his Boſom, to declare the good Will of God, and did it, by which we are ſanctified through the offering up of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt; and this Lord Jeſus Chriſt the eternal Son

of

of God, he is the Mediator between God and poor Sinners. Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, ſays Chriſt, and I will give you Reſt; now this Grace is from God, we are ſaved by Grace, and that not of our ſelves, it is the Gift of God, through Faith in Chriſt we are ſaved; and all things that do pertain to Life and Godlineſs it is the Gift of God; now all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt, to wit, that God was in Chriſt reconciling the World to himſelf, not imputing their Treſpaſſes unto him. Would you know the Forgiveneſs of your Sins, your Peace with God, and that God is well-pleaſed with you? God is reconciled by Jeſus Chriſt unto you, and does not impute your Sins unto you, but looks on the Righteouſneſs of Chriſt as Satisfaction, that thereby you might have the Remiſſion of your Sins through the Blood of Chriſt. Be it known unto all Men, that through this Man's preaching, the Forgiveneſs of Sins, *Acts* 13. 38, 39. and by him all that do believe are juſtified from all things, from which they could not be by the Law of *Moſes*. Now Juſtification from Sin, and Redemption from Iniquity, is thro' the Knowledge of Chriſt's Death for your Sins, and his Reſurrection; and now there is no other Name given under Heaven whereby we can be ſaved, but by the Name of Jeſus, and whoſoever believeth in his Name ſhall not periſh, but have everlaſting Life, *Joh.* 5. 24. It is the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, it is his Word, and I hope you will ſearch the Scriptures, and look into thoſe things for your Souls Good, when Chriſt ſays, Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, he that heareth my Words and believeth them, he hath everlaſting Life, and ſhall not come into Condemnation, but is paſſed from Death to Life. The Reaſon why God does aſſure poor Sinners they

ſhall not paſs into everlaſting Condemnation and periſh, is through his rich Grace, through his Promiſe; for he hath promiſed, he will be merciful to our Iniquities, and our Sins will remember no more; and theſe his Promiſes of Grace, which are all Yea and Amen in Chriſt, are ratifi'd by the Blood of Chriſt; the Blood of Chriſt is this Blood of the New Covenant, and it is that by which we have the Forgiveneſs, Remiſſion, and Cleanſing of all our Sins.

Und. Sher. Mr. *Gibbs*, let me interrupt you, this is very good and pertinent, but you have ſaid theſe things over and over; there is another of your Friends to ſpeak, and the Time grows ſhort, pray go on to the Matter, or conclude.

Gibbs. I ſhall ſpeak a Word or two as to the Knowledge of Forgiveneſs of Sins, by and thro' Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo the Knowledge of the Reſurrection of the Dead, it is the Fruit of Jeſus Chriſt; for by the firſt Man came Death, and by the ſecond Man, Chriſt, came Life; and God that has by his exceeding great and mighty Power raiſed up Jeſus Chriſt from the Grave and Power of Sin, he alſo ſhall raiſe us up by the ſame Power, and when he comes again the ſecond time, at his appearing and coming, we ſhall ſee him, and be made like to him, and he will receive us to himſelf; he is gone to prepare a Place for us, and in his Father's Houſe are many Manſions, and if it were not ſo, he would have told us: And now God that hath given eternal Life, and Forgiveneſs of Sins unto his poor Servants, he will alſo, when Jeſus Chriſt ſhall come to judge the World, receive him into his everlaſting Glory, which is my Faith, Expectation, and Hope, in God through Jeſus Chriſt. A Man may bear his Infirmities, but a wounded Conſcience who can bear? When God ſmites, who can bear? And therefore I de-

ſire,

ſire, as I believe the Forgiveneſs of all my Sins, through the rich Grace of God, through the Bloodſhed of Jeſus Chriſt his Son; every one muſt give account to God, and as their Works are, ſo will their Reward be, either accepted by God, as Workers of Chriſt, or condemned as Workers of Iniquity. Laſt of all, as to the ſeparated Congregations to whom I belong, I have obſerved in thoſe few Days that I have lived, there is a great deal of Animoſity, evil Will, hard Cenſuring, and Abuſing the precious Saints of Jeſus Chriſt. If they are in an Error, you that are in the Truth inſtruct them, and you may recover them out of the Claws of the Devil: Are you Chriſtians, and have the Light of God in your Souls? O then ſtrengthen your Brethren, do not give them Nick-Names, and abuſe them; that's not the way; Chriſt teaches another Leſſon, *That if thine Enemy hunger, you ſhould feed him; and if he be a thirſty, give him Drink:* We ſhould pray to the Lord that he would turn thoſe that be out of his way, into the right way.

Und. Sher. You know we muſt be all ſubject to Government, every Congregation muſt not have a Ruler, their Meetings are prohibited by good Authority, and becauſe they will not be obedient to good Government.

Gibbs. I do not ſay, that every Congregation muſt have a Ruler, and I hope I ſpeak the Words of Sobriety; I hope you will put a charitable Conſtruction upon what I ſay. As to the Magiſtrates, I have a Word or two.

Und. Sher. Speak well of them.

Gibbs. Be not afraid, I will not ſpeak any Evil of them; Magiſtracy is an Ordinance of God, and the End of Magiſtracy is for the Puniſhment of Evil-doers, and the Praiſe of them that do well; and for this purpoſe, I do deſire that the Lord

would

would give to the ſupreme Magiſtrate here on Earth, Wiſdom and Underſtanding, a wiſe Council, a Council fearing God, and hating Covetouſneſs, that they may ſtudy to exalt the Throne of the King in Righteouſneſs and Truth; O that we may all praiſe the Lord for Deliverance out of Condemnation; and I ſay it is the Duty of all the Subjects of the King's Majeſty, in all his Kingdoms and Dominions, to live peaceably, and to pray for the King's Majeſty: Prayers and Interceſſions ought to be made for all Men, eſpecially for Kings and Governors, for this very End and Purpoſe, that thereby we may live in all Quietneſs, Goodlineſs, Honeſty and Juſtice; and to this very End the Lord bleſs our Magiſtracy, give them Council and Wiſdom, that they may love them that love the Lord, and hate them that hate the Lord.

After *Gibbs* had done ſpeaking, then *Stubbs* began, who went over all the Particulars of his Tryal at large, to which for brevity's ſake we refer you. After which he ſaid as follows:

Friends and Countrymen,

It is true, and I muſt confeſs my Sin in the Preſence of God (and did ask Mercy of the King) that I was in the Company when I did hear wicked and treaſonable Words ſpoken; and I being ignorant, and not knowing the Law, did not diſcover what I did hear.

As to my Judgement, truly I deſire to own that the Scriptures own; I ſhall ſpeak of that Place in the *Hebrews*, which is the Command of Chriſt, I deſire the Churches and the People, every one to live the Life of Faith, and love one another; I am confident it would be a Means of abundance of Comfort here in the Nation; there is a kind of Heart-burning and riſing one againſt another, you are ſo and ſo, throw Dirt one againſt

the

the other; it is our and your Duty, ſtill to be ſtudying to live in Love, and bear one with another, not be angry, deſtroy, and fight one with another: O that we might live that Life of Love that God has commanded, then we may expect the Preſence of God to be with us; ſurely God hath a great Judgment againſt his own People, for not loving one another.

Philips. Mr. *Sheriff*, I have only one Word to ſpeak before I go to my Prayers; that is, Here I ſee ſome Gentlemen preſent that are in the Capacity that I was in as a Soldier; I ſay, be faithful to your Truſt, and beg of God that you may ſtand faſt, and not diſhonour God, nor be diſobedient to the King; when the Fifth-monarchy Men were up, I was free and willing to lay down my Life for the Intereſt of the Nation, and did venture it as much as any young Man in *London*; therefore good Friends, have a Care: I am now brought to ſuffer; it is true, I was guilty of concealing it; I deſire your Prayers, that now as we are going to the State of Eternity, from whence there is no Redemption, I humbly beſeech you, as Chriſtians and Friends, that you would ſeek earneſtly to God, that now he may receive our Souls into everlaſting Reſt and Happineſs, which he has been pleas'd to beſtow on them that love him and fear him; and the Lord knows my Heart, I ſpeak it in his Preſence, that had the King been pleaſed to ſhew Mercy to me, I ſhould have been a faithful and true Subject to him all my Days; but ſeeing it is the righteous Hand of God, that now I am come to this untimely Death, I deſire you to lift up your Hearts and Souls to God with me, that when my Soul ſhall leave this Body, that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt may with his everlaſting Arms receive me to Glory: There is no Redemption after Death, we ſhall either go to eternal Woe, or

eternal

eternal Happineſs; therefore, good Friends, I deſire you to look up to God, that when my Soul departs, it may be receiv'd to Glory.

Then they went to their Prayers; which being ended, their Caps were ſeverally pull'd over their Faces, and after ſome private Ejaculations, the Executioner cauſed the Cart to be drawn away; and after they had hanged a while, they were ſeverally beheaded and quartered according to their Sentence, and their Heads and Quarters conveyed in a Basket to *Newgate*, to be diſpoſed of at the King's Pleaſure. Which he was graciouſly pleas'd thus to diſpoſe of:

Their ſeveral Quarters to be buried; which was accordingly done on Saturday Night, *December* 27.

Their Heads to be ſet up on ſeveral Poles, two on the one *Tower-hill*, and two on the other, as near the *Tower* as may be.

The Speech of JAMES MITCHEL, *at his Execution in the Graſs-Market in* Edingburgh, *the* 18*th of* January 1677-8.

I Suppoſe ſome will be deſirous to know what hath brought me to this Place of Suffering; to which I have no other Anſwer than that which *Elijah* gave, when threatned with Death by *Jezebel*, 1 Kings 19. 14. *I have been very Jealous for the Lord God of Hoſts, becauſe the Children of Iſrael have forſaken thy Covenant, thrown down thine Altars, and true Worſhip, and ſlain his Prophets and Miniſters: And they ſeek my Life to take it away.*

With all my Heart and Soul I own and adhere to the Work of Reformation, as it was begun and carried on in this Kingdom, according to the Word of God, and the *National Covenant*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant*; as it was ſettled amongſt

mongſt us in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, by General Aſſemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, Kirk-Seſſions, and the Peoples juſt Power to chuſe and call their own lawful Paſtors; and I do declare, that I judge Patronage to be a Popiſh Right, and an Uſurpation in the Houſe of God.

I do believe, and am perſuaded, that Magiſtracy is an Ordinance appointed of God, as well under the *New Teſtament* as it was under the *Old*; and that whoſoever reſiſteth the lawful Magiſtrate in the Exerciſe of his lawful Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance and Appointment of God, *Rom.* 13. 3. For he is God's Miniſter to you for thy Good, and in doing Good thou needs not be afraid of him, 1 *Pet.* 2. 12. We muſt obey the lawful Magiſtrate for Conſcience ſake, *Deut.* 17. 15, 16, 17. The lawful Magiſtrate muſt be a Man qualified according to God's Appointment, and not according to the Peoples Luſt and Pleaſure, leſt in the End he ſhould prove to them a Prince of *Sodom*, and a Governor of *Gomorrah*, whom God in his Righteouſneſs ſhould appoint for their Judgment, and eſtabliſh for their Correction; he muſt be one of thy Brethren, and not the Face of a Stranger; he muſt not make himſelf ſtrong by multiplying of Horſes, to the End he may compel the Lord's People to rebel againſt the Lord's expreſs Command: Nor *Jeroboam*-like, compel the People to any Courſe of Apoſtacy; he muſt not multiply Wives to himſelf, and much leſs Whores, nor marry an idolatrous Wife like *Jezebel*, 1 *Kings* 16. 31. Nor be covetous, in multiplying to himſelf Silver or Gold; he muſt be a diligent Student of the Law of the Lord all the Days of his Life, that he turn neither to the right Hand, nor to the left Hand therefrom, but muſt judge the People accordingly; otherwiſe neither he,

he, nor his Children, can expect to prolong their Days, 2 *Sam.* 23. 3. He muſt not be a Son of *Belial* without, or above Order and Law, whom a Man cannot touch except he be fenced with Iron, for ſuch ſhall all be preſt away: For (ſaith *David*) *He that ruleth over Men muſt be juſt, ruling in the Fear of the Lord*, &c. But if a Man ſimulating himſelf to be thus qualified, and thereafter, when he hath ſtrengthened himſelf upon the Throne, ſhall abjure and ſacrifice his Oath and Covenant, both to God and his Subjects, and ſhall tranſgreſs the Law and Commandment of the Lord (who hath given the Magiſtrate only one accumulative Power to promove, protect, and defend God's Laws, Truth and People, from being corrupted, violated, or any Ways damnified; and for that End he hath received both his Place and his Power from God and Men, for he hath not receiv'd of the Lord an obſtructive, deſtructive, or privative Power) for (as has been ſaid) the People can give no Right, nor Power to any Man, but what is according to God's Appointment, leſt they ſhould incur the ſad Challenge from God, *Hoſea* 8. 4. *They have ſet up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, but I knew it not.* For in ch. 10. v. 3. *Iſrael* there is brought in confeſſing their Fault, and they denied they had a King, becauſe he was not ſuch as God had appointed, and ſaid, what ſhould a King do to them, ſeeing he had partly by Force, and partly by Fraud, withdrawn them from the Fear and Obedience which they ought to God and to his Law, and had ſeduced and compelled them to Idolatry, and worſhipping of falſe Gods? And if the Magiſtrate, being in Power, ſhall overturn the Covenant-work of God, his Truth and Intereſts, the fundamental and municipal Laws of the Land, and moreover by a ſettled Parliament, according to his own Mind, and

for

for his own Uſe and Ends, they, as the Peoples Repreſentatives, do by Acts Reſciſſory reſcind all Acts of laudable lawful Parliaments, Committee of States, or Councils, wherein were contained or comprehended any mutual Bond, Obligation, Covenant, or Contract betwixt the Prince or People, he having diveſted himſelf of any legal Right he could have, or pretend, over ſuch a People, and they being in *Statu quo prius*, and none having Right to rule over them without their own Conſent. If the aforeſaid Magiſtrate ſhall then again uſurp and invade his Peoples Lives, Religions, Liberties, and Laws, and make even ſimple ſupplicating of him Crimes of Treaſon, contrary to the Dictates of Nature, and he by armed Emiſſaries, and by his arbitrary Power carried on by the Sword in their Hands, compel the Lord's People to relinquiſh and to forſake the true Religion and Worſhip of God, and make a Surrender of both their Souls, Conſciences, Lives, Laws, Liberties, and embrace a falſe Religion, and Will-worſhip, and engage to ſerve and worſhip falſe and Idol-gods at his Pleaſure; or thus all that is dear and near to a People being in the Extremity of Hazard; now it neceſſarily followed to be the Duty of ſuch People, or any Part of them, to take up Arms in defence of their Lives, Laws, Religion, and Liberties, and of their Poſterity, that they may not be left in ſuch an intolerable Bondage, and as they would not be accounted guilty of bringing God's Wrath upon the whole Land; *Jer.* 22. 2, 3. *Hear the Word of the Lord, O King of* Judah, &c. *Thou and thy Servants, and the People that enter in by theſe Gates, execute Judgment and Righteouſneſs, and deliver the Oppreſſed out of the hand of the Oppreſſor*; Chap. 37. 2. *But neither he, nor the Servants, nor the People of the Land hearkened to the Prophet* Jeremiah, until Wrath

from

from the Lord conſum'd them all. Now, had it not been the Peoples Duty, to have executed Judgment and Righteouſneſs, and to have delivered the Oppreſſed out of the Hands of the Oppreſſor; *Zedekiah* and his Servants (which I think was meaned by the Nobility and Princes) proving deficient, in order to the performing of their Duty, it neceſſarily followeth, to be the Peoples Duty; for if it had not been their Duty, it had not been their Sin to have omitted it: But here we ſee it is as well charged home, to be the Peoples Sin, as to be the Sin of the King, or the Sin of his Nobles: But, ſay ſome, who ſhall be Judge in ſuch Caſes? To which I anſwer, That the Law of God is the only ſupreme and infallible Judge in all ſuch Caſes; for what other Judge is, when two Kings or Monarchs fall out in War, neither of them being ſubject to any other Judge. But ſome profane and brutiſhly-ignorant Malignant ſaith, that this or that ignorant Fellow, or Huſſy, take upon them to determine what the Law of God ſaith in ſuch Caſes: I anſwer, neither this, nor that ignorant Fellow, or Huſſy, nor yet this or that ignorant, profane, wicked, or perfidious Prince or Princeſs is capable to be Judge; *Deut.* 30. 11. *For this Commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off*; verſ. 12. *It is not in Heaven, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall go up for us to Heaven and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it*, &c. *Neither is it beyond the Sea*, &c. *but the Word is very near unto thee, in thy Mouth, and in thy Heart that thou may'ſt do it.* And in this Caſe I do appeal to any Man of a ſober Wit and Judgment, ſeeing *the Secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him*, Pſal. 25. 14. And ſeeing *evil Men underſtand not Judgment, but they that ſeek the Lord underſtand all things*, Prov. 28. 5. *For they know not how to do right, who ſtore up Robbery in their Palaces*, A-

mos

mos 3. 10. Who is moſt capable to judge, what the Law of God determineth, in all ſuch Matters? *Artaxerxes*, a great Monarch, commanded, That *whatſoever is commanded of the God of Heaven, that it ſhould be diligently done, for the Houſe of the God of Heaven; for why ſhould there be Wrath upon the King and his Sons?* Ezra 7. 23. But O how many Men at this time, of the Sons of *Belial*, contrary to what is here ſpoken of, ſcrew up thoſe who are above them to ſo high a Pinacle, and an illimited and arbitrary Power, far above what either the Law of God, or the Law of Nature will admit of, for this very End and Purpoſe, that they may glory in the Works of their own Hands; and that he whom they have thus ſet up, and to whom they have made a Surrender of both Credit, Conſcience, and common Honeſty, may return unto them a Power over others, who are under them, by putting Swords in the Hands of bloody Cutthroats, who are raiſed and kept up for that Effect, to keep and bring into an *Egyptian* Bondage, the Perſons, Lives, Laws, Liberties, yea, even the Souls and Conſciences of the Lord's People: The which Power I declare to be diabolical, profane, and blaſphemous, and *Pharaoh*-like to ſay, *Who is the Lord, that they ſhould obey him?* Exod. 5. 2. Now ſeeing both the Throne and the Judgment are the Lord's, then, O bleſſed and happy Magiſtrate, who ruleth and governeth his Subjects, keeping in a ſtrait Line of Subordination to God's Law and Statutes; for in ſo doing, who may ſay to him, *What doſt thou?* Job 9. 12. And O happy and bleſſed People, thus govern'd. *Deut.* 4. 8. *And what Nation is there ſo great, that hath Statutes and Judgments ſo righteous, as all this Law which I ſet before you this day?* But O the blaſphemous Perjuries and Wickedneſs of this apoſtate Generation, whom no Bands, Obligations, nor

Covenants can bind, except theſe ſpoken in *Pſal.* 149. 8. But ſhall they thus break the Covenant, and eſcape and be deliver'd? *Ezek.* 17. 15, 18. As if the Lord's Hand and Power could not reach them, to inflict juſt and due Puniſhment upon them which commit ſuch things. I do deteſt and abhor that woful Indulgence and Encroachment, and Uſurpation on the Crown and Prerogatives Royal of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt (at leaſt in the Givers thereof) howbeit, I have very much Love, Charity, and Affection to many who have embraced the ſame; for I do really think, that they have been out-witted in that matter, and have not wickedly departed from following the Lord; yet I hope they ſhall get their Souls for a Prey in the Day of the Lord, although they may ſuffer Loſs, in building ſuch Hay and Stubble upon the Rock Chriſt Jeſus, when that their Work ſhall be burnt up by the Fire of his Jealouſy.

I proteſt before God, Angels, and Men, againſt all theſe Acts of Parliament or Council, which are againſt, and derogative to the Work of God and Reformation, and carrying on of the ſame, according as we are engaged and ſworn in theſe holy Bands of the National Covenant, and ſolemn League and Covenant; I abhor the ſhedding of the Blood of the Lord's People, for their adhering to the ſame, and the People's guarding ſuch in Priſon-houſes and at Scaffolds unto their Death; whom both by the Oath of God upon them, and by the eminent and laudable Laws of the Land, and by the Law of Nature they were obliged to have defended to the uttermoſt of their Lives and Fortunes: It being moſt well known, that ſuch as were put to Death, had committed no Crime, but, on the contrary, had perform'd a Duty which they were as much obliged to have performed as theſe, if the Guarders had been as

faithful

faithful to God and Man as the Pannels were.

Likewiſe I proteſt againſt their Baniſhment, Impriſonment, or Finings, or Confinements, and againſt all the Hardſhips and Perplexities of whatſoever kind, which they have been put to, thro' the Iniquity of the Times: So that we may juſtly with our Predeceſſors ſay, That our Perſecutors have devour'd us, and have cruſh'd us, have emptied us, ſwallowed us up like a Dragon, and have filled their Bellies with our Delicates, and have caſt us out, *Jer.* 51. 34. For which Cauſe, God gave a Charge to prepare Inſtruments for the Overthrow and Deſtruction of ſuch Perſecutors, *verſ.* 12. Becauſe it was the Vengeance of the Lord and of his Temple, ſo ſhall our Remnant, who out-live theſe Perſecutors, ſay, *verſ.* 35. The Violence done to me and my Fleſh be upon *Babylon*, and my Blood be upon the Inhabitants of *Chaldea*; let Wrath from the Lord purſue them, for their Blood and Violence in their Perſons and Eſtates, and their Strength, wherein they confide, and in their Friends and Favourites, who have conſulted and contrived within their wicked Courſes. I hope the Time is drawing nigh, and that the Joints of their Loins are looſening, their Knees are beginning to ſmite one againſt another, *Dan.* 5. 6. and the Hand-writing begins to be pourtray'd upon the Wall, becauſe they have not conſidered what God did to their Predeceſſors for their idolatrous Pride and Wickedneſs; although they knew it, yet they are become more inſolent in Idolatry and Wickedneſs, and more daring againſt God than ever their Fore-fathers preſumed to be, in meddling with the Veſſels and Materials of God's Houſe, and with the Crown and Kingly Office of Chriſt Jeſus, and have appropriate them to their own idolatrous Ends and Uſes, 21, 22. Therefore, when the furbiſhed Sword of the Lord's In-

dignation and Juſtice breaketh forth to devour, which it may do, before the dark Night of theſe dreadful Diſpenſations paſs over, then ſhall the time-ſerving Hypocrites of this Generation begin to their untimely Prayers, *viz.* Hills and Mountains fall upon them, to hide them from the Face of the righteous Judge; for who may abide the Day of his coming, for executing of Vengeance on his Adverſaries? In that Day the Man ſhall be accuſed who keepeth back his Sword from Blood, and who doth the Work of the Lord deceitfully, *Jer.* 48. 10. Yea, happy ſhall he be that taketh this curſed, malignant, and prelatical Brood, and daſheth them againſt the Stones; yea, happy ſhall he be that rewardeth them as they have ſerved us, *Pſal.* 137. For this Honour have all his Saints, the high Praiſes of God in their Mouth, and a two-edg'd Sword in their Hand, to execute Vengeance upon the Heathen, *Pſal.* 149.

Having thus deliver'd myſelf in the Points that I have mention'd, I only add to what I have ſaid, that I do only own theſe things as my own Judgment in theſe great and important Matters, not willing that any thing, wherein others may differ from me, ſhould be look'd upon as the Principles and Perſuaſion of that Party whereto I adhere: And I obteſt that no Man be ſo diabolick and profane, as to charge this upon any of my Perſuaſion, it being but my own, in which I hope God hath approven me; and whom God juſtifieth, who dare condemn?

Now, if the Lord, in his wiſe and over-ruling Providence, bring me to the End of my Pilgrimage, and to my long-look'd for and deſired Happineſs, let him take his own Way and Time, in bringing me to it: And in the mean while, O my Soul, ſing thou this Song, **Spring up**, O Well of this Happineſs and Salvation, of all this eternal

Hope

Hope and Conſolation; and whilſt thou art burthened with this Clog of a Clay Tabernacle, dig thou deep in it by Faith, Patience, Hope, and Charity, and with all the Inſtruments which God hath given thee; dig in it both by Precepts and Promiſes, dig carefully, and dig continually, ay, and 'till thou come to the Source and Head of the Fountain himſelf, from whence the Waters of Life flow forth; dig until thou come to the Aſſembly of the Firſt-born, when this Song is moſt ſuitably ſung to the Praiſe and Glory of the rich Mercy and free Grace of this Fountain of Life; O my Soul, follow (in all this digging) the Direction of the great Law-giver; ſo ſhalt thou proſper in all thy taking of pains: O happy Nobles and Princes of *Iſrael*, who were admitted to the Sight, and to the Song, to the Pains, and to the Profit, which none of the mixed Multitude of Murmurers were admitted to becauſe of their Unbelief, *Numb.* 21. 17. And, O Father of Mercy, while I am toſſed upon the turbulent Seas of manifold Troubles, grant that thy Preſence may be with me, and that thy everlaſting Arms may be underneath me, to ſupport me; for ſure I am, *Moſes*, thy Servant, had good reaſon to be importunate in this Suit, *Exod.* 32. 2. compared with 14. and 15. *verſ.* *Chap.* 34. 9. Seeing no leſs could furniſh him with freſh Supplies in the Work he was about. O let thy Preſence be with me, and then my Soul ſhall dig and ſing, and ſing, and dig thro' Times of Trouble into eternal Reſt, where I ſhall be admitted to behold the Rock, Chriſt, out of whom floweth the pure Fountain and River of Life and Happineſs, which I may drink, and not be damnified through the Aſſaults of Satan, or the Invaſions of Sin, or of a wicked World any more. Now according to thy Promiſe, *Mat.* 10. 19. out of thy fatherly Mercy, grant preſent Help, Sup-

ply, and Direction in this Time of Trouble, ſeeing it is not in Man, that walketh, to direct his own Steps, *Jer.* 10. 23. And tho' it be a hard thing rightly to diſtinguiſh between Sin and Duty, yet thy Law, thy Word, and thy Truth, which are quick and powerful, dividing aſunder of Soul and Spirit, and is a Director of the Thoughts, and thy Law giveth Light, *Pſal.* 119. 105. *Pſal.* 32. 8. For thy Teſtimonies, O Lord, are ſure, making wiſe the Simple, *Pſal.* 19. 7. For thou alone canſt make all thy Diſpenſations prove profitable, in order to the purging away of Sin, even when they ſeem to be deſtructive, *Eſai.* 27. 9. eſpecially, when thou intends them not for Deſtruction, but for Tryal, *Deut.* 8. 2, 16. and for further Humiliation; for thou, O Lord, haſt led me for many Years thro' a barren and wearisome Wilderneſs, to the end that thou mayſt work thy Work of Mortification in me, although, if it had ſeemed good unto thee, thou couldſt have brought me into the Land of Promiſe and Reſt a nearer way, *Exod.* 13. 17. For thou, by Hardſhips, many a time hideſt Pride from Men, and ſealeſt up their Inſtruction, that thou mayſt deliver his Soul from the Pit, and that his Life may ſee the Light, *Job* 33. 17. And altho' thou, O Lord, ſhouldſt ſend me the back Tract, and Tenor of my Life, to ſeek my Soul's Comforts, and Encouragements from thence; yet I have no Cauſe to complain of Hard-dealing from thy Hand, ſeeing it is thy ordinary way with ſome of thy People. *Pſal.* 42. 6. *O God, my Soul is caſt down within me, therefore will I remember thee from the Land of* Jordan, *and from the Hill* Hermon, *&c.* Yea, the laſt time he brought me to the Banquetting-Houſe, and made Love his Banner over me (amongſt the cold High-land Hills beſide *Kipper*, Nov. 1673.) he remembred his former Kindneſſes towards me; but withal he ſpoke it in

mine

mine Ear, that there was a tempeſtuous Storm to meet me in the Face, which I behoved to go thro' with the Strength of that Proviſion, 1 *Kings* 19. 7. And now, O my Soul, ſeeing it is his ordinary Way and Method with thee, to ſend a Shower, and a Sunblink, and again a Sunblink and Shower; therefore, keep thou ſilent to God, and murmur not, fret not, be not diſquieted, be ſtill, and be content, ſeeing all my Perſecutors can do, either by Fraud or Force, can neither alter the nature or kind of my Sufferings, or add ſo much as a Degree thereto, neither lengthen out the Time of them for a Moment, *Mat.* 10. 29. *Exod.* 12. 41. All *Pharaoh*'s Power could not keep *Iſrael* one Night longer in *Egypt*, therefore it is my Duty to ſtudy with *Paul*, *Phil.* 4. 11, 12. *Whatſoever ſtate I am in, therewith to be content*; and ſay, ſhould the *Earth be forſaken, and the Rock be removed out of its Place for me*, Job 18, 4. Should God alter the Courſe of his Providence for me, in which there is ſuch an Efficacy as to carry all things to the proper and appointed End, with an irreſiſtable Power: *And* that I may *be found in him, not as having my own Righteouſneſs, which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of Chriſt, the Righteouſneſs which is of God by Faith*, Phil. 3. 9, 10. And to reſign up unto God my Will and Affections, to be diſpoſed as he pleaſeth; and to ſay with Fear, Humility, and Reverence, *O Father, not my Will, but thine be done*; and whether I live or die, I may be the Lords, that through his Mercy and Grace I may attain to his Approbation, *viz. Well done good and faithful Servant*; who hath hitherto ſent *his Angel and ſhut the Lions Mouth that they have not hurt me*, Dan. 6. 22. and who hath ſo ſhut the Eyes of my Perſecutors with a Sodomitiſh Blindneſs, that hitherto they

could not find out the way how to break in upon me; and I hope he will in due time bring me out of the fiery Furnace, and ſhall not, through his Grace, ſuffer the Smell thereof to be found upon me; and if not, yet I never held it to be my Duty to worſhip this rotten and ſtinking Idol of Jealouſy, which theſe Nations have ſet up, *who have killed both the Lord Jeſus and their own Prophets, and have perſecuted us*, 1 Theſ. 2. 15. *For thou*, O Lord, *haſt not abhorred nor deſpiſed my Afflictions when I was afflicted, neither haſt thou hid thy Face from me, but when I cry'd unto thee thou heardeſt me*, Pſal. 22. 24. Now, *O Lord God, thou haſt made the Heaven and the Earth by thy great Power and ſtretched-out Arm*, Jer. 32. 17. Bring thou me at length to a happy Arrival within the Gates of the *New Jeruſalem*, where no unclean Thing can come, that my Praiſe may be of thee in the great Congregation. *And although*, as *Job* ſaid, *Chap.* 10. 17. *That thou, O Lord, haſt deliver'd me to the ungodly, and haſt turn'd me over into the Hands of the wicked*; yet *by this I know that thou, O Lord, favoureſt me, becauſe mine Enemies do not triumph over me; when I ſtand in Judgment thou, O Lord, didſt not condemn; and if it pleaſeth thee thou wilt not leave me in their Hands*, Pſal. 41. 11. Pſal. 37. 33. *But canſt bring up my Life from the Pit of Corruption*, Jonah 2. 6. And ſeeing I have not prefer'd nor ſought after mine own Things, but thy Honour and Glory, the Good, Liberty, and Safety of thy Church and People, although I may be now miſconſtructed by many; yet at length I hope thou, Lord, will make my Light break forth as the Morning, and my Righteouſneſs as the Noon-day, and that Shame and Darkneſs ſhall cover all who are Adverſaries to my righteous Cauſe; for thou, Lord, art the Shield of my Help, and the Sword of my Excellency,

Excellency, and my Enemies ſhall be found Lyars, *Amen*, yea, and *Amen*.

JAMES MITCHEL.

The Execution of THOMAS WHITEBREAD, WILLIAM HARCOURT, ANTHONY TURNER, JOHN GAVAN, *and* JOHN FENWICK, *at* Tyburn, *on* Friday *the* 20th *of* June, 1679.

FRIDAY the 20*th* of *June*, being the Day appointed for the Execution of the Perſons aforeſaid, they were drawn on three Hurdles from *Newgate* to the Place of Execution.

In the firſt Hurdle went *Thomas Whitebread* and *William Harcourt*; in the ſecond, *Anthony Turner* and *John Gavan*; and in the third, *John Fenwick*. And being come to the Place of Execution they were all put into one Cart.

Then *Gavan* ſaid, if God give us his Grace its no Matter where we die, at the Gallows, or elſewhere. The Executioner being faſtning the Halters,

Gavan ſaid, I hope you will be civil to dying Men.

Executioner. I will be civil to you.

Gavan. I hope they will give us leave to ſpeak.

The laſt Speech of THOMAS WHITEBREAD.

I ſuppoſe it is expected I ſhould ſpeak ſomething to the Matter I am condemn'd for, and brought hither to ſuffer; it is no leſs than the contriving and plotting his Majeſty's Death, and the Alteration of the Government of the Church and State. You all either know, or ought to know, I am to make my Appearance before the Face of Almighty God, and with all imaginable Certainty and Evidence to receive a final Judgment, for all the Thoughts, Words, and Actions of my whole Life.

Life. So that I am not now upon Terms to ſpeak other than the Truth; and therefore, in his moſt holy Preſence, and as I hope for Mercy from his divine Majeſty, I do declare to you here preſent, and to the whole World, that I go out of the World as innocent and as free from any Guilt of theſe Things, laid to my Charge in this Matter, as I came into the World from my Mother's Womb: And that I do renounce from my Heart, all manner of Pardons, Abſolutions, Diſpenſations for Swearing, as Occaſions or Intereſt may ſeem to require, which ſome have been pleas'd to lay to our Charge, as Matter of our Practice and Doctrine, but is a thing ſo unjuſtifiable and unlawful, that I believe, and ever did, that no Power on Earth can authorize me, or any Body, ſo to do. As for thoſe who have moſt falſely accus'd me (as Time, either in this World or in the next, will make appear) I do heartily forgive them, and beg of God to grant them his holy Grace, that they may repent their unjuſt Proceedings againſt me; otherwiſe they will, in Concluſion, find they have done themſelves more Wrong than I have ſuffer'd from them, though that has been a great deal. I pray God bleſs his Majeſty both temporally and eternally, which has been my daily Prayer for him, and is all the Harm that I ever intended or imagin'd againſt him. And I do, with this my laſt Breath, in the ſight of God declare, that I never did learn, or teach, nor believe, nor can, as a Catholick, believe, that it is lawful, upon any Occaſion or Pretence whatſoever, to deſign or contrive the Death of his Majeſty, or any Hurt to his Perſon; but on the contrary, all are bound to obey, defend, and preſerve his ſacred Perſon, to the utmoſt of their Power. And I do moreover declare, that this is the true and plain Senſe of my Soul, in the ſight

of

of him who knows the Secrets of my Heart, and as I hope to ſee his bleſſed Face, without any Equivocation, or mental Reſervation. This is all I have to ſay concerning the Matter of my Condemnation; that which remains for me now to do, is to recommend my Soul into the Hands of my bleſſed Redeemer, by whoſe only Merits and Paſſion I hope for Salvation.

The laſt Speech of WILLIAM HARCOURT.

The Words of dying Perſons have been always eſteem'd as of greateſt Authority; becauſe uttered then, when ſhortly after they are to be cited before the high Tribunal of Almighty God. This gives me hopes that mine may be look'd upon as ſuch; therefore I do here declare, in the Preſence of Almighty God, the whole Court of Heaven, and this numerous Aſſembly, that as I ever hope, by the Merits and Paſſion of my Lord and ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, for eternal Bliſs, I am as innocent as the Child unborn of any thing laid to my Charge, and for which I am here to die.

Sheriff How. Or Sir *Edmundbury Godfry*'s Death?

Harcourt. Or Sir *Edmundbury Godfry*'s Death.

Sheriff How. Did not you write that Letter concerning the Diſpatch of Sir *Edmundbury Godfry?*

Harcourt. No, Sir, theſe are the Words of a dying Man, I would not do it for a thouſand Worlds.

Sheriff How. How have you liv'd?

Harcourt. I have liv'd like a Man of Repute all my Life, and never was before the Face of a Judge till my Tryal: No Man can accuſe me. I have, from my Youth, been bred up in the Education of my Duty towards God and Man.

Harcourt. And I do utterly abhor and deteſt that abominable falſe Doctrine laid to our Charge, that

that we can have Licences to commit Perjury, or any Sin to advantage our Cauſe, being expreſly againſt the Doctrine of St *Paul*, ſaying, *Non ſunt facienda mala, ut eveniant bona*; Evil is not to be done that Good may come thereof. And therefore we hold it in all Caſes unlawful, to kill or murder any Perſon whatſoever, much more our lawful King, now reigning, whoſe perſonal and temporal Dominions we are ready to defend with our Lives and Fortunes, againſt any Opponent whatſoever, none excepted. I forgive all that have contriv'd my Death, and humbly beg Pardon of Almighty God for them. And I ask Pardon of all the World. I pray God bleſs his Majeſty, and grant him a proſperous Reign. The like I wiſh to his Royal Conſort, the beſt of Queens. I humbly beg the Prayers of all thoſe who are in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, if any ſuch be preſent.

The laſt Speech of ANTHONY TURNER.

Being now, good People, very near my End, and ſummon'd, by a violent Death, to appear before God's Tribunal, there to render an Account of all my Thoughts, Words, and Actions, before a juſt Judge, I conceive I am bound in Conſcience to do myſelf that Juſtice, as to declare upon Oath my Innocence from the horrid Crime of Treaſon, with which I am falſely accuſed: And I eſteem it a Duty I owe to Chriſtian Charity, to publiſh to the World before my Death, all that I know in this Point, concerning thoſe Catholicks I have converſed with ſince the firſt Noiſe of the Plot, deſiring from the Bottom of my Heart that the whole Truth may appear, that Innocence may be clear'd, to the great Glory of God, and the Peace and Welfare of the

King

King and Country. As to myſelf, I call God to witneſs, that I was never in my whole Life preſent at any Conſult or Meeting of the Jeſuits, where any Oath of Secrecy was taken, or the Sacrament, as a Bond of Secrecy, either by me, or any one of them, to conceal any Plot againſt his Sacred Majeſty; nor was I ever preſent at any Meeting or Conſult of theirs, where any Propoſal was made, or Reſolve taken or ſigned, either by me or any of them, for taking away the Life of our dread Sovereign; an Impiety of ſuch a Nature, that had I been preſent at any ſuch Meeting, I ſhould have been bound by the Laws of God, and by the Principles of my Religion (and by God's Grace would have acted accordingly) to have diſcovered ſuch a deviliſh Treaſon to the Civil Magiſtrate, to the end they might have been brought to condign Puniſhment. I was ſo far, good People, from being in *September* laſt at a Conſult of the Jeſuits at *Tixall*, in Mr. *Ewer*'s Chamber, that I vow to God, as I hope for Salvation, I never was ſo much as once that Year at *Tixall*, my Lord *Aſton*'s Houſe. 'Tis true, I was at the Congregation of the Jeſuits, held on the 24th of *April* was twelve-month; but in that Meeting, as I hope to be ſav'd, we meddled not with State-Affairs, but only treated about the Concerns of our Province, which is uſually done by us, without Offence to temporal Princes, every third Year, all the World over.

Sheriff How. You do only juſtify yourſelves here. We will not believe a Word that you ſay. Spend your time in Prayer, and we will not think your time too long.

I am, good People, as free from the Treaſon I am accuſed of, as the Child that is unborn; and being innocent, I never accus'd myſelf in Confeſſion of any thing that I am charg'd with. Certainly

tainly, if I had been conſcious to myſelf of any Guilt in this kind, I ſhould not ſo frankly and freely, as I did, of my own Accord, have preſented myſelf before the King's moſt honourable Privy Council. As for thoſe Catholicks which I have converſed with ſince the Noiſe of the Plot, I proteſt before God, in the Words of a dying Man, that I never heard any one of them, either Prieſt or Layman, expreſs to me the leaſt Knowledge of any Plot, that was then on foot amongſt the Catholicks, againſt the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, for the advancing the Catholick Religion. I die a *Roman* Catholick, and humbly beg the Prayers of ſuch, for my happy Paſſage into a better Life. I have been of that Religion above thirty Years, and now give God Almighty infinite Thanks for calling me by his holy Grace to the Knowledge of this Truth, notwithſtanding the Prejudice of my former Education. God of his infinite Goodneſs bleſs the King, and all the Royal Family, and grant his Majeſty a proſperous Reign here, and a Crown of Glory hereafter. God in his Mercy forgive all thoſe which have falſely accuſed me, and have had any Hand in my Death; I forgive them from the Bottom of my Heart, as I hope myſelf for Forgiveneſs at the Hands of God.

The laſt Speech of JOHN GAVAN.

Dearly beloved Countrymen,

I am come now to the laſt Scene of Mortality, to the Hour of my Death, an Hour which is the Horizon between Time and Eternity, an Hour which muſt either make me a Star to ſhine for ever in the Empire above, or a Firebrand to burn everlaſtingly amongſt the damned Souls in Hell below; an Hour in which, if I deal ſincerely, and with

with a hearty Sorrow acknowledge my Crimes, I may hope for Mercy; but if I falſely deny them, I muſt expect nothing but eternal Damnation; and therefore, what I ſhall ſay in this great Hour, I hope you will believe. And now in this Hour I do ſolemnly ſwear, proteſt and vow, by all that is ſacred in Heaven and on Earth; and as I hope to ſee the Face of God in Glory, that I am as innocent as the Child unborn of thoſe treaſonable Crimes, which Mr. *Oats* and Mr. *Dugdale* have ſworn againſt me in my Tryal, and for which Sentence of Death was pronounc'd againſt me the Day after my Tryal. And that you may be aſſur'd that what I ſay is true, I do in the like manner proteſt, vow, and ſwear, as I hope to ſee the Face of God in Glory, that I do not, in what I ſay unto you, make uſe of any Equivocation, or mental Reſervation, or material Prolocution, or any ſuch like way to palliate Truth. Neither do I make uſe of any Diſpenſations from the Pope, or any Body elſe; or of any Oath of Secrecy, or any Abſolution in Confeſſion, or out of Confeſſion, to deny the Truth; but I ſpeak in the plain Senſe which the Words bear; and if I do ſpeak in any other Senſe, to palliate or hide the Truth, I wiſh with all my Soul that God may exclude me from his heavenly Glory, and condemn me to the loweſt Place of Hell-Fire: And ſo much to that Point.

And now, dear Country-men, in the ſecond place, I do confeſs and own to the whole World, that I am a *Roman Catholick*, and a Prieſt, and one of that ſort of Prieſts called *Jeſuits*; and now becauſe they are ſo falſly charged for holding King-killing Doctrine, I think it my Duty to proteſt to you with my laſt dying Words, that neither I in particular, nor the *Jeſuits* in general, hold any ſuch Opinion, but utterly abhor and deteſt it: And I

aſſure

aſſure you, that amongſt the vaſt Numbers of Authors, which among the *Jeſuits* have printed Philoſophy, Divinity, Caſes, or Sermons, there is not one, to the beſt of my Knowledge, that allows of King-killing Doctrine, or holds this Poſition, That it is lawful for a private Perſon to kill a King, although an Heretick, although a Pagan, although a Tyrant: There is, I ſay, not one *Jeſuit* that holds this, except *Mariana* the *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, and he defends it not abſolutely, but only problematically, for which his Book was called in, and that Opinion expunged and cenſur'd. And is it not a ſad thing, that for the Raſhneſs of one ſingle Man, whilſt the reſt cry out againſt him, and hold the contrary, that a whole Religious Order ſhould be ſentenc'd? But I have not Time to diſcuſs this Point at large, and therefore I refer you all to a Royal Author, I mean the wiſe and victorious King *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, the Royal Grandfather of our preſent gracious King, in a publick Oration which he pronounced, in Defence of the *Jeſuits*, amongſt other things, declaring, that he was very well ſatisfied with the *Jeſuits* Doctrine concerning Kings, as being conformable to the beſt Doctors in the Church. But why do I relate the Teſtimony of one ſingle Prince, when the whole Catholick World is the *Jeſuits* Advocate? Therein chiefly *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*, truſt the Education of their Youth to 'em in a very great Meaſure; they truſt their own Souls to be govern'd by 'em, in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. And can yom imagin ſo many great Kings and Princes, and ſo many wiſe States ſhould do, or permit this to be done in their Kingdoms, if the *Jeſuits* were Men of ſuch damnable Principles as they are now taken for in *England*?

In the third place, dear Country-men, I do proteſt, that as I never in my Life did machine, or contrive

contrive either the Depoſition or Death of the King, ſo now at my Death, I do heartily deſire of God to grant him a quiet and happy Reign upon Earth, and an everlaſting Crown in Heaven. For the Judges alſo, and the Jury, and all thoſe that were any ways concern'd, either in my Tryal, Accuſation, or Condemnation, I do humbly ask Pardon of God, to grant them both temporal and eternal Happineſs. And as for Mr. *Oates* and Mr. *Dugdale*, I call God to witneſs, they by falſe Oaths have brought me to this untimely End. I heartily forgive them, becauſe God commands me ſo to do; and I beg of God for his infinite Mercy to grant them true Sorrow and Repentance in this World, that they may be capable of eternal Happineſs in the next. And having diſcharged my Duty towards my ſelf, and my own Innocence towards my Order, and its Doctrine to my Neighbour, and the World, I have nothing elſe to do now, my Great God, but to caſt my ſelf into the Arms of your Mercy. I believe you are One divine Eſſence and Three divine Perſons; I believe the Second Perſon of the Trinity became Man to redeem me: and I believe you are an eternal Rewarder of the Good, and an eternal Chaſtiſer of the Bad. In fine, I believe all you have reveal'd for your own infinite Veracity; I hope in you above all things, for your infinite Fidelity; and I love you above all things for your infinite Beauty and Goodneſs; and I am heartily ſorry that ever I offended ſo great a God with my whole Heart: I am contented to undergo an ignominious Death for the Love of you, my dear Jeſu, ſeeing you have been pleaſed to undergo an ignominious Death for the Love of me.

The laſt Speech of JOHN FENWICK.

GOOD People, I ſuppoſe you expect I ſhould ſay ſomething as to the Crime I am condemn'd for, and either acknowledge my Guilt, or aſſert my Innocency. I do therefore declare before God and the whole World, and call God to witneſs, that what I ſay is true, that I am innocent of what is laid to my Charge of Plotting the King's Death, and endeavouring to ſubvert the Government, and bring in a foreign Power, as the Child unborn; and that I know nothing of it, but what I have learnt from Mr. *Oates* and his Companions, and what comes originally from them.

Sheriff How. If you can make a good Concluſion to your own Life, it will do well; conſider if your Letters did not agree with the Evidence, that's another matter.

Fenwick. I aſſure you, I do renounce all Treaſon from my very Heart. I have always, and ever ſhall diſown the Opinion of ſuch deviliſh Practices as theſe are of King-killing. If I ſpeak not the whole Frame of my Heart, I wiſh God may exclude me from his Glory.

Sher. How. Thoſe that murdered Sir *Edmund-bury-Godfrey* ſaid as you do.

Fenwick. As for Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, I proteſt before God, I know nothing of it: I never ſaw the Man in my Life.

Sher. How. For my part, I am of Opinion you had a Hand in it.

Fenwick. Now that I am a dying Man, do you think I would go and damn my Soul?

Sher. How. I wiſh you all the Good I can, but I'll aſſure you, I believe never a Word you ſay.

Fenwick. I pray for his Majeſty every day, and wiſh him all Happineſs with all my Heart.

Alſo

Alſo I do with all my Soul pardon all my Accuſers. If the Judge or Jury did any thing amiſs, I pardon them with all my Soul, and all Perſons directly or indirectly. I am very willing and ready to ſuffer this Death. I pray God pardon me my Sins, and ſave my Soul.

And as to what is ſaid, and commonly believ'd, of *Roman Catholicks*, that they are not to be believ'd or truſted, becauſe they can have Diſpenſations for Lying, Perjury, killing Kings, and other the moſt enormous Crimes; I do utterly renounce all ſuch Pardons and Diſpenſations, and withal declare, That it is a moſt wicked and malicious Calumny caſt upon Catholicks, who do All, with all their Hearts and Souls, hate and deteſt all ſuch wicked and damnable Practices; and in the Words of a dying Man, and as I hope for Mercy at the Hands of God, before whom I muſt ſhortly appear and give an Account of all my Actions, I do again declare, That what I have ſaid is true; and I hope Chriſtian Charity will not let you think, that by the laſt Act of my Life, I would caſt away my Soul, by ſealing up my laſt Breath with a damnable Lye.

Then they were at their private Devotions for about an Hour.

And Mr. Sheriff *How* ſpake to them; Pray aloud Gentlemen, that we may join with you; we ſhall do you no hurt, if we do you no good. Are you aſham'd of your Prayers? Then he ſpake to Mr. *Gavan*, and ſaid, It is reported you did preach at the *Quakers* Meeting.

Gavan. To which he made anſwer, No, Sir, I never preach'd there in my Life.

After they had ended their Devotions, the Executioner pulled their Caps over their Faces, and went down and drew away the Cart, and they were all hanged together 'till they were

dead, and then cut down and quarter'd, and their Bodies diſpoſed of according to his Majeſty's Command.

The SPEECH *of* RICHARD LANGHORN, *Eſq; at his Execution*, July 14. 1679. *being left in Writing by him under his own Hand.*

IN regard I could not foreſee whether I ſhould be permitted to ſpeak at my Death, ſo as to make a publick Declaration of my Innocency and Loyalty, as a Chriſtian ought to do; conſidering likewiſe, that if it ſhould be permitted unto me, it would be more adviſable for me rather to prepare beforehand, and ſet down in Writing the very Words in which I ſhould make my Declaration, than to truſt my Memory with them; to the end that the ſame may be well conſider'd of, and digeſted by me, and that all Miſtakes might be prevented, as far as may be: I ſay, in regard of this, I have in the preſent Paper reduced what I have to declare, as to my Innocence and Loyalty. And 'tis in theſe following Words:

I do ſolemnly and ſincerely, in the Preſence of Almighty God, profeſs, teſtify, and declare, as followeth; that is to ſay,

1. That I do, with my Heart and Soul, believe and own my moſt gracious Sovereign Lord, the King's Majeſty, King *Charles* the Second, to be my true and lawful Sovereign, Prince, and King, in the ſame Senſe and Latitude, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as in the Oath commonly called *The Oath of Allegiance*, His ſaid Majeſty is expreſſed to be King of this Realm of *England*.

2. That I do in my Soul believe, that neither the Pope, nor any Prince, Potentate, or foreign Authority, nor the People of *England*, nor any Authority out of this Kingdom, or within the ſame,

ſame, hath or have any Right to diſpoſſeſs his ſaid Majeſty of the Crown or Government of *England*, or to depoſe him therefrom, for any Cauſe or pretended Cauſe whatſoever, or to give Licence to me, or to any other of his ſaid Majeſty's Subjects whatſoever, to bear Arms againſt his ſaid Majeſty, or to take away his Life, or to do him any bodily Harm, or to diſturb the Government of this Kingdom, as the ſame is now eſtabliſhed by Law, or to alter, or go about to alter the ſaid Government, or the Religion now eſtabliſhed in *England*, by any way of Force.

3. That I neither am, nor ever was, at any time or times, guilty, ſo much as in my moſt ſecret Thoughts, of any Treaſon, or Miſpriſion of Treaſon whatſoever.

4. That I did not in the Month of *November*, or at any other time or times whatſoever, ſay unto Mr. *Oates*, or unto any other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, in relation to my Sons in *Spain*, or either of them, or in relation to any other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, that if they did continue in the World, (as Secular Prieſts, or otherwiſe) they ſhould ſuddenly have great Promotions in *England*, for that things would not laſt long in the Poſture wherein they then were; nor did I ever ſay any Words to that or the like effect to any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever.

5. That I did never in all my Life-time write any Letter, or other thing whatſoever, unto, or receive any Letter or other thing, from Father *Le Chaiſe*, or any *French* Jeſuite whatſoever, or from Father *Anderton*, or Cardinal *Barbarino*, or any other Cardinal; nor did I ever ſee any Letter, or the Copy of any Letter, or other Paper, or other thing, written or purporting to be written unto the ſaid *Le Chaiſe*, or unto the ſaid Father *Anderton*, or to the ſaid Cardinal *Barbarino*, by a-

ny Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, other than the printed Letters, printed in the Narrative of the Tryal of Mr. *Edward Coleman*, lately executed, which I never ſaw otherwiſe than in the ſaid printed Narrative; nor did I ever hear any mention made by any Perſon whatſoever of the Name of *Le Chaiſe*, or Father *Le Chaiſe*, before I read the ſaid printed Narrative.

6. That I did never in all my Life-time make any Entry or Entries, into any Book or Books, or take, or make, or write, or cauſe to be written into any Book or Books, or otherwiſe any Letter or Letters, or any Copy or Copies of any Letter or Letters, written by the ſaid *Edward Coleman*, to any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever.

7. That I did never in all my Life-time enter or regiſter into any Book or Books, Paper or Papers whatſoever, or take, or make, or write, or cauſe to be written, any Copy or Copies of any Act or Acts, Conſult or Conſults, Determination or Determinations, Order or Orders, Reſolve or Reſolves, or other Matter or Thing, at any time made, determined, reſolved, paſſed, decreed or agitated, at any Congregation or Congregations, Conſult or Conſults, Chapter or Chapters, Aſſembly or Aſſemblies, of the Society or Order of the *Jeſuits*, or of any other religious Order whatſoever; nor did I ever ſee, read, or heard read, nor did any Perſon or Perſons, at any time whatſoever, ever communicate unto me any ſuch Act, Conſult, Determination, Order, Reſolve, Matter or Thing whatſoever.

8. That I did never in all my Life-time, to my Knowledge, Belief, or Remembrance, ſee or ſpeak with Mr. *Bedloe*, who gave Evidence againſt me at my Tryal, until I ſaw him in that Court wherein he gave Evidence againſt me.

9. That

9. That after the Month of *November*, which was in the Year of our Lord 1677. I did never ſee or ſpeak with Mr. *Titus Oates* before-named, until I ſaw him in the ſame Court where he gave Evidence againſt me at my Tryal.

10. That I did never ſee, in all my Life-time, to my Knowledge, Belief, or Remembrance, any Commiſſion or Commiſſions, Patent or Patents, Grant or Grants, Order or Orders, Inſtrument or Inſtruments, Writing or Writings, or other Matter or Thing whatſoever, under, or pretended to be under the Hand and Seal, or the Hand or the Seal of *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*, or any other General of the *Jeſuits* whatſoever, other than the Paper or Inſtrument produced and ſhewed unto me in the ſaid Court at my Tryal, which whether it was ſign'd or ſeal'd by the ſaid *de Oliva*, I do not know.

11. That I did never in all my Life-time write, or cauſe or procure to be written, any Treaſonable Letter or Letters whatſoever, or any thing which was or is Treaſon or treaſonable, in any Letter or Letters, Book or Books, Paper or Papers, or otherwiſe howſoever.

12. That I believe, that if I did know, or ſhould know of any Treaſon or treaſonable Deſign, that was or is intended, or ſhould be intended againſt his ſaid Majeſty, or the Government of this his Majeſty's Kingdom, or for the Alteration by Force, Advice, or otherwiſe, of the ſaid Government, or of the Religion now eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, and ſhould conceal and not diſcover the ſame unto his ſaid Majeſty, or his ſaid Majeſty's Council or Miniſters, or ſome of them; that ſuch Concealment would be in me a Sin unto Death, and eternal Damnation.

13. That I do believe, that it is no ways lawful for me to lye, or ſpeak any thing which I know to be untrue; or to commit any Sin, or do any

Evil, that Good may come of it. And that it is not in the Power of any Prieſt, or of the Pope, or of God himſelf, to give me a Licence to lye, or to ſpeak any thing which I know to be untrue; becauſe every ſuch Lye would be a Sin againſt Truth: And Almighty God, who is perfect Truth, cannot give me a Licence to commit a Sin againſt his own Eſſence.

And I do ſolemnly, in the Preſence of God, profeſs, teſtify, and declare, That as I hope for Salvation, and expect any Benefit by the Blood and Paſſion of my deareſt Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I do make this Declaration and Proteſtation, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary Senſe of the Words, wherein the ſame ſtands written, as they are commonly underſtood by *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and the Courts of Juſtice of *England*, without any Evaſion or Equivocation, or Deluſion, or mental Reſervation whatſoever: And without any Diſpenſation, or Pardon, or Abſolution already granted to me, for this or any other Purpoſe, by the Pope, or any other Power, Authority, or Perſon whatſoever; or, without any Hope, Expectation or Deſire of any ſuch Diſpenſation; and without thinking or believing that I am or can be acquitted before God or Man, or abſolved of this Declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other Perſon or Perſons, or Power or Authority whatſoever, ſhould diſpenſe with, or take upon him or them to diſpenſe with, or annull the ſame, or declare that it was, or is, or ought to be null or void in part, or in the whole, from the Beginning, or otherwiſe howſoever.

Having made this Declaration and Proteſtation in the moſt plain Terms that I can poſſibly imagine, to expreſs my ſincere Loyalty and Innocency, and the clear Intention of my Soul, I leave it to the Judgments of all good and charitable Perſons, whether

whether they will believe what is here in this manner affirm'd and ſworn by me in my preſent Circumſtances, or what is ſworn by my Accuſers.

I do now farther declare, That I die a Member (tho' an unworthy one) of that holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church of Chriſt, mention'd in the Three holy and publick Creeds, of which Church our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is the inviſible Head of Influence, to illuminate, guide, protect, and govern it by his holy Spirit and Grace; and of which Church the Biſhop of *Rome*, as the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, the Prince of the Apoſtles, is the viſible Head of Government and Unity.

I take it to be clear, that my Religion is the ſole Cauſe which moved my Accuſers to charge me with the Crime, for which, upon their Evidence, I am adjudg'd to die; and that my being of that Religion, which I here profeſs, was the only Ground which could give them any Hope to be believed, or which could move my Jury to believe the Evidence of ſuch Men.

I have had not only a Pardon, but alſo great Advantages, as to Preferments, and Eſtates, offer'd unto me, ſince this Judgment was againſt me, in caſe I would have forſaken my Religion, and own'd myſelf guilty of the Crime charged againſt me, and charged the ſame Crimes upon others: But bleſſed be my God, who by his Grace hath preſerv'd me from yielding to thoſe Temptations, and ſtrengthen'd me rather to chooſe this Death, than to ſtain my Soul with Sin, and to charge others, againſt Truth, with Crimes, of which I do not know that any Perſon is guilty.

Having ſaid what concerns me to ſay as to my ſelf, I now humbly beſeech God to bleſs the King's Majeſty with all temporal and eternal Bleſſings, and to preſerve him and his Government from all Treaſons and Traitors whatſoever; and that his

Majeſty

Majeſty may never fall into ſuch Hands, as his Royal Father, of glorious Memory, fell into.

I alſo humbly beſeech thee (O God) to give true Repentance and Pardon to all my Enemies, and moſt particularly to the ſaid Mr. *Oates* and Mr. *Bedloe*, and to all who have been any ways acceſſary to the taking away of my Life, and the ſhedding of my innocent Blood, or to the preventing the King's Mercy from being extended unto me; and likewiſe to all thoſe who rejoyced at the Judgment given againſt me, or at the Execution of the ſaid Judgment; and to all thoſe who are or ſhall be ſo unchriſtianly uncharitable, as to diſbelieve, and to refuſe to give credit unto my now Proteſtations.

And I beſeech thee (O my God) to bleſs this whole Nation, and not to lay the Guilt of my Blood unto the Charge of this Nation, or of any other particular Perſon or Perſons of this Nation. Unite all (O my God) unto thee and thy Church, by true Faith, Hope, and Charity, for thy Mercies ſake.

And for all thoſe who have ſhew'd Charity to me, I humbly beg (O my Jeſus) that thou wilt reward them with all Bleſſings, both temporal and eternal.

23. *July* 1679. R. LANGHORN.

The laſt Speech of Mr. DAVID LEWIS, *Prieſt of the Society of* Jeſus, *who was executed as a Prieſt only, at* Uske, *in* Monmouth-ſhire, *on the 27th Day of* Auguſt, *1679.*

HERE is a numerous Aſſembly, I ſee, the great Saviour of the World ſave every Soul of you all; I believe you are here met not only to ſee a Fellow-Native die, but alſo with Expectation to hear a dying Fellow-Native ſpeak. If you expected

expected it not, at leaſt I intended it, I hope the Favour will not be denied me, it being a Favour ſo freely granted to ſeveral late dying Perſons in *London* it ſelf; I ſhall endeavour to ſpeak inoffenſively; I hope the ſame Favour will not be denied me.

Let none of you ſuffer as a Murderer or a Thief, but if as a Chriſtian, let him not be aſhamed: St. *Peter's* Words, 1 Pet. 4. 15, 16. I hope by God's holy Spirit now whiſper'd to my Memory, and that to my abundant Conſolation; for I ſuffer not as a Murderer, Thief, or ſuch like Malefactor, but as a Chriſtian, and therefore am not aſhamed.

I diſtinguiſh two ſorts of Life on Earth, Life-moral, and Life-natural; Life-moral is that by which we live with good Repute in the Eſteem of other Men of Integrity; Life-natural is that by which we breath; in the firſt ſort or kind, I thank God I have ſuffer'd lately, and exceedingly, when maliciouſly, falſly, and moſt injuriouſly, I was branded for a publick Cheat, in Pamphlet, in Ballad, on Stage, and that in the Head City of the Kingdom, yea, and over the whole Nation, to the huge and great Detriment of my good Name, which I always was as tender of, as the other I am now quitting.

The pamphletical Story (believe my dying Words) had no Truth in it, neither to Subſtance nor Circumſtance of the thing; a Story ſo falſe, that I could have eaſily defied the Face that had attempted to juſtify it to my Face; ſo ſordid a Buſineſs, a Story ſo ridiculous, that I wonder how any ſober Chriſtian, at leaſt who knew me, could as much as incline to believe ſo open an Improbability; who that Proteſtant young Man there mention'd was, I know not; who that Popiſh young Woman, who the Father dead a Year and a half before, in what County, what Pariſh, were all

tranſacted

tranſacted, I know not, none of all theſe there particularized; and when in the Face of the Country at laſt Lent-Aſſizes, I vindicated my Innocency herein, to the Satisfaction of the then Judge himſelf, why appear'd not there then ſome one to make good the Charge, and diſable my Defence? But none of this offer'd; a plain Demonſtration to all candid Minds, the Whole was a meer Fiction of ſome malicious Perſon againſt me: God forgive them or him, I heartily do. How forward my Endeavours always have been to my power to relieve the Poor, and not directly to defraud them, impartial Neighbours that know me can tell you; beſides this, during my nine Months Impriſonment, ſeveral foul and falſe Aſperſions were caſt out againſt me, and that by thoſe unto whom, for full Thirty Years, I had been charitably ſerviceable: God forgive them, I heartily do; yet notwithſtanding all theſe Calumniations, I hope I ſtill retain the Character of an honeſt Man amongſt Gentlemen of Worth, with whom I converſed, and with all Neighbours of Honeſty, with and amongſt whom I lived.

And now I am parting with the other Life by which I breath, behold that within theſe few Moments of Time is to unbreath me; but why thus fledg'd to this Country-*Tyburn?* Why this ſo untimely Death of mine? Have Patience and I'll tell you; not for any plotting, I aſſure you; and what I ſhall now ſay as to that, God is my Witneſs, I ſhall ſpeak without any Equivocation, mental Reſervation, or Palliation of Truth whatſoever.

By all that is ſacred in Heaven and Earth, I here ſolemnly proteſt, that I am as innocent from any Plot whatever againſt his Majeſty's Perſon or Government, as the Infant that left the Mother's Womb but Yeſterday; neither did I ever hear or know

know any thing directly or indirectly of any ſuch Plot, 'till publick Fame had ſpread it over the Country between *Michaelmas* and *All-Saints* Day laſt: This is true, as God ſhall judge and ſave my Soul; neither was there any Guilt of any ſuch black Crime found in me by Mr. *Oates*, Mr. *Bedloe*, Mr. *Dugdale*, and Mr. *Prance*, when by them I was ſtrictly examin'd on that Point, laſt *May*, in *Newgate*, *London*; nay, had I had the leaſt Knowledge or Hint of ſuch Plot, I had been as zealouſly nimble in the Diſcovery of it, as any the moſt loyal Subject his Majeſty hath in his Three Kingdoms; wherefore, when I am dead and gone, if ſome Malevolent give out, I loſe my Life for plotting, by Charity ſtrive to diſingage him of his Miſtake; do that Right to my dead Aſhes.

I was never taught that Doctrine of King-killing, from my Soul I deteſt and abhor it as execrable, and directly oppoſite to the Principles of the Religion I profeſs; what that is, you ſhall know by-and-by; it being the poſitive Definition of the Council of *Conſtance*, That it is damnable for any Subject, or private Perſon, or any Subjects in Council joined, to murder his or their lawful King or Prince, or uſe any publick or clandeſtine Conſpiration againſt him, tho' the ſaid King or Prince were a Turk, Apoſtate, Perſecutor, yea, or a Tyrant in Government: Never tell me of *Clement* the Murderer of *Henry* the Third of *France*; never tell me of *Ravilliac*, Murderer of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*; they did ſo, but wickedly they did ſo, and for it they were puniſh'd to Severity, as Malefactors; and for it, to this very Day, are ſtigmatiz'd by all *Roman* Catholicks for very Miſcreants and Villains. I hope you will not charge the whole *Roman* Catholick Body with the Villanies of ſome few Deſperadoes: By that Rule all Chriſtianity muſt be anſwerable for the Treaſon of

Judas;

Judas; for my part, I always lov'd my King, I always honour'd his Perſon, and I daily pray'd for his Proſperity; and now, with all unfeign'd Cordiality, I ſay it, God bleſs my gracious King and lawful Prince, *Charles* II, King of *England*, and Prince of *Wales*, God bleſs him temporally and eternally, God preſerve him from all his real Enemies, God direct him in all his Councils, that may tend to the greater Glory of the ſame great God; and whatever late Plot hath been, or is, the Father of Lights bring it to Light, the Contrivers of it, and the Actors in it, that ſuch may be brought to their condign Puniſhment, and Innocence preſerved.

But why again this untimely Death? My Religion is the *Roman* Catholick Religion, in it I have liv'd above theſe forty Years, in it I now die, and ſo fixedly die, that if all the good things in this World were offered me to renounce it, all ſhould not move me one Hair's Breadth from my *Roman* Catholick Faith; a *Roman* Catholick I am, a *Roman* Catholick Prieſt I am, a *Roman* Catholick Prieſt of that religious Order call'd *The Society of Jeſus* I am; and I bleſs God who firſt call'd me; and I bleſs the Hour in which I was firſt call'd both unto Faith and Function.

Pleaſe now to obſerve, I was condemn'd for reading Maſs, hearing Confeſſions, adminiſtring the Sacraments, anointing the Sick, Chriſtning, Marrying, Preaching: As for reading the Maſs, it was the old, and ſtill is, the accuſtomed and laudable Liturgy of the Holy Church; and all the other Acts, which are Acts of Religion, tending to the Worſhip of God; and for this dying, I die for Religion: Moreover know, that when laſt *May* I was in *London*, under Examination concerning the Plot, a prime Examinant told me, that to ſave my Life and increaſe my Fortunes,

I muſt

I muſt make ſome Diſcovery of the Plot, or conform; diſcover Plot I could not, for I knew of none; conform I would not, becauſe it was againſt my Conſcience; then by Conſequence I muſt die, and ſo now dying, I die for Conſcience and Religion; and dying upon ſuch good Scores, as far as humane Frailty permits, I die with Alacrity interior and exterior; from the abundance of the Heart, let not only Mouths, but Faces alſo ſpeak.

Here, methinks, I feel Fleſh and Blood ready to burſt into loud Cries, Tooth for Tooth, Eye for Eye, Blood for Blood, Life for Life; No, cryeth holy Goſpel, *Forgive and you ſhall be forgiven; pray for thoſe that perſecute you; love your Enemies*; and I profeſs myſelf a Child of the Goſpel, and the Goſpel I obey.

Whomever, preſent or abſent, I have ever offended, I humbly deſire them to forgive me; as for my Enemies, had I as many Hearts as I have Fingers, with all thoſe Hearts would I forgive my Enemies, at leaſtwiſe, with all that ſingle Heart I have, I freely forgive them all, my Neighbours that betray'd me, the Perſons that took me, the Juſtices that committed me, the Witneſſes that prov'd againſt me, the Jury that found me, the Judge that condemn'd me, and others whoever, that out of Malice or Zeal, covertly or openly, have been contributive to my Condemnation; but ſingularly and eſpecially, I forgive my capital Perſecutor, who hath been ſo long thirſting after my Blood; from my Soul I forgive him, and wiſh his Soul ſo well, that were it in my Power, I would ſeat him a Seraphin in Heaven, and I pray for them in the Language of glorious St. *Stephen* the Protomartyr; *Lord, lay not this Sin unto them*; or better yet, in the Stile of our great Maſter, Chriſt himſelf, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do.*

And

And with Reaſon I love them alſo; for though they have done themſelves a vaſt Soul-prejudice, yet they have done me an incomparable Favour, which I ſhall eternally acknowledge; but chiefly I love them for his ſake, who ſaid, *Love your Enemies*; and in Teſtimony of my Love, I wiſh them, and it is the beſt of Wiſhes, from the Center of my Soul, I wiſh them a good Eternity. O Eternity, Eternity! How momentanean are the Glories, Riches, and Pleaſures of this World? and how deſirable art thou, endleſs Eternity?

And for my ſaid Enemies attaining thereunto, I humbly beſeech God to give them the Grace of true Repentance, before they and this World part.

Next to my Enemies, give me leave to lift up my Eyes, Hands, and Heart to Heaven, and drop ſome few Words of Advice unto, and for my Friends, as well thoſe preſent as abſent. Friends, *Fear God, Honour your King*, be firm in your Faith, avoid mortal Sin, by frequenting the Sacraments of holy Church, patiently bear your Perſecutions and Afflictions, forgive your Enemies, your Sufferings are great; I ſay, be firm in your Faith to the End, yea, even to Death, then ſhall ye heap unto yourſelves cœleſtial Treaſures in the heavenly *Jeruſalem*, where no Thief robbeth, no Moth eateth, and no Ruſt conſumeth; and have that bleſſed Saying of the bleſſed St. *Peter*, Prince of the Apoſtles, always in your Memory, which I heartily recommend unto you, *viz. Let none of you ſuffer as a Murderer or a Thief, but if as a Chriſtian let him not be aſhamed, but glorify God in his Name.*

Now it is high time I make my Addreſſes to Heaven, and ſupplicate the Divine Goodneſs in my own Behalf, by ſome few ſhort and cordial Ejaculations of Prayers.

His Prayers being ended he was turn'd off.

The

The Execution of the Lord Viſcount STAFFORD, *the 29th Day of* December, 1680.

WHEN the Hour appointed for his Death drew near, he expected, with ſome Impatience, the Arrival of Mr. Lieutenant, telling his Friends that were about him, he ought not to haſten his own Death, yet he thought the time long till they came for him. A Gentleman then with him in his Chamber, put him in mind that it was a cold Day, and that his Lordſhip would do well to put on a Cloak or Coat to keep him warm; he anſwer'd he would; for (ſaid he) I may, perhaps, ſhake for Cold, but I truſt in God, never for Fear. After ſome time ſpent in ſpiritual Diſcourſes; at length, about ten a Clock, Word was brought him, that Mr. Lieutenant waited for him below, upon which he ſweetly ſaluted his Friends, bidding them not grieve for him, for this was the happieſt Day of all his Life; then he immediately went down, and walk'd along by the Lieutenant's Chair (who had the Gout) through a Lane of Soldiers, to the Bars without the *Tower*. There the Lieutenant deliver'd him to the Sheriffs, and they from thence guarded him to the Scaffold erected on *Tower-hill*. All the way as he paſſed, ſeveral thouſands of People crowded to ſee him; many civilly ſaluted him; and few there were, amongſt that vaſt Number, whoſe Hearts were not touch'd and mollify'd with Compaſſion for him. Having mounted the Scaffold, there appear'd in his Countenance ſuch an unuſual Vivacity, ſuch a Chearfulneſs, ſuch a Confidence, ſuch a Candor, as if the Innocence of his Soul had ſhined through his Body. Nothing of that mortal Paleneſs, nothing of thoſe Reluctances, Convulſions, and Agonies, incident to Perſons in

his Condition, could in the leaſt be perceiv'd in him. He look'd Death in the Face with ſo undaunted a Reſolution, as gave many occaſion to ſay, Grace had left in him no Reſentments of Nature. After a ſhort pauſe, viewing the People, and finding them attentive to what he ſhould ſay, he ſtept to one Side of the Scaffold, and with a graceful Air, and intelligible Voice, pronounc'd his laſt Speech as follows.

My Lord's laſt Speech.

By the Permiſſion of Almighty God, I am this Day brought hither to ſuffer Death, as if I were guilty of High-Treaſon. I do moſt truly, in the Preſence of the eternal, omnipotent, and all-knowing God, proteſt upon my Salvation, that I am as innocent as it is poſſible for any Man to be, ſo much as in a Thought, of the Crimes laid to my Charge.

I acknowledge it to be a particular Grace and Favour of the Holy Trinity, to have given me this long time to prepare myſelf for Eternity. I have not made ſo good uſe of that Grace as I ought to have done, partly by my not having ſo well recollected myſelf as I might have done, and partly, becauſe not only my Friends, but my Wife and Children have for ſeveral Days been forbidden to ſee me, but in the Preſence of one of my Warders. This hath been a great Trouble and Diſtraction unto me, but I hope God of his infinite Mercy will pardon my Defects, and accept of my good Intentions.

Since my long Impriſonment, I have conſider'd often what could be the original Cauſe of my being thus accuſed, ſince I knew myſelf not culpable, ſo much as in a Thought; and I cannot believe it to be upon any other Account than my being

being of the Church of *Rome*. I have no reaſon to be aſham'd of my Religion, for it teacheth nothing but the right Worſhip of God, Obedience to the King, and due Subordination to the temporal Laws of the Kingdom. And I do ſubmit to all Articles of Faith believed and taught in the Catholick Church, believing them to be moſt conſonant to the Word of God. And whereas it hath ſo much and often been objected, that the Church holds that Sovereign Princes, excommunicated by the Pope, may, by their Subjects, be depos'd or murder'd: As to the Murder of Princes, I have been taught as a Matter of Faith in the Catholick Church, that ſuch Doctrine is diabolical, horrid, deteſtable, and contrary to the Law of God, Nature, and Nations; and as ſuch from my Heart I renounce and abominate it. As for the Doctrine of depoſing Princes, I know ſome Divines of the Catholick Church hold it; but as Able and Learned as they have written againſt it: But it was not pretended to be the Doctrine of the Church, that is, any Point of Catholick Faith: Wherefore I do here in my Conſcience declare, that it is my true and real Judgment, that the ſame Doctrine of depoſing Kings, is contrary to the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, injurious to Soveraign Power, and conſequently would be in me or any other of his Majeſty's Subjects, impious and damnable. I believe and profeſs, that there is one God, one Saviour, one Holy Catholick Church, of which, through the Mercy, Grace, and Goodneſs of God, I die a Member.

To my great and unſpeakable Grief, I have offended God in many things, by many great Offences; but I give him moſt humble Thanks, not in any of thoſe Crimes of which I was accuſed.

All the Members of either Houſe having Liberty to propoſe in the Houſe what they think fit for the Good of the Kingdom; accordingly I propoſed what I thought fit; the Houſe is Judge of the Fitneſs or Unfitneſs of it; and I think I never ſaid any thing that was unfitting there, or contrary to the Law and Uſe of Parliament; for certainly if I had, the Lords would (as they might) have puniſh'd me: So I am not culpable before God or Man.

It is much reported of Indulgences, Diſpenſations, and Pardons, to murder, rebel, lie, forſwear, and commit ſuch other Crimes held and given in the Church; I do here profeſs, in the Preſence of God, I never learnt, believ'd, or practis'd any ſuch Thing, but the contrary; and I ſpeak this without any Equivocation or Reſervation whatſoever: And certainly, were I guilty, either myſelf, or knew of any one that were guilty, whoſoever that were ſo, of any of thoſe Crimes of which I am accuſed, I were not only the greateſt Fool imaginable, but a perfect mad Man, and as wicked as any of thoſe that ſo falſely have accus'd me, if I ſhould not diſcover any ill Deſign I knew in any kind, and ſo upon Diſcovery ſave my Life, I have ſo often had ſo fair Occaſions propoſed unto me, and ſo am guilty of Self-Murder, which is a moſt grievous and heinous Sin; and though I was laſt impeach'd at the Lord's Bar, yet I have great Grounds to believe, that I was firſt brought to Tryal, on the Belief, that, to ſave my Life, I would make ſome great Diſcovery; and truly ſo I would, had I known any ſuch thing of any ill Deſign, or illegal dangerous Plot, either of myſelf, or any other Perſon whatſoever, without any Exception. But had I a thouſand Lives, I would loſe them all, rather than falſely accuſe either myſelf, or any

other

other whatſoever. And if I had known of any Treaſon, and ſhould thus deny it, as I do now upon my Salvation at this time, I ſhould have no Hope of Salvation, which now I have, through the Merits of Chriſt Jeſus.

I do beſeech God to bleſs his Majeſty, who is my lawful King and Sovereign, whom I was always, by all Laws Humane and Divine, bound to obey; and I am ſure that no Power upon Earth, either ſingly or all together, can legally allow me, or any Body elſe, to lift up a Hand againſt him, or his legal Authority. I do hold that the Conſtitution of the Government of this Kingdom is the only way to continue Peace and Quietneſs, which God long continue.

Next to Treaſon I hold Murder in abhorrence, and have ever done and do; and I do ſincerely profeſs, that if I could at this time free myſelf immediately, and eſtabliſh what Religion I would, and what Government I would, and make myſelf as great as I could wiſh, and all by the Death of one of theſe Fellows, that by their Perjuries have brought me to the Place where I am, I ſo much abhor to be the Cauſe of any Man's Death, that I would not any way be the Cauſe of their Murder; how much leſs would I endeavour the Aſſaſſination of his Majeſty, whom I hold to be as gracious a King as ever this or any other Nation had, and under whom the People may enjoy their Liberties, as much as ever any did? and if it pleaſe God to grant him Life and Happineſs, according as I have always wiſh'd and pray'd for, I am morally perſuaded, that he, and all his Dominions, will be as happy and proſperous as ever People were, which I beſeech God grant.

I do moſt humbly ask Pardon of the Almighty and All-merciful God, for all the great Offences have committed againſt his divine Majeſty;

and I know he would not have the Death and Confuſion of a Sinner, but that he may repent and live; in that Aſſurance I hope, knowing he never deſpiſeth a contrite Heart; and though I have not ſo feeling a Contrition as I would, yet I have it as well as I can; and I doubt not but that God will accept of the good Will.

I do deſire that all People will forgive me any Injury that I have done them in any thing, either Wilfully or by Chance; and I do heartily forgive all People in this World that have injur'd me; I forgive even thoſe perjur'd Men, that ſo falſely have brought me hither by their Perjuries.

I do now upon my Death and Salvation aver, that I never ſpoke one Word either to *Oates* or *Turbervil*, or, to my Knowledge, ever ſaw them until my Tryal; And for *Dugdale*, I never ſpoke unto him of any thing but about a Foot-boy, or Foot-man, or Foot-race; and never was then alone with him: All the Puniſhment that I wiſh them, is, that they may repent and acknowledge the Wrong that they have done me; then it will appear how innocent I am: God forgive them! I have a great Confidence that it will pleaſe Almighty God, and that he will in a ſhort time bring Truth to Light; then you and all the World will ſee and know what Injury they have done me.

I hope that I have made it appear that I have ſome Conſcience, for if I had none, certainly I would have ſav'd my Life, by acknowledging myſelf guilty, which I could have done, though I know I am not in the leaſt guilty. And I having ſome Conſcience make very ill uſe of it, for I throw myſelf into eternal Pain, by thus plainly and conſtantly denying thus at my Death the Knowledge of what I am accus'd of in the leaſt.

I have

I have ſaid thus much in diſcharge of my Conſcience, and do aver upon my Salvation, what I have ſaid to be really true.

I ſhall ſay little of my Tryal; and whether it were all according to the known Law, I am too much a Party to ſay much of it; if it were not ſo, God forgive him or them that were the Cauſe of it.

My Judges were all Perſons of Honour, who were all as much bound to judge rightly, as if they had been upon Oath upon what was legally prov'd; and not to vote but according as in their Conſciences they were ſatisfied; and if any of them did otherwiſe, upon any Account whatſoever, I beſeech God forgive them, I do heartily.

I ſhall end with my hearty Prayers for the Happineſs of his Majeſty, that he may enjoy all Happineſs in this World and the World to come, and govern his People according to the Laws of God; and that the People may be ſenſible what a Bleſſing God hath ſo miraculouſly given them, and obey him as they ought. I ask Pardon with a proſtrate Heart of Almighty God, for all the great Offences that I have committed againſt his Divine Majeſty, and hope, through the Merits and Paſſion of Chriſt Jeſus, to obtain everlaſting Happineſs, into whoſe Hands I commit my Spirit, asking Pardon of every Perſon that I have done any Wrong unto; I do freely forgive all that have any ways wronged me; I do, with all the Devotion and Repentance that I can, humbly invoke the Mercy of our bleſſed Saviour.

I beſeech God not to revenge my innocent Blood upon the Nation, or on thoſe that were the Cauſe of it, with my laſt Breath. I do with my laſt Breath truly aſſert my Innocency, and

hope the omnipotent all-seeing just God will deal with me accordingly.

His Speech being ended, he deliver'd several written Copies of it to the Sheriffs, and others near him (one of which, writ with his own Hand, he sent to the King) then he return'd to the Middle of the Scaffold, where, encompassed by his Catholick Friends, he kneeled down, and reverently making the Sign of the Cross, prayed aloud with exceeding Devotion.

Having ended his Prayer, and remaining still on his Knees, he again protested his Innocence with all the Asseverations a dying Christian is capable to make. Then rising up, he a second time saluted the People, and walking to each Side of the Scaffold, told them, they had as good and gracious a King as ever reign'd. He earnestly exhorted them to be faithful and constant in their Allegiance to him. And that no Pretence whatsoever should withdraw them from their Duty. He wish'd, with a feeling Resentment, that none might be less loyal to his Majesty than he had been. And it was very remarkable in him, he never seem'd transported with any Fervours or Extasies, but either in his Prayers to God, or in his Expressions of Loyalty to the King; then, indeed, he was all Flame, and you might read in his very Eyes the tender Emotions and Zeal of his Heart. He likewise assur'd them upon his Salvation, he knew no Design the Duke of *York* ever had against the King, but that he had behav'd himself, for ought he knew, as a loving loyal Brother ought to do: Then he again declar'd his own Innocence, and desir'd the Prayers of all good Christians for him; he pray'd to God heartily to bless the King, and preserve him from his Enemies; to bless the Nation; to bless and be with them all there present, especially the

King's

King's loyal Subjects; he beg'd God's Mercy and Pardon for his Sins; he ask'd Forgiveneſs of all, and forgave all, beſeeching the divine Goodneſs not to revenge his innocent Blood upon the whole Kingdom; no, not upon thoſe by whoſe Perjuries he was brought thither, to whom he wiſh'd from his Heart no other Hurt, than that they ſhould repent and tell Truth.

Whilſt he thus profeſs'd his Loyalty, his Innocence, his Piety, moſt that heard him were touch'd with a ſenſible Compaſſion for him; ſome as he ſpoke put off their Hats and bow'd to him, in ſign they accorded to what he ſaid; others, by diſtinct Acclamations, anſwer'd, We believe you, my Lord, God bleſs you, my Lord, pray God forgive him his Sins, *&c.*

In this Conjuncture a Proteſtant Miniſter accoſted him, ſaying, Have you receiv'd no Indulgences from the *Romiſh* Church? have you receiv'd no Abſolution? To which my Lord anſwer'd, What have you to do with my Religion? However, I do ſay, the *Roman* Catholick Church allows of no Indulgences or Diſpenſations, authorizing Treaſon, Murder, Lying or Forſwearing; nor have I receiv'd any Abſolution for ſuch Ends. Pray do not trouble yourſelf nor me.

Then turning from the Parſon, he apply'd himſelf to his Friends about him, whom he lovingly embrac'd, and with a pleaſant Voice and Aſpect bid them adieu for this World. Next he deliver'd his Watch, two Rings off his Fingers, his Staff, and his Crucifix about his Neck, as Legacies to ſeveral Friends: He deſir'd the Sheriffs that ſuch Perſons as he nominated might have leave (without the Executioner's intermeddling) to aſſiſt him, and take care of his Body, which was accordingly done; and his Gentleman ſtripping him of his Coat and Peruke, put on his

Head

Head a ſilk Cap, and accomodated his Hair, Shirt, and Waſtecoat, for the Execution. And now being ready for Death both in Body and Mind, he chearfully ſubmitted himſelf to the Block, before which firſt kneeling down, and making the Sign of the Croſs, he recommended himſelf with Raptures of Devotion to the divine Mercy and Goodneſs; after this he lay down, as it were, to try the Block. And then (who could imagine it?) with a ſtupendous Courage embrac'd the fatal Wood, as the dear Baſis or Point from whence his Soul was now to take its flight to immortal Glory. The Headſman put him in mind, that his Shirt and Waſtecoat came too high; whereupon he rais'd himſelf up upon his Knees, and bid his Gentleman put them lower. Whilſt this was performing, he was heard continually to breath forth ſeveral Acts of Prayer, as *Sweet Jeſus receive my Soul: Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*, &c. When his Gentleman had finiſh'd, he again laid down his Head upon the Block, perſevering ſtill in Prayer, and expecting the ſudden and diſmal Arreſt of Death, with a Courage (ſay the Papiſts) divinely elevated, a Conſtancy more than humane. No Change in his Countenance, no quaking or trembling in any one Joint of his Body, could be diſcerned. Thus he lay, or rather quietly reſted, upon the very Brink between Time and Eternity, a good Space; till at length, finding the Headſman delay'd the Execution of his Office, he once more rais'd himſelf up upon his Knees, and with an Aſpect grave (but ſtill ſerene and lively) ask'd why they ſtaid. It was anſwer'd, for a Sign; what Sign will you give, Sir? he reply'd, none at all, take your own time, God's Will be done, I am ready. The Headſman ſaid, I hope you forgive me; he anſwer'd, I do. Then

bleſſing

bleſſing himſelf again with the Sign of the Croſs, he repos'd his Head upon the Block, never more to lift it up in this mortal State.

The Headſman took the Ax in his Hand, and after a ſhort Pauſe, elevated it on high, as it were to take Aim, and ſet it down again; a ſecond time he did ſo, and ſigh'd; the third time he gave the fatal Blow, which ſever'd my Lord's Head from his Body, ſave only a ſmall part of the Skin and Windpipe, which was immediately cut off with a Knife.

The Body, after Separation from the Head, trembled a little, and ſtir'd no more. The Head was receiv'd into a black ſilk Scarf, by two of my Lord's Friends, and retain'd by them till the Sheriff call'd for it, and commanded the Executioner to hold it up to the view of the Multitude, the which he did at the four Corners of the Scaffold, crying aloud, *This is the Head of a Traytor.* But however the People had been formerly poſſeſs'd with Prejudice, both againſt my Lord's Practices and Principles, yet now they made no Acclamations at the ſight of the Blood-droping Head, nor ſeem'd much taken with the Jollity of the Spectacle; ſome went away with Confuſion and Remorſe, for their paſt hard Cenſure of him; others conceiv'd ſtrange Apprehenſions and Fears of God's Judgments enſuing Perjury and Blood-ſhed. Some again ſaid my Lord was drunk with Brandy; others ſaid, Verily this was a juſt Man. The Papiſts, who beſt knew his Innocence, and who look'd upon themſelves as, in ſome meaſure, Parties in his Sufferings, beheld this whole Tragedy with moſt tender Reſentments. They regarded him as a Victim of Religion and Innocence. They mutually accompanied him with their Prayers and Supplications to God in his behalf. They ſeem'd to receive new Comfort and

Courage

Courage from his Chriſtian Magnanimity: They wept, they ſmil'd, they ſympathiz'd with him both in his Dolours and Joys; they bleſs'd and prais'd Almighty God for his Goodneſs to him, and to them in him; they glorified his holy Name, who often ſheweth the Strength of his Power in the weakeſt Subjects. In fine, many did (and ſtill do) believe the peculiar Grace and Preſence of God's Spirit had ſome Effect and Influence upon all, in a manner, that ſaw him; and few there were of his Religion who did not wiſh themſelves in his Place.

No ſooner was Execution done, but the Sun (which before was obſcur'd and ſecluded from our Sight) on a ſudden diſſipating the Clouds, ſent forth its clear and illuſtrious Beams; upon which Accident, different Parties have ſince made different Reflections; my Lord's Adverſaries ſay, The Sun before frown'd at Popiſh Guilt, but ſeem'd pleas'd when Juſtice was done. The Papiſts ſay, The Heavens mourn'd and were aſham'd, and unwilling to be Spectators at the ſhedding of innocent Blood; but appear'd in Joy and Splendor, at the Reception of a new and glorious Inhabitant into their cœleſtial Manſions.

When the Head had been publickly expos'd, it was return'd back into the ſilk Scarf, held by a Youth that had waited upon my Lord, and ſo laid into the Coffin together with the Body veſted (for out of Modeſty my Lord deſir'd he might not be ſtript naked on the Scaffold.) In the interim, divers Perſons threw up their Handkerchiefs, to have them dipt in my Lord's Blood, wherein ſome were gratify'd, and others had their Handkerchiefs thrown with Deriſion over the Scaffold.

After

After this the Coffin was taken down from off the Scaffold by ſeveral Bearers, and by them carried to the Bounds of the *Tower*, where a Velvet Herſe-cloth being ſpread over it, it was carry'd in order to its Interment into the *Tower*.

The CHARACTER *of the Lord Viſcount* STAFFORD.

William Howard, Viſcount *Stafford*, was ſecond Son to *Thomas*, Earl of *Arundel*, and Uncle to the then Duke of *Norfolk*: In his Youth he was educated with all the Care and Induſtry imaginable, to improve in him the Endowments of Nature and Grace; he was ever held to be of a generous Diſpoſition, very charitable, devout, addicted to Sobriety, inoffenſive in his Words, and a Lover of Juſtice.

When he arriv'd to Years of Maturity, he married *Mary*, deſcended from the ancient Dukes of *Buckingham*, Grand-child to *Edward*, and Siſter and ſole Heireſs to *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, to whoſe Title he ſucceeded, (being created Baron by King *Charles* I. *Anno* 1640, and ſoon after Viſcount *Stafford*.)

During the Time of the Rebellion, he ſuffer'd much for his Loyalty to the King, always behaving himſelf with that Courage and Conſtancy as became a Nobleman, a good Chriſtian, and a faithful Subject: After the Reſtauration, he liv'd in Peace, Plenty, and Happineſs; being bleſs'd with a moſt virtuous Lady to his Wife, and many pious and dutiful Children; in which State he remain'd till the 66th Year of his Age, when this Revolution of Fortune happen'd, *viz.*

About *Michaelmas* 1678, *Titus Oates* accus'd him and other *Roman Catholick* Lords, and ſome others of leſs Quality, of High Treaſon, in conſpiring the

the Deſtruction of the eſtabliſh'd Religion and Government: My Lord *Stafford* relying upon his Innocency, never left his Family, or withdrew himſelf from his Acquaintance or Affairs; but on the 25th of *October*, 1678, was, by Virtue of a Warrant from the Lord Chief Juſtice, committed Priſoner to the King's Bench, and from thence, ſoon after, ſent to the *Tower*, where he remain'd two Years before he was brought to his Tryal. See *Stafford's Memoirs*, Page 1.

On the 30th of *November*, 1680, his Tryal began before the Houſe of Peers in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, on the Impeachment of the Houſe of Commons for High Treaſon: As to his Lordſhip's Behaviour on this great Occaſion, the Force of the Evidence, and his Lordſhip's Defence, I ſhall refer the Reader to the Tryal itſelf. See *State Tryals, Vol. II. p.* 593. *Fol. Edit. Page* 548, *Octavo Edit.*

The Confeſſion of EDWARD FITZ-HARRIS, *Eſq; written with his own Hand, and deliver'd to Dr.* Hawkins, *Miniſter of the* Tower, July 1, 1681, *being the Day of his Execution.*

I *Edward Fitz-Harris*, having been indicted of High Treaſon, for endeavouring to dethrone the KING, was thereupon found Guilty, and Sentence of Death paſſed upon me. I the aforeſaid *Edward Fitz-Harris* do voluntarily and freely, without any Hopes to ſave my Life, but as a dying Man, and to diſcharge my Conſcience towards God, and for the better Satisfaction of the World, make this Declaration following, in the Preſence of God, and unto Doctor *Francis Hawkins*, Chaplain of the *Tower* of *London*.

I do

I do profeſs and declare my Religion in the general to be that which hath been truly and anciently deliver'd in the firſt four general Councils; and in particular, my Belief is that true Faith of a Chriſtian, briefly contain'd in thoſe three Creeds, commonly call'd *The Apoſtle's Creed*, St. *Athanaſius*'s, and *The Nicene Creeds*: And I die a Member, and in the Communion of Chriſt's Holy Catholick Church, hoping for Mercy, thro' the alone Merits of the Paſſion of our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*.

I do alſo confeſs and declare, as to the Crimes which I die for; I was no further concern'd in the Libel, than as employ'd to give the King Notice of what Libels, or other Accuſations, there were againſt him; and to this Intent, and no other, I endeavour'd to get this Libel: Which at length I did from Mr. *Everard*, all written under his own Hand, and carry'd it to Mrs. *Wall*, by whoſe Means I convey'd all Matters of this, or the like Nature, to the King. I told her I had a Buſineſs of great Conſequence to acquaint the King with: But ſhe anſwer'd me, That my Lord *Sunderland* being out, there would be no Money had for ſecret Service, and adviſed me to go to the Lord *Clarendon* or *Hyde*: But before I could do this, I was taken. As for that Part of the Libel which I left with *Everard*, as a Pledge, to aſſure him I would not betray him, I receiv'd it of the Lord *Howard*: And the Money I receiv'd from the King, was for bringing a Libel call'd, *The King unveil'd, and the Lady* Portſmouth's *Articles*. I call God to witneſs, I never had a Farthing Charity from the King.

I do further confeſs and declare, That the Lord *Howard* told me of a Deſign to ſeize upon the King's Perſon, and to carry him into the City, and there detain him till he had condeſcended to

their

their Deſires. *Heyns* and myſelf were privy to this Deſign, and had ſeveral Meetings with the Lord *Howard*; and as an Encouragement, the Lord *Howard* aſſured us of breaking the Settlement of *Ireland*, taking off the Additional Revenue of the Biſhops, Forty-nine Men, and Grantees, whoſe Eſtates were to be ſhar'd amongſt the Party.

I do confeſs and declare, That while I was in *Newgate*, the Sheriffs, *Bethel* and *Corniſh*, came to me, with a Token from the Lord *Howard*, which I knew to be true, and brought Heads with them from *Everard*, wherein he accuſed me of being a Court-Emiſſary, or Yorkiſt, put on by the King to put the Libel into Proteſtants Houſes to trepan them. But I declare upon my Death I had no ſuch Intent, nor do I know any ſuch thing. The Sheriffs likewiſe told me, I was to be try'd within three or four Days, that the People would proſecute me,and the Parliament would impeach me,and that nothing would ſave my Life but diſcovering the Popiſh Plot; and then the Sheriffs aforeſaid gave me great Encouragement from my Lord *Howard*, that if I would declare that I believ'd ſo much of the Plot as amounted to the introducing the *R. C.* or if I could find out any that could criminate the Queen, *R. H.* or make ſo much as a plauſible Story to confirm the Plot, that the Parliament would reſtore me to my Father's Eſtate, with the Profits thereof, ſince his Majeſty's Reſtauration. I finding myſelf in the Condition I was, in *Newgate*, fetter'd, moneyleſs and friendleſs, my Wife ready to lie-in, without any Subſiſtence, my Children in a miſerable Condition, and muſt needs be in a worſe by my Death, and I could ſee no other Refuge for Life, but complying with them; ſo, not with ambitious Intent, but to ſave my Life, I did comply. The Sheriffs

brought

brought Inſtructions, which they ſaid came from the Lords and Commons, who met that Day in order to addreſs to the King in my Behalf (if I ſhould confirm the Inſtructions) and they made uſe of the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Name, and others, what Advantage I might have thereby. At the firſt I made a formal Story concerning the Plot, which was not prejudicial to any Body, but moſt relating to general Heads known publickly; upon which Mr. *Corniſh* told me, Theſe were things cry'd about the Streets two Years ago: I reply'd, I could ſay no more. Mr. *Sheriff* ſaid, He was ſorry for me with all his Heart, but thought I could ſay more if I would, and preſſed me hard to ſpeak to ſeveral Heads, unto which, unleſs I ſpoke, he ſaid, there was no Hope of Life; the Heads I was to ſpeak to, is what the Examination taken by Sir *Robert Clayton* and Sir *George Treby* contains, and a great deal more that I did not ſay then, relating to the Queen, *R. H.* Earl of *Danby*, declaring *French* Penſioners, Lords *Halliſax*, *Hyde*, *Clarendon*, *Feverſham*, *Seymer*, and others; the burning the Fleet, Forts and Governments in Popiſh Hands, Meal-Tub Plot, Prentices Plot, the Contrivance of the Libel on the Lady *Portſmouth*, being a *French* Deſign to deſtroy Proteſtants. Theſe and many other Heads were brought to me by the Sheriffs.

I do further confeſs and declare, That Sir *Robert Clayton*, and Sir *George Treby*, coming to me to examine me, Sir *Robert Clayton* ask'd me what I could ſay concerning *Godfrey*'s Murder? I anſwered, Something. He replied, It may be I was in a Confuſion; recollect your ſelf. And what I ſaid concerning Father *Patrick*, was forc'd out of me, and what I ſaid concerning him is not true. Sir *George Treby* was with me three Hours, or thereabouts, and preſſed me to ſay ſomething concern-

ing *Godfrey*'s Death : And ſaid, Unleſs I could ſpeak to that Murder, I could ſay nothing ; whereupon I ſaid ſomething I had from others. He ask'd me if I could ſay no more ? I replied, Is not this enough to ſave my Life ? Am I not Rogue enough ? The Recorder hereupon ſwore, 'Zounds, what were you ever but a Rogue ? Then the Recorder enter'd upon the Heads of the Examination ; which being done, he told me, All this would not ſave my Life, unleſs I would ſpeak to the Libel, which was a Court Trick ; and it was not for nothing that I had been ſo often ſeen at the Lady *Portſmouth*'s. The Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid, You know more of theſe Matters than any Man. Sir *George* would have me ſpeak to the Conſult ; that the Duke was at it, the Lords *Bellaſis*, *Arundel*, and *Powis*, were at it ; you have ſeen 'em go to it at St. *James's*, without doubt they were there ; do you but ſay it, we have thoſe that will ſwear it.

I do further declare and confeſs, That what I ſaid againſt the Queen and the Duke, I was put upon, in the Matter of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s Murder ; and do further declare, That what I ſwore againſt the Earl of *Danby* ; the threatning Words that were utter'd, I did (to the beſt of my Remembrance) hear, but whom they concern'd I could not well know, by what my Lord himſelf ſaid. And what *de Puis* told me concerning my Lord of *Danby*, I do believe was ſpoken out of ill Will ; and what I ſaid againſt him was to ſtave off my Tryal till a Parliament ; and they were the more deſirous to accuſe the Lord *Danby* of *Godfrey*'s Murder, becauſe the Crime of Murder is not inſerted in his Pardon. I am ſorry for what I ſaid againſt the Queen, his Royal Highneſs, and the Earl of *Danby* ; I deſire God to forgive me the Wrong I did them, and do heartily beg their Pardon.

I do further declare and proteſt, That this Confeſſion and Declaration of mine I own ſincerely, as a dying Man, and not to ſave my Life; and I call God and all his Angels to witneſs the Truth of it; and I renounce Mercy at the Hands of God Almighty, if this be not true.

And I do further declare and proteſt, as a dying Man, unto *James Walmeſly*, *Edward Pattel*, and *Mary Walmeſly*, That I have made this Confeſſion and Declaration unto Dr. *Hawkins* freely, and of my own voluntary Accord, without any Manner of Promiſe made, or Hopes given me by him from the King of ſaving my Life by this Confeſſion, I having given him to underſtand before-hand they were Matters of Conſequence, and ſuch as chiefly concern'd the Good of the King and Kingdom.

I give the Doctor my hearty Thanks for all his Prayers, Counſel, and charitable Offices he hath done me, and I pray God to bleſs him for ever for it. I forgive all the World, and deſire all the World to forgive me; and the Lord have Mercy on my Soul.

EDWARD FITZ-HARRIS.

This Proteſtation was made by Mr. *Fitz-Harris*, *July* 1, between the Hours of ſeven and eight in the Morning, in the Preſence and Hearing of us whoſe Names are here under-written.

James Walmeſly,
Edward Pattel,
Mary Walmeſly.

I do hereby declare, That Mr. *Fitz-Harris*, before he began to write any Part of this Narrative, was, more, than once, aſſur'd by me that there was no Hope of his Life, that I know of, what-

ever he ſhould ſay; nor of his Salvation, if he ſhould ſay any thing that he knew to be falſe; of which he being thoroughly ſenſible, and perfectly convinc'd, proceeded to write the Narrative aforeſaid. And I continuing to admoniſh him upon every Point that was material, not to ſay any thing but what was exactly true: He took occaſion at ſeveral Periods of his Narrative to kneel down, and ſolemnly to proteſt the Truth of every Word therein contain'd. And this I again declare upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, and the Word of a Miniſter of the Goſpel.

Francis Hawkins.

The laſt Speech of EDWARD FITZ-HARRIS, *at the time of his Execution at* Tyburn, *July* 1. 1681.

This Day, purſuant to the Sentence paſs'd at the *Kings-Bench* Bar at *Weſtminſter*, on Mr. *Edward Fitz-harris*, for Treaſon, *&c.* he was near the *Tower* Gate, on *Tower-Hill*, deliver'd into the Cuſtody of the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, *viz. Slingsby Bethel* and *Henry Corniſh*, Eſquires; who upon the Place ſign'd a Diſcharge for him to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*. Then he was put on a Sledge, and thence convey'd through the City of *London* to *Newgate*, where he overtook *Oliver Plunket*, who was juſt before on another Sledge, paſſing to the ſame Place of Execution.

Where being come, (ſoon after *Plunket*'s private Prayers, *&c.*) *Fitz-harris* ask'd Capt. *Richardſon*, Whether the Sheriffs had a Warrant for the Diſpoſal of his Body? Capt. *Richardſon* anſwer'd, Yes. Then he deſired Dr. *Hawkins*'s Aſſiſtance, which the Sheriffs readily granted, and call'd for him to go to him on the Sledge; which the Doctor did, and on his Knees embraced him, and continued a private Diſcourſe with him for ſome time.

Sheriff

Sheriff *Bethel* ask'd Mr. *Fitz-harris*, What have you to ſay?

Mr. *Fitz-harris* anſwer'd, The Doctor of the *Tower* would anſwer for him, he having left his Mind with him.

Mr. Sheriff *Bethel*. You will do well to diſcharge your Conſcience.

Fitz-harris. I have left it all with the Doctor in Writing, under my Hand, who will communicate it, with Witneſs, to the World.

Doctor *Martin*, of *Woodſtreet*, being at the ſame time in the Preſence of the Sheriffs, deſired Mr. *Fitz-harris* to declare, whether he died a Proteſtant or a Papiſt. He anſwer'd, Having left his Mind fully with Dr. *Hawkins*, he hop'd it might be ſatisfactory. The Doctor replied, It would be more ſatisfactory to declare himſelf there, and that it was no Shame to die a Proteſtant. To which Mr. *Fitz-harris* replied as before.

Then Mr. *Fitz-harris* ſaid, Good People, this infamous kind of Death is much more irkſome to me than Death it ſelf: Such Judgments as theſe my Sins againſt God may juſtly bring upon me, and I do moſt humbly ſubmit unto it. But as to the Crimes which I now die for, I take God to witneſs, I was no further concern'd in the Libel, than to diſcover to the King what Practices of that kind were againſt him, being employed to that end; tho' thoſe that employed me, refuſed to do me Juſtice at my Tryal. And I call God to Witneſs, I never had a Farthing of Money of the King in my Life, but on the Account of the like Service. And as to the Witneſſes that have ſworn againſt me, I do here ſolemnly declare, now at my Death, that I have not ſeen the *French* Ambaſſador ſince the beginning of the breaking out of the Plot, neither have I had any Acquaintance with him. And as to his Confeſſor, I never ſpoke with him in my

Life; neither have I had any Dealing, either directly or indirectly, in my Life with them, tho' Sir *W. Waller* and the reſt ſwore moſt falſly to the contrary. And how like it is that the *French* Ambaſſador would give three Thouſand Crowns for writing that Libel, I leave the World to judge. What I may further declare, I have left with Dr. *Hawkins*. I forgive all the World, and do hope that God will forgive me. I beg the Prayers of all good People for a happy Paſſage into the other World.

Mr. *Fitz-harris* deſired to know of the Sheriffs, whether his Body might not be at the Diſpoſal of his Wife, without quartering. Upon which the Sheriff read him the Warrant.

The laſt Speech of Mr. OLIVER PLUNKET, *Titular Primate of* Ireland, *who was executed at* Tyburn *on* Friday *the 1ſt of* July 1681. *Written by his own Hand.*

I Have ſome few Days paſt abided my Tryal at the *King's-Bench*, and now very ſoon I muſt hold up my Hand at the King of King's Bench, and appear before a Judge who cannot be deceived by falſe Witneſſes, or corrupted Allegations; *for he knoweth the Secrets of Hearts*; Neither can he deceive any, or give an unjuſt Sentence, or be miſled by reſpects of Perſons; *He being all Goodneſs, and a moſt juſt Judge, will infallibly decree an eternal Reward for all good Works, and condign Puniſhment for the ſmalleſt Tranſgreſſion againſt his Commandments.* Which being a moſt certain and undoubted Truth, it would be a wicked Act, and contrary to my perpetual Welfare, that I ſhould now, by declaring any thing contrary to Truth, commit a deteſtable Sin, for which, within a very ſhort time, I muſt receive Sentence of everlaſting Damnation; after which

there

there is no Reprieve or Hope of Pardon. I will therefore confeſs the Truth, without any Equivocation, and make uſe of the Words according to their accuſtomed Signification; aſſuring you moreover, that I am of that certain Perſuaſion, that no Power, not only upon Earth, but alſo in Heaven, can diſpence with me, or give me Leave to make a falſe Proteſtation: And I proteſt upon the Word of a dying Man, and as I hope for Salvation at the Hands of the ſupream Judge, that I will declare the naked Truth with all Candor and Sincerity: And that my Affairs may be the better known to all the World.

'Tis to be obſerved, that I have been accuſed in *Ireland* of Treaſon and *Præmunire*, and that there I was arraign'd and brought to my Tryal; but the Proſecutors (Men of flagitious and infamous Lives) perceiving that I had Records and Witneſſes who would evidently convince them, and clearly ſhew my Innocency and their Wickedneſs, they voluntarily abſented themſelves, and came to this City, to procure that I ſhould be brought hither to my Tryal (where the Crimes objected were not committed) where the Jury did not know me, or the Qualities of my Accuſers, and were not informed of ſeveral other Circumſtances conducing to a fair Tryal. Here, after ſix Months cloſe Impriſonment (or thereabouts) I was brought to the Bar the third of *May*, and arraign'd for a Crime, for which I was before arraign'd in *Ireland*: A ſtrange Reſolution, a rare Fact, of which you will hardly find a Precedent theſe five Hundred Years paſt: But whereas my Witneſſes and Records were in *Ireland*, the Lord-Chief-Juſtice gave me five Weeks Time to get them brought hither: But by reaſon of the Uncertainty of the Seas, of Wind and Weather, and of the Difficulty of getting Copies of Records,

and bringing many Witneſſes from ſeveral Counties in *Ireland*, and for many other Impediments (of which *Affidavit* was made) I could not at the end of the five Weeks get the Records and Witneſſes brought hither; I therefore beg'd for twelve Days more, that I might be in a Readineſs for my Tryal, which my Lord-Chief Juſtice denied; and ſo I was brought to my Tryal, and expoſed, as it were, with my Hands tyed, to thoſe mercileſs Perjurors, who did aim at my Life, by accuſing me of theſe following Points.

Firſt, That I have ſent Letters by one *Nial O Neale* (who was my Page) to Monſieur *Baldeſchi*, the Pope's Secretary; to the Biſhop of *Aix*, and to *Principe Colonna*, that they might ſollicit foreign Powers to invade *Ireland*; and alſo to have ſent Letters to Cardinal *Bullion* to the ſame Effect.

Secondly, To have employed Captain *Con O Neale* to the *French* King for Succour.

Thirdly, To have levied and exacted Monies from the Clergy of *Ireland* to bring in the *French*, and to maintain ſeventy Thouſand Men.

Fourthly, To have had in a Readineſs ſeventy Thouſand Men, and Liſts made of them, and to have given Directions to one Frier *Duffy* to make a Liſt of 250 Men in the Pariſh of *Foghart* in the County of *Lowth*.

Fifthly, To have ſurrounded all the Forts and Harbours of *Ireland*, and to have fixed upon *Carlingford* as a fit Harbour for the *French*'s Landing.

Sixthly, To have had ſeveral Councils and Meetings, where there was Money allotted for introducing the *French*.

Finally, That a Meeting in the County of *Monaghan*, ſome 10 or 12 Years paſt, where there were 300 Gentlemen of three ſeveral Counties, to wit, *Monaghan*, *Cavan*, and *Armagh*; whom I did exhort to take Arms to recover their Eſtates.

To

To the *First* I anſwer, That *Nial O Neale* was never my Servant or Page, and that I never ſent Letter or Letters by him to Monſieur *Baldeſchi*, or the Biſhop of *Aix*, or to *Principe Colonna*. And I ſay, that the *Engliſh* Tranſlation of that pretended Letter produced by the Frier *Macmoyer*, is a mere Invention of his, and never penned by me, or its Original, either in *Engliſh*, *Latin*, *Italian*, or any other Language. I affirm, moreover, that I never wrote Letter or Letters to Cardinal *Bullion*, or any of the *French* King's Miniſters; neither did any who was in that Court either ſpeak to me, or write to me, directly or indirectly, of any Plot or Conſpiracy againſt my King or Country. Farther, I vow that I never ſent Agent or Agents to *Rome*, or to any other Court, about any Civil or Temporal Affairs: And 'tis well known, (for it is a Precept publickly printed) that Clergy-men (living in Countries where the Government is not of *Roman Catholicks*) are commanded by *Rome*, not to write to *Rome*, concerning any Civil or Temporal Affairs. And I do aver, that I never receiv'd Letter or Letters from the Pope, or from any other of his Miniſters, making the leaſt mention of any ſuch Matters: So that the Friers *Macmoyer* and *Duffy* ſwore moſt falſly, as to ſuch Letter or Letters, Agent or Agents.

To the *Second* I ſay, That I never employed Capt. *Con O Neale* to the *French* King, or to any of his Miniſters; and, that I never wrote to him, or receiv'd Letters from him; and, that I never ſaw him but once, nor ever ſpoke to him, to the beſt of my Remembrance, ten Words: And as for his being in *Charlemount*, or *Dungannon*, I never ſaw him in thoſe Towns, or knew of his being in thoſe Places; ſo that as to *Con O Neale*, Frier *Macmoyer*'s Depoſitions are moſt falſe.

To

To the *Third* I ſay, That I never levied any Money for a Plot or Conſpiracy, for bringing in *Spaniards* or *French*, neither did I ever receive any upon that Account, from Prieſts or Friers, as Prieſt *Mac-Clave*, and Frier *Duffy* moſt untruly aſſerted. I aſſure you, that I never received from any Clergyman in *Ireland*, but what was due to me by ancient Cuſtom for my Maintenance; and what my Predeceſſors theſe Hundred Years paſt were wont to receive; nay, I received leſs than many of them. And if all what the *Catholick*-Clergy of *Ireland* get in the Year, were put in one Purſe, it would ſignify little or nothing to introduce the *French*, or to raiſe an Army of ſeventy Thouſand Men, which I had enliſted, and ready, as Frier *Macmoyer* moſt falſly depoſed; neither is it leſs untrue what Frier *Duffy* atteſted, *viz.* That I directed him to make a Liſt of 250 Men in the Pariſh of *Foghart*, in the County of *Lowth*.

To the *Fifth* I anſwer, That I never ſurrounded all the Forts or Harbours of *Ireland*, and that I was never at *Cork*, *Kinſale*, *Bantry*, *Youghal*, *Dungarvan*, or *Knockfergus*; and theſe 36 Years paſt I was not at *Limerick*, *Dunkannon*, or *Wexford*. As for *Carlingford*, I was never in it but once, and ſtaid not in it above half an Hour; neither did I conſider the Fort or Haven; neither had I it in my Thoughts or Imagination, to fix upon it, or upon any other Fort or Haven, for landing of *French* or *Spaniards*; and whilſt I was at *Carlingford*, (by mere chance, paſſing that way) Frier *Duffy* was not in my Company, as he moſt falſly ſwore.

To the *Sixth* I ſay, That I was never at any Meeting or Council, where there was mention made of allotting or collecting of Moneys for a Plot or Conſpiracy; and 'tis well known, that the *Catholick*-Clergy of *Ireland*, who have neither Lands nor Revenues, and hardly are able to keep decent

Cloaths

Cloaths upon their Backs, and Life and Soul together, can raiſe no conſiderable Sum; nay, cannot ſpare as much as would maintain half a Regiment.

To the *Seventh*, I anſwer, that I was never at any Meeting of three hundred Gentlemen in the County of *Monaghan*, or of any Gentlemen of the three Counties of *Monaghan*, *Armagh*, and *Cavan*, nor of one County, nor of one Barony; and that I never exhorted a Gentleman, or Gentlemen, either there, or in any other Part of *Ireland*, to take Arms for the recovering their Eſtates; and 'tis well known that there are not even in all the Province of *Ulſter* three hundred *Iriſh* Roman Catholicks, who had Eſtates, or loſt Eſtates by the late Rebellion; and, as it is well known, all my Thoughts and Endeavours were for the Quiet of my Country, and eſpecially of that Province.

Now to be brief, As I hope for Salvation, I never ſent Letter or Letters, Agent, or Agents, to Pope, King, Prince, or *Prelate*, concerning any Plot or Conſpiracy againſt my King or Country; I never raiſed Sum or Sums of Money, great or ſmall, to maintain Soldier or Soldiers, all the Days of my Life; I never knew or heard, (neither did it come to my Thoughts or Imagination) that the *French* were to land at *Carlingford*; and I believe there is none who ſaw *Ireland* even in a Map, but will think it a mere Romance; I never knew of any Plotters or Conſpirators in *Ireland*, but ſuch as were notorious and proclaim'd (commonly call'd *Tories*) whom I did endeavour to ſuppreſs. And as I hope for Salvation, I always have been, and am entirely innocent of the Treaſons laid to my Charge, and of any other whatſoever.

And

And tho' I be not guilty of the Crimes of which I am accuſed, yet I believe none came ever to this Place who is in ſuch a Condition as I am; for if I ſhould even acknowledge, (which in Conſcience I cannot do, becauſe I ſhould bely myſelf) the chief Crimes laid to my Charge, no wiſe Man that knows *Ireland* would believe me. If I ſhould confeſs that I was able to raiſe ſeventy thouſand Men in the Diſtricts of which I had Care, to wit, in *Ulſter*; nay, even in all *Ireland*, and to have levy'd and exacted Monies from the *Roman* Clergy for their Maintenance, and to have prepar'd *Carlingford* for the *French*'s landing, all would but laugh at me; it being well known, that all the Revenues of *Ireland*, both Spiritual and Temporal, poſſeſs'd by his Majeſty's Subjects, are ſcarce able to raiſe and maintain an Army of ſeventy thouſand Men. If I will deny all thoſe Crimes, (as I did, and do) yet it may be that ſome, who are not acquainted with the Affairs of *Ireland*, will not believe that my Denial is grounded upon Truth, tho' I aſſert it with my laſt Breath. I dare venture further, and affirm, That if theſe Points of ſeventy thouſand Men, *&c.* had been ſworn before any Proteſtant Jury in *Ireland*, and had been even acknowledg'd by me at the Bar, they would not believe me, no more than if it had been depos'd, and confeſs'd by me, That I had flown in the Air from *Dublin* to *Holyhead*.

You ſee therefore what a Condition I am in, and you have heard what Proteſtation I have made of Innocency, and I hope you will believe the Words of a dying Man; and that you may be the more induc'd to give me Credit, I aſſure you, That a great Peer ſent me Notice that he would ſave my Life, if I would accuſe others: But I anſwer'd, That I never knew of any Conſpira-

tors

tors in *Ireland*, but ſuch, (as I ſaid before) as were publickly known Outlaws; and that, to ſave my Life, I would not falſly accuſe any, nor prejudice my own Soul. *Quid prodeſt homini, &c.* To take away any Man's Life or Goods wrongfully, ill becometh any Chriſtian, eſpecially a Man of my Calling, being a Clergyman of the Catholick Church, and alſo an unworthy Prelate, which I do openly confeſs. Neither will I deny to have exerciſed in *Ireland* the Functions of a Catholick Prelate, as long as there was any Connivance or Toleration; and by Preaching and Teaching, and Statutes, to have endeavour'd to bring the Clergy (of which I had a Care) to a due Comportment, according to their Calling; and tho' thereby I did but my Duty, yet ſome, who would not amend, had a Prejudice for me, and eſpecially my Accuſers, to whom I did endeavour to do good; I mean the Clergy-men; (as for the four Lay-men, who appear'd againſt me, *viz. Florence, Macmoyer*, the two *Neales*, and *Hanlon*, I was never acquainted with them) but you ſee how I am requited, and how by falſe Oaths they brought me to this untimely Death; which wicked Act being a Defect of Perſons, ought not to reflect upon the Order of St. *Francis*, or upon the Roman Catholick Clergy. It being well known, that there was a *Judas* among the twelve Apoſtles, and a wicked Man, call'd *Nicholas*, amongſt the ſeven Deacons; and even, as one of the ſaid Deacons, to wit, holy *Stephen*, did pray for thoſe who ſton'd him to Death; ſo do I, for thoſe who with Perjuries ſpill my innocent Blood, ſaying, as St. *Stephen* did, *O Lord lay not this Sin to them.* I do heartily forgive them, and alſo the Judges, who (by denying me ſufficient Time to bring my Records and Witneſſes from *Ireland*) did expoſe my Life to evident Danger. I do alſo forgive all thoſe who

had

had a Hand in bringing me from *Ireland* to be try'd here, where it was morally impoſſible for me to have a fair Tryal. I do finally forgive all who did concur, directly or indirectly, to take away my Life, and I ask Forgiveneſs of all thoſe whom I ever offended by Thought, Word, or Deed.

I beſeech the All-powerful, that his Divine Majeſty grant our King, Queen, and the Duke of *York*, and all the Royal Family, Health, long Life, and all Proſperity in this World; and in the next, everlaſting Felicity.

Now that I have ſhew'd ſufficiently (as I think) how innocent I am of any Plot or Conſpiracy; I would I were able, with the like Truth, to clear myſelf of high Crimes committed againſt the Divine Majeſty's Commandments (often tranſgreſs'd by me) for which I am ſorry with all my Heart; and if I ſhould, or could live a thouſand Years, I have a firm Reſolution, and a ſtrong Purpoſe, by your Grace (O my God) never to offend you; and I beſeech your Divine Majeſty, by the Merits of Chriſt, and by the Interceſſion of his bleſſed Mother, and all the holy Angels and Saints, to forgive me my Sins, and to grant my Soul eternal Reſt. *Miſerere mei Deus, &c. Parce animæ, &c. In manus tuas, &c.*

POSTSCRIPT.

To the final Satisfaction of all Perſons, that have the Charity to believe the Words of a dying Man; I again declare before God, as I hope for Salvation, what is contain'd in this Paper, is the plain and naked Truth, without any Equivocation, Mental Reſervation, or ſecret Evaſion whatſoever; taking the Words in their uſual Senſe and Meaning, as Proteſtants do, when they diſcourſe

courſe with all Candour and Sincerity. To all which I have here ſubſcribed my Hand,

OLIVER PLUNKET.

The Execution of STEPHEN COLLEDGE, *at* Oxford, *before the Caſtle, on Wedneſday,* Auguſt 31, 1681.

Mr. *High-Sheriff,* MR. *Colledge,* it is deſir'd, for the Satisfaction of the World, becauſe you have profeſs'd yourſelf a Proteſtant, that you would tell what Judgment you are of.

Colledge, Dear People, dear Proteſtants, and dear Countrymen, I have been accus'd and convicted for Treaſon; the Laws adjudge me to this Death, and I come hither willingly to ſubmit to it: I pray God forgive all thoſe Perſons that had any Hand in it. I do declare to you, whatever hath been ſaid of me, I was never a Papiſt, or ever that way inclin'd; they have done me wrong, I was ever a Proteſtant, I was born a Proteſtant, I have liv'd ſo, and ſo by the Grace of God I will die, of the Church of *England,* according to the beſt Reformation of the Church from all Idolatry, from all Superſtition, or any thing that is contrary to the Goſpel of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour.

I do declare I was never in any Popiſh Service, Prayers, or Devotions, in my Life, ſave one time; about ſome ſeventeen or eighteen Years ago, as near as I remember, I was, out of a Curioſity, one Afternoon at St. *James's* Chappel, the Queen's Chappel at St. *James's;* except that one time, I never did hear any Popiſh Service, any thing of the Church of *Rome,* Maſs or Prayers, or any thing elſe, private or publick. I know you expect that I ſhould ſay ſomething as to what I die for: It hath been charg'd upon me, when I was apprehended

hended and brought before the Council, ſome of the Council, the Secretary, and my Lord *Killingworth*, and Mr. *Seymour*, they told me there was Treaſon ſworn againſt me; truly, they ſurpriz'd me when they ſaid ſo: For of all things in the World, I thought myſelf as free from that as any Man. I ask'd them if any Man living had the Confidence to ſwear Treaſon againſt me? They ſaid ſeveral, three or four, as I remember: Then they told me, it was ſworn againſt me, That I had a Deſign to pull the King out of *White-Hall*, and to ſerve him as his Father was ſerv'd, or to that purpoſe, the Logger-head his Father, or that kind of Language: I did deny it then, and do now deny it upon my Death. I never was in any Manner of Plot in my Days, neither one Way nor another; I never knew any ſuch Perſons, nor ever had ſuch Communication with any Man hitherto: I know of no Plot in the World but the Popiſh Plot, and that every Man may know as much as I: If I had ſuch a Deſign as theſe Men have ſworn againſt me, to have ſeiz'd his Majeſty, either at *London*, or this Place at *Oxford*, I take God to witneſs, as I am a dying Man, and upon the Terms of my Salvation, I know not any one Man upon the Face of the Earth that would have ſtood by me; and how likely it was that I ſhould do ſuch a thing myſelf, let the whole World judge.

Dugdale ſwears, That I ſpoke Treaſon to him, treaſonable Words in the Coffee-houſe, and in the Barber's-ſhop by the *Angel*; he could not pretend to ſee me any where elſe; but it is falſe, and a very unlikely thing that I ſhould ſpeak Treaſon to him. I muſt confeſs I was in his Company at the Coffee-houſe, and that Barber's-ſhop, before I went out of Town: But there could be no Communication between us, for he was writing at one

End

End of the Room, and eating a Piece of Bread, and I lighted a Pipe of Tobacco at the other End, and took it, till Sir *Thomas Player*, and Sir *Robert Clayton* came to me, and we went to my Lord *Lovelace*'s out of Town that Night; So when they came, we took Horſe, and went out of Town with the reſt: For my Part, I can't ſum up my Witneſſes; I was under moſt ſtrange Circumſtances as ever any Man was; I was kept Priſoner ſo cloſe in the *Tower*, that I could have no Converſation with any, tho' I was certain the Popiſh Lords had it every Day there, but I could have none: I could not tell the Witneſſes that were to ſwear againſt me; I could not tell what it was they ſwore againſt me, for I could have no Copy of the Indictment, nor no Way poſſible to make any Preparation to make my Defence as I ought to have done, and might have done by Law.

I had no Liberty to do any thing, as I am a dying Man. And as to what *Dugdale*, *Smith*, *Tourbervill*, and *Heins*, ſwore againſt me, they did ſwear ſuch Treaſon that nothing but a mad Man would ever have truſted any Body with, and leaſt of all to Papiſts, every one of them that had been concern'd with Plots and Treaſons among their own Party, and under the greateſt Ties and Obligations of Damnation; and to be ſainted if they kept it ſecret, and to be damned if they reveal it. If theſe Men will not keep Things private for their own Party, how could I truſt them? I take God to witneſs, and do freely acknowledge, I have ſought my God with Tears ſeveral times to inform me, if ſo be I had with any Word tranſgreſs'd at any time. I knew not of any Part of what they ſwore againſt me, till ſuch Time as I heard it ſworn againſt me at the Bar.

This is very hard, Gentlemen, but this is the Truth; and there be a great many other ſtrange Reports that I have heard ſince I have been a Priſoner; that I ſhould be a Means to convert the Counteſs of *Rocheſter*, by bringing one *Thompſon*, a Prieſt, to her. Truly, all that I was concern'd in, was ſome fifteen or ſixteen Years ago. I lodg'd at Colonel *Vernon's*, that marry'd the Lady *Brooks*, the Family were Papiſts; the *Brooks's* were Papiſts, and there was this *Thompſon*, and I did ſuppoſe him a Prieſt, in the Houſe, tho' I never ſaw him at Popiſh Service, or Worſhip, tho' I was there half a Year; but coming afterwards to my Lord *Rocheſter's* about ſome Buſineſs I had to do for him, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality; he ſent for me one Afternoon from the Parſonage in *Adderbury* to his Houſe, and his Lady and he ſtood together: He ſent to me, and ask'd me, if my Horſe were at Home; ſaid he, I would have you carry this Letter to Mr. *Thompſon*, if you are at leiſure this Afternoon: My Lord, I am at leiſure to ſerve you; ſo I took a Letter from his Hand, and his Lady's too; as I remember (he made an Offer that way) ſealed with his own Seal, and I carry'd it to *Thompſon*, and deliver'd it to him: And he told me, that he would wait upon my Lord, for it was for ſome Lands my Lord did offer, to raiſe Money for ſome Occaſion: This is the Truth of that Scandal.

It is ſaid, that I had a Prieſt ſeveral Yeats in my Houſe, *viz. Sergeant*, that came over from *Holland* to diſcover. About ſome ten Years ago, that very ſame Man came to me, but was a Stranger to me, and he came to me by the Name of Doctor *Smith*, a Phyſician; and there was an Apothecary in the *Old Bailey*, and a Linnen-Draper within *Ludgate*, that came with him; they brought him thither, and took a Chamber, and

lay

lay about half a Year, or three Quarters, at times, by the Name of Doctor *Smith*, and as a Phyſician; this is the Truth of that, and no otherwiſe. This is the Entertainment of *Sergeant*.

So the Occaſion of my coming to *Oxford* I do ſay was voluntary, the Parliament-Men, laſt Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and ſeveral Lords, din'd together the Day before they ſat; the laſt Seſſions of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, they ſent for me to the *Sun* Tavern behind the *Exchange*, and when I came, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and ſeveral Lords were together, and I believe above a hundred Parliament-Men of the Commons: The Duke of *Monmouth* called me to him, and told me, he had heard a good Report of me, and that I was an honeſt Man, and one that may be truſted; and they did not know but their Enemies, the Papiſts, might have ſome Deſign to ſerve them as they did in King *James*'s Time by Gun-powder, or any other Way: And the Duke, with ſeveral Lords and Commons, did deſire me to uſe my utmoſt Skill in ſearching all Places ſuſpected by them; which I did perform: And from thence I had, as I think, the popular Name of *The Proteſtant Joiner*, becauſe they had intruſted me, before any Man in *England*, to do that Office.

This ſame *Heins*, one of them that ſwore againſt me, had diſcover'd to me, and ſeveral others, as to *Macknamarra* and his Brother, and this *Ivey*, who are now all of another Stamp, that the Parliament was to be deſtroy'd at *Oxford*, and that there was a Deſign to murder my Lord *Shaftsbury*, by *Fitzgerald* and his Party; and that they did endeavour to bring *Macknamarra* over to him, and ſaid, then it would be well with him; and they would not be long before they had *Shaftsbury*'s Life: And he made Depoſitions of this to Sir *George Treby*, as I heard afterwards; for I was

not with him when it was ſworn. I wiſh the Commons of *England* as well as I wiſh my own Heart; and I did not underſtand, but when I ſerv'd the Parliament, I ſerv'd his Majeſty too; and let them be miſerable that make the Difference between them, for my Part, I never did. I came to *Oxford* with my Lord *Howard*, whom I look upon to be a very honeſt worthy Gentleman, my Lord *Clare*, my Lord *Paget*, and my Lord *Huntington*, and this Captain *Brown*, and *Don Lewis*, were in my Company, and came along with us, as they were my Lord *Howard*'s Friends; *Brown* I have known I believe two or three Months; but *Lewis* I never ſaw before that Day; they ſaid they came with my Lord *Howard*. I take God to witneſs, I never had one Six-pence, or any thing elſe, to carry on any Deſign; and if it were to ſave my Life now, I cannot charge any Man in the World with any Deſign againſt the Government, as God is my Witneſs, or againſt his Majeſty, or any other Perſon.

As for what Arms I had, and what Arms others had, they were for our own Defence, in caſe the Papiſts ſhould make any Attempt upon us by way of Maſſacre, or any Invaſion or Rebellion, that we ſhould be ready to defend our ſelves; God is my Witneſs, this is all I know. If this be a Plot, this was I in, but in no other; but never knew of any Numbers, or Times appointed for meeting; but we have ſaid, one to another, that the Papiſts had a Deſign againſt the Proteſtants, when we did meet, as I was a Man of a general Converſation; and in caſe they ſhould riſe, we were ready; but then they ſhould begin the Attempt upon us: This was my Buſineſs, and this is the Buſineſs of every good Subject that loves the Laws of his Country and his King. For *England* can never hope to be happy under thoſe Blood-

thirſty

thirſty Men, whoſe Religion is Blood and Murder; which I do, with all my Soul, and did, ever ſince I knew what Religion was, abhor and deteſt, *viz.* the Church of *Rome*, as pernicious and deſtructive to humane Societies, and all Government.

I beſeech God that every Man of you may unite together as Proteſtants againſt this common Foe. Gentlemen, it is my Senſe, and I do in that believe, I am as certainly murder'd by the Hands of the Papiſts, as Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* himſelf was, tho' the Thing is not ſeen. Theſe Witneſſes certainly are mercenary Men, and I beſeech God Almighty to have Mercy upon their Souls, and forgive them; and either by his Judgments or Mercies reclaim them, that they ſhed no more innocent Blood: There is not a Man of them that I know of, that ever heard me ſay, or do, any bit of Treaſon in my Life. This is (the firſt, I may not ſay it is) but almoſt twentieth ſham Plot that they have endeavour'd to put upon the Nation, to delude the People, and put off their own damnable Plot. This is not the firſt, but I think, the ſixteenth or ſeventeenth; I pray God that my Blood may be the laſt. I pray God defend every Man's Blood, and all Proteſtants in *England*, from the Hands of theſe bloody Papiſts, by whoſe Means I die this Death; And if they ſhall go on in this Nature, I hope the good God will open every Man's Eyes to ſee it before he feels it. And, I beſeech you, if you have any Love for your King, your Country, and the Proteſtants, unite together, if you are Proteſtants. I pray God thoſe that deſerve the Name, let them be call'd how they will, either Diſſenters, or Church of *England* Men, that they may unite together like Men, like Chriſtians, againſt the common Foe, who will ſpare neither the one Side,

nor the other, but beat you one againſt another like two Pitchers; the laſt that ſtands, they will certainly deſtroy if they can. This is my Senſe, and God is my Witneſs, I ſpeak my Conſcience; I do not know, Mr. *Sheriff*, whether there be any thing elſe I have to ſay, or no; we have a good God, and I beſeech every Man that hears me this Day, (for we live in a ſinful Age, good People, and it behoves every one of you, it cannot be long before all that look upon me in this Condition muſt lie down in the Duſt, and, God knows, muſt come into an eternal State, either for Mercy or for Judgment.) I beſeech you, in the Name of God, he is a God of Mercy, and a God of Patience and Long-Suffering, that you would break off your Sins by Repentance, and ſerve a good God, who muſt be your Friend at laſt, or elſe you are loſt to Eternity.

O Lord, how ungrateful Wretches are we, that have a God of ſuch infinite Mercy and Goodneſs, that affords us our Life, our Health, and a thouſand Mercies every Day; and we, like ungrateful People, not deſerving the Name of Men or Chriſtians, live riotous Lives, in Debauchery and Swearing, in Malice, and the Lord knows how many Evils? I beſeech God that I may be this Day a Means in the Hand of God, to bring ſome of their Souls over to him: I beſeech you, remember what I ſay; indeed I do not know, I have been ſo ſtrangely uſed ſince I have been a Priſoner, what to ſay, being brought from one Affliction to another, that my Body is worn out, and Memory and Intellects have failed me much to what they were. I cannot remember what I have to ſay more, but that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt would bleſs my Country, and preſerve it from Popery, and in Mercy bleſs his Majeſty: Good God be merciful to him, make him an In-

ſtrument

ſtrument in thy Hand to defend his Proteſtant Subjects; Lord in Mercy defend him from his Enemies. Good God bleſs this People; Good Lord continue the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, thy Goſpel in its Purity to us and our Poſterity, as long as the Sun and Moon endure. O Lord, ſave all that call upon thee; be merciful to all thy Servants, all thy People that put their Truſt in thee; good Lord deliver them from the Hands of their Enemies; good God, let their Lives, and Bodies, and Souls, be all precious in thy Sight. O merciful God, put a ſtop to theſe moſt wicked Conſpiracies of thy Enemies, and the Nation's Enemies, the Papiſts. Let no more Proteſtant Blood be ſhed but this of mine, I beſeech thee, O my God. O Lord look upon me, O Lord bleſs me, O good God receive me into thy bleſſed Preſence, by Jeſus Chriſt my alone Saviour and Redeemer, in whom alone I put my Truſt for Salvation: It is thee, O God, that I truſt in, thou righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth: All Popery, all Pardons, all Popes and Prieſts, all Diſpenſations I diſown, and will not go out of the World with a Lye in my Mouth. From the Sincerity of my Heart I declare again, that what I have ſaid to you, is the very Sentiments of my Soul, as God ſhall have Mercy upon me, and to the beſt of my Knowledge.

I deſire the Prayers of you, good People, while I am here; and once more I beſeech you to think upon Eternity, every one of you that hear me this Day. The Lord turn your Hearts and Souls, if you have been wicked Livers; if you do live wicked Lives, the Lord in Mercy convert you, and ſhew you your Danger; for I as little thought to come to this as any Man that hears me this Day; and, I bleſs God, I have no more deſerv'd it from the Hands of Men, than the Child that ſucks at

his Mother's Breaſt: I bleſs my God for it, and do ſay, I have been a Sinner againſt my God, and he hath learnt me Grace ever ſince I have been a Priſoner. I bleſs my God for a Priſon, I bleſs my God for Afflictions, I bleſs my God that ever I was reſtrained, for I never knew my ſelf till he had taken me out of the World. Therefore you that have your Liberties, and Time, and precious Opportunities, be up and be doing for God and for your Souls, every one of you.

To his Son. Where is my dear Child?

Mr. *Sheriff.* I made one Requeſt to you, and you gave me an imperfect Anſwer: You ſaid you were of the beſt reformed Church in the World, the Church of *England* according to the beſt Reformation in the World: I deſire you, for the Satisfaction of the World, to declare what Church that is, whether *Presbyterian*, or *Independent*, or the Church of *England*, or what?

Colledge. Good Mr. *Sheriff*, for your Satisfaction: For twenty Years and above I was under the Presbyterian Miniſtry till his Majeſty's Reſtauration; then I was conformable to the Church of *England* when that was reſtored, and ſo continu'd till ſuch time as I ſaw Perſecution upon the Diſſenting People, and very undue things done to their Meeting-places; then I went among them to know what kind of People thoſe were: And I do take God to Witneſs, ſince that time I have uſed their Meetings, *viz.* the Presbyterians, others very ſeldom, and the Church of *England.* I did hear Dr. *Tillotſon* not above three Weeks before I was taken. I heard the Church of *England* as frequently as I heard the Diſſenters, and never had any Prejudice, God is my Witneſs, againſt either, but always heartily deſired that they might unite, and be Lovers and Friends, and had no Prejudice againſt any Man; and truly I am afraid that it

is not for the Nation's Good that there ſhould be ſuch Heart-burnings between them: That ſome of the Church of *England* will preach that the *Presbyterians* are worſe than the *Papiſts*. God doth know that what I ſay, I ſpeak freely from my Heart, I have found many among them truly ſerving God, and ſo I have of all the reſt that have come into my Company; Men without any manner of Deſign but to ſerve God, ſerve his Majeſty, and keep their Liberties and Properties; Men that I am certain are not of vicious Lives; I found no Damners, or thoſe kind of People among them, or at leaſt few of them.

To his Son, kiſſing him ſeveral times with great Paſſion. Dear Child, farewel, the Lord have Mercy upon thee. Good People, let me have your Prayers to God Almighty to receive my Soul.

And then he prayed. And as ſoon as he had done, ſpake as followeth.

The Lord have Mercy upon my Enemies, and I beſeech you, good People whoever you are, and the whole World that I have offended, to forgive me; whomever I have offended in Word or Deed, I ask every Man's Pardon and forgive the World with all my Soul, all the Injuries I have receiv'd, and I beſeech God Almighty forgive thoſe poor Wretches who have caſt away their Souls, or at leaſt endanger'd them to ruine this Body of mine: I beſeech God that they may have a Sight of their Sins, and that they may find Mercy at his Hands: Let my Blood ſpeak the Juſtice of my Cauſe.

I have done: And God have Mercy upon you all.

To Mr. *Coſhwait*. Pray Sir, my Service to Dr. *Hall*, and Dr. *Reynall*, and thank them for all their Kindneſſes to me; I thank you, Sir, for your Kindneſs: The Lord bleſs you all. Mr. Sheriff, God be with you: God be with you all, good People.

The

The Executioner, Ketch, *desired his Pardon*, and he said, I do forgive you. The Lord have Mercy on my Soul.

The Execution of Capt. WALCOT, JOHN ROUSE, *and* WILL. HONE, *on* Friday, July 20. 1683.

CAptain *Thomas Walcot* being drawn to *Tyburn* in one Hurdle, *John Rouſe* and *William Hone* in another, and there put into a Cart, the Reverend Dr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Dean of *Rippon*, and and one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary, with Mr. *Smith*, the Ordinary of *Newgate*, began to acquaint Captain *Walcot*, That this was the laſt Time he had to ſpend in the World, and therefore deſired him to make a good uſe of it, telling him, *That as Death leaves him, ſo Judgment will find him*; and earneſtly exhorted him to make an ingenuous Diſcovery and Confeſſion of what he knew touching the Conſpiracy and Treaſons of which he had been found guilty, and receiv'd Sentence to die.

To this Capt. *Walcot* replied, That he had ſome Papers in his Pocket, of what he had prepared to ſay in Writing, becauſe his Memory was bad; therefore he deſired they might be pulled out, and he would read them.

Then Dr. *Cartwright* and the Ordinary ſpake to *Hone* and *Rouſe* to the Effect before-mentioned, earneſtly deſiring them to confeſs the Whole of what they knew; inſtancing ſome Places of Scripture to them, as *Joſhua's* Advice to *Achan*, &c. *My Son, confeſs, and give Glory to God whom you have diſhonoured*, &c. telling them, they would have imbrued their Hands in the Blood of a merciful and good Prince, who had often pardoned, and gave many Acts of Oblivion and Indemnity to his Subjects; and whoſe Reign hath preſerved the Purity of the

Prote-

Proteſtant Religion amongſt us: That we cannot enjoy more than we do enjoy: with other good Admonitions for them to make clear Diſcoveries of the Truth of what they knew.

Captain *Walcot* in the mean while was prepared to read his Speech.

Dr. *Cartwright* askt him if he could diſcover any more than he had done already?

Walcot. I've not in the general. I told the King the thing was laid very deep: There was a Gentleman with me laſt Night, I told him what I told the King, and that was all: I told him, I thought an Act of Indulgence would be very neceſſary, becauſe he had a great many Men to take Judgment of. I know not the Particulars of the Deſign; but the King hath the Lord *Howard*, Mr. *Weſt*, and others that know more than I. I was never in Council with them, nor never with them above four, five, or half a dozen times.

Then looking upon his Paper, he began his Speech as follows:

This great Concourſe of People do not only come here to ſee me die, but alſo to hear what I ſhall ſay; and becauſe I would not be reproached, and thought to be an Atheiſt when I am gone, I have two or three Words to ſpeak for my Religion. I do believe in Three Perſons, and One God, and I expect and hope to be ſaved by the Merits and Righteouſneſs of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, without the Hope of an Advantage by any Merits or Righteouſneſs of my own. And I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament are the Word of God; that *they were not written according to the Will of Man, but holy Men of God writ them as they were inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt.*

I believe that theſe Scriptures ought to be the Rule of our Faith, and the Method of our Worſhipping of God: I believe that as Chriſt is the

Head

Head of his Church, ſo he is their Law-giver; that it is not in the Power of any Council or Conclave of Cardinals, or Power upon Earth whatſoever, to ſet up the Precepts and Traditions of Men, and to make them of equal Validity with the Word of God. I believe it was not becauſe the Jews rejected and crucified Chriſt, that he rejected them, but becauſe they rejected his Word; which appears by the three Thouſand that God by one Sermon of *Peter's* converted; they being *prickt in their Hearts, and touch'd in their Conſciences*, cried out, *Men and Brethren, what ſhall we do?* And they were *that Day added to the Church.* It was certainly becauſe the Jews rejected the Word and Goſpel of Chriſt, that *the Things were hid from their Eyes which belonged to their Peace.* It is a dreadful thing to reject the Word of God; and it is a dreadful thing to live in a ſinful Courſe of Life, till God withdraws his Spirit from us: For it is ſaid, *it ſhall not always ſtrive with Man. Death is the Wages of Sin.* I believe, had not *Adam* ſinned, he, and we, his Poſterity, had not died. Death is ſaid to be the *King of Terrors*, but it is only ſo to thoſe that are terrified with a terrifying Conſcience, that have the Arrows of the Almighty ſticking in them, from Convictions of great Guilt, and ſee no Hopes of Mercy, have no Aſſurance of Pardon; but thoſe that are Chriſt's, he takes away the Terror, and Horror and Sting of Death; he enables them to ſay with *Paul, To me to live is Chriſt, and to die is Gain:* He enables not only to get unto Chriſt, but into Chriſt; and ſo they have *Communion and Fellowſhip with the Father and the Son.* It is no hard matter to get the Notions of the Promiſes of the Goſpel into our Heads; but unleſs the Lord is pleaſed to apply them to our Hearts, we cannot believe: Except we be *in Chriſt as Branches in the Vine*, we are not Chriſtians indeed. It was the

Caſe

Caſe of poor *Francis Spira*, he was certainly a knowing Man, but notwithſtanding he had not Faith to apply the Promiſes. Chriſt hath ſaid, *That he that believes in him, tho' he were dead, yet ſhall he live; and he that lives and believes in him, ſhall never die.* So, if we be able to apply the Promiſes by the Spirit of God, we may have Comfort thro' Faith: But then *Faith is the Gift of God*, and *Faith comes by hearing* the Word of God, and receiving it in the Love of God.

I ſhall not be tedious, Mr. *Sheriff*, I ſhall be very ſhort.

Mr. *Sheriff*, take your own Time.

Walcot. As to the preſent Occaſion of my Death, I do neither blame the Judges, nor the Jury, nor the King's Council; I only blame ſome Men, that in Reality and in Truth were deeper concern'd, and more engag'd than I, that came in as Witneſſes againſt me, who ſwore me out of my Life to ſave their own; and who, for fear they ſhould not do it effectually, contriv'd that, that I will appeal to you all, whether there be a Probability in it or not; for they ſaid that I made it a Scruple of Conſcience to have a Hand in killing the King, or to embrue my Hands in his Blood, but was ſo generous as to undertake the charging his Guards whilſt others did it, and to the end another might do it. Truly I will appeal to all that know me, whether they believe me ſo much an Idiot, that I ſhould not underſtand it was the ſame thing to engage the King's Guards, whilſt another kill'd him, as to kill him with my own Hands. But however, by their ſwearing againſt me, they have ſecur'd their own Lives and Eſtates, and made my Blood the Price of theirs. I confeſs I was ſo unfortunate and unhappy, as to be invited by Colonel *Rumſey* (one of the Witneſſes againſt me) to ſome Meetings, where

where ſome Things were diſcours'd of, in order to the aſſerting our Liberties and Properties, which we look'd upon to be violated and invaded. But it was he and Mr. *Weſt*, and ſome Gentlemen that are fled, who were the great Promoters of thoſe Meetings. I was near a Quarter of a Year ill of the Gout, and, during that time, Mr. *Weſt* often viſited me, and ſtill his Diſcourſe would be concerning *Lopping the Two Sparks*; that was the Word he us'd, meaning the King and the Duke; and propos'd it might be done at a Play: This was his frequent Diſcourſe; for he ſaid, Then they would die in their Calling; it was his very Expreſſion. He bought Arms to do it with, without any Direction of mine; I never ſaw the Arms, nor I never ſaw the Men that were to do it; tho' they ſaid they had fifty employ'd to that End. I told ſeveral of them, That the killing the King would carry ſuch a Blemiſh and Stain with it, as would deſcend to Poſterity; that I had eight Children, that I was loth ſhould be blemiſh'd with it; and withal, I was confident the Duke of *Monmouth* would revenge his Father's Blood, if it were but to vindicate himſelf from having any Hand in it. Mr. *Weſt* preſently told me, that the Duke of *Monmouth* did not refuſe to give an Engagement, that he would not puniſh thoſe that ſhould kill the King.

And now I deſire to forgive all the World from the very Bottom of my Heart; and I pray God of his Mercy from my Heart to forgive them, even Mr. *Shepherd*, who deliver'd me up, who promiſed to carry me into *Holland*; but inſtead of that, he brought me into the Condition wherein I now am. I do deſire with all my Heart to forgive the Witneſſes, and withal, do earneſtly beg that they may be obſerv'd, that ſome Remarks may be ſet upon them, whether *their End be Peace*,

and

and that *they die the common Death of all Men.* Certainly, tho' it be the Law of the Land I ought to die, and the King may juſtly and reaſonably put me to Death for being in thoſe Meetings where a War was debated; yet I think theſe Men are guilty of my Blood, that were as deep in as I, and have betray'd me, and taken it away. Then in the next Place, I beg leave, Mr. *Sheriff*, to ſpeak one ſhort Word of Advice to my Friends, that hath been often given to me, tho' I was not ſo fortunate and ſo happy as to take it, and that is, That they would neither hear any Man ſpeak, nor ſpeak themſelves, that which they would not have repeated; for there is no ſuch thing as Faith in Man to Man, whatever there is in Man to God: Either the Tears of a Wife, or a Family of little helpleſs Children, ſomething or other will tempt and provoke Men to betray one another. When God hath a Work to do, he will not want Inſtruments, for he can make them; nor will he want a way to do it, for he can contrive it and bring it to paſs. And I do moſt heartily deſire, and my earneſt Prayer to the Almighty is, That this may be the laſt Blood ſpilt upon this Account. I know Acts of Indulgence, and Mercy in the King, would make him much eaſier in his Government, and would make his People ſit much eaſier under it; and that the Lord may incline his Heart to Mercy, ought to be the Prayer of every good Man. What hath happen'd, and what hath been the preſent Occaſion of our Calamity, I ſuppoſe every Man knows; what Provocations have been on the one Hand, Fears and Neceſſities, Jealouſies and Sufferings of the other, I will not intermeddle with, reſolving to uſe my utmoſt endeavour to make that Peace and Reconciliation with my God, which is impoſſible for me to make with Man; and to make it my hearty

Prayer

Prayer to the great God, before whom I am in a little time to appear, that he would ſtench this Iſſue of Blood, and find out ſome other Way to preſerve theſe Kingdoms in Unity and Peace, to the Honour and Glory of his great Name, and the eternal Comfort of his People.

One Word, Mr. *Sheriff*, I deſire leave to ſpeak as to *Ireland*, becauſe the King preſs'd it hard upon me, and ſeveral People have been with me about *Ireland*, how far *Ireland* was concern'd in this Matter. I do aver here, as in the Preſence of God, before whom I am now going to appear, that I do not know an *Engliſhman*, nor Proteſtant in *Ireland*, engag'd in it. What I did know, was only of one *Scotiſh* Gentleman in the North; and the King knows it, but he ſays he does not believe it. For they that were concern'd, I was never in any of their Councils: I never ſaw any of thoſe Lords but the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that was I believe above ſix Months ago. I never ſaw nor ſpoke with one Lord, only my Lord *Howard*; I heard my Lord *Howard* ſay, That they did not value *Ireland*, for it muſt follow *England*.

I have not more to ſay, Mr. *Sheriff*; but truly you will do an Act of a great deal of Charity, if you will prevail with the King for an Act of Indulgence and Liberty to his People: I think ſo: And ſo the Lord have Mercy upon me.

Dr. *Cartwright*, You blame them for that which is their Virtue, and not their Crime; That they have been Witneſſes for the King.

Walcot, I was not for contriving the Death of the King, if you'll believe me.

Dr. *Cartwright*, You blame them for betraying of you in contriving the War, upon which the Death of the King muſt have follow'd, if your Treaſon had gone forward, for elſe you could not have defended yourſelf from that Juſtice to which he

he hath brought you; and therefore for you to lay that as a Crime upon your Witneſſes, is indeed very ſtrange.

Walcot. Sir, I think it was but reaſonable that I ſhould ſuffer that is due from Juſtice, and reaſonable by the Law; but theſe Men, they did not come in againſt me till they did it to ſave themſelves.

Dr. *Cartwright.* Better late than never: A Man had better ſave his Soul and Body too, than die as now you do, for Crimes that ought to make every good Man's Heart relent; and therefore for your blaming them, it was for that which was their Duty to do; they have not committed a Crime in that, but a very meritorious Act.

Walcot. They have reveal'd it with that aggravating Circumſtance, which I think no rational Man will be guilty of.

Dr. *Cartwright.* That Circumſtance which you call aggravating, is no Aggravation at all; that is rather a Mitigation of your Crime, to make them believe that you were tenderer of the King's Perſon, than to ſhoot him when he was not armed. But you confeſs you were conſulting this Crime.

Walcot. I was not to have a Hand in the King's Death.

Dr. *Cartwright.* But it was propos'd when you were there.

Walcot. Itwas ſo.

Dr. *Cartwright.* And it was agreed to be done.

Walcot. Truly I do not know how far it was agreed; I was there many Meetings.

Dr. *Cartwright.* Theſe very Meetings you could not but be ſenſible of.

Walcot. There were ſeveral Meetings wherein the Buſineſs of the King's Life was never ſpoke of.

Dr. *Cartwright.* That was agreed in thoſe Meetings; but you had a tenderer Conſcience.

Walcot. I ſay, they were for aſſerting our Liberties and Properties.

Dr. *Cartwright.* I would fain have you explain that.

Walcot. Truly, Sir, ſince you do preſs me to ſpeak, we were under general Apprehenſions, and ſo were thoſe Lords that are likely to ſuffer, as I have heard; they were under general Apprehenſions of Popery and Slavery coming in.

Dr. *Cartwright.* What Sign was there of it? You had no Perſecution at all; you were allow'd by the Law to meet five in a Houſe, beſides thoſe of the Family. It is true, the Conventicles have been diſturb'd of late; and I would have you look upon it as a Judgment of God, to bring you to this for forſaking the Church of *England*: You have forſaken Communion with that Church in that Way you were inſtructed from your Youth.

Walcot. I do not come here to diſpute of Religion, but I come here to die religiouſly, if it pleaſe God to enable me.

Dr. *Cartwright.* I pray God enable you: But I would not have you charge that as a Crime upon the Witneſſes, which was their Duty.

Walcot. I can't tell how to excuſe my Witneſſes for aggravating things againſt me, and making them worſe than really they were.

Dr. *Cartwright* going to reply. *Walcot.* Pray, Sir, give me leave; for a Man to invite a Man to a Meeting, to importune him to this Meeting, to be perpetually ſolliciting him, and then to deliver him up to be hang'd, as they have done me------

Dr. *Cartwright.* It was a Crime to ſollicit you to thoſe Meetings; but when you were in, it was a Duty in you and in them to reveal it: if God had

had given you the Grace to reveal them, the Turn had been theirs, which now is yours. And whereas you ſay you cannot excuſe them, that is uncharitable.

Walcot. I do forgive them, and I deſire with all my Heart God would forgive them.

Dr. *Cartwright.* You confeſs you were guilty enough to take away your Life.

Walcot. I was ſo. The ſame Meaſure we meet to another, that Meaſure God will meet to us: Then, Sir, I do leave it to God.

Dr. *Cartwright.* Then you pray this may be the laſt Blood ſpilt upon this Account.

Walcot. I do ſo.

Dr. *Cartwright.* Would not you have Traitors brought to their End? You talk of ſpilling Blood, as if it were innocent Blood now ſpilt, when you do confeſs and own the Guilt. But I ſhall give you no further Diſturbance, but my Prayers to Almighty God for you, that God would give you Mercy. And then turning to *Hone.*

Dr. *Cartwright.* Mr. *Hone,* give Glory to God, and unburden your Conſcience, for you have but a ſhort time to ſtay here.

Hone. I have nothing further to ſay, but that I have been guilty of the Crime.

Dr. *Cartwright.* You are ſo.

Hone. Yes, I am guilty of this Crime, according to the Law of the Land.

Dr. *Cartwright.* I, and according to the Law of God.

Hone. Yes.

Dr. *Cartwright.* You ſay according to the Law of the Land, a Man may be ſworn out of his Life by falſe Witneſſes, but you were guilty of conſpiring the Death of the King, and raiſing an Inſurrection.

Hone. Truly I muſt ſay, as the Captain well minded, I was drawn in. *Thou ſaweſt a Thief, and thou conſentedſt with him:* So I ſay, that I was drawn in, I ſaw the Thief, and conſented; I have look'd upon myſelf ſince to be the more guilty of Blood, and my Circumſtance was to be drawn in, and inſnared; for I never was at any of their Meetings, none of their Cabals, but in a publick Coffee-houſe or Tavern, where they diſcours'd the Matter of Fact; and I was to meet the King and the Duke of *York*, but I did not know at that time when, or where, nor what was my Buſineſs.

Dr. *Cartwright.* But you were to aſſiſt?

Hone. Yes, I promiſed that, to aſſiſt.

Dr. *Cartwright.* Do you beg God and the King's Forgiveneſs for it from the Bottom of your Heart, that you have been guilty of this? *For if the Blind lead the Blind, both ſhall fall into the Ditch*; as well he that leads, as he that is led, altho' he that leads may fall deeper. There are Circumſtances make one Man's Crime greater than another; the Greatneſs of theirs does not leſſen yours.

Hone. I believ'd that then I was very near another Snare: I was reſolv'd to go down into the Country and not meddle in the Thing at all; and had been in the Country, but meeting with *Keeling*, (I freely forgive him for whatſoever is done) he call'd me, and diſcourſing with him, I did ſay I was for killing the King, and ſaving the Duke of *York*.

Dr. *Cartwright.* Why was you for ſaving the Duke of *York*?

Hone. I do not know what to ſay as to that: There was no Reaſon.

Dr. *Cart-*

Dr. *Cartwright.* What was your own private Reaſon for killing the King, and ſaving the Duke of *York?*

Hone. As to that, I think this: That the Duke of *York* did openly profeſs himſelf to be a Roman Catholick, and I did ſay I had rather diſpoſe of the King than the Duke of *York.*

Dr. *Cartwright.* Had you rather a Papiſt ſhould reign over us, as you take him to be, than the King?

Hone. I do not know what to ſay to that.

Dr. *Cartwright.* That does deſerve a Reaſon, Mr. *Hone.* You ought to give ſome Reaſon of that, you cannot but have ſome Reaſon; if you had had a Deſign to kill the Duke, and ſave the King, then it might be to prevent Popery; but you ſay the quite contrary. God in Heaven forgive you for your murderous Deſign.

Hone. I know as little of this as any poor ſilly Man in the World; I was fain to gather it; I had it not ſo downright, I was drawn into it; however, I am now to die: As for the Witneſſes, I deſire the Lord to forgive them.

Dr. *Cartwright.* They have not wrong'd you, they have done their Duty.

Dr. *Cartwright. Rouſe,* What ſay you?

Rouſe. As a Man and a Chriſtian, in the firſt Place, as God hath made me a Chriſtian through his Grace, that the World may underſtand, that I do not die, as Captain *Walcot* ſays, an Atheiſt; I do here declare, in the Preſence of God, and this vaſt Number of People, what Faith I die in: In that very Faith which was once deliver'd, and in the Belief of that Doctrine which the Church of *England* makes Profeſſion of, and is agreeable to the Word of God, being founded upon the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, whereof Jeſus Chriſt is the Corner-Stone. There have

been very various Opinions concerning me, upon the Account of the various Employments that I have been exerciſed in, both here and beyond Sea: It has been my Lot to fall under ſuch Circumſtances, and to fall under ſuch Miſrepreſentations and Cenſures, upon the Account of ſome publick Employments that I have been in for the King, and after I return'd from *Flanders*, upon the Account of Disbanding; it was almoſt morally impoſſible for ſuch a one in my Capacity, to ſtand right in the Affections and Opinions of all People. When I was employ'd in *Flanders*, in the Payment of that Army, I was then between two Rocks, I will leave it to the Judgment of all ſorts of People, you know the Country, I need not particularize, nor reflect upon Opinions, and the like. But I having been bred up in *England*, and had that Education it pleas'd God to give me, I was not fond of, nor carried off with, that Debauchery in thoſe Times; and ſometimes, more than once or twice, it was my Lot that I was like to have been murdur'd for pleading for, and juſtifying the Actions of the King of *England*. Since my Return, and being employ'd under Sir *Thomas Player*, and ſome others, about disbanding, there it came to my Lot, becauſe I could not humour ſome Gentlemen, who neither fear'd God nor honour'd the King (I will not ſay ſo of all, for I know ſome were very worthy Gentlemen that ſcorn'd any of thoſe Actions which ſome would attempt. There is one worthy Gentleman I can ſpeak very honourably of) that ſo they might have their Pockets full of Money, did not value how the Accounts were ſtated, and at the very ſame time I was under many Temptations of Handfuls of Guineas in my Hand to do ſo and ſo, to cheat the King; and becauſe I would not do that, I was look'd upon as a Jeſuit. I did wave all theſe

things

things under thoſe Circumſtances. It hath been my Lot likewiſe, being employ'd by Sir *T. P.* and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, to fall into thoſe Companies and Places where my Lord *Shaftsbury* and others have been, and have had ſome kind of Diſcourſe, which was not Treaſon, but rather a thing that I ever abhor'd and declar'd a Deteſtation of: Since theſe Hurly-burlys, concerning Parliaments going off and coming on, did diſcontent the People upon one Account or another, I confeſs I have been a Hearer, and have underſtood too much of ſome kind of Meetings, which I pray God forgive them for, and eſpecially thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtants, being ten thouſand times worſe than any others. That there have been ſuch kind of Deſigns, and Meetings and Clubs, I have not been ignorant of; God forgive me that I have not been as careful and as diligent, and as ready and forward to diſcover it a great while ſince; that I ever had a Hand in it, or the leaſt Thought, or Reſolution, or Intention, to appear in it; but rather, on the contrary, have declar'd my Opinion againſt it, both in the Sight of God and Man, as a Breach of the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Land, and contrary to our Duty, who are bound to pray for the King, and all that are in Authority. I do declare, in the Preſence of God, I am a perfect Stranger, and I thank God my Conſcience is clear, I have acquainted his Majeſty in Council, and I have had the Honour to be admitted into his Majeſty's Preſence in private almoſt half an Hour, on *Saturday* was ſeven-night, where I was as clear and above-board, and as faithful to his Majeſty as I could be, in an humble manner, according to my Duty; where I offered to have ſome Time and Place allotted, that I might give him a whole Scheme of the Buſineſs; for there

were a great many Gentlemen that had a Reſpect for me. It was their Opinions that I had a general Knowledge of all the Clubs, and all the Deſigns that ever were ſince the King came in; but they were under a Miſtake. I gave his Majeſty an Account, to the beſt of my Knowledge; and when I had done, his Majeſty ſeem'd to be pleaſed, and to thank me for it; but before I had Power to put it in Writing, and wait upon his Majeſty, the Providence of God did ſo order it, the Council thought it fit that I ſhould be committed to Priſon, where I was ſome Days; I have had more Kindneſs among *Heathens* and *Indians*, I pray God to forgive 'em for it, I had not Liberty to ſend to my Wife, big with Child, in two Days where I was.

Sir, I ſhall not hold you in ſuſpence, and multiply Words, but what is moſt proper to this Occaſion. What I have given to his Majeſty in Council, and what I have ſpoken to his Majeſty in private, is nothing but the naked Truth to clear my own Conſcience, that I may not go out of the World with any thing upon me: I wiſh thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtants would diſcharge their Duty better to God and the King, than either I or the beſt Subject ever did. I have lookt upon it as an Obligation ever ſince I knew what it was to be a Man, to carry myſelf obedient to thoſe that God has ſet over me, eſpecially the King, and thoſe that are in Authority; and I have made it my Practice to pray for the King, as for my own Soul. That it has been my Lot to be acquainted with thoſe Vanities of Clubs, and Perſons, no rational Man will wonder, conſidering the Circumſtances and Places I was call'd to. There is one particular Gentleman, Mr. *Sheriff*, I muſt deſire the Favour to clear my ſelf by ſomething that I took occaſion to ſpeak of yeſterday. I did acquaint

quaint you, Mr. *Sheriff*, with what I had ſpoken to the King, how I was interrupted in the further Diſcovery of what I had a mind to ſay. What was further ſaid yeſterday, it was nothing but the naked Truth: In the firſt place, as to what was afterwards diſcours'd of, as to ſome particular Perſons, namely and particularly Sir *Thomas Player*, I muſt do Juſtice to all the World. That he hath been acquainted with the Lord *Shaftsbury*, none here will wonder; but that he hath been very ſhy of his Company ſince he came out of the *Tower*: For he told me many times, he never was in his Company but once, for he did not like ſome things, and ſaw ſome Deſigns that he was afraid were going on; and thereupon Sir *Thomas Player* was ſo ingenuous and honeſt to the King, as to break off. I always look'd upon him as a very loyal Subject, and I muſt declare in the Preſence of God, and all theſe People, I never heard him ſpeak one diſhonourable Word of the King; what he may have had with others is beſt known to himſelf. I have been in ſeveral Clubs eating and drinking, where it has been diſcours'd to accommodate the King's Son, the Duke of *Monmouth*. That there was a Deſign to ſet up the D. of *M.* I will not ſay while the King reigns; tho' ſome extravagant hot-headed Men have taken upon 'em to diſcourſe theſe things, but not any worthy Man: I know thoſe that were worthy to be call'd by that Name, have declar'd in my hearing, that in Oppoſition to the D. of *York*, if the King be ſeis'd, they ſhould ſtand by the D. of *M.* There are others, (I will not give Nick-names to any, you are wiſe Men, and know what I mean by ſpeaking in the general,) that were for a Common-wealth, and ſome there were, two or three Perſons. I ſhall be as plain as I can, and I hope you will bear with me, ſince it came to my Lot to come to the

Know-

Knowledge of it. Some were for the D. of *M.* ſome for a Common-wealth, and ſome, but very few, not worth naming, were for the D. of *Bucks*: But that I think fell at laſt between theſe two, being the greater part, as far as I did apprehend by diſcourſing here and there in the City, which I did very frequently do. But the way of theſe Gentlemen's diſcourſing theſe things was only one at a time, eſpecially a very induſtrious Gentleman that hath made it his Practice a long time, (for it hath been my Lot to be acquainted but two Months, and that too long) which is the Witneſs that comes againſt me, and I pray God to forgive him, and I blame him not for diſcovering me, but for the Words he ſpake himſelf, by way of inſtigating me to enter into a Deſign againſt the King; they were his own Words and not mine. I blame him not for diſcovering any thing whereby the King may be ſerved. He did tell me ſeveral times there were Clubs in *London*, but I could never get out of him the Places where the Clubs were. Yet I endeavour'd what poſſibly I could to come to the bottom of that Deſign; for my Intent was to make a faithful and true Diſcovery, that I might not go to *White-Hall*, or a Juſtice of Peace, with an idle Story, or a Sham: But at laſt I got out of him, that *Rich. Goodenough* was chiefly inſtrumental. This was a very few Days before Notice was given, that this certain Perſon, *Thomas Lee* the *Dyer*, was ſworn againſt by one *How*: I ask'd him the meaning: He told me, that *How* was a very Raſcal. I asked *Lee*, Sir, What Courſe ſhall be taken? For, what by the *Doctors-Commons* of the one hand, and what by the Perſecutions of the other, we muſt think of a Way how to relieve it. There is ſome Deſign in hand, ſays *Lee*; don't you know? No, ſaid I, I would be glad to hear. There is an Invaſion, ſaid he, going on, a Deſign

againſt

againſt the King and the Government; but that was only a Fallacy; but he diſcover'd afterwards to me, that there was a Reſolution, and a certain Number of People about the City and the Nation, to make an Attack upon the *Tower* of *London*, upon the City of *London*, upon *White-Hall*, and upon St. *James's*: I ſaid, What do you deſign then? Have a care that you don't ſhed more innocent Blood; for the Land is ſtained with Blood too much already. No, ſaith he, the Reſolution, as Mr. *Goodenough* ſaith, is not to ſpill a Drop of Blood, but only to ſecure the King's Perſon, that the Papiſts do not kill him, and then, ſaith he, we will deal with the D. of *York* as we pleaſe. They were his own Words, to the beſt of my Remembrance. Afterwards this Gentleman was ſworn againſt by one Mr. *Keeling* in *Eaſt-Smithfield*; ſaith he, he's a Rogue and a Dog, and I have ſeen him but once theſe nine Months, and I had no Diſcourſe, but only drunk a Glaſs of Drink; which proves ſince to the contrary. Being then in Company at the *King's-Head-Tavern* in *Swithin's-Ally* near the *Exchange*, News was brought, he was ſworn againſt; he did not know what to do, but found out a Place near *London-Wall*, and deſired me to go to one or two about the Matter; he knew not how to obſcure himſelf, his Houſe was beſet, Meſſengers after him, and likewiſe a kind of Judgment or Execution; how to put both Ends together he knew not. I told him, if he would I had a Bed, he might go to my Houſe. I never heard a Word from *Rich. Goodenough* one way nor another of any Deſign againſt the King and the Government, whom I have known this ſeven Years; only this *Lee* told me, his Hand was as deep as any other. It's true, this Gentleman comes and ſwears againſt me, that I ſhould be the only Perſon to engage in taking the *Tower* of *London*. Sir *John* —— you know very well

well in what Capacity I have been, and how very uncapable I was in my Perſon to take the *Tower* of *London*. I ſpeak in the Preſence of God, before whom I am to appear in a few Minutes, I never had any ſuch Thought, never had any ſuch Deſire, never conſulted with any Perſons of Quality, never diſcourſed of any Arms in order to it; but only this I was ſaying. This Fellow being ſet on (and I think a more proper Perſon than any Man in the World) for that he was a little low in the World, he was under a Temptation of being thrown out by an *Anabaptiſtical Church*, for ſome kind of Failings, he was under a Temptation to make himſelf ſomebody, therefore he did cloſe with Mr. *Goodenough* and ſome others; and when the firſt Proclamation came forth, he himſelf told me, I never knew it before, that *Rumſey*, Captain *Walcot*, *Nelthrop*, and *Goodenough*, and *Weſt*, were concern'd in this Deſign, he was the Man told me: And when the ſecond Proclamation came out, then he could tell me of thoſe too; I told him he was a Wretch he had not diſcover'd it betimes; as to his ſwearing againſt me, for which God forgive him, that I had a hand in taking the *Tower* of *London*; the thing is this: He knew I was intimately acquainted with a certain Captain, one *Blage*, who was my Servant 21 Years ago in *Virginia*; he hath been a very faithful and honeſt Servant, I believe, to his Majeſty for theſe 15 Years, particularly, five Years in three of his Majeſty's Men of War. I know very well the Man is of ſuch a Principle, that he abhors to engage in any wicked Deſign. But only *Lee* diſcourſing at random about taking the *Tower*, Captain *Blage* gave this Anſwer, (for he is a very jocular Man) if I were of a mind to take it, were it for the Service of the King, if there were an Enemy coming in, ſaith he, I would with ſix Ships well-man'd, and

arm'd

arm'd with Guns, undertake to take the *Tower*: Upon what Account he ſaid it, I don't know, but I believe in my Conſcience he had no more Deſign to put ſuch a thing in practice, than I have to cut my own Throat at preſent. Captain *Blage* had heard theſe Diſcourſes *Pro* and *Con*; ſaith he, 2 or 300 Men would do it, it's weak in ſuch a place, I wonder his Majeſty does not make it ſtronger. Now, when he came to ſwear, as ſoon as he was taken up, he took occaſion to ſwear againſt me, all the Diſcourſe he uſed in preſſing me to undertake this Deſign.

Mr. *Sheriff Rich.* Pray, if you have any thing that was not told in Court, diſcover it, but you need not go over that which was in Court.

Rouſe. Mr. Sheriff, I have nothing at all to ſay, either to blame the Judges, or the Jury, or the Witneſſes themſelves, the greateſt of all. I thank God, I was not any way to have had any Hand in it: But the very Words themſelves that came out of his Mouth he makes me the Author of; but I freely forgive him, as I deſire God would forgive me: Though he did tell me poſitively there were five Hundred Arms to be brought out of the Country. I heard of ſuch a thing, I confeſs, here and there, but could never know the Authors of it, nor the Clubs where it was diſcourſed: It was lately that he told me, *Goodenough* told him, That the King was to be taken off as he came from *Windſor*; That there were ſeveral things to be done in order to it; That they wanted a Place of meeting, and ſome thought of *Saliſbury-Plain*, and ſome of *Black-Heath*, but the moſt convenient Place pitch'd upon was *Black-Heath*. They were diſcourſing how to gather the People together; ſome were for communicating it privately, others for a Ball. They ask'd my Thoughts: Said I, the beſt way will be, if you throw up a

Silver

Silver Ball, to get the People together: For my Deſign was to get what I could out of them. Thereupon he went to Mr. *Goodenough*, and diſcours'd him, and told him, that my Opinion was, to throw up a Silver Ball, and declare, All thoſe that will come and drink a Bowl of Punch, ſhall be welcome, and that by this means they would have gathered thirty or forty Thouſand Men in two or three Days time, which otherwiſe would have been a Fortnight a doing: But for himſelf, I will not blame him, nor lay any thing to his charge of which he is not guilty. I muſt needs give him his due. I do not remember that ever he inſiſted upon ſhedding of Blood, but that he hath diſcourſed in very opprobrious Terms and baſe Language of the Duke of *York*, by calling him Rogue, and Dog, and ſuch things: And that *We will do his work*: That is true. And, that after the King's Deceaſe, the D. of *Monmouth*, having a Vogue with the People, muſt of neceſſity ſucceed: I cannot tell what I can ſay more as to that; that is the chief thing I have to ſay, if I have not forgot any thing.

Mr. *Sheriff Rich.* Mr. *Rouſe*, you would do well to name thoſe Perſons that were with you in that Conſultation.

Rouſe. There was no Conſultation at all, Sir. That I had was from this *Thomas Lee*'s Mouth himſelf, That there were five Hundred Arms to be brought in; That he had it from *Richard Goodenough*, and *Nelthorp*, and Mr. *Weſt*; and that Mr. *Weſt* particularly knew from whom theſe Arms were to come; for he gave me a hint, that part of the Arms were bought by Mr. *Weſt*.

Mr. *Sheriff Rich.* Who propos'd the way of the Ball?

Rouſe. Sir, he was ſaying, there were ſeveral Propoſitions made in the Club where *Goodenough* was,

was, and ſome thought of one way and ſome another, but they could not find out a proper way; ſaith he, what do you think? ſaid I, if the People meet together they may throw up a Ball, juſt in that careleſs way I ſaid ſo. So he came to me afterwards, and ſaid that he had diſcourſed with Mr. *Goodenough*, and Mr. *Goodenough* told him, that there were forty thouſand Pounds in Bank, and if ſuch a Ball coſt thirty or forty Pounds it matter'd not, to carry on ſuch a Deſign as that was.

Here Captain *Walcot* ſpake.

Capt. Walcot. Sir, I deſire you to take Notice of this, among other things, that ſo far as I ever heard of this Buſineſs, it is of no longer a Date than *Auguſt* or *September* laſt: I would not have this Conſequence of it, ſo as to ſtifle the Popiſh Plot.

Mr. Sheriff. Do you know any thing of the Popiſh Plot that hath not yet been diſcover'd?

Capt. Walcot. No, Sir.

Hone. I had but the Knowledge in *March* laſt of this Buſineſs.

Capt. Walcot. I do not know nor ever heard, that it was older than *Auguſt* or *September* laſt.

Mr. Sheriff. Ordinary, do your Office.

Ordinary to *Walcot.* Have you fully diſcharg'd your Conſcience?

Capt. Walcot. I have.

But it being ſaid that *Rouſe* was interrupted:

Mr. Sheriff North. If you have any thing to ſay, Mr. *Rouſe*, go on, but do not make Repetitions.

Who pull'd his Paper out of his Pocket and look'd on it.

Rouſe. He declar'd further, Mr. Sheriff, that when once the Thing came ſo far that the Tower and City were taken, and ſo many Men gather'd together, they would quickly increaſe; and the

Method

Method was, to go to *White-hall* with Swords in their Hands, and to demand Privileges and Liberties, not to take away the King's Life, but only let the Duke of *York* look to it; for he was reſolv'd upon it that he ſhould not ſucceed the King. Then he delivers another Paper, being his Petition to the King, and ſome more Notes in Short-hand.

Ordinary. Have you fully ſatisfy'd your Conſcience?

Rouſe. I have, Sir, a Word or two to ſpeak to the People. I have diſcharg'd my Conſcience, as to any thing as to what I was acquainted with. It had been happy for me if I had not heard of it; but that I had a Hand in it I thank God I am free.

Dr. C. You had a Hand in the concealing.

Rouſe. That I had.

Dr. C. And in maintaining the Correſpondency without diſcovering it, and you do diminiſh your Crime.

Rouſe. No, Sir, I don't deſire it. Mr. Sheriff, I do freely acknowledge and confeſs, that it is juſt in God in the firſt place, and righteous and juſt in the King, that I die; and that I die juſtly for concealing it. I would lay no Blame upon the King, nor any other Perſon in the World. I did not conceal it upon any Account to his Majeſty's Prejudice, nor any Man in the Nation; and I hope God will give more Grace to thoſe Perſons that do ſucceed. I beg a Word or two, I had almoſt forgot, as a Man and as a Chriſtian, that it is a thing of ſuch evil Conſequence, I have found it by bitter Experience now, for ſuch and ſuch publick Places to be viſited, eſpecially by thoſe that are Profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion, and particulary Coffee-Houſes, where it is very well known too much time is ſpent, and Families,

lies, and Wives, and Children, ſuffer too much: I pray God the People may take Notice of it, and lay it to Heart, that ſpend their Time ſo, thinking it is but a Penny and a Penny, and ſo diſcourſe of State-Affairs, as if ſo be they were God's Counſellors in the Government of the World, running from the Coffee-Houſe to the Tavern, and from the Tavern to the Coffee-Houſe, which hath been the Debauchery of this Age, and ſo bring them into this *Dilemma*, to diſcourſe of thoſe Things neither pleaſing to God, nor the King, nor themſelves, but their Prejudice. The Profanation of the *Sabbath-day* is commonly diſcours'd of in this Place, God forgive me for not obſerving it as I ſhould. I pray God thoſe that follow me may be more careful of their Duty to God and Man, for the Good of themſelves, their Souls, and their Families; thoſe that are young eſpecially, and coming up, that they may chiefly mind their Concerns for Eternity, and that they would pay their Duty and Homage to the King, and thoſe that God has ſet over them; and not neglect that great Command, to pray for the King and all that are in Authority.

Being ask'd if they had any thing more to ſay, they ſaid No. Mr. Ordinary then pray'd with them, and ſung a Pſalm; and then they deſir'd to pray themſelves; which was granted.

There were theſe Lines more in the Paper deliver'd by Captain *Walcot*, than what you have before ſeen.

As to *Ireland*, I am very inclinable to believe, could I have charged any Body there, with being engag'd in the Matter for which I ſuffer, I might have had my Life; but by the Bleſſing of God I will charge no Man wrongfully, no not to ſave

my Life; and theſe being ſome of the laſt Words I am to ſpeak, I do aver, I knew not an *Engliſhman*, or Proteſtant in *Ireland*, any way engag'd in it. Beſides, I was told, they that were moſtly concern'd, did not value *Ireland*, and ſaid it muſt of courſe follow *England*. Something I heard of one Gentleman in the North, and whether it be true or falſe I will not determine.

Having ended their reſpective Speeches and Prayers, the Executioner did his Office.

The Execution of the Lord RUSSEL, *on* Saturday *the 21ſt of* July, 1683.

ABOUT nine in the Morning, the Sheriffs went to *Newgate*, to ſee if my Lord *Ruſſel* was ready; and in a little time his Lordſhip came out, and went into his Coach, taking his Farewel of his Lady, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, and ſeveral other of his Friends at *Newgate*; in the Coach were Dr. *Tillotſon*, and Dr. *Burnet*, who accompanied him to the Scaffold built in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, which was cover'd all over with Mourning. Being come upon the Scaffold, his Lordſhip bow'd to the Perſons preſent, and turning to the Sheriff made this following Speech.

Mr. *Sheriff*,

I expected the Noiſe would be ſuch, that I ſhould not be very well heard. I was never fond of much ſpeaking, much leſs now; therefore I have ſet down in this Paper all that I think fit to leave behind me. God knows how far I was always from Deſigns againſt the King's Perſon, or of altering the Government. And I ſtill pray for the Preſervation of both, and of the Proteſtant Religion.

Mr.

Mr. Sheriff, I am told, that Captain *Walcot* yeſterday ſaid ſome things concerning my Knowledge of the Plot: I know not whether the Report is true or not.

Mr. Sheriff. I did not hear him name your Lordſhip.

Writer. No, my Lord, your Lordſhip was not nam'd by any of them.

Lord Ruſſel. I hope it is not; for, to my Knowledge, I never ſaw him, nor ſpake with him in my whole Life; and in the Words of a dying Man, I profeſs I know of no Plot, either againſt the King's Life, or the Government. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a better; I forgive all the World heartily, and I thank God I die in Charity with all Men; and I wiſh all ſincere Proteſtants may love one another, and not make way for Popery by their Animoſities. I pray God forgive them, and continue the Proteſtant Religion amongſt them, that it may flouriſh ſo long as the Sun and Moon endure. I am now more ſatisfied to die than ever I have been.

Then kneeling down, his Lordſhip pray'd to himſelf, after which Dr. *Tillotſon* kneel'd down and pray'd with him; which being done, his Lordſhip kneel'd down and pray'd a ſecond time to himſelf, then pull'd off his Peruke, put on his Cap, took off his Cravat, and Coat, and bidding the Executioner, after he had lain down a ſmall Moment, do his Office without a Sign, he gave him ſome Gold; then embracing Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Burnet*, he laid him down with his Neck upon the Block.

The Executioner miſſing at his firſt Stroke, though with that he took away Life, at two more ſevered the Head from the Body. The Executioner held up the Head to the People, as is uſual

in Caſes of Treaſon, &c. which being done, Mr. Sheriff order'd his Lordſhip's Friends or Servants to take the Body, and diſpoſe of it as they pleas'd, being given them by his Majeſty's Favour and Bounty.

The Paper deliver'd to the Sheriffs by my Lord RUSSEL.

I thank God, I find myſelf ſo compos'd and prepar'd for Death, and my Thoughts ſo fixt on another World, that, I hope in God, I am now quite wean'd from ſetting my Heart on this. Yet I cannot forbear ſpending ſome time now, in ſetting down in Writing a fuller Account of my Condition to be left behind me, than I'll venture to ſay at the Place of Execution, in the Noiſe and Clutter that is like to be there. I bleſs God heartily for thoſe many Bleſſings, which he in his infinite Mercy hath beſtow'd upon me through the whole Courſe of my Life; that I was born of worthy good Parents, and had the Advantage of a religious Education, which I have often thank'd God very heartily for, and look'd upon as an invaluable Bleſſing; for even when I minded it leaſt, it ſtill hung about me and gave me Checks, and hath now for many Years ſo influenc'd and poſſeſs'd me, that I feel the happy Effects of it in this my Extremity, in which I have been ſo wonderfully (I thank God) ſupported, that neither my Impriſonment, nor the Fear of Death, have been able to diſcompoſe me to any Degree; but on the contrary, I have found the Aſſurances of the Love and Mercy of God, in and through my bleſſed Redeemer, in whom only I truſt; and I do not queſtion, but that I am going to partake of that Fulneſs of Joy which is in his Preſence, the Hope whereof does ſo wonderfully delight me, that I reckon this

this as the happieſt Time of my Life, tho' others may look upon it as the ſaddeſt.

I have liv'd, and now die of the reform'd Religion, a true and ſincere Proteſtant, and in the Communion of the Church of *England*, though I could never yet comply with, or riſe up to all the Heights of ſome People. I wiſh with all my Soul, all our unhappy Differences were remov'd, and that all ſincere Proteſtants would ſo far conſider the Danger of Popery, as to lay aſide their Heats, and agree againſt the common Enemy; and that the Churchmen would be leſs ſevere, and the Diſſenters leſs ſcrupulous; for I think Bitterneſs and Perſecution are at all times bad, but much more now.

For Popery, I look on it as an idolatrous and bloody Religion; and therefore thought myſelf bound, in my Station, to do all I could againſt it. And by that, I foreſaw I ſhould procure ſuch great Enemies to myſelf, and ſo powerful ones, that I have been now for ſome time expecting the Worſt. And bleſſed be God, I fall by the Ax, and not by the fiery Tryal. Yet, whatever Apprehenſions I had of Popery, and of my own ſevere and heavy Share I was like to have under it, when it ſhould prevail, I never had a Thought of doing any thing againſt it baſely or inhumanely, but what could well conſiſt with the Chriſtian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom. And, I thank God, I have examin'd all my Actings in that Matter, with ſo great Care, that I can appeal to God Almighty, who knows my Heart, that I went on ſincerely, without being mov'd, either by Paſſion, by End, or ill Deſign. I have always lov'd my Country much more than my Life, and never had any Deſign of changing the Government, which I value, and look upon as one of the beſt Governments in the

World, and would always have been ready to venture my Life for the preſerving of it, and would have ſuffer'd any Extremity, rather than have conſented to any Deſign to take away the King's Life: Neither ever had Man the Impudence to propoſe ſo baſe and barbarous a thing to me. And I look upon it as a very unhappy, and uneaſy Part of my preſent Condition, that in my Indictment there ſhould be ſo much as Mention of ſo vile a Fact; tho' nothing in the leaſt was ſaid to prove any ſuch Matter; but the contrary, by the Lord *Howard*: Neither does any Body, I am confident, believe the leaſt of it. So that I need not, I think, ſay more.

For the King, I do ſincerely pray for him, and wiſh well to him, and to the Nation, that they may be happy in one another; that he may be indeed the Defender of the Faith; that the Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom may be preſerv'd, and flouriſh under his Government; and that he in his Perſon may be happy, both here, and hereafter.

As for the Share I had in the Proſecution of the Popiſh Plot, I take God to witneſs, that I proceeded in it in the Sincerity of my Heart; being then really convinc'd (as I am ſtill) that there was a Conſpiracy againſt the King, the Nation, and the Proteſtant Religion: And I likewiſe profeſs, that I never knew any thing, either directly or indirectly, of any Practice with the Witneſſes, which I look upon as ſo horrid a thing, that I could never have endur'd it. For, I thank God, Falſhood and Cruelty were never in my Nature, but always the fartheſt from it imaginable. I did believe, and do ſtill, that Popery is breaking in upon the Nation; and that thoſe who advance it, will ſtop at nothing, to carry on their Deſign: I am heartily ſorry that ſo many Proteſtants give

their

their helping Hand to it. But I hope God will preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and this Nation: Tho' I am afraid it will fall under very great Tryals, and very ſharp Sufferings. And indeed the Impiety and Profaneneſs that abounds, and appears ſo ſcandalouſly bare-fac'd every where, gives too juſt Reaſon to fear the worſt Things which can befal a People. I pray God prevent it, and give thoſe who have ſhew'd Concern for the publick Good, and who have appear'd hearty for the true Intereſt of the Nation, and the Proteſtant Religion, Grace to live ſo, that they may not caſt a Reproach on that which they endeavour to advance; which (God knows) hath often given me many ſad Thoughts. And I hope ſuch of my Friends as may think they are touch'd by this, will not take what I ſay in ill Part, but endeavour to amend their Ways, and live ſuitable to the Rules of the true reform'd Religion; which is the only Thing can adminiſter true Comfort at the latter End, and revive a Man when he comes to die.

As for my preſent Condition, I bleſs God, I have no Repining in my Heart at it. I know, for my Sins, I have deſerv'd much worſe at the Hands of God: So that I chearfully ſubmit to ſo ſmall a Puniſhment, as the being taken off a few Years ſooner, and the being made a Spectacle to the World. I do freely forgive all the World, particularly thoſe concern'd in taking away my Life: And I deſire and conjure my Friends to think of no Revenge, but to ſubmit to the holy Will of God, into whoſe Hands I reſign myſelf entirely.

But to look back a little; I cannot but give ſome Touch about the Bill of Excluſion, and ſhew the Reaſons of my appearing in that Buſineſs; which in ſhort is this: That I thought the Nation was in ſuch Danger of Popery, and that the

Expectation of a Popiſh Succeſſor (as I have ſaid in Parliament) put the King's Life likewiſe in ſuch Danger, that I ſaw no Way ſo effectual to ſecure both, as ſuch a Bill. As to the Limitations which were propos'd, if they were ſincerely offer'd, and had paſs'd into a Law, the Duke then would have been excluded from the Power of a King, and the Government quite alter'd, and little more than the Name of a King left. So I could not ſee either Sin or Fault in the one, when all People were willing to admit of t'other; but thought it better to have a King with his Prerogative, and the Nation eaſy and ſafe under him, than a King without it; which muſt have bred perpetual Jealouſies, and a continual Struggle. All this I ſay, only to juſtify myſelf, and not to inflame others: Tho' I cannot but think my Earneſtneſs in that Matter has had no ſmall Influence in my preſent Sufferings. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a Kingdom that cannot be mov'd.

And to the conſpiring to ſeize the Guards, which is the Crime for which I am condemned, and which was made a conſtructive Treaſon for taking away the King's Life, to bring it within the Statute of *Edward* III. I ſhall give this true and clear Account. I never was at Mr. *Shepherd*'s with that Company but once, and there was no Undertaking then of ſecuring, or ſeizing the Guards, nor none appointed to view, or examine them: Some Diſcourſe there was about the Feaſibleneſs of it; and ſeveral times, by Accident, in general Diſcourſe elſewhere, I have heard it mention'd, as a thing might eaſily be done, but never conſented to, as fit to be done. And I remember particularly at my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s, there being ſome general Diſcourſe of this kind, I immediately flew out, and exclaim'd againſt it, and ask'd,

If

If the thing ſucceeded, what muſt be done next, but maſſacring the Guards, and killing them in cold Blood? Which I look'd upon as ſo deteſtable a Thing, and ſo like a Popiſh Practice, that I could not but abhor it. And at the ſame time the Duke of *Monmouth* took me by the Hand, and told me very kindly, My Lord, I ſee you and I are of a Temper; Did you ever hear ſo horrid a Thing? And I muſt needs do him that Juſtice to declare, that I never obſerv'd in him but an Abhorrence to all baſe Things.

As to my going to Mr. *Shepherd*'s, I went with an Intention to taſte Sherry; for he had promis'd me to reſerve for me the next very good Piece he met with, when I went out of Town; and if he recollects, he may remember I ask'd him about it, and he went and fetch'd a Bottle; but when I taſted it, I ſaid it was hot in the Mouth; and deſir'd that whenever he met with a choice Piece, he would keep it for me: Which he promis'd. I enlarge the more upon this, becauſe Sir *George Jefferies* inſinuated to the Jury, as if I had made a Story about going thither; but I never ſaid that w s the only Reaſon: And I will now truly and plainly add the reſt.

I was the Day before this Meeting come to Town for two or three Days, as I had done once or twice before; having a very near and dear Relation lying in a very languiſhing and deſperate Condition: And the Duke of *Monmouth* came to me, and told me, he was extremely glad I was come to Town; for my Lord *Shaftsbury* and ſome hot Men would undo us all, if great Care be not taken, and therefore, for God's ſake uſe your Endeavours with your Friends, to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be Company at Mr. *Shepherd*'s that Night, and deſir'd me to be at Home in the Evening, and he would call me;

me; which he did: And when I came into the Room, I ſaw Mr. *Rumſey* by the Chimney, tho' he ſwears he came in after; and there were things ſaid by ſome with much more Heat than Judgment, which I did ſufficiently diſapprove, and yet for theſe Things I ſtand condemn'd. But I thank God, my Part was ſincere, and well meant. It is, I know, inferred from hence, and was preſſed to me, that I was acquainted with theſe Heats and ill Deſigns, and did not diſcover them. But this is but Miſpriſion of Treaſon at moſt. So I die innocent of the Crime I ſtand condemn'd for, and I hope no body will imagine that ſo mean a Thought could enter into me, as to go about to ſave myſelf by accuſing others. The Part that ſome have acted lately of that kind, has not been ſuch as to invite me to love Life at ſuch a Rate.

As for the Sentence of Death paſs'd upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one; for nothing was ſworn againſt me (whether true or falſe, I will not now examine) but ſome Diſcourſes about making ſome Stirs. And this is not levying War againſt the King, which is Treaſon by the Statute of *Edward* III. and not the conſulting and diſcourſing about it, which was all that was witneſſed againſt me. But, by a ſtrange Fetch, the Deſign of ſeizing the Guards, was conſtrued a Deſign of killing the King, and ſo I was in that caſt.

And now I have truly and ſincerely told what my Part was in that, which cannot be more than a bare Miſpriſion; and yet I am condemn'd as guilty of a Deſign of killing the King, I pray God lay not this to the Charge, neither of the King's Council, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, nor Jury: And for the Witneſſes, I pity them, and wiſh them well; I ſhall not reckon up the Particulars wherein they did me wrong; I had rather their

own

own Conſciences ſhould do that, to which, and the Mercies of God, I leave them. Only I ſtill aver, that what I ſaid of my not hearing Colonel *Rumſey* deliver his Meſſage from my Lord *Shaftsbury*, was true; for I always deteſted Lying, tho' never ſo much to my Advantage. And I hope none will be ſo unjuſt and uncharitable, as to think I would venture on it in theſe my laſt Words, for which I am ſo ſoon to give an Account to the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of all Things.

From the time of chuſing Sheriffs, I concluded the Heat in that Matter would produce ſomething of this kind; and I am not much ſurpriz'd to find it fall upon me. And I wiſh what is done to me may put a Stop, and ſatiate ſome Peoples Revenge, and that no more innocent Blood may be ſhed; for I muſt and do ſtill look upon mine as ſuch, ſince I know I was guilty of no Treaſon; and therefore I would not betray my Innocence by Flight, of which I do not (I thank God) yet repent, (tho' much preſſed to it) how fatal ſoever it may have ſeem'd to have prov'd to me; for I look upon my Death in this Manner, (I thank God) with other Eyes than the World does. I know I ſaid but little at the Tryal, and I ſuppoſe it looks more like Innocence than Guilt. I was alſo advis'd not to confeſs Matter of Fact plainly, ſince that muſt certainly have brought me within the Guilt of Miſpriſion. And being thus reſtrain'd from dealing frankly and openly, I choſe rather to ſay little, than to depart from Ingenuity, that by the Grace of God I had carried along with me in the former Parts of my Life, and ſo could eaſier be ſilent, and leave the whole Matter to the Conſcience of the Jury, than to make the laſt and ſolemneſt Part of my Life ſo different from the Courſe of it, as the uſing little Tricks and Evaſions

ſions muſt have been. Nor did I ever pretend to a great Readineſs in ſpeaking: I wiſh thoſe Gentlemen of the Law who have it, would make more Conſcience in the Uſe of it, and not run Men down by Strains and Fetches, impoſe on eaſy and willing Juries, to the Ruin of innocent Men: For to kill by Forms and Subtilties of Law, is the worſt ſort of Murder: But I wiſh the Rage of hot Men, and the Partialities of Juries may be ſtopt with my Blood, which I would offer up with ſo much the more Joy, if I thought I ſhould be the laſt were to ſuffer in ſuch a Way.

Since my Sentence, I have had few Thoughts but preparatory ones for Death; yet the Importunity of my Friends, and particularly of the beſt and deareſt Wife in the World, prevail'd with me to ſign Petitions, and make Addreſſes for my Life: To which I was very averſe. For (I thank God) tho' in all Reſpects I have liv'd one of the happieſt and contentedſt Men in the World (for now near fourteen Years) yet I am ſo willing to leave all, that it was not without Difficulty that I did any thing for the ſaving of my Life that was begging. But I was willing to let my Friends ſee what Power they had over me, and that I was not obſtinate nor ſullen, but would do any thing that an honeſt Man could do for their Satisfaction. Which was the only Motive that ſway'd, or had any Weight with me.

And now to ſum up all, as I never had any Deſign againſt the King's Life, or the Life of any Man whatſoever; ſo I never was in any Contrivance of altering the Government. What the Heats, Wickedneſſes, Paſſions, and Vanities of other Men have occaſion'd, I ought not to be anſwerable for; nor could I repreſs them, tho' I now ſuffer for them. But the Will of the Lord be done, into whoſe Hands I commend my Spirit;

rit; and truſt that thou, O merciful Father! haſt forgiven me all my Tranſgreſſions; the Sins of my Youth, and all the Errors of my paſt Life, and that thou wilt not lay my ſecret Sins to my Charge; but wilt graciouſly ſupport me, during that ſmall Part of my Life now before me, and aſſiſt me in my laſt Moments, and not leave me then to be diſorder'd by Fear, or any other Temptation; but make the Light of thy Countenance to ſhine upon me; for thou art my Sun and my Shield: And as thou ſupporteſt me by thy Grace, ſo I hope thou wilt hereafter crown me with Glory, and receive me into the Fellowſhip of Angels and Saints, in that bleſſed Inheritance, purchas'd for me by my moſt merciful Redeemer, who is, I truſt, at thy right Hand, preparing a Place for me; into whoſe Hands I commend my Spirit.

Signed WILLIAM RUSSEL.

The CHARACTER *of* WILLIAM *Lord* RUSSEL.

The Lord *Ruſſel* was Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, a Family that was become exceeding popular by keeping up the old *Engliſh* Hoſpitality. This Earl ſeldom turn'd off his Servants when they married, but maintain'd them, their Children, and Grand-children, under his Roof; inſomuch that there was ſeldom found fewer than a hundred of them in his Family; and whoever could claim any Relation or Acquaintance with his Domeſticks, might have Acceſs to their Tables: He took a peculiar Delight in beholding People eat and drink of his Bounty, and would appear frequently among them, and bid them welcome.

Whether the Earl was of Opinion that the Eſtate he enjoy'd, which conſiſted chiefly in Abbey-lands, ought to be employ'd to the Uſes the Donors

Donors originally intended them, *viz.* in Works of Charity and Hoſpitality, or whether it proceeded from the Benevolence of his Nature, never were Lands given to maintain Hoſpitality more ſtrictly apply'd to that Purpoſe: And the Family was not more fam'd for Acts of Generoſity, than for their Oeconomy, and the good Orders obſerv'd in it; but what was moſt wonderful in that Reign, amidſt all this Affluence and Plenty, there was not a Gentleman more remarkable for his Sobriety, Temperance, and publick Spirit, than the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Heir Apparent of theſe vaſt Poſſeſſions: And whatever Errors he might commit in Politicks, his Enemies are ready to acknowledge he always acted upon Principle, and according to the Dictates of his Conſcience. It was his firm Belief that the Proteſtant Religion would be in extreme Hazard under a popiſh Prince, and therefore he did, with all his Might, promote the Excluſion of the Duke of *York*. And ſuch was his Power and Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons, that he brought them over entirely to his Sentiments. The Bill paſs'd the Commons, and was by himſelf, the principal Promoter of it, carried up to the Lords, where, meeting with a Repulſe, it is ſaid he then meditated the bringing that about by Force, which he found was not to be obtain'd in a legal Way; but however that be, it is certain his Zeal was very great for the Excluſion Bill, as appears by that Expreſſion of his when the Lords rejected it, *viz. That had his own Father been one of thoſe who refus'd to paſs the Bill, he would have been the firſt Man that ſhould have impeach'd him of High Treaſon.*

My Lord was a Gentleman of good Addreſs, chearful and affable to all Men, and of a very diſcerning Spirit; he did not uſe many Words, but was a very weighty Speaker: The Opinion

Men

Men had of his Wiſdom and Merit, made him generally well heard and attended to; and he did in a manner govern the Debates in the Houſe of Commons while he ſat there.

He did not diſſemble his Opinions in Politicks; he believ'd that Subjects might procure of their Prince by Force, whatever they judg'd neceſſary to their Preſervation, according to the receiv'd Maxim that Kings were made for the People, and not the People for them. And when the Prince ceaſes to be the Miniſter of God for Good, and ſeeks to deſtroy the People he ſhould protect, his Subjects are abſolv'd from their Allegiance.

And ſo tenacious was he of theſe Principles, that tho' his good Friends Dr. *Tillotſon*, and Dr. *Burnet*, who aſſiſted his Lordſhip in his Preparation for Death, us'd their utmoſt Endeavours to bring him over to the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, he held faſt his Opinion to the laſt.

It is generally thought the Paper he left with the Sheriffs was drawn up by another Hand, there appearing more Art in it than was ſuitable to his Lordſhip's known Sincerity: His Death was look'd upon by ſome as a juſt Judgment, in having ſo violently purſu'd the Earl of *Stafford* to his Grave; and not ſatisfy'd with his Life, oppos'd the remitting the barbarous Part of the Sentence, and even queſtion'd his Majeſty's Power to change the Puniſhment to beheading, tho' this was a Favour that had been ſeldom denied to any Nobleman.

I cannot but take Notice in this Place of an Aſſertion of our Pretenders to ſecret Hiſtory: They tell us that the Executioner had Direction to uſe my Lord *Ruſſel* ill, and accordingly he wounded him in the Shoulder, and that his Lordſhip got up and expoſtulated the Matter with him; but the numerous Spectators ſtill living can teſtify that the firſt Stroke depriv'd his Lordſhip of

all

all Senſe and Motion, and the two next ſever'd his Head from his Body, both which were deliver'd to his Friends, who attended to receive them.

The late Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in his Narrative of this Conſpiracy, gives this Account of his Lordſhip's being ſeduc'd into it. *My Lord* (ſays he) *was carried away, beyond his Duty and Allegiance, into this traiterous Enterprize, by a vain Air of Popularity, and a wild Suſpicion of loſing a great Eſtate, by an imaginary Return of Popery, whereby he was the more eaſily ſeduc'd by the wicked Teachers of that moſt Antichriſtian Doctrine, which has been the Cauſe of ſo many Rebellions, and was ſo conformable to his Presbyterian Education*, viz. That it is lawful to reſiſt and riſe againſt Sovereign Princes, for the Preſervation of Religion.

Captain WALCOT's CHARACTER.

The Captain was an old Officer in *Cromwel's* Army, who, after Pardon and Indemnity receiv'd, and a plentiful Eſtate ſecur'd to him by the King's Reſtauration, was nevertheleſs actually engag'd in all the Plots againſt the Government ever ſince, and particularly in that of *Ireland*, ſome Years before this, to ſurprize the Caſtle of *Dublin*. He was introduc'd by the Lord *Howard*, under the Character of a ſtout and able Officer, into a ſtrict Familiarity with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, from whom he never departed till his Death, accompanying him in his Flight into *Holland*; and returning thence with his Corps, he and *Ferguſon* having this peculiar Mark of his Kindneſs, to be made Legatees in his laſt Will and Teſtament, as his ſpecial Friends. *Biſhop of* Rocheſter's *Narrative of the Conſpiracy*, Page 22.

Sir

Sir THOMAS ARMSTRONG's CHARACTER.

Sir *Thomas* was a debauch'd Atheiſtical Bravo, one of thoſe who, with an Hypocriſy peculiar to that Age, would have paſs'd for one of the moſt forward Reformers of Church and State, while they themſelves, both in their Practice and Opinions, were the greateſt Corrupters of Virtue and all good Manners: *Bp. Ro.* p. 22.

The Execution of ALGERNOON SIDNEY, *Eſq; on* Friday *the 7th of* December 1683.

HIS Majeſty having been pleaſed to remit all the Sentence but Beheading, he was brought to a Scaffold erected, for that purpoſe, on *Tower-Hill*, where, having deliver'd the following Paper to the Sheriff, his Head was ſever'd from his Body.

Men, Brethren, and Fathers; Friends, Countrymen, and Strangers,

It may be expected that I ſhould now ſay ſome great Matters unto you; but the Rigour of the Seaſon, and the Infirmities of my Age, increaſed by a cloſe Impriſonment of above five Months, do not permit me.

Moreover, we live in an Age that maketh Truth paſs for Treaſon: I dare not ſay any thing contrary unto it, and the Ears of thoſe that are about me will probably be found too tender to hear it. My Tryal and Condemnation do ſufficiently evidence this.

Weſt, *Rumſey*, and *Keyling*, who were brought to prove the Plot, ſaid no more of me, than that they knew me not; and ſome others equally unknown unto me, had uſed my Name, and that of ſome others, to give a little Reputation unto their

Deſigns. The Lord *Howard* is too infamous by his Life, and the many Perjuries not to be deny'd, or rather ſworn by himſelf, to deſerve mention; and being a ſingle Witneſs would be of no value, tho' he had been of unblemiſhed Credit, or had not ſeen and confeſſed that the Crimes committed by him would be pardon'd only for committing more; and even the Pardon promiſed could not be obtain'd till the Drudgery of Swearing was over.

This being laid aſide, the whole matter is reduced to the Papers ſaid to be found in my Cloſet by the King's Officers, without any other Proof of their being written by me, than what is taken from Suppoſitions upon the Similitude of an Hand that is eaſily counterfeited, and which hath been lately declared in the Lady *Car*'s Caſe to be no lawful Evidence in criminal Cauſes.

But if I had been ſeen to write them, the matter would not be much alter'd. They plainly appear to relate unto a large Treatiſe written long ſince in Anſwer to *Filmer*'s Book, which, by all intelligent Men, is thought to be grounded upon wicked Principles, equally pernicious unto Magiſtrates and People.

If he might publiſh unto the World his Opinion, That all Men are born under a neceſſity derived from the Laws of God and Nature, to ſubmit unto an Abſolute Kingly Government, which could be reſtrained by no Law, or Oath; and that he that hath the Power, whether he came unto it by Creation, Election, Inheritance, Uſurpation, or any other way, had the Right; and none muſt oppoſe his Will, but the Perſons and Eſtates of his Subjects muſt be indiſpenſably ſubject unto it; I know not why I might not have publiſhed my Opinion to the contrary, without the Breach of any Law I have yet known.

I might

I might as freely as he publickly have declared my Thoughts, and the Reaſons upon which they were grounded; and I am perſuaded to believe, that God had left Nations unto the Liberty of ſetting up ſuch Governments as beſt pleaſed themſelves.

That Magiſtrates were ſet up for the Good of Nations, not Nations for the Honour or Glory of Magiſtrates.

That the Right and Power of Magiſtrates in every Country, was that which the Laws of that Country made it to be.

That thoſe Laws were to be obſerved, and the Oaths taken by them, having the Force of a Contract between Magiſtrate and People, could not be violated without danger of diſſolving the whole Fabrick.

That Uſurpation could give no Right, and the moſt dangerous of all Enemies unto Kings were they, who, raiſing their Power to an exorbitant Height, allowed unto Uſurpers all the Rights belonging unto it.

That ſuch Uſurpations being ſeldom compaſs'd without the Slaughter of the Reigning Perſon, or Family, the worſt of all Villanies was thereby rewarded with the moſt glorious Privileges.

That if ſuch Doctrines were received, they would ſtir up Men to the Deſtruction of Princes with more Violence, than all the Paſſions that have hitherto raged in the Hearts of the moſt unruly.

That none could be ſafe, if ſuch a Reward were propoſed unto any that could deſtroy them.

That few would be ſo gentle as to ſpare even the beſt, if by their Deſtruction a wild Uſurper could become God's Anointed; and by the moſt execrable Wickedneſs inveſt himſelf with that divine Character.

This is the Scope of the whole Treatiſe; the Writer gives ſuch Reaſons as at preſent did occur unto him, to prove it. This ſeems to agree with the Doctrines of the moſt reverenced Authors of all Times, Nations, and Religions. The beſt and wiſeſt of Kings have ever acknowledg'd it. The preſent King of *France* hath declared that Kings have that happy want of Power, that they can do nothing contrary to the Laws of their Country, and grounds his Quarrel with the King of *Spain*, *Anno* 1667. upon that Principle. King *James*, in his Speech to the Parliament, *An.* 1603. doth in the higheſt degree aſſert it: The Scripture ſeems to declare it. If nevertheleſs the Writer was miſtaken, he might have been refuted by Law, Reaſon, and Scripture; and no Man, for ſuch Matters, was ever otherwiſe puniſhed, than by being made to ſee his Error; and it hath not (as I think) been ever known that they had been refer'd to the Judgment of a Jury, compoſed of Men utterly unable to comprehend them.

But there was little of this in my Caſe; the Extravagance of my Proſecutors goes higher: The above-mention'd Treatiſe was never finiſh'd, nor could be in many Years, and moſt probably would never have been. So much as is of it was written long ſince, never reviewed nor ſhewn unto any Man; and the fiftieth part of it was produced, and not the tenth of that offered to be read. That which was never known unto thoſe who are ſaid to have conſpired with me, was ſaid to be intended to ſtir up the People in Proſecution of the Deſigns of thoſe Conſpirators.

When nothing of particular Application unto Time, Place, or Perſon, could be found in it, (as hath ever been done by thoſe who endeavour'd to raiſe Inſurrections) all was ſupplied by *Innuendo's*.

What-

Whatſoever is ſaid of the Expulſion of *Tarquin*; the Inſurrection againſt *Nero*; the Slaughter of *Caligula*, or *Domitian*; the Tranſlation of the Crown of *France* from *Merovens*'s Race unto *Pepin*; and from his Deſcendants unto *Hugh Capet*, and the like, applied by *Innuendo* unto the King.

They have not conſider'd, that if ſuch Acts of State be not good, there is not a King in the World that has any Title to the Crown he bears; nor can have any, unleſs he could deduce his Pedigree from the eldeſt Son of *Noah*, and ſhew that the Succeſſion had ſtill continu'd in the eldeſt of the eldeſt Line, and been ſo deduced to him.

Every one may ſee what Advantage this would be to all the Kings of the World; and whether, that failing, it were not better for them to acknowledge they had received their Crowns by the Conſent of willing Nations; or to have no beter Title unto them than Uſurpation and Violence, which, by the ſame ways, may be taken from them.

But I was not long ſince told that I muſt die, or the Plot muſt die.

Leſt the Means of deſtroying the beſt Proteſtants in *England* ſhould fail, the Bench muſt be fill'd with ſuch as had been Blemiſhes to the Bar.

None but ſuch as theſe would have adviſed with the King's Council, of the Means of bringing a Man to Death, ſuffer'd a Jury to be pack'd by the King's Solicitors and the Under-Sheriff, admit of Jurymen who were not Freeholders, receive ſuch Evidence as is above-mention'd, refuſe a Copy of an Indictment, or to ſuffer the Statute of 46 *Edw.* III to be read, that doth expreſly enact, it ſhould in no Caſe be denied unto any Man, upon any Occaſion whatſoever, overrule the moſt important Points of Law without hearing. And whereas the Statute 25 *Edw.* III,

upon which they ſaid I ſhould be tried, doth reſerve unto the Parliament all Conſtructions to be made in Points of Treaſon, they could aſſume unto themſelves not only a Power to make Conſtructions, but ſuch Conſtructions as neither agree with Law, Reaſon, or common Senſe.

By theſe Means I am brought to this Place. The Lord forgive theſe Practices, and avert the Evils that threaten the Nation from them. The Lord ſanctify theſe my Sufferings unto me; and though I fall as a Sacrifice unto Idols, ſuffer not Idolatry to be eſtabliſh'd in this Land. Bleſs thy People and ſave them. Defend thy own Cauſe, and defend thoſe that defend it. Stir up ſuch as are faint, direct thoſe that are willing, confirm thoſe that waver, give Wiſdom and Integrity unto All. Order all Things ſo as may moſt redound unto thine own Glory. Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy Mercies, and that at the laſt thou haſt permitted me to be ſingled out as a Witneſs of thy Truth; and even by the Confeſſion of my Oppoſers, for that *Old Cauſe* in which I was from my Youth engag'd, and for which thou haſt often and wonderfully declar'd thyſelf.

The Execution of JAMES HOLLOWAY, *the Day of* April, 1684.

His Petition to his Majeſty after Execution awarded.

Moſt great and gracious Sovereign,

I *Your Majeſty's now cloſe Priſoner in* Newgate, *and condemn'd for my Crimes, which I have confeſs'd myſelf guilty of, in a Paper of my own writing, deliver'd to the Right Honourable the Lords of your Majeſty's Privy Council, in which is a true and faithful*

ful Account of all that I know concerning the late Plot, with the manner how I was drawn into it, and the Reaſons why I did not come in at the firſt Diſcovery, and caſt myſelf at your Majeſty's Feet for Mercy, which I hope your Majeſty hath peruſed, and find no Cauſe to think I have reſerved any thing undiſcovered; for when I was firſt taken, I reſolv'd to declare the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth, which I have here done, and will own to be true, before any that ſhall offer to contradict it, or ſay there was no Plot; and if any thing more occurs to my Memory, will not fail to declare it. I have now nothing to ſay for myſelf why I ſhould not be executed according to Condemnation, but do moſt humbly proſtrate myſelf at your Majeſty's Feet for Mercy, acknowledging my hearty Sorrow for all that I have been guilty of, and remain in hopes, that that Fountain of Mercy which hath ſo abundantly flowed from your Majeſty's ſacred Breaſt ever ſince your happy Reſtauration is not yet dry, but that there are ſome Drops left for me, which if I may be ſo happy as to obtain, I ſhall always, whilſt I live, endeavour to approve myſelf your Majeſty's moſt true and faithful Subject; and, I hope, will anſwer the Ends of a Pardon. Which that I may ſo do, and for your Majeſty's long Life, peaceable and happy Reign, ſhall every Pray, &c.

JAMES HOLLOWAY.

The Diſcourſe that paſſed between the Sheriffs of London *and* JAMES HOLLOWAY, *at the Time of his Execution.*

Holloway. May I have Liberty, Sir, to ſpeak what I deſire to ſpeak?

Sheriff Daniel. Yes, Sir, you may. What you have, I ſuppoſe, will be by way of Diſcovery to the World of what you are brought here to die for.

Holloway. You have my Paper, Captain.

Capt. Richardſon. Yes.

Sheriff Daniel. Have it you about you?

Capt. Richardſon. I have it in my Pocket.

Sheriff Daniel. Shew it him (which he did.) Is it your own Hand-writing?

Holloway. Yes, Sir.

Sheriff Daniel. Is it your own Hand-writing?

Holloway. That is my own Hand-writing------ A Diſcovery of what I knew I made to his Majeſty, but a great many People think that I have not diſcover'd what I knew, but I have diſcover'd what I knew of the Plot, and I am heartily ſorry I was any way concern'd in that way, as to the endeavouring any thing by Arms. I do think ſeveral things have been ill manag'd in *England*, there have been many things done againſt the King and the Kingdom's Intereſt, and I wiſh the King was well ſatisfied of it, and that a Courſe might be taken to prevent it. And, I think, one way to prevent plotting (according to my weak Capacity) is, that his Majeſty would be pleas'd to call a Parliament, and paſs an Act of Oblivion for all Plotters whatſoever. There was a damnable Popiſh Plot, and I look upon the ſtifling of that, to be the only Cauſe that any Man did any thing in this. Had all the Popiſh Plotters been------

Sheriff Daniel. By the way, Sir, how do you know it was ſtifled?

Holloway. Sir, we have known that the Laws could not be ſuffered againſt them, and the Parliament could not be ſuffered in the Proſecution of them. I wiſh the King would conſult his own Safety, and the Safety of the Nation, and that an Act of Oblivion might paſs, for I believe there are many concern'd; and that there might be an End put to all News-mongers, that write into the Country Letters of News; I look upon that

that to do the King and the Kingdom more Hurt than any thing elſe.

Capt. Richardſon. Mr. *Holloway*, I beg one thing, have you diſcover'd all? I deſire you would declare thoſe (you did not name their Names) that, if Occaſion were, would be ready; but that you had not ſpoke to them. *Wade* and others were to maintain their Poſts.

Holloway. No, Sir, I had not ſpoke to them.

Capt. Richardſon. This you did ſay.

Holloway. Yes, Sir.

Sheriff Daniel. And that you promis'd a Number of Men in this Deſign.

Holloway. Promiſe it! I did propoſe I might do it.

Capt. Richardſon. What do you know of the contriving the Buſineſs of the *Rye*, for lopping, or taking off the King and the Duke?

Holloway. I was not with them till after the Time a good while; till about a Month or ſix Weeks after the Time I was not acquainted with them. I look'd upon it as a Buſineſs not likely to take any Effect at all, for I could never find above five that were concern'd in it.

Sheriff Daſhwood. But did they not tell you at ſome one Time they were concern'd in ſuch a Thing?

Holloway. Yes, Sir, they did ſo. They told me more than once.

Sheriff Daniel. In *Briſtol* or in *London?*

Holloway. In *London.*

Sheriff Daſhwood. Mr. *Holloway*, you have a Liberty to ſay any thing you have a mind to.

Holloway. I have little to ſay more upon that Account. I am ſorry I was concern'd in that way, to do ſuch a thing as to take up Arms. But as to the Deſign I had, and the Plot I was acquainted with, it was nothing againſt the King's Life.

Capt.

Capt. Richardſon. Sure it was the ſame Plot, while there was a Deſign to ſeize the King, and take him from evil Company.

Holloway. We had a Deſign to take them that were guilty of the Popiſh Plot, and were Enemies to the Privileges and Liberties of the Subject.

Sheriff Daniel. And as a thing that tended to that, the King was to be ſeiz'd till he conſented to theſe things?

Holloway. It was ſuppos'd by them that told me of it, that many things that have been acted of late, were done contrary to the King's Knowledge, and that the King knew nothing of it; and I am perfectly of that Belief too, that many things are done contrary to the King's Knowledge. And I was farther inform'd, that if the King could be but once acquainted with theſe things, that the King would preſently come in to thoſe that ſhould ſtand for his Aſſiſtance, and give up all thoſe Offenders to Juſtice.

Sheriff Daniel. And if you could not tell him otherwiſe, you would take him firſt and tell him afterwards.

Holloway. You may intepret it how you pleaſe, Sir. It was that all ſuch Differences amongſt the King's Subjects might be prevented for the future; for I believe there were never greater Differences in the Spirits of Men, though ſome think the Times were never better than now, becauſe all things go according to their own Humour; but I ſuppoſe many in the Nation are ſatisfied that many things have been done contrary to Law.

Sheriff Daniel. Was it fit you ſhould ſet up for a Politician, or a Stateſman?

Holloway. No, Sir, I did not take it upon me; that was for the Scribblers that write News. I do

not

not reckon myſelf worthy to direct in ſuch a Caſe.

Sheriff Daniel. Mr. *Holloway*, you don't remember to give the Names of thoſe Perſons you ſpake of.

Holloway. It would be a Folly for me, Sir, to go to abuſe Men that I did not know whether they would be concern'd or no.

Sheriff Daſhwood. But that there were Perſons that would be concern'd, you ſay.

Holloway. That we did think ſo; and if we ſhould name every one that we thought would be concern'd, I believe we might name three Parts of *London*.

Capt. Richardſon. I hope you are in a great Miſtake there.

Holloway. For that Deſign, I believe above three Parts would be for. I never had any Deſign but for the King and the Kingdom's Intereſt; though I know that Deſign that was carried on by *Rumſey* and *Weſt* was a very heinous Deſign, but I believe they would not have found many in *England* that would have been for it; I never heard of above five for it.

Sheriff Daniel. Were you acquainted with *Walcot?*

Holloway. I was in his Company once or twice, but I heard him ſpeak againſt it.

Sheriff Daniel. Was you ever with my Lord *Shaftsbury?*

Holloway. No, Sir, I was never with my Lord *Shaftsbury* but once, and that was about a Deſign I was promoting in Parliament, about the Linnen Manufacture.

Sheriff Daniel. Was you ever with my Lord of *Eſſex?*

Holloway. Never but once, and that was about that Buſineſs.

Sheriff

Sheriff Daniel. Were you ever acquainted with my Lord *Ruſſel?*

Holloway. Never with him at all.

Sheriff Daſhwood. You were ſaying you knew the Names of five; who were they that were to be concern'd in that Matter?

Holloway. I have declar'd them to his Majeſty.

Sheriff Daniel. Did you know *Ferguſon?*

Holloway. I knew him, Sir, but I know *Ferguſon* to be againſt any ſuch Deſign, and, indeed, we did look upon it to be a thing that would come to no Effect.

Sheriff Daſhwood. Do you mean the ſeizing the King?

Holloway. I mean the Inſurrection.

Sheriff Daniel. Did you know of any Money raiſed or promiſed to buy Arms?

Holloway. No, Sir, never. I heard of Money that was to be raiſed, but I did not know who was to raiſe it.

Sheriff Daniel. It is not our Buſineſs to ask you many Queſtions, if you have any thing to ſay you may.

Sheriff Daſhwood, If you have any thing to ſay for the Diſcharge of your Conſcience, do it.

Holloway. I thank God, I never had any Deſign againſt his Majeſty's Perſon; what I intended was only for the good of the King and Kingdom, and I did take it that it would have been ſo; and I am very ſorry that any things ſhould have gone contrary to Law, as they have done; and I hope care will be taken to prevent any ſuch things for the future.

Sheriff Daſhwood. The King hath ſaid he will govern according to Law; he hath done ſo, and will do ſo.

Holloway. That I leave to the Judgment of all; many know better than I.

Sheriff

Sheriff Daniel. Such gloſſy Pretences are very ſtrange, to carry on ſuch a Deſign, for the ſeizing a Sovereign Prince, that you have ſworn Allegiance to, or ought to have done.

Holloway. I think thoſe Pretences, the Grounds that we went upon, were no gloſſy Pretences at all.

Sheriff Daniel. I think it is, that when things are not done as you would have them, you muſt immediately rebel.

Holloway. No, Sir, not that; we did not deſign a Rebellion.

Sheriff Daniel. The ſeizing the King is certainly a Rebellion, and one of the higheſt Steps of Rebellion.

Holloway. We ſay this, that all Ways were uſed againſt Proteſtants; ſeveral ſham Plots; but no Juſtice could be had againſt Papiſts.

Sheriff Daniel. Several of them were executed here.

Holloway. There were ſome executed at firſt, Sir; but afterwards, when ſo many great Perſons came to be concern'd, there was nothing could be had againſt them.

Sheriff Daniel. There were mighty Searches made about *London*, for that great Number of Papiſts talkt on.

Holloway. There were a great many ſeiz'd, Sir; but what became of them?

Sheriff Daniel. Generally try'd, and brought to condign Puniſhment. You would not have had every *Iriſh* Man believ'd againſt honeſt Men. Some People were call'd Papiſts in Maſquerade.

Holloway. *Iriſh* Men were believ'd againſt Proteſtants, after they had turn'd about, and had ſworn againſt Papiſts, they were believ'd then. It was well obſerv'd, that while the *Iriſh* Evidences did continue in the firſt Diſcourſe of the Popiſh Plot,

Plot, and in the firſt Evidence, then, it is well known, they were ſlighted, and all cry'd out againſt; but when they came to ſwear againſt Proteſtants, then things were alter'd preſently.

Sheriff Daſhwood. I pray God all Mens Eyes may be open'd to ſee what is done.

Holloway. I would not adviſe any one to go that way to work, to do any thing by Force of Arms; and I wiſh the King's Eyes may be open'd, that he may ſee his Enemies from his Friends; and I think he hath cauſe to look for them near his Home.

Have you any Papers to deliver?

Holloway. I have no other Papers; what Paper I wrote the Council had. I did write a Paper that it might be ſome Satisfaction to the Opinions of People of what I knew, that care might be taken to prevent other Opinions, if there were an Error. And that Paper the Council had; though they took it very heinouſly of me that I ſhould preſume to write ſuch a thing. I look'd upon it that I could not do more for the King, than to acquaint him of what I knew, that if they were miſinform'd, there might be care taken to alter the Opinion.

Sheriff Daſhwood. You have deliver'd no Paper to your Wife, or to any Friends?

Holloway. That, I ſuppoſe, is well known to the Goaler.

Sheriff Daſhwood. You know better than any Body whether you have or not. You may ſay ay or no.

Holloway. I could not be admitted to write any, for I could not have Pen and Ink to write any thing but this.

Sheriff Daſhwood. And you have not deliver'd any Paper?

Holloway.

Holloway. I have written to ſome Friends. I know it is ſuppos'd that I had deliver'd a Copy of that Paper that the Council had; and, I think, if it had been known publickly, it would have done no great Hurt.

Sheriff Daniel. You ſpeak of ſeveral Peoples Opinions; what do you mean?

Holloway. As concerning the Times, Sir, the Management of Affairs.

Sheriff Daniel. Pray, Sir, under what Denomination do you reckon yourſelf?

Holloway. I reckon myſelf a Proteſtant.

Sheriff Daniel. Of what Sort? Of the Church of *England*, or of the Diſſenters from them?

Holloway. I am not a Diſſenter from the Church of *England*.

Sheriff Daniel. Nor joyned with them?

Holloway. Nor joyned with them altogether. But I thought that if any Good had been deſign'd for *England*, that I had done enough to merit a Pardon; for I had wrote ſo much of Truth, and was ſo fair and plain in it, that I thought it would have merited a Pardon, if any Good were deſign'd. If I could have diſcover'd more, that had been for the King and Kingdom's Intereſt, I would have done it; for I did not do it raſhly, but conſider'd of it ſome time before I gave it in. I hope it will be a Satisfaction that there was ſuch a Plot; what other Men's Opinions might be of it I can't tell, but leave every one to their own Judgment. It was fear'd that arbitrary Government and Popery was deſign'd; and truly, I think, at this preſent time, by what I can underſtand, that there is little better deſign'd.

Capt. Richardſon. This is reflecting upon the Government.

Sheriff Daſhwood. This is not fit.

Holloway.

Holloway. I ſay it is contrary to the King's Knowledge, Sir.

Sheriff Daniel. Sir, we have neither a Reprieve nor a Pardon for you.

Holloway. I don't expect it, Sir; if Truth and Plainneſs would have merited a Pardon, I might have had it.

Capt. Richardſon. The King is the beſt Judge of his own Mercy.

Holloway. Had the Law been executed againſt Popiſh Offenders, I had never been concern'd in any Plot.

Capt. Richardſon. You know the King was very earneſt in that, to have the Laws put in execution againſt them; and that he mov'd it to the Parliament to have it done. Have you any thing elſe to ſay that more nearly concerns you?

Holloway. I wiſh I could have been any otherways ſerviceable to the King and Kingdom, before I left them. I ſhould have been very willing; and it was always my Deſign, to promote the King and Kingdom's Intereſt more than my own.

Sheriff Daniel. Well, Sir, you ſay ſome things very well, but others ill.

Holloway. What I ſay, Sir, I leave to Peoples Judgments; if I am miſtaken, I hope they will be otherwiſe.

Sheriff Daniel. Well, Sir, have you any thing farther to ſay?

Holloway. No, Sir.

Sheriff Daſhwood. I ſuppoſe you us'd to keep a Meeting, or Club, at *Briſtol*, with ſeveral there.

Holloway. I know ſome have repreſented a Club very bad in *Briſtol.* A Club we had about the Choice of Parliament-Men.

Sheriff Daniel. The Horſe-ſhoe Club.

Sheriff Daſhwood. Or the Mermaid Club.

Holloway.

Holloway. The Horſe-ſhoe Club it was only for carrying on the Election of Parliament-Men. If all ſuch things ſhould be called Clubs, there were greater Clubs kept by another Party.

Sheriff Daniel. Well, Sir, you had beſt fit your ſelf for Death, you have no long time to live.

Then he open'd his Bible, and read *Pſalm* 62. and part of two Chapters in the *Hebrews*, and afterwards ask'd the Sheriffs if he might have Liberty to pray; which being granted, he prayed.

(Then being asked, Who was in Council at the Delivery of the Letter? He anſwer'd,)

Holloway. There was the Duke of *York*, and the Lord-Keeper; I did not deliver it: It was intercepted in a Letter, or given in. I did not know how it was; for I have been kept ſo, that I had not the Liberty to ſee any Friend, 'till yeſterday in the Afternoon I had the Liberty of two or three Hours with my Wife.

Capt. *Richardſon.* You had your Wife with you before, and your Siſter, and ſome other Friends.

Holloway. But that was never without a Keeper, Sir.

Capt. *Richardſon.* You are in the right.

Sh. Daniel. They do not uſe to allow Men under your Circumſtances ſuch a Liberty as you talk of.

Holloway. I pray God that no other People may concern themſelves with publick Affairs, out of their own way; and that the Scribblers might be put down, for they do more Hurt to the Kingdom than any thing elſe.

Sh. Daniel. Have you any thing more to ſay?

Holloway. No, Sir.

Sh. Daniel. Then God have Mercy upon your Soul.

The PAPER *deliver'd to the Sheriffs.*

Apr. 26. 1684.

To ſtop the Mouths, *&c.* of all Pamphleteers, and News-Scribblers, who have done more Prejudice to his Majeſty and Kingdoms, by their impudent Endeavours to ſham all Plots, and to fill the Country with falſe News, than they will ever be able to retrieve; and to ſatisfy all I leave behind me, I thought good to draw up a ſhort Account of what I knew of the late *Proteſtant Plot*, how I came to be concern'd, what induced me to it, and how far I was concerned; alſo my now Opinion of it, *&c.*

It was my Unhappineſs to have too publick a Spirit for one of my Capacity, and as ſoon as I came to be a free Man, to prefer the King's and Kingdom's Intereſt before my own; for having ſome Knowledge in Linnen-Cloth, upon the Prohibition of *French* Linnens, *&c.* I thought the Linnen-Manufacture might be brought to Perfection in *England*, to the very great Advantage of the Poor, and ſo made ſome Tryal of it in *Warwickſhire*, where I employed ſome Hundreds of Poor, and in about eighteen Months time brought it to ſuch Perfection, that I could make as good Cloth as the *French*, and ſo well imitate it, that few could know it from *French*; but the Prohibition being not ſo ſtrict as at firſt ſeem'd to be, *French* Cloth was brought in cheaper than ever; ſo that I was forced to leave off with Loſs; but conſidering, that by an Act of Parliament for its Encouragement, in a Method I had thought upon, it might be ſettled much to the King's and Kingdom's Intereſt, advancing the King's Revenue near two Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year, and would have employed about eighty Thouſand poor People;

ple, and about forty Thouſand Acres of Land; concerning which I was (about *June* 1680.) brought acquainted with the Earl of *Eſſex*, to whom I related the Buſineſs; who immediately had me to the (now) Earl of *Rocheſter*, then Preſident of the Treaſury, and he had me to Sir *Edward Deering*, who (when they underſtood my Propoſals) gave me ſomething to bear my Charges, and encouraged me to attend the next Parliament, to endeavour the Promotion thereof; which I did almoſt the whole Seſſion, and brought to the Speaker's Chamber ſome of the Cloth, which was compared with *French*, *&c.* and the Deſign well-approv'd of by all; which brought me into too large Acquaintance for one of my Capacity; from whom I heard too much (as hath proved, for my Intereſt) of things that were then in hand concerning the *Popiſh Plot*, which prevented the doing any thing as to my Deſign. So after that I was encouraged to attend the *Oxford* Parliament, which I did; and was deſired there by the Earl of *Clarendon*, and others, to prepare a Bill; the Heads of which I drew up, tho' it proved to no purpoſe but my Ruin. I wiſh my King and Country might reap the Benefit of what I pay ſo dear for. The more I knew during my Attendance on thoſe two Parliaments, the more I was deſirous to know; and did by ſome Scribblers and Newsmongers conſtantly know moſt publick Affairs that were acted, which they undertook to repreſent according to their own Humour; many Actions being repreſented very illegal, much againſt the Proteſtant Intereſt, in favour of Papiſts, *&c.* ſhamming the *Popiſh Plot*, and laying Sham-Plots upon Proteſtants; abuſing the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, the Truth of which I leave to the Judgment of all; but hearing many ſuch-like things, was eaſily prevail'd with to be concern'd in the

Plot, according as it was propoſed to me, *viz.*

About *July* 1682. I met with a Perſon who then being come from *London*, gave me a Relation at large concerning the Election of Sheriffs that had been in *June*, the Manner of which is well known to all; he repreſented it to me as a very illegal Action, and that there was a deviliſh Deſign of the Papiſts in it, to cut off the King's Friends, the ſtirring Men in both the laſt Parliaments, as to the Proſecution of the *Popiſh Plot*, who I always took to be both the King's and the Nation's Friends. That there were Witneſſes had been ready a long time to ſwear againſt them, but they could not get Jurors to believe them, but now they had, by Force of Arms, *&c.* got Sheriffs who would find Juries to believe them, and ſo hang them up at their Pleaſure; that there was none but bad Council about the King, who kept all ill Actions from his Knowledge; and if they proceeded to ſwear *North* and *Rich* at *Michaelmas*, and to chuſe Lord Mayor, as they had done Sheriffs, the Proteſtant-Gentry were reſolved (naming ſome) to remedy what was deſign'd, by an Inſurrection in ſeveral Parts of *England*; and, if poſſible, to get the King off from his evil Council, and bring all Popiſh Offenders to Juſtice, ſaying, That they were ſure that, when the King knew the Occaſion of their Riſing, he would preſently give up all Offenders, and come in to them. That it ſhould begin in *November*, in *London*, *Briſtol*, *Exeter*, *Taunton*, *Cheſter*, *York*, *New-Caſtle*; and that we ſhould hear more of it in a Month's time; therefore deſired we might conſider how it might be managed in *Briſtol*; which we did; and concluded, that *Briſtol*, with about 350 Men, might be eaſily ſecur'd by a Surprize, without the Bloodſhed of one Man. About a Month after that, came the Perſon he mention'd we ſhould hear more by;

by; but he could declare no more than the former did, only that the Deſign went on, and there would be timely Notice given to all Parts; but we heard of nothing but Diſappointments and Delays, putting it off from time to time. In *April* I heard of another Deſign againſt the King, and Duke of *York*, as they were to come from *Newmarket*, ſome time in *March*; but when I enquir'd into that, found it was carried on by three or four; and never could hear the Names of above five that were for it. When I heard it, I declar'd my Abhorrence of any ſuch thing, and that I was confident none in our Parts would be for ſuch a baſe Action. After that, I enquired farther into it, and could find, that although it was intended to be done ſix Weeks before, that they had only a Parcel of Arms ready; and that they had neither Men nor Horſes; but one ſaid, if they could have raiſed 6 or 800 *l.* to have bought Horſes, and alſo ſomething to encourage Men, they ſhould have found Men enough; ſo that I look'd upon that only to be the Deſign of five or ſix Perſons, and no way likely to be acted; but the general Deſign for the Inſurrection was carried on by others; who, tho' they had made a great Stir in the Nation, trying the Inclinations of People, and had treated with the *Scots* and *Iriſh*, as I heard, who were to be ready at the ſame Time, yet were never come to any Reſolution, as to any Time, or Method, before all was diſcover'd; tho' they had been eleven Months contriving of it, from the Time I firſt heard of it. This, I hope, will be enough to ſatisfy all People that there was a Plot; I mention no Names here, having given his Majeſty a more large Account of what I knew of it, mentioning the Names of all that I knew concerned. The Arguments before mention'd, with many others to the ſame Effect, not only ſoon pre-

vail'd with me, but made me indeed think it my Duty to do what I could for my King and Country's Safety; being then fully perſuaded, that not only Popery, but Arbitrary Government was intended; not then conſidering (as I have ſince conſider'd) how much Bloodſhed it might have caus'd in the Nation; for then I thought all would have been ended in little time, ſuppoſing things to be as to me was reported. But I do now declare my hearty Sorrow for my yielding thereto, and acting therein; (tho' I can ſafely ſay I was not for taking the King's Life, but wholly for his Preſervation) yet am ſatisfied that it might have cauſed very much Bloodſhed in the Nation, and am glad it did not take effect. Alſo I declare, that I am ſatisfied it was a very great Sin againſt God, not only in diſtruſting his Providence, but in offering to take the Work out of his Hand, who knows the Hearts, Thoughts, and Actions of All, tho' never ſo ſecret; whoſe Mercy and Pardon I moſt humbly beg, and truſt ſhall have; and in Confidence thereof, (thro' the Merits of the Blood of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus) can willingly die. Nothing (next to this, and all other my Sins) is more Trouble to me than the Thoughts how (dying) I ſhall leave all my Relations and Friends in Trouble concerning my worldly Affairs; being, by reaſon of this unhappy Concern, not in ſuch a Poſture as they ſhould be: So that by my Death, my deareſt Friends will not only be left in great Trouble, but lie under the Cenſure of many, none underſtanding how Things are; my Wife and Children ruin'd, and my Creditors great Loſers; whereas might I have been thought worthy to live, I ſhould have taken the Trouble off them all, and hope in time to have paid every Man to a Penny; for I can from my Heart ſay, that as I hope for Salvation, I never

deſign'd

deſign'd any Fraud to any Man, but to pay every Man his due. I have heard that ſome ſhould ſay, I took up Money at Intereſt to carry on the Plot; which I diſown; for I never was at any Charge therein more than common Expences, nor never heard of any Money raiſed upon that Account; tho' I heard of ten Thouſand Pounds that were to be raiſed for the *Scots*, but ſuppoſe it was not done. I bleſs God I am pretty well ſatisfied, and hope ſhall be fully, as to my future State, and can willingly leave the World; but upon the Account of my Friends and Creditors, conſidering the Condition they will be left in, could gladly have liv'd ſome Time, that I might have taken off that Scandal that I fear will be laid upon me when I am gone; but God knows my Heart, I am free, and always was from any Thoughts of Fraud or Deceit.

I am ſatisfied that all Means that could be thought on have been uſed to get as much out of me as poſſible, but had it not been my Reſolution to declare all that I knew concerning the Plot, and alſo to do what in me lay to prevent all Plottings for the future, that there might be an End put to ſuch Heats, Differences, and Heart-burnings, that is, one againſt another; that his Majeſty and his Subjects might live in ſuch Love and Union, as ought to be between a Prince and his People, I had not wrote what I did; for I was never a Man to be wrought upon by Severity, and what I wrote was not without due Conſideration, being nothing but Truth. I do ſuppoſe, that making ſuch a full and large Confeſſion at firſt, and ſome Expreſſions that might be obſerv'd in my Letters which I perceive were intercepted, may cauſe ſome Thoughts that I ſtill reſerve ſome Perſons undiſcover'd; but as to my Confeſſion, it was not raſhly done, I had had ſome Weeks

at Sea to call things to mind; and as for Perſons, I gave a true Account, and of all Paſſages I could remember, though others do and may come into mind. What I ſuppoſe was obſerv'd in my Letters, might be ſome fooliſh Expreſſions concerning ſome of my Acquaintance, and that I would betray no Friend, meaning, that no Severity ſhould cauſe me to accuſe any Friends falſly to ſave my ſelf, although (if I had thought the accuſing of a Number of Perſons would have ſaved my Life, and had been one that would do any ſuch thing to ſave Life) I had the moſt Cauſe of any Man; for when I firſt abſconded, thoſe in *Briſtol*, and elſewhere, that were my moſt intimate Acquaintance, refuſed to do any thing for me; nay, would not receive Letters when I wrote to them, fearing they ſhould be found to hold Correſpondence with me. When I gave in my Confeſſion, I ſtood not upon Terms of a Pardon, being confident, if Truth would merit Mercy from the King, I ſhould have his Pardon, and that it was the only way to gain Mercy with God. I find already that People are paſſing their Cenſures upon me, ſome one way, and ſome another, for my not pleading, and accepting of another Tryal when it was offer'd, ſaying that I confeſs'd the whole Indictment; which I diſown; for I ſaid thus, What I was guilty of I had confeſs'd to his Majeſty, and wholly depended upon his Mercy; beſides, I had ſome other Reaſons why I did not plead, which at preſent I conceal; and alſo why I did not ſpeak what I intended. More I may ſay at the Place of Execution, before I leave the World, which will be according as I find things; but as to a Diſcovery of any more Perſons (I cannot) than has been already mention'd. Should I mention any whom I thought would have been concern'd, I may much abuſe them, tho' I believe many thouſands in the

Nation

Nation would have appear'd, for the Reaſons afore-mention'd, which caus'd me to be concern'd. I doubt not, but ſeveral that were concern'd, who are, or may be clear'd, for want of ſufficient Proof againſt 'em, or by his Majeſty's Mercy, will blame me for confeſſing what I knew, and not much grieve that I fail'd of a Pardon, or at my Death. But I repent not my Confeſſion; and could I diſcover more, would do it willingly, tho' I find no Mercy with Man.

JAMES HOLLOWAY.

The Execution of Sir THOMAS ARMSTRONG *at* Tyburn, *on Friday the twentieth of* June, 1684.

THE Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, about Nine a-clock in the Morning, coming to *Newgate*, and demanding their Priſoner, he was forthwith deliver'd to them, and put into a Sledge, and drawn to the Place of Execution, attended by a numerous Guard, and as great a Number of Spectators, of all Degrees and Qualities, as have been ſeen on ſuch Occaſions. Tho' he affected an Air of Courage, yet ſomething of Sullenneſs and Reſerve appear'd in his Countenance.

He employ'd the Time he was drawing to *Tyburn* in reading *The Whole Duty of Man*, till he came within Sight of the Gallows, and then he laid it by, and with lifted up Hands and Eyes, addreſs'd himſelf to Heaven, till he came beneath the Tree, where he remain'd about a Quarter of an Hour in the Sledge; before he aſcended the Cart that ſtood ready for him, he deſir'd the Sheriff to admit Dr. *Teniſon* to come to him; and having deliver'd a Paper to the Sheriff, the Doctor kneel'd down with the Priſoner, and pray'd with him about a Quarter of an Hour, during all which Time the Priſoner preſerv'd a becoming and heroick

roick Countenance, little daunted with the Terror of that Fate he was in view of; but riſing from his Devotions, he pull'd off his Cravat and Hat, which he gave to his Servant who attended him, and had follow'd him by the Sledge-ſide, when kneeling down himſelf, he pray'd for a ſhort Time with Fervency and Devotion, beging Pardon of his God for thoſe manifold and crying Sins he had been too often guilty of, and concluded with a Reſignation of himſelf to the God of Heaven and Earth, before whoſe Judgment-ſeat he was forthwith to appear, deſiring that the whole World would forgive him, with whom he hoped he died in Peace and Charity. Having thus ended theſe Devotions, he again ſtood up, and putting off his Periwig, he had a white Cap deliver'd to him, which he put on; and being ſoon after ty'd up, the chief of his Diſcourſe was addreſs'd to a Gentleman who ſtood by him; and after a ſhort Space, holding up his Hands, he again renew'd his Prayers; his Viſage little changing all the Time, till the very Moment the Cart drew away; the Executioner having pull'd the Cap over his Eyes, he continu'd his Prayers all the Time, and even whilſt he hung, as long as Life was in him, and he had the Command of his Lips; after he had hung about half an Hour, and the Executioner had diveſted him of his Apparel, he was cut down according to his Sentence, his privy Members burnt, his Head cut off, and ſhew'd to the People as that of a Traitor, his Heart and Bowels taken out, and committed to the Flames, and his Body quarter'd into four Parts, which, with his Head, was convey'd back to *Newgate*, to be diſpos'd of according to his Majeſty's Pleaſure. * *The*

* *See the late Biſhop of* Rocheſter's *ſevere Character of this Gentleman,* Page 433, *at the Top.*

The Execution of the Duke of MONMOUTH, *on Wedneſday the 15th of* July, 1685, *on* Tower-hill.

THE late Duke of *Monmouth* came from the *Tower* to the Scaffold, attended by the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Teniſon*, and Dr. *Hooper*; which four the King was graciouſly pleas'd to ſend him, as his Aſſiſtants to prepare him for Death; and the Duke himſelf intreated all four of them to accompany him to the Place of Execution, and continue with him to the laſt. The two Biſhops going in the Lieutenant's Coach with him to the Bars, made ſeaſonable and devout Applications to him all the Way; and one of them deſir'd him not to be ſurpriz'd, if they to the very laſt, upon the Scaffold, renew'd thoſe Exhortations to a particular Repentance, which they had ſo often repeated before.

At his firſt coming upon the Scaffold, he look'd for the Executioner, and ſeeing him, ſaid, Is this the Man to do the Buſineſs? Do your Work well.

Then the late Duke of *Monmouth* began to ſpeak, ſome one or other of the Aſſiſtants, during the whole Time, applying themſelves to him.

Monmouth. I ſhall ſay but very little; I come to die; I die a Proteſtant of the Church of *England.*

Aſſiſtants. My Lord, If you be of the Church of *England*, you muſt acknowledge the Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance* to be true.

Monmouth. If I acknowledge the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in general, that includes all.

Aſſiſtants. Sir, It is fit to own that Doctrine particularly, with reſpect to your Caſe. Here he was much urg'd about that Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance*, but he repeated in Effect his firſt Anſwer.

Then

Then he began, as if he was about to make a premeditated Speech, in this Manner:

Monmouth. I have had a Scandal rais'd upon me about a Woman, a Lady of Virtue and Honour. I will name her; the Lady *Henrietta Wentworth.* I declare that ſhe is a very virtuous and godly Woman. I have committed no Sin with her; and that which hath paſſed betwixt us, was very honeſt and innocent in the Sight of God.

Aſſiſtants. In your Opinion perhaps, Sir, as you have been often told; (*i. e.* in the *Tower*) but this is not fit Diſcourſe in this Place.

Mr. *Sheriff Goſtlin.* Sir, Were you ever married to her?

Monmouth. This is not a Time to anſwer that Queſtion.

Mr. *Sheriff Goſtlin.* Sir, I hoped to have heard of your Repentance for the Treaſon and Bloodſhed which hath been committed.

Monmouth. I die very penitent.

Aſſiſtants. My Lord, It is fit to be particular; and conſidering the publick Evil you have done, you ought to do as much Good now as poſſibly you can, by a publick Acknowledgment.

Monmouth. What I have thought fit to ſay of publick Affairs, is in a Paper which I have ſign'd; I refer to my Paper.

Aſſiſtants. My Lord, There is nothing in that Paper about *Reſiſtance*, and you ought to be particular in your Repentance, and to have it well grounded. God give you true Repentance.

Monmouth. I die very penitent, and die with great Chearfulneſs, for I know I ſhall go to God.

Aſſiſtants. My Lord, You muſt go to God in his own Way: Sir, Be ſure you be truly penitent, and ask Forgiveneſs of God for the many you have wrong'd.

Monmouth. I am ſorry for every one I have wrong'd; I forgive every Body; I have had many Enemies, I forgive them all.

Aſſiſtants. Sir, Your Acknowledgment ought to be publick and particular.

Monmouth. I am to die; pray, My Lord------ I refer to my Paper.

Aſſiſtants. They are but a few Words that we deſire: We only deſire an Anſwer to this Point.

Monmouth. I can bleſs God that he hath given me ſo much Grace, that for theſe two Years laſt paſt I have led a Life unlike to my former Courſe, and in which I have been happy.

Aſſiſtants. Sir, Was there no Ill in theſe two Years? In theſe Years, theſe great Evils have happen'd, and the giving publick Satisfaction is a neceſſary Part of Repentance; be pleas'd to own a Deteſtation of your Rebellion.

Monmouth. I beg your Lordſhip that you will ſtick to my Paper.

Aſſiſtants. My Lord, as I ſaid before, There is nothing in your Paper about the Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance.*

Monmouth. I repent of all Things that a true Chriſtian ought to repent of: I am to die; pray, My Lord-----

Aſſiſtants. Then, My Lord, we can only recommend you to the Mercy of God; but we cannot pray with that Chearfulneſs and Encouragement as we ſhould, if you had made a particular Acknowledgment.

Monmouth. God be prais'd, I have Encouragement enough in myſelf: I die with a clear Conſcience; I have wronged no Man.

Aſſiſtants. How Sir! no Man! Have you not been guilty of Invaſion, and of much Blood, which has been ſhed, and it may be of the Loſs of many Souls who follow'd you? You muſt needs have wrong'd a great many. *Mon-*

Monmouth. I do, Sir, own that, and am ſorry for it.

Aſſiſtants. Give it the true Name, Sir, and call it Rebellion.

Monmouth. What Name you pleaſe, Sir, I am ſorry for invading the Kingdom, and for the Blood that has been ſhed, and for the Souls which may have been loſt by my Means; I am ſorry it ever happen'd (which he ſpake ſoftly.)

Mr. *Sheriff Vandeput.* (To ſome that ſtood at a Diſtance.) He ſays he is very ſorry for invading the Kingdom.

Aſſiſtants. We have nothing to add, but to renew the frequent Exhortations we have made to you, to give ſome Satisfaction for the publick Injuries to the Kingdom: There have been a great many Lives loſt by this Reſiſtance of your lawful Prince.

Monmouth. What I have done has been very ill, and I wiſh with all my Heart it had never been; I never was a Man that delighted in Blood; I was very far from it; I was as cautious in that as any Man was; the Almighty knows how I now die, with all the Joyfulneſs in the World.

Aſſiſtants. God grant you may, Sir, God give you true Repentance.

Monmouth. If I had not true Repentance, I ſhould not ſo eaſily have been without the Fear of dying. I ſhall die like a Lamb.

Aſſiſtants. Much may come from natural Courage.

Monmouth. I do not attribute it to my own Nature, for I am fearful, as other Men are; but I have now no Fear, as you may ſee by my Face; but there is ſomething within me which does it, for I am ſure I ſhall go to God.

Aſſiſtants. My Lord, be ſure upon good Grounds; Do you repent you of all your Sins, known or unknown,

known, confeſs'd or not confeſs'd, of all the Sins which might proceed from Error in Judgment?

Monmouth. In general for all, I do with all my Soul.

Aſſiſtants. God Almighty of his infinite Mercy forgive you. Here are great Numbers of Spectators; here are the Sheriffs, they repreſent the great City, and in ſpeaking to them you ſpeak to the whole City; make ſome Satisfaction by owning your Crime before them.

He was ſilent here.

Then all went to ſolemn Commendatory Prayers, which continu'd for a good Space; the late Duke of *Monmouth* and the Company kneeling, and joining in them with great Fervency.

Prayers being ended, before he and the four who aſſiſted him, were riſen from their Knees, he was again earneſtly exhorted to a true and thorough Repentance.

After they were riſen up, he was exhorted to pray for the King; and was ask'd whether he did not deſire to ſend ſome dutiful Meſſage to his Majeſty, and to recommend his Wife and Children to his Majeſty's Favour.

Monmouth. What harm have they done? Do it if you pleaſe; I pray for him, and for all Men.

Aſſiſtants. Then the Verſicles were repeated.

O Lord ſhew thy Mercy upon us!

Monmouth. (He made the Reſponſe) *And grant us thy Salvation.*

Aſſiſtants. (It followed) *O Lord ſave the King.*

Monmouth. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

Aſſiſtants. Sir do you not pray for the King with us? (The Verſicle was again repeated.)

O Lord ſave the King!

Monmouth. (After ſome Pauſe he anſwer'd) *Amen.*

Then

Then he ſpake to the Executioner concerning his undreſſing, *&c.* and he would have no Cap, *&c.* And at the beginning of his undreſſing, it was ſaid to him in this Manner :

Aſſiſtants. My Lord, You have been bred a Soldier, you would do a generous Chriſtian Thing, if you pleaſe to go to the Rail, and ſpeak to the Soldiers, and ſay, That here you ſtand a ſad Example of Rebellion, and intreat them and the People to be loyal and obedient to the King.

Monmouth. I have ſaid I will make no Speeches. I will make no Speeches. I come to die.

Aſſiſtants. My Lord, Ten Words would be enough.

Then calling his Servant, and giving him ſomething like a Tooth-pick Caſe; here (*ſaid he*) give this to the Perſon, to whom you are to deliver the other Things.

Monmouth. (To the Executioner.) Here are ſix Guineas for you; Pray do your Buſineſs well; don't ſerve me as you did my Lord *Ruſſel*; I have heard you ſtruck him three or four times.

Here (To his Servant) take theſe remaining Guineas, and give them to him if he does his Work well.

Executioner. I hope I ſhall.

Monmouth. If you ſtrike me twice, I cannot promiſe you not to ſtir.

During his undreſſing and ſtanding towards the Block, there were uſed, by thoſe who aſſiſted him, divers Ejaculations proper at that time, and much of the 51ſt Pſalm was repeated, and particularly, *Deliver me from Blood-guiltineſs, O God! Thou God,* &c.

Then he lay down, and ſoon after he rais'd himſelf upon his Elbow, and ſaid to the Executioner, Prithee let me feel the Ax; he felt the Edge, and ſaid, I fear it is not ſharp enough.

Execu-

Executioner. It is ſharp enough, and heavy enough.

Then he lay down again.

During this Space, many pious Ejaculations were uſed, by thoſe that aſſiſted him, with great Fervency. Ex. gr. *God accept your Repentance, God accept your Repentance, God accept your imperfect Repentance*; My Lord, *God accept your general Repentance*; *God Almighty ſhew his Omnipotent Mercy upon you*; *Father into thy Hands we commend his Spirit*, &c. *Lord Jeſus receive his Soul.*

Then the Executioner proceeded to do his Office.

This is a true Account. Witneſs our Hands.

Francis Ely,
Thomas Bath and *Wells,*
Thomas Teniſon,
Geo. Hooper,
William Goſtlin,
Peter Vandeput, } Sheriffs.

A Copy of the Paper, to which the late Duke of Monmouth *referred himſelf in the Diſcourſes he held upon the Scaffold.*

I Declare, That the Title of King was forc'd upon me, and that it was very much contrary to my Opinion when I was proclaim'd. For the Satisfaction of the World, I do declare, That the late King told me, he was never married to my Mother. Having declar'd this, I hope that the King, who is now, will not let my Children ſuffer on this Account. And to this I put my Hand this fifteenth Day of *July*, 1685.

MONMOUTH.

Declared by himſelf, and ſign'd in the Preſence of us,

Francis Ely,
Thomas Bath and *Wells,*
Thomas Teniſon,
George Hooper.

A Copy of the Duke of MONMOUTH's *Letter to the King, dated from* Ringwood, *the 8th of* July, 1685.

SIR,

YOUR Majeſty may think it is the Misfortune I now lie under makes me make this Application to you; but I do aſſure your Majeſty, it is the Remorſe I now have in me, of the Wrong I have done you in ſeveral things, and now, in taking up Arms againſt you. For my taking up Arms, it never was in my Thoughts ſince the King died. The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* will be Witneſs for me, of the Aſſurance I gave them, that I would never ſtir againſt you; but my Misfortune was ſuch, as to meet with ſome horrid People, that made me believe Things of your Majeſty, and gave me ſo many falſe Arguments, that I was fully led away to believe that it was a Shame and a Sin before God not to do it. But, Sir, I will not trouble your Majeſty at preſent with many things I could ſay for myſelf, that I am ſure would move your Compaſſion; the chief End of this Letter being only to beg of you, that I may have that Happineſs as to ſpeak to your Majeſty: For I have that to ſay to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy Reign. I am ſure, Sir, when you hear me, you will be convinc'd of the Zeal I have for your Preſervation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. I can ſay no more to your Majeſty

now,

now, being this Letter muſt be ſeen by thoſe that keep me; therefore, Sir, I ſhall make an end, in begging of your Majeſty to believe ſo well of me, that I would rather die a thouſand Deaths, than excuſe any thing I have done, if I did not really think myſelf the moſt in the wrong that ever any Man was, and had not, from the Bottom of my Heart, an Abhorrence for thoſe that put me upon it, and for the Action itſelf. I hope, Sir, God Almighty will ſtrike your Heart with Mercy and Compaſſion for me, as he has done mine with the Abhorrence of what I have done. Therefore I hope, Sir, I may live to ſhow you how zealous I ſhall ever be for your Service; and could I ſay but one Word in this Letter, you would be convinc'd of it; but it is of that Conſequence that I dare not do it. Therefore, Sir, I do beg of you, once more, to let me ſpeak to you, for then you will be convinc'd how much I ſhall ever be

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble and Dutiful

MONMOUTH.

The laſt SPEECH of Madam LISLE, *beheaded at* Wincheſter, September, 1685.

Gentlemen, Friends, and Neighbours,

IT may be expected that I ſhould ſay ſomething at my Death, my Birth and Education being near this Place; my Parents inſtructed me in the Fear of God; and I now die of the reformed Religion; always being inſtructed in that Belief, that if Popery ſhould return into this Nation, it would be a great Judgment. I die in Expectation of Pardon of my Sins, and Acceptation with the Father, by the imputed Righteouſneſs of Je-

ſus Chriſt : *He being the End of the Law for Righteouſneſs to every one that believeth.* I thank God, thro' Chriſt Jeſus, I depart under the Blood of Sprinkling, *that ſpeaketh better things than that of* Abel ; God having made this Chaſtiſement an Ordinance to my Soul. I did as little expect to come to this Place on this Occaſion, as any Perſon in this Nation ; therefore let all learn not to be high-minded, but fear. The Lord is a Sovereign, and will take what Way he ſeeth beſt to glorify himſelf by his poor Creatures ; therefore I humbly deſire to ſubmit to his Will, praying of him, that in Patience I may poſſeſs my Soul.

The Crime was, my entertaining a Non-conformiſt Miniſter, who is ſince ſworn to have been in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Army. I am told, if I had not denied them, it would not have affected me : I have no Excuſe but Surprize and Fear ; which I believe my Jury muſt make uſe of to excuſe their Verdict to the World. I have been told, *That the Court ought to be Council for the Priſoner :* Inſtead of *Advice*, there was *Evidence* given from thence, which (tho' it was but Hearſay) might poſſibly affect my Jury. My Defence was ſuch as might be expected from a weak Woman ; but ſuch as it was, I never heard it repeated again to the Jury.

But I forgive all Perſons that have wrong'd me ; and I deſire that God will do ſo likewiſe. I forgive Colonel *Penruddock*, altho' he told me, *He could have taken thoſe Men, before they came to my Houſe.*

As to what may be expected for my Conviction, that I gave it under my Hand that I diſcours'd with *Nelthrop* ; that could be no Evidence to the Court or Jury, it being after my Conviction and Sentence.

I acknow-

I acknowledge his Majeſty's Favour in revoking my Sentence; and I pray God he may long reign in Peace, as well as Juſtice; and that he may reign in Peace, and that the true Religion may flouriſh under him.

Two things I have omitted to ſay, which is, That I forgive him that deſir'd to be taken from the Grand Jury, and put upon the Petty Jury, that he might be the more nearly concern'd in my Death; and return humble Thanks to God, and the reverend Clergy, that aſſiſted me in my Impriſonment.

Sept. 85. ALICIA LISLE.

The Execution of Alderman CORNISH *in* Cheapſide, Octob. 23, 1685.

I Am come here this Day, condemn'd to die; but God is my Witneſs, the Crimes laid to my Charge were falſely and maliciouſly ſworn againſt me by the Witneſſes; for I never was at any Conſult, nor any Meeting, where Matters againſt the Government were diſcours'd of: I never heard nor read any Declaration, nor ever acted wilfully any thing againſt the Government. I confeſs, thro' the Juſtice of God, my private Sins have brought me to this infamous End; yea, it were juſt with God, not only to deprive me eternally of his Preſence, but to condemn me to eternal Torments; but thro' Chriſt, I hope to be eternally bleſs'd: Yet, as to the Crimes for which I ſuffer, on the Words of a dying Man, I am altogether innocent. I bleſs God I was from my younger Years brought up in, and have for ſome Years continu'd a Proteſtant, in the Communion of the Church of *England*; in which Communion I now die. I have often partaken in the Ordinances, the bleſſed Effects and Comfort thereof I now feel in this my Agony. I bleſs God I was

born under a Government, in the Conſtitution of which I did ever acquieſce, and in which I was once a Member; at which time I did, according to the beſt of my Underſtanding---- [*Here he was interrupted by the Sheriff*]---- I bleſs God I was born in a Land of Light, where the Goſpel hath been preach'd in Power and Purity; he might have brought me forth in a Land of Darkneſs and Ignorance; but bleſſed be God for Jeſus Chriſt.---- *Then he intreated the Sheriff to intercede with his Majeſty to be kind to his poor Wife and Children: The Sheriff promiſed him to wait on his Majeſty the next Day about it.* He replied, *Mr.* Sheriff, *I thank you, the Lord reward you a thouſand fold; the Lord put it into the Hearts of you to be kind to the Widows and Fatherleſs; it is your Duty: The Lord put it into the Hearts of all good People to pray for me.*

More could not be taken, by reaſon of the Noiſe of the People, and Interruption of one of the Sheriffs.

The Execution of Col. RICHARD RUMBOLD, *at the* Market-Croſs *of* Edinburgh, June *26.* 1685.

N. B. *He was taken in Rebellion in* Scotland, *with the Earl of* Argyle.

THE Hour being come, he was drawn on a Hurdle to the Place of Execution, where he ſaluted the People on all ſides of the Scaffold, and after having refreſh'd himſelf with a Cordial out of his Pocket, he was ſupported by two Men, while he ſpoke to the People in theſe Words:

Gentlemen and Brethren, It is for all Men that come into the World once to die, and after Death to Judgment; and ſince Death is a Debt that all muſt pay, it is but a Matter of ſmall Moment what way it be done; and ſeeing the Lord is pleaſed in this manner to take me to himſelf, I confeſs,

ſome-

ſomething hard to Fleſh and Blood, yet, bleſſed be his Name, who hath made me not only willing, but thankful for his honouring me to lay down the Life he gave, for his Name; in which, were every Hair in this Head and Beard of mine a Life, I ſhould joyfully ſacrifice them for it, as I do this: And Providence having brought me hither, I think it moſt neceſſary to clear my ſelf of ſome Aſperſions laid on my Name; and *Firſt*, That I ſhould have had ſo horrid an Intention of deſtroying the King and his Brother.

I deſire all preſent to believe me; upon the Words of a dying Man I declare, I never, directly or indirectly, intended ſuch a Villany; I deteſt the Thoughts of ſuch an Action.

It was alſo laid to my Charge, That I was Antimonarchical.

It was ever my Thoughts, That Kingly Government was the beſt of all, juſtly executed: I mean ſuch as by our ancient Laws; that is, a King, and a legal free-choſen Parliament. The King having, as I conceive, Power enough to make him great, the People alſo as much Property as to make them happy; they being as it were contracted to one another. And who will deny me, that this was not the juſt conſtituted Government of our Nation? How abſurd is it then for Men of Senſe to maintain, That tho' the one Party of this Contract breaketh all Conditions, the other ſhould be obliged to perform their Part? No; this Error is contrary to the Law of God, the Law of Nations, and the Law of Reaſon. But as Pride has been the Bait the Devil hath catch'd moſt by, ever ſince the Creation, ſo it continues to this Day with us. Pride caus'd our firſt Parents to fall from the bleſſed Eſtate wherein they were created; they aiming to be higher and wiſer than God allowed, which

brought an everlaſting Curſe on them and their Poſterity. It was Pride cauſed God to drown the old World. And it was *Nimrod's* Pride in building *Babel*, that cauſed that heavy Curſe of Diviſion of Tongues to be ſpread among us, as it is at this Day. One of the greateſt Afflictions the Church of God groaneth under, is, That there ſhould be ſo many Diviſions during their Pilgrimage here; but this is their Comfort, that the Day draweth near, whereas there is but one Shepherd, there ſhall be but one Sheepfold. It was therefore in the Defence of this Party, in their juſt Rights and Liberties againſt Popery and Slavery---- [At which Words they beat the Drums.] To which he ſaid;

They need not trouble themſelves; I ſhall ſay no more on that Subject, ſince they are ſo diſingenuous, as to interrupt a dying Man, only to aſſure the People, I adhere to the true *Proteſtant Religion*, deteſting the erroneous Opinions of many that call themſelves ſo; and I die this Day in the Defence of the ancient Laws and Liberties of theſe Nations: And tho' God, for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, hath not ſeen it fit to honour us, as to make us the Inſtruments for the Deliverance of his People; yet as I have lived, ſo I die in the Faith, that he will ſpeedily ariſe for the Deliverance of his Church and People. And I deſire all of you to prepare for this with ſpeed. I may ſay this is a deluded Generation, veil'd with Ignorance, that tho' *Popery* and *Slavery* be riding in upon them, do not perceive it; tho' I am ſure there was no Man born marked of God above another; for none comes into the World with a Saddle on his Back, neither any booted and ſpur'd to ride him; not but that I am well-ſatisfied, that God hath wiſely ordered different Stations for Men in the World, as I have alrea-

dy

dy ſaid: Kings having as much Power as to make them great, and the People as much Property of making them happy. And to conclude, I ſhall only add my Wiſhes for the Salvation of all Men, who were created for that End.

Then he prayed moſt fervently near three Quarters of an Hour, freely forgiving all Men, even his greateſt Enemies, begging moſt earneſtly for the Deliverance of *Sion* from all her Perſecutors, particularly praying for *London*, *Edinburgh*, and *Dublin*, from which the Streams run that rule God's People in theſe three Nations.

Then he was hang'd and quarter'd, according to his Sentence.

The Execution of Mr. JOHN ASHTON, *the* 28*th of* January, 1690.

THE Queen having remitted that part of his Sentence, as to drawing and quartering, he went in a Coach, with two Divines, to *Tyburn*, where he was executed, and his Body given to his Relations to bury. He deliver'd this Paper to the Sheriff.

Mr. *Sheriff.*

Having obſerv'd that the Methods of making Speeches at the Place of Execution were not always attended with the deſigned Succeſſes; and thinking it better to imploy my laſt Minutes in Devotion, and holy Communion with my God, I have prepared this Paper to leave in your Hands, as well to aſſert my Principles, as to teſtify my Innocency.

As to my Religion, I profeſs, by God's Grace, to die in the Faith into which I was baptized, that of the Church of *England*, in whoſe Communion (nothing doubting of my Salvation, thro' the Merits of my Saviour) I have always thought

myſelf

myſelf ſafe and happy. According to her Principles, and late much-eſteem'd Doctrine (tho' now unhappily exploded) I have regulated my Life; believing myſelf obliged, by my Religion, to look upon my rightful, lawful Prince (whatever his Principles were, or his Practices might be) as God's Vicegerent, and accountable (if guilty of Male-adminiſtration) to God only, from whom he received his Power; and always believing it to be contrary to the Laws of God, the Church, and the Realm, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt him: And let all the World take Notice in this Belief I die. But I have more particular Obligations to the King, my Maſter, whom I had the Honour to ſerve, and received many ſignal Favours from him, for 16 Years paſt; ſo that Gratitude (a thing not much eſteemed at this time) as well as Duty and Religion, commanded the utmoſt Service I could pay him. And when I had theſe Conſiderations, That we were born his liege Subjects; That we had ſolemnly profeſs'd our Allegiance, and often confirm'd it with Oaths; That his Majeſty's Uſage, after the Prince of *Orange*'s Arrival, was very hard, ſevere, and (I may ſay) unjuſt; and, That all the new Methods of ſettling this Nation, have hitherto made it more miſerable, poor, and more expoſed to foreign Enemies; and, That the Religion we pretend to be fond of preſerving, is now, much more than ever, likely to be deſtroyed: There ſeemed to me no way to prevent the impending Evils, and ſave theſe Nations from Poverty and Deſtruction, but the calling home our injur'd Sovereign; who, as a true Father of his Country, has (notwithſtanding all his Provocations and Injuries) a natural Love and Tenderneſs for all his Subjects. And I am ſo far from repining at the Loſs of my Life, that had I ten

Thou-

Thouſand, I ſhould rather think myſelf obliged to ſacrifice them all, than omit any juſt and honeſt Means to promote ſo good and neceſſary a Work. And I adviſe and deſire all my Fellow-Subjects to think of their Duty, and turn to their Allegiance, before the ſevere Judgments of God overtake 'em for their Perjury and Rebellion: But certainly the Good and Intereſt of theſe Nations, abſtracted from all other Conſiderations, will e'er long convince them of the Neceſſity of doing it.

Having thus frankly declar'd my Principles, I know the Inference will be, that I have acted accordingly, and conſequently, that I am now juſtly condemn'd: But as I ingenuouſly own the Inference, ſo I as poſitively deny the Conſequence; for whatever my Inclinations or Actings have been, yet, as to the Matter I was ſentenced to die for, I declare my ſelf innocent. And I will appeal, even to the Judges themſelves, whether or no, upon my Trial, there appear'd the leaſt Proof that I knew a Tittle contain'd in the Papers; but Preſumptions were with the Jury thought ſufficient to find me guilty, tho' I am told I am the firſt Man that ever was condemn'd for high-Treaſon upon bare Suſpicion or Preſumption; and that contrary to my Lord *Coke's*, and other eminent Lawyers, Opinions. The Knowledge of my own Innocency, as to the Indictment and Charge againſt me, was that that arm'd me with ſo much Aſſurance, and occaſion'd my caſting my Life upon the firſt Twelve Men of the Pannel, without challenging any. But tho' I have, I think, juſt reaſon to complain of the ſevere Charge given by the Judges, and hard Meaſure I have receiv'd; not to mention my cloſe Impriſonment, the haſty and violent Proceedings againſt me, nor the Induſtry us'd in the Return of ſitting Perſons to paſs upon me; the denying me a Copy of the Pannel, *&c.*

Yet

Yet, as I hope for Pardon and Forgiveneſs at the Hands of God, I do moſt heartily pray for, and forgive them, and all my Enemies, all the World; nay, even that Judge and Jury-Man who did ſo ſignally (contrary to common Juſtice) expoſe themſelves to deſtroy me. But let the Will of God be done, I rely wholly upon his Mercy, and the Merits of my bleſſed Saviour, for Salvation; I do chearfully and entirely reſign myſelf into his Hands, as into the Hands of a faithful Creator, in ſure and certain Hopes of a happy Reſurrection.

Bleſs, protect and ſtrengthen, O Lord God, my good and gracious King and Maſter: In thy due time let the Virtue, Goodneſs and Innocency, of the Queen, my Miſtreſs, make all their Enemies bluſh, and ſilence the wicked and unjuſt Calumnies that Malice and Envy have raiſed againſt her. Make her and theſe Nations happy in the Prince of *Wales*; whom, from unanſwerable and undoubted Proofs, I know to be her Son. Reſtore them all, when thou ſeeſt fit, to their juſt Rights, and on ſuch a Bottom as may ſupport and eſtabliſh the Church of *England*, and once more make her flouriſh, notwithſtanding what ſhe hath receiv'd of late from her prevaricating Sons. Forgive, forgive, O Lord, all my Enemies; bleſs all my Friends; comfort and ſupport my dear afflicted Wife, and poor Babes; be thou a Husband and a Father to them; for their ſakes only I could have wiſhed to have lived; but pardon that Wiſh, O good God, and take my Soul into thy everlaſting Glory. *Amen.*

J. Ashton.

The Execution of ROBERT CHARNOCK, EDWARD KING, *and* THOMAS KEYS, *on* Wedneſday *the* 18*th of* March, 1695. *Being drawn from* Newgate *to* Tyburn *in Sledges, they deliver'd the following Papers to the Sheriff.*

Mr. CHARNOCK's *Paper.*

THAT I might avoid Diſtractions, and be compos'd as much as is poſſible at the Time of my Execution, I thought it much more proper to communicate this to the Sheriffs, than to give myſelf the Uneaſineſs of ſpeaking, leaving it to them to publiſh (if they ſhould think convenient) for the Satisfaction of the World; and in what I have to ſay, I have taken as much Care as I could to be ſhort, that I might not loſe time in my greateſt Concern.

As concerning an Invaſion intended by King *James* upon *England*, there was certain Intelligence of it from abroad, I preſume every Body was ſatisfy'd, and to the facilitating of which, I own that myſelf and ſome others did agree upon the Undertaking to attack the Prince of *Orange* and his Guards, for which I am now to ſuffer; but I think myſelf oblig'd, by all the Ties imaginable, both of Conſcience and Honour, to declare, that as for any Order or Commiſſion of King *James's*, for aſſaſſinating the Prince of *Orange*, I never ſaw nor knew of any, but have had frequent Aſſurances of his having rejected ſuch Propoſals when they have been offer'd.

I confeſs, I did hear that there was a Commiſſion arrived for levying of War; and which was natural to believe, if the King was in ſuch a Readineſs to come over as was reported; but if there

was

was any ſuch Authority as that, I declare I never ſaw it.

As to what regards the Body of the *Roman* Catholicks, I muſt do them this Juſtice, and which I dare be poſitive in, that they had no manner of Knowledge of this Deſign; nor do I believe it was communicated to any other Party of ſuch as are reputed the King's Friends, but carried on merely by a ſmall Number, without the Advice, Conſent, or Privity, of any Parties whatſoever.

I ask Forgiveneſs of all the World for what Offences or Injuries I have done to them; and I am (I bleſs Almighty God) in perfect Charity with all Mankind.

ROBERT CHARNOCK.

Mr. KING's *Paper.*

I am now within a few Moments of Eternity, brought to this Place by the juſt Hand of God, in Puniſhment of all my Crimes, but particularly of that of which I have been lately arraign'd, and for which I ſtand here condemn'd; but I hope that Goodneſs of God, which has given me a Senſe of my Wickedneſs, will accept my Repentance, and ſhew Mercy on me; which I hope to obtain, through the Paſſion and Merits of my Redeemer, upon whom I entirely caſt myſelf.

And that I may find his Mercy, I think myſelf oblig'd to do Juſtice to my Neighbour, that ſo none may ſuffer wrongfully on my Account. and, therefore, as I am ſoon to anſwer the Truth of what I ſay before the Tribunal of God:

Firſt, I declare, that I never ſaw any Order or Commiſſion for King *James*'s promoting the Aſſaſſination,

Aſſaſſination, for which I am condemn'd; neither do I know of any ſuch Order or Commiſſion.

Secondly, That this Deſign was not undertaken with any general Knowledge or Approbation of any Body of Men, either Catholick or Proteſtant.

Laſtly, That I did not engage in it on Preſumption of any King-killing Principles that could juſtify ſuch an Undertaking, but was drawn into it by my own Raſhneſs and Paſſion; for which, and all other Sins, I heartily beſeech God to forgive me.

And I hope, that ſuch who think the Misfortune of their Impriſonment or Trouble is derived from my having been engag'd in this Enterprize, or ſuch to whom it has any ways given Scandal, that they will admit me to their Pardon, as I freely and heartily forgive all Mankind. In this Diſpoſition of a ſincere Repentance, and true Charity, I commend my Soul into the Hands of God, and hope to find Mercy from him. And for this I beg all your Prayers.

EDWARD KING.

Mr. KEYS's *Paper.*

I am going to appear before the living God; I truſt in his Mercy that he will forgive all my Sins committed to this laſt Moment of my Life. God is juſt in all his Judgments, and I accept of this Death as the Puniſhment of my Iniquities. I forgive all my Enemies, and hope, through a hearty Repentance, and the Merits of my Saviour to obtain Mercy.

Have Mercy on me, O Father of Mercy, and thro' thy only Son forgive me all my Sins.

THOMAS KEYS.

After

After which they were executed as Traytors, and their Quarters expos'd about the City.

The Execution of Major ROBERT LOWICK, CHARLES CRANBURN, *and Brigadier* ROOKWOOD, *at* Tyburn, *on* Wedneſday April 29, 1696. *Being drawn to* Tyburn, *Mr.* Lowick *and* Rookwood *deliver'd the following Papers to the Sheriffs.*

Major LOWICK's *Paper.*

IN the Name of the moſt holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, *Amen.* In the firſt Place, I die in the Religion I was baptiz'd, *viz. Roman* Catholick, and humbly beg the Prayers of all good People for a happy Reſurrection, and of all Catholicks for the Good of my Soul.

As for being engag'd in this for which I die, it was never ſo poſitive that I had a Horſe from the Beginning to the very Laſt, nor never ſee any allow'd me, or the two Men I was to provide, as was ſwore againſt me at my Tryal; nor had I any on that Account; nor was I at any of their Meetings when they ſettled any ſuch thing. And as for any Order or Commiſſion from King *James*, I never ſee any ſince I came laſt into *England*, which is now about five Years; and I am confident none that knows King *James* will believe he would give any ſuch Order.

Indeed, I muſt confeſs, I believe King *James* was a coming to aſſert his own Right; and I ſhould, if on Shore, have done any thing in my Power to have aſſiſted him; and, in order to that, I ſhould have been very glad to have had a Horſe, but never had any.

And

And as for being concern'd in any bloody Affair, I never was in my Life, but have done my Endeavour to prevent, as much as I could, on all Occaſions; and if the killing the moſt miſerable Creature in the World, or greateſt Enemy, would now ſave my Life, reſtore the King, and make me one of the greateſt Men in *England*, I firſt would chuſe to die, becauſe againſt the Law of God.

If any who are now Sufferers on this Account, think I have been too forward, and a Promoter to this Deſign, I do now declare it was never my Inclination to do any raſh thing. However, I beg their Pardons, and of all the World I have offended, either in Thought, Word, or any Action whatſoever, and do freely forgive my Enemies, and hope, through the Mercy of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to have Remiſſion of all my Sins. Good God preſerve the King, Queen, Prince, and Princeſs, and all that royal Blood of *Stuarts*; and may *England* never want one of that direct Line to govern them, and make them once more happy. I have had the Honour to ſerve my royal Maſter in ſeveral Commiſſions, and the laſt as Major, and ſtrove ever to ſerve him to the beſt of my Power, and ever to be juſt to thoſe whom I had the Honour to command. Lord Jeſus into thy Hands I recommend my Spirit! O Jeſus, receive my Soul!

ROBERT LOWICK.

Brigadier ROOKWOOD's *Paper.*

Having committed the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and recommended my Soul to God, on whoſe Mercies, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, I wholly caſt myſelf, I had once reſolv'd to die in Silence; but ſecond Thoughts of my Duty to

others, chiefly to my true and liege Sovereign King *James*, moved me to leave this behind me.

I do therefore, with all Truth and Sincerity, declare and avow, that I never knew, ſaw, or heard of any Order or Commiſſion from King *James* for the aſſaſſinating the Prince of *Orange*, and attacking his Guards; but I am certainly inform'd that he, the beſt of Kings, had often rejected Propoſals of that Nature, when made unto him.

Nor do I think he knew the leaſt of the particular Deſign of the attacking the Guards at his Landing, ſo much talk'd of, in which I was engag'd as a Soldier, by my immediate Commander, much againſt my Judgment; but his Soldier I was, and as ſuch I was to obey and act according to Command.

Theſe twelve Years I have ſerved my true King and Maſter, King *James*, and freely now lay down my Life in his Cauſe. I ever abhor'd Treachery, even to an Enemy; if it be a Guilt to have comply'd with what I thought, and ſtill think, to have been my Duty, I am guilty. No other Guilt do I own.

As I beg all to forgive me, ſo I forgive all from my Heart, even the Prince of *Orange*, who, as a Soldier, ought to have conſider'd my Caſe before he ſign'd the Warrant for my Death. I pray God may open his Eyes, and render him ſenſible of the much Blood, from all Parts, crying out againſt him, ſo to prevent an heavier Execution hanging over his Head, than what he inflicts on me.

AMBROSE ROOKWOOD.

After which they were executed as Traytors, according to their Sentence.

The

The Execution of Sir JOHN FENWICK, *Bart. on Thurſday the 28th of* January *1696.*

All the Puniſhment being remitted but beheading, he was brought to a Scaffold erected on Tower-hill, *where he deliver'd this Paper to the Sheriffs.*

SPeaking nor Writing was never my Talent. I ſhall therefore give a very ſhort, but faithful Account, firſt, of my Religion; and next, what I ſuffer moſt innocently for, to avoid the Calumnies I may reaſonably expect my Enemies will caſt upon me when dead; ſince they have moſt falſly and maliciouſly aſperſed me, whilſt under my Misfortunes.

As for my Religion, I was brought up in the Church of *England*, as it is eſtabliſh'd by Law, and have ever profeſſed it; tho' I confeſs I have been an unworthy Member of it, in not living up to the ſtrict and excellent Rules thereof; for which I take Shame to myſelf, and humbly ask Forgiveneſs of God. I come now to die in that Communion, truſting, as an humble and hearty Penitent, to be receiv'd by the Mercy of God, thro' the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour.

My Religion taught me my Loyalty, which I bleſs God is untainted; and I have ever endeavoured in the Station wherein I have been placed, to the utmoſt of my Power, to ſupport the Crown of *England* in the

true and lineal Courſe of Deſcent, without Interruption.

As for what I am now to die, I call God to witneſs I went not to that Meeting in *Leaden-Hall-Street* with any ſuch Intention as to invite King *James* by Force to invade this Nation; nor was I myſelf provided with either Horſe or Arms, or engaged for any Number of Men, or gave particular Conſent for any ſuch Invaſion, as is moſt falſly ſworn againſt me.

I do alſo declare, in the Preſence of God, that I knew nothing of King *James* his coming to *Calais*, nor of any Invaſion intended from thence, till it was publickly known: And the only Notion I had that ſomething might be attempted, was from the *Thoulon* Fleet coming to *Breſt*.

I alſo call God to witneſs that I receiv'd the Knowledge of what is contain'd in thoſe Papers that I gave to a great Man, that came to me in the *Tower*, both from Letters and Meſſages that came from *France*; and he told me when I read them to him, that the Prince of *Orange* had been acquainted with moſt of thoſe Things before.

I might have expected Mercy from that Prince, becauſe I was inſtrumental in ſaving his Life. For when, about *April*, 1695, an Attempt formed againſt him came to my Knowledge, I did, partly by Diſſuaſions, and partly by Delays, prevent that Deſign; which I ſuppoſe was the Reaſon

Reaſon that the laſt villainous Project was concealed from me.

If there be any Perſons whom I have injur'd in Word or Deed, I heartily pray their Pardon, and beg of God to pardon thoſe who have injur'd me; particularly thoſe who with great Zeal have ſought my Life, and brought the Guilt of my innocent Blood upon this Nation, no Treaſon being prov'd upon me.

I return my moſt hearty Thanks to thoſe noble and worthy Perſons who gave me their Aſſiſtance, by oppoſing this Bill of Attainder, without which, it had been impoſſible I could have fallen under the Sentence of Death. God bleſs them and their Poſterity; tho' I am fully ſatisfied they pleaded their own Cauſe while they defended mine.

I pray God to bleſs my true and lawful Sovereign King *James*, the Queen, and Prince of *Wales*, and reſtore him and his Poſterity to this Throne again, for the Peace and Proſperity of this Nation; which is impoſſible to proſper till the Government is ſettled upon a right Foot.

And now, O God! I do with all humble Devotion commend my Soul into thy Hands, the great Maker and Preſerver of Men, and Lover of Souls; beſeeching thee that it may be always Dear and Precious in thy

Sight, through the Merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

JOHN FENWICK.

Then he submitted to the Block, and the Executioner sever'd his Head from his Body.

The CHARACTER *of Mr.* CHARLES BATEMAN.

MR. *Bateman* was a Man of good Sense, good Courage, and good Company; a very large and generous Temper, and of considerable Repute and Practice in his Calling; a great Lover and Vindicator of the Liberties of the City and Kingdom, and of more Interest than most of his Station. Being kept close Prisoner in *Newgate*, the Windows and Rooms all dark, and little or no Company; having been a free, jolly Man, and us'd to Conversation and Diversion, he soon grew deeply Melancholy, that when he came on his Tryal, he appear'd little less than distracted. However, he was found guilty; and just before his Execution very much recover'd himself, dying as much like a Christian, and with a Presence of Mind inferior to few that have suffer'd.

The

The Execution of Sir JOHN FRIEND *and Sir* WILLIAM PERKINS, *on Friday the 3d of* April, 1696. *Being drawn to* Tyburn *in Sledges, they deliver'd the following Papers to the Sheriffs.*

Sir JOHN FRIEND's *Paper.*

KNowing that I muſt immediately give an Account to God of all my Actions, and that I ought to be eſpecially careful of what I ſay in theſe laſt Hours, I do ſolemnly profeſs, that what I here deliver is from my very Soul, with all the Heartineſs and Sincerity of a dying Chriſtian.

The Cauſe I am brought hither to ſuffer for, I do firmly believe to be the Cauſe of God and true Religion, and, to the beſt and utmoſt of my Knowledge and Information, agreeable to the Laws of the Land, which I have evermore heard do require a firm Duty and Allegiance to our Sovereign; and that as no foreign, ſo neither any domeſtick Power can alienate our Allegiance. For it is altogether new and unintelligible to me, that the King's Subjects can depoſe and dethrone him on any Account, or conſtitute any that have not an immediate Right in his Place. We ought, I think, not to do this; and ſurely, when it is done, to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Right, is juſtifiable, and our Duty. And however things may ſeem at preſent, I do believe, I am ſure I heartily pray, that he ſhall be one Day reſtor'd to his rightful Throne and Dominions.

As for any ſudden Deſcent of his Majeſty upon theſe his Dominions, in order to the Recovery of them, I declare I had no certain Knowledge of it; nor can I tell what Grounds there was to be-

lieve it, ſo little Reaſon had I to be in a preſent Preparation for it. I ſuppoſe it is not expected I ſhould here endeavour to clear myſelf of the *Aſſaſſination*, which was not the thing alledg'd againſt me; however, it was mention'd, through what Means I know not: As it was inſinuated to my Diſadvantage, I forgive ſuch as were therein inſtrumental; and I do alſo, from the very Bottom of my Soul, freely forgive, and beg of God to do ſo too, ſuch as were any ways acceſſary towards the taking away my Life, which I really look upon to be their Misfortune more than mine.

I profeſs my-ſelf, and I thank God I am ſo, a Member of the Church of *England*, though, God knows, a moſt unworthy and unprofitable Part of it; of that Church which ſuffers ſo much at preſent for a ſtrict Adherence to Loyalty, the Laws and Chriſtian Principles; *For this I ſuffer, and for this I die.*

Tho' I have a perfect Charity for People of all Profeſſions, and do heartily wiſh well, and would endeavour to do ſo to all my Fellow-Subjects, of what Perſuaſion ſoever. And indeed I have met with a great deal of Uprightneſs and Sincerity among ſome People of very different Opinions in religious Matters.

And I hope and deſire it may not be taken an uncharitable Cenſure, or undue Reflection, that I objected to the Legality of Popiſh Evidence, being adviſ'd ſo to do for my better Security, upon the Foundation of a Statute-Law.

Having owned myſelf a Member of the Church of *England*, I muſt take this Opportunity, and I do it for God's Glory, to apply myſelf to you that are Royaliſts of that Church, and of the ſame Faith and Principles with myſelf: And I beg of you, for God's ſake, and the Love of

your

your Souls, to be very conſtant and ſerious in all religious Offices, and holy Duties, of divine Worſhip and Service, which I have too much neglected, as I own to my great Sorrow: Let no Excuſe, no Dangers, prevent or hinder you in theſe moſt neceſſary and ſerious Matters; and be, I beſeech you, very careful and circumſpect in all your Actions, Behaviour, and Converſation, as I earneſtly exhorted all that came to me.

I have, I thank God, a great deal of Satisfaction in my preſent Sufferings, and have found it ſo ever ſince I have been under them: And bleſſed be God it doth continually increaſe upon me. And I do now lay down my Life with all Chearfulneſs and Reſignation, in ſure and certain Hope of a Reſurrection to eternal Life, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, through whoſe Merits alone I hope for the Pardon of my Sins, and the Salvation of my Soul.

And ſo, O Lord! into thy Hands I commend my Spirit; for thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord! thou God of Truth.

JOHN FRIEND.

Sir WILLIAM PERKINS's *Paper.*

IT hath not been my Cuſtom to uſe many Words, and I ſhall not be long upon this Occaſion, having Buſineſs of much greater Conſequence to employ my Thoughts upon. I thank God I am now in a full Diſpoſition to Charity, and therefore ſhall make no Complaints, either of the Hardſhips of my Trial, or any other Rigours put upon me. However, one Circumſtance I think myſelf oblig'd to mention. It was ſworn againſt me by Mr. *Porter*, That I had own'd to him that I had ſeen and read a Commiſſion from

the King to levy War upon the Perſon of the Prince of *Orange*. Now, I muſt declare, that the Tenor of the King's Commiſſion, which I ſaw, was general, and directed to all his loving Subjects, to raiſe and levy War againſt the Prince of *Orange*, and his Adherents; and to ſeize all Forts, Caſtles, *&c.* which, I ſuppoſe, may be a cuſtomary Form of giving Authority to make War; but I muſt confeſs I am not much acquainted with Matters of that Nature: But as for my Commiſſion particularly levell'd againſt the Perſon of the Prince of *Orange*, I neither ſaw nor heard of any ſuch.

It's true, I was privy to the Deſign upon the Prince, but was not to act in it; and am fully ſatisfied that very few, or none, knew of it but thoſe who undertook to do it.

I freely acknowledge, and think it for my Honour to ſay, that I was entirely in the Intereſt of the King, being always firmly perſuaded of the Juſtice of his Cauſe; and look'd upon it as my Duty, both as a Subject, and an *Engliſhman*, to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Throne, which I believe him to be depriv'd of, contrary to all Right and Juſtice; taking the Laws and Conſtitutions of my Country for my Guide.

As for Religion, I die in the Communion of the Church of *England*, in which I was educated.

And as I freely forgive all the World, ſo whoever I may any ways have injur'd, I heartily ask them Pardon.

WILLIAM PERKINS.

After which they were executed according to their Sentence.

The

The Execution of HAAGEN SWENDSEN, *the Day of* 1702. *Being brought to the Place of Execution, he referred himſelf to the following Paper, which he left with the two Divines who attended him.*

I Do believe the World will expect I ſhould ſay ſomething for their Satisfaction. That I had a Deſign to have Mrs. *Rawlins* for my Wife is moſt true. I was told of her by a Neighbour and Friend of hers, and then made a further Enquiry, and found her Quality ſuch as I might, without any Exceptions, preſume to, her Father being the Son of a Tradeſman; the next was, how to get into her Acquaintance; and not knowing how to be introduc'd, I prevail'd with, and perſuaded Mrs. *Baynton* to take a Lodging in the ſame Houſe with Mrs. *Rawlins*, by which Means I found eaſy Acceſs to my Wiſhes, and was as welcome to the Family, as if I had been one of themſelves. I had their Company on Board a Ship, where I gave them an Entertainment, and was invited to dine with them, and by degrees I poſſeſs'd my ſelf of Mrs. *Rawlins*'s Affection ſo far, that ſhe ſeem'd uneaſy without me, and frequently importun'd for my ſpeedy Return, and oblig'd me to ſit next to her at Table, ſaying, that if I did not, ſhe would not eat, and treated me with many private Careſſes, by which Lovers, who have not frequent Opportunity of ſpeaking, do by Signs and Tokens expreſs themſelves.

I do declare that I had as good Reception as a Lover could wiſh for, and all the Encouragement imaginable; inſomuch that nothing ſeem'd diſagreeable to my Intentions, but all things did pro-

miſe to facilitate my Deſign with Succeſs, ſhe her ſelf having told me that ſhe was at her own Diſpoſal, and would marry to pleaſe herſelf.

My Familiarity with Mrs. *Rawlins* before my Marriage was ſo great, that there was no Room left for me to practiſe Violence upon her; tho' I muſt ſay I was impatient of Delays, and wiſh'd for an Opportunity to accompliſh my Deſire.

But as for the unhappy Contrivance of the arreſting Mrs. *Rawlins*, I had no ſhare in it, but was perſuaded to conſent to it by Mr. *H*---- and his Wife; and when the Intrigue was brought to Perfection, I comply'd, and laid hold of the Opportunity, in order to marry Mrs. *Rawlins*, which with little Difficulty, and leſs Perſuaſion, I accompliſh'd; ſo having, without any Force or Violence, declar'd to the Miniſter that ſhe was at her own Diſpoſal, and free to marry me, which the Miniſter declar'd in open Court, at my Tryal.

After we had been in Bed, comes in one Mr. *Bennet*, a Conſtable, with ſome of Mrs. *Rawlins*'s Relations, who requir'd me to go with them before a Juſtice of Peace; finding they had no Warrant, I refus'd to give Obedience to their Commands, which created ſome Diſpute; and my Wife hearing the Noiſe, came out of the Bed-Chamber, deſiring me to be quiet, and let her ſpeak to them; which accordingly ſhe did, in theſe expreſs Words following, *viz. Couſin, I have married this Gentleman with my own free Conſent, he is my Husband, and this is my Wedding Ring*, ſhewing the Ring on her Finger: *As for Mr.* Busby, *I will give him under my Hand he ſhall come into no Trouble, and what would you have more?*

Then ſaid they, if it be ſo, then God bleſs you both together, and drank a Flask of Wine or two with me, and then departed; they were no ſoon-

er

er gone; but I ask'd her, whether ſhe would be willing to appear and declare what ſhe had ſaid to her Friends to a Juſtice of Peace, and ſhe ſaid ſhe would with all her Heart; then we went to Mr. Juſtice *Baber*, in *York-buildings*, and declar'd the ſame to him; he told her he would take Notice of her Face, and bid her ſtick to that.

The next Day, about eleven of the Clock, there came a Conſtable with a Warrant, and carried us before the Recorder, unto whom ſhe ſaid the ſame thing over and over. Then ſaid the Recorder, *Alas! Child, they made you drunk, and you did not know what you did.* To which ſhe anſwer'd, *That there were a great many there preſent that knew her Life and Converſation, that ſhe did not uſe to be drunk*; and when the Recorder could not prevail with her, he conceiv'd, that my being perſonally with her, oblig'd her to ſtand ſo firm to her Marriage; he then order'd me to be pull'd away by Force from her, at which ſhe fell a weeping; how ſhe afterwards was lectur'd by her Friends, was ſufficiently atteſted by my Proſecution, Tryal, and Sentence; and after I was committed to *Newgate*, I was remov'd by a *Habeas Corpus* to the *Queen's-Bench* Bar, there to be arraign'd, and pleaded Not guilty to the Indictment. I pleaded for longer time to prepare for my Tryal, but was allow'd but four Days; when I was brought to my Tryal, I moved for a Council to plead my Cauſe, as being a Stranger, and not acquainted with the Laws of *England*; my Life being thus at Stake, a powerful Intereſt againſt me, and the Court not for me, render'd my Caſe both deſpicable and deplorable; and as for ſome of my Evidence, I do verily believe they were bribed by the adverſe Party, others taken off by ſiniſter Art, and ſome hinder'd by Force from appearing in Court for me.

As

As for Mr. Juſtice *Baber*, he ſhew'd himſelf but coldly in giving his Teſtimony, and ſaid, that my Wife did confeſs before him, that ſhe was marry'd by her own free Conſent; but at the ſame Time he added, that ſhe ſeem'd very much diſorder'd: As for that Gentleman, I forgive him, and ſhall leave God to be Judge between him and me.

It is to be noted, That my Wife did not deny, in open Court, that ſhe had made the Declaration aforeſaid, of her Marriage, to Mr. *Bennet*, the Conſtable, and others, that Night we were marry'd; but ſaid, ſhe did not know what ſhe did when ſhe ſaid ſo, and many other things ſhe poſitively, upon Oath, denied at my Tryal; which makes me have Pity upon her poor Soul, conſidering ſhe confeſs'd many things at Mrs. *Baynton's* Tryal, which ſhe denied upon Oath at mine: The World may ſee what it is to be a Stranger, and unacquainted with the Laws; nay, I myſelf heard my Wife openly confeſs in Court, in Mrs. *Baynton's* Tryal, *That there was a young Lady in the World, who was at her own Diſpoſal, that wiſh'd me a good Wife*, and at laſt confeſs'd ſhe herſelf was the Perſon.

Amongſt my many Misfortunes, I was repreſented by my Wife's Friends to the Court, to be a Sharper and a Bully; but I call'd in, and produc'd ſeveral Gentlemen of Repute, to give Account of my Life and Converſation, who have accordingly atteſted the Honeſty of my Principles by my Practice.

It is further obſervable how my Jury diſagreed about the Verdict. There was one of them, Mr. *Eraſmus Johnſon*, a Perſon to me altogether a Stranger; for I declare, in the Preſence of Almighty God, that I do not remember to have been in his Company three times in my Life, except

cept in Church : This Mr. *Johnſon* alledg'd, that none of the Evidence did prove, or ſwear, that I had any Hand in the Arreſt, nor us'd any Force or Violence to the Gentlewoman, but ſhe confeſs'd the Marriage, which was prov'd by ſeveral Witneſſes ; which render'd my Caſe ſo hard, that the ſaid Mr. *Johnſon* inſiſted upon it to have me diſcharg'd, according to the Dictates of his Conſcience ; but at laſt he was over-rul'd.

Since my Conviction I have us'd all the Means I could to procure my Pardon ; but finding little or no Probability of it, I am now going to beg for Entrance at the Gate of Mercy in Heaven, which I beſeech God to open for me.

I expected my Tryal ſhould be publiſh'd, that the World might ſee my Treatment ; what I have done, and what I have left undone in my Caſe ; but I am inform'd it may not be printed. I have ſaid this only to do myſelf Juſtice, altho' I could ſay a great deal more of Moment to the purpoſe ; but my Time being ſo very ſhort and precious, I muſt employ that little Time to the ſaving of my moſt precious Part, my Soul.

I humbly beſeech Mankind to believe me ; and that I have ſaid, or ſhall ſay, are the Words of a dying Man ; this is not the time for me to equivocate, nor to go out of the World with a Lie in my Mouth : I do therefore declare, and call the great Omnipotent God of Heaven to my Witneſs, that I have aſſerted nothing, to the beſt of my Knowledge, but the whole Truth, nor utter'd a Syllable out of Malice, or Bitterneſs of Heart, againſt any Perſon whatſoever ; but ſo far from it, I do frankly forgive all my Enemies, and beſeech God to put it in their Hearts to repent of their Sins.

As

As for my Wife, I am ſo much in Charity with her, that I cannot believe the Severity extended to me, did altogether proceed from herſelf, but her conſenting to ſpill my Blood, makes the Guilt her own. God of his great Mercy give her a true Senſe of her Crimes, that the heavy Judgment hanging over her Head may not deſcend on her.

As for Mrs. *Baynton*, who is likewiſe under Sentence of Death on the ſame Account with my ſelf, as I have in the Court, ſo do I now again poſitively declare ſhe had no Hand in the Intrigue of my Marriage, any more than what ſhe did by my ſpecial Direction and Perſuaſion; for Mrs. *Baynton* was wholly a Stranger to Mrs. *Rawlins*, untill the unhappy Contrivance of my Marriage made them acquainted, neither did I know Mrs. *Baynton* till *June* laſt paſt; tho' ſome have been pleas'd to ſay that I kept her Company for three Years, and have had two Children by her; all which I declare is a wrong Notion, and nothing of Truth in it. The only Load I have on my Conſcience is her Death, of which I am the unhappy Inſtrument. I beſeech God in his Mercy to move the Queen's Clemency to ſpare her Life, that her Blood may not riſe in Judgment againſt me.

As for myſelf, I am now a going to ſuffer an ignominious Death, for a Crime which my own Conſcience doth not accuſe me of, but the Rigour of the Law hath made it my unpardonable Crime. And as I forgive all Mankind, ſo I beg Forgiveneſs of thoſe, whom, thro' Inadvertency, or otherwiſe, I have injur'd or offended, beſeeching God, of his great Mercy, to vouchſafe them Forgiveneſs whenſoever they ſhall ask it.

My

My great Comfort is that I have reconcil'd my ſelf with my God, and that I die in my natural Senſes, and that ſhort time I have had ſince my Tryal, I truſt in my Saviour, I have not miſpent.

And now, O Lord God! of thy infinite Goodneſs hear my Petition, pardon my Offences, and forgive me my Sins, forgive mine Enemies, and lay not my Blood to their Charge, but grant that a ſincere Repentance may waſh away their Guilt.

I am now going out of this Vale of Calamity and Sin to my eternal Repoſe, where, thro' the Merits of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I hope to ſee God in his Glory; and ſo I conclude, *O Lord receive my Soul into thy boundleſs Mercy, for the Merits of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.* Amen.

After which the Executioner did his Office.

The Paper deliver'd by Mr. GREGG *to the Sheriffs, at the Place of Execution,* April 28, 1708.

THE Crime I am now juſtly to ſuffer for, having made a great Noiſe in the World, a Paper of more than ordinary Length will be expected from the Criminal; who therefore takes this laſt Opportunity to profeſs his utter Abhorrence, and ſincere Repentance of all his Sins againſt God, and of the heinous Crime committed againſt the Queen, whoſe Forgiveneſs I moſt humbly implore; as I ſhall heartily pray for her Majeſty's long Life and happy Reign over her united People, and Succeſs againſt her Enemies, with my parting Breath. This being all the Satisfaction I can make injur'd Majeſty.

I declare in the next Place, the Reparation I would make, were it in my Power, to thoſe of her Majeſty's Subjects I have wronged in any kind,

kind, and particularly the Right Honourable *Robert Harley*, Eſq; whoſe Pardon I heartily beg, for baſely betraying my Truſt: Which Declaration, tho' of itſelf ſufficient to clear the ſaid Gentleman, yet for the ſake of thoſe whom it was my Misfortune not to be able to ſatisfy in my Lifetime, I do ſacredly proteſt, that as I ſhall anſwer it before the Judgment-Seat of Chriſt, the Gentleman aforeſaid was not privy to my writing to *France*, directly nor indirectly; neither I, his unworthy Clerk, any ways acceſſary to the Miſcarriage before *Thoulon*, nor the Loſſes by Sea; all which happen'd before the firſt of my Letters, which was writ the 24th of *October*, 1707.

As for my Creditors, as I am in no Condition to ſatisfy them, ſo I earneſtly beg they would forgive me; and I pray God to make up their Loſſes to them ſeven-fold.

For my own Part, I do freely forgive all Men, and die in perfect Charity with them; not without humble Hopes of finding Forgiveneſs, thro' the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, with God; who in Mercy touched my Conſcience ſo powerfully from the beginning, as to prevent my proſtituting the ſame to ſave my Life; for which Inſtances of his Love, to be preferr'd before Life itſelf, I bleſs and magnify his holy Name with unſpeakable Joy and Comfort at my Death, nothing near ſo ignominious as would have been ſuch a Life.

After this Confeſſion, the Duty of a dying Man leads me to profeſs the Religion in which I was brought up, and do now die, which is the Proteſtant; the Scandal given whereunto, by my enormous Practices, can't be better taken away, than by my publiſhing to the World my hearty Sorrow for thoſe ſenſual Pleaſures which have prov'd my Bane. Wherefore let all that ſhall read this

poor

poor Paper take Warning by me to ſhun the like youthful Luſts, to which, whoever gives up himſelf, can't tell how far they may, when indulg'd, carry him, even to the committing of ſuch Crimes as he thought himſelf incapable of ſome time a-day; of which ſad Truth, I, to my woeful Experience, am a melancholy Inſtance; but at the ſame time, I appeal to the Great God, before whom I am now going to appear, that notwithſtanding all the Pains taken to make me out an old Offender, by faſtening on me the Crime of counterfeiting the Coin, this is the firſt Fault that ever I ventured upon, which was not out of any Zeal to the Pretender, whom I not only diſown at my Death, but ſolemnly declare, that in all my Life I never thought he had any Right to theſe Realms, how fooliſhly ſoever I may have render'd my ſelf obnoxious in this Particular: But the only Motive of my mad Undertaking was Money, of which I never received any on account of the Ship-paſs, though I have met with the more juſt Reward of ſuch ſecret Services, intended by

W. GREGG.

FINIS.

Juſt Publiſh'd, in Six Volumes in 8vo;

TRyals for High Treaſon, and other Crimes. With Proceedings on Bills of Attainder, and Impeachments. For three Hundred Years paſt. To which are prefix'd, a Preface, giving an Account of the Nature and Uſefulneſs of the Work; and an Alphabetical Table of the reſpective Perſons try'd, and the Points of Law debated and adjudg'd. By the ſame Hand that prepar'd the Folio Edition for the Preſs. Sold by *D. Brown*, *G. Strahan*, *W. Mears*, *R. Goſling*, and *F. Clay*.

Juſt Publiſh'd,

OVID'S METAMORPHOSES. In fifteen Books, Tranſlated by

Mr. *Dryden*,	Mr. *Euſden*,
Mr. *Congreve*,	Mr. *Rowe*,
Dr. *Garth*,	Mr. *Mainwaring*,
Mr. *Gay*,	Mr. *Croxall*,
Mr. *Addiſon*,	Mr. *Pope*.

And other eminent Hands. Publiſh'd by Sir *Samuel Garth*, M. D. Adorn'd with Sculptures. In Two Volumes. Printed for *J. Brotherton* and *W. Meadows*, at the *Black Bull* in *Cornhill*.