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THE TROUBLES OF
OUR CATHOLIC FOREFATHERS
RELATED BY THEMSELVES

Third Series.

EDITED BY

JOHN MORRIS,

Priest of the Society of Jesus.

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	<i>Page</i>
Chapter IV.—Spiritual murder	73
„ V.—Prisons	74
„ VI.—Arraignments.	81
„ VII.—Executions	96

III. FATHER RICHARD HOLTBY ON PERSECUTION IN

THE NORTH	103
Introduction	105
Father Holtby's Narrative	118
Note. Extracts from the original Acts of the Ecclesiastical Commission of the North to illustrate Father Holtby's Narrative	213
Father Holtby's Account of Three Martyrs : Introduction	220
Father Holtby's Narrative	221
IV.—NOTES BY A PRISONER IN OUSEBRIDGE KIDCOTE	231
Introduction	233
Notes by a Prisoner in Ousebridge Kidcote	299
Note. Some information respecting many of the persons who died in the York and Hull prisons	315

V. MR. JOHN MUSI'S LIFE OF MARGARET CLITHEROW 331

Introduction	333
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A TRUE REPORT OF THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF MRS. MARGARET CLITHEROW.

Chapter I.—Introduction	360
„ II.—Of the virtuous Education of Mrs. Margaret Clitherow	368
„ III.—Of her humility, the foundation of all her virtues	372
„ IV.—Of her perfect charity and love to God	376
„ V.—Of her obedience to her ghostly Father	378
„ VI.—Of her charity to her neighbours	383
„ VII.—Of her zeal and fervour in the Catholic religion	387
„ VIII.—Of her alacrity and joy in mind and body	388
„ IX.—Of her devotion and spiritual exercise	390
„ X.—Of her abstinence	394
„ XI.—Of her pilgrimage	395

Contents.

XV

	<i>Page</i>
Chapter XII.—Of her marvellous desire to suffer for Christ and His truth	397
„ XIII.—Of her contempt of the world and all pleasures thereof .	399
„ XIV.—Of her discretion and prudence in all her businesses .	400
„ XV.—Of the love she had amongst her neighbours . . .	402
„ XVI.—Of the persecution she suffered among the good . .	404
„ XVII.—Of her diligence in observing other folk's virtues . .	408
„ XVIII.—Of her apprehension	409
„ XIX.—Of her arraignment	412
„ XX.—Of her martyrdom	429
„ XXI.—The Conclusion, wherein is partly showed the unjust dealings of the heretics with this Martyr	433

VI.—FATHER POLLARD'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THE YORKSHIRE MISSION	441
Introduction	443
Father Pollard's Recollections	445
Alphabetical Index	471

v.

MR. JOHN MUSH'S LIFE OF
MARGARET CLITHEROW.

MR. JOHN MUSH'S LIFE OF MARGARET CLITHEROW.

THE river Ouse divides the city of York into two parts, and until lately there was but one bridge over it, which taking its name from the river was called Ousebridge. While England was Catholic this bridge had an interest for the faithful from a grace that was attributed to the prayers of St. William. The whole city had gone out to meet the Archbishop on his return from Rome on the feast of the Ascension, May 8, 1154. The Saint preceding the crowd had crossed over the old wooden bridge, and as the people were following in multitudes, the bridge gave way under the pressure, and the mass of the people, including many women and children, fell into the stream. St. William made the sign of the Cross over them and prayed, and not a single life was lost. A chapel in honour of the Saint was built upon the bridge,¹ and the building was not taken down till very recent times. It had a beautiful Norman doorway and an early English window of three lancets, but its beauty and associations did not save it from desecration at the Reformation, at which time it became an

¹ "Stone bridges coming soon after into use, ours seems to take its date from about the year 1235, for I find that Walter Gray, then Archbishop, granted a brief for the rebuilding of Ousebridge, most probably of stone, by charitable contributions. *Anno* 1268 I read an account of the origin of a chapel on Ousebridge in the *Collectanea*, when there was a peace and agreement made with John Comyn, a Scotch nobleman, and the citizens of York (*mediantibus regibus Anglie et Scotie*) for a fray which had happened upon the bridge and wherein several of John Comyn's servants had been slain. The said lord was to receive 300*l.*, and the citizens were obliged to build a chapel on the place where the slaughter was made, and to find two priests to celebrate for the souls of the slain for ever. How long they continued to pray for the souls of these Scots, or whether this is not the chapel which was dedicated to St. William, I know not." Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 280.

Exchange for merchants. It was utterly destroyed when the bridge was pulled down in 1809.

The old bridge was overturned in 1564, "when by a sharp frost, great snow, and a sudden thaw the water rose to a great height, and the prodigious weight of the ice and flood drove down two arches of the bridge by which twelve houses were overthrown and twelve persons drowned."¹ The small arches at the two sides remained firm, sustaining the chapel and other buildings; but a centre arch had to be built in the place of two that had fallen. It was handsomely done, and old York prided itself on possessing one of the finest arches in England, "eighty-one feet or twenty-seven yards from the first spring of the arch, and seventeen high."² This bridge was to the full as dear to Catholics as the old bridge that preceded it, for thirty-three priests were drawn over it on hurdles, and sixteen laymen in carts, on their way to the Tyburn at Knavesmire, and it was itself the place of the imprisonment of numberless confessors, and of the martyrdom of Margaret Clitherow. We proceed, in a pardonable spirit of antiquarianism, to draw from the City Housebooks the record of the rebuilding of the dear old bridge.

"14^o Junii, 7^o Elizabeth [1565].

"Assembled in the Council of Ousebridge day and year above said, when and where Leonard Craven, carpenter, was called before the said presents if he will undertake to work and finish his work at the jetty under Ousebridge, as it ought to be for voiding of the water, and he answered and said he had no doubt to finish the same, that the masons shall work dry there to set their foundation of the pillar of the bridge, so that he shall have such stuff as [he] shall need to the same, and thereupon the said presents were contented and agreed that he shall continue upon his work of the said jetty" (n. 24, fol. 12).

"10^o Aprilis, 8^o Elizabeth [1566].

"*Willus. Watson, Maior, &c.* Assembled in the Common Hall of this city, the day and year above said, with the most part of the Common Council of the same city the day and year above

¹ Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 280.

² Drake, *ibid.*

said, for order of reparation to be made this year upon Ouse-bridge, when and where it was thought best and fully agreed, as well by all of the said Common Council as by the said Lord Mayor and worshipful presents with one assent, that with all godly speed the said work shall be set upon with masons and carpenters tapders [?], with provision of lime and stone ; and by their best advice made up in one bow, according as by counsel of the most expert and politic men it is thought most expedient, ready, surest, and cheapest. Provided always that if by further occasion and foresight of the said Lord Mayor and worshipful it shall be perceived better [in] any other way or form, it is to be wholly referred to their discretion, with[out] further consent to be had of the said Common Council.

“*Item*, it is agreed that freestone ready sculpted and squared by advice of the mason, and lime shall be bought towards the said works of William Oldred ; that is to say, the said stone after 3*s.* the ton, and lime after 5*s.* the chaldron, and so to be undelayedly delivered by the said Oldred at York Staith within this city of his proper costs and charges, by further discretion and order of my Lord Mayor and Chamberlains. And the said Oldred now present did willingly for his part agree unto the same.

“And that a cunning and expert carpenter for making a centrell towards the said reparation and bow shall be taken by advice of the mason that shall take the charge of the said work.

“And that immediately all manner of necessary stuff and provision shall be made for the better furtherance of the said work, and all other things required, by discretion of my said Lord Mayor and Aldermen” (n. 24, fol. 44).

“24^o Aprilis, 8^o Elizabeth.

“Agreed that John Todd, carpenter, who hath taken upon him to make the centrell of timber for the masons to set the arch upon for the stone bridge upon Ouse, shall have paid by the Chamberlains towards his pains taken therein 40*s.*, over and besides his day-tale wages, if it do appear that he desireth the same, or else it to be allowed in his wages ; and when his work is well finished, then he to be rewarded accordingly.

"It is also agreed by these presents that Christopher Walmesley, free mason, shall be bound with good sureties, that is to say, three besides himself for the sure making of the said arch over Ousebridge according to his promise. And the said Walmesley shall have every week for his wages 6s. 8d., and one other mason also that he shall name to have 6s. 8d. a week, and the rest of the masons to have weekly 5s. 8d." (fol. 44 *b*).

"13^o *Maii*, 8^o *Elizabeth*.

"It was thought meet and fully agreed that the mansion house called St. George's Chapel, nigh the Castle Mills, shall be taken down, and all the freestone of the same to serve towards present reparation of Ousebridge. And all the residue of tile, timber, and stuff to be husbanded by the Chamberlains to the most profit of the city.

"And now also was read the draft of an obligation with condition whereby [Christopher] Walmesley, with two collateral sureties, is to be bound for the sure and perfect making and finishing of Ousebridge, as by the said condition may more at large appear ; whereunto the said Walmesley now present did frankly agree.

"And it is now further agreed by all these said presents that the said Walmesley shall have, after the centrell taken from his work, if the arch shall stand sure and substantial according to his promise under bond, in reward of the Chamber 20*l*." (fol. 45 *b*).

"17^o *Junii*, 8^o *Elizabeth*.

"Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, agreed that the Council Chamber newly made¹ shall be speedily painted with white and green panes² oiled, with the Queen's Majesty's arms, the Prince's arms, and the city arms at the higher end. And the painter doing the same cunningly and sufficiently, as it ought to be, to have therefore of the Chamber 30*s*. so soon as he hath finished the same" (fol. 47).

¹ In some place of the Housebooks, the reference to which has been lost, it is said that, while the Council Chamber was under repair, the tollbooth was used in its stead.

² "A *pane*, piece or pannell of a wall, of wainscot, of a glass window." Cotgrave, *Halliwell*.

“30^o Julii, 8^o Elizabeth.

“*Item*, whereas in the old bayle¹ there is a part of an inner tower called the bichedoughter tower, already shrunken from the city wall, and may be well taken away without enfeebling or greatly defacing of the said wall: it is therefore thought needful to take down the said broken tower and the stones therefrom coming to be carried and converted towards repairing of Ouse-bridge, which doth presently want stone meet for the first band.

“And for so much as the said Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Council in absence of the said Lord Mayor, did consider that through the taking down and carriage away of the said tower and stones, the grass of the said old [bayle] should be much defrayed, and for the time lie open therefore, for some recompense thereof, and to have the said Lord Mayor more willing to let the said tower to be rased, and to let the work-folk to have free passage and easement of the said old bayle whereof he is tenant by lease of the seal of office, he shall have the same lease renewed for twenty-five years under the common seal, when and where he shall see convenient after his mayoralty to require the same” (fol. 48 *b*).

Such were the arrangements made for building the bridge, and the mason intrusted with the work gavé such satisfaction to the city that his name reappears six years later.

“28^o Martii, 14^o Elizabeth [1572].

“It is agreed by these presents that [Christopher] Walmesley, the mason, shall be paid his year's fee now due, and also 13*s.* 4*d.* as loan money” (n. 25, fol. 4).

“5^o Junii, 14^o Elizabeth.

“Forasmuch as [Christopher] Walmesley, free mason, is come to this city to see what reparations is there to be made, and because it is uncertain when he can be gotten hither again, it is therefore agreed by these presents that he shall now with all convenient speed repair Ousebridge where need is; and he to be paid for the same reparation from time to time by the Chamberlains” (fol. 15 *b*).

¹ *Bailey*, the spaces between the circuits of walls which surrounded the keep. *Halliwell*. It is evidently derived from *ballium*.

One of the chief contributors towards the expense of rebuilding the bridge was the widow of Alderman Hall, once Lord Mayor, who was called Lady Hall, in virtue of the York adage respecting their chief magistrates and their wives—

He is a lord for a year and a day,
But she is a lady for ever and aye.

A stone was put up on the bridge with an inscription in her honour; and in 1592, 14^o *Junii*, 34^o *Elizabeth*, it was “agreed that the Chamberlains shall cause the stone upon the top of the battlement of Ousebridge being loose, which was set up there in memory of my Lady Hall’s gift towards the re-edifying of the same bridge, to be taken down and better graven, and to be well and orderly set up again forthwith of the Chamber’s charges” (n. 30, fol. 330). The inscription was quaint enough :

WILLIAM WATSON, Lord Mayor, *anno Dom.* 1566.
Lady Jane Hall, lo! here the works of faith does shew,
By giving a hundred pound this bridge for to renew.

The shell of the old chapel of St. William stood through all, and in spite of its utter change of purpose and its new dedication to the uses of buying and selling, it retained its name of the chapel. It had its little steeple, and in 1598, 17^o *Januarii*, 41^o *Elizabeth*, it was “agreed that the vane upon the top of this chapel steeple shall be set straight, or taken down and a new made and set up, if the old will not serve again” (n. 31, fol. 395 *b*). The steeple had held three bells, and in 1583 the city exchanged them for two from St. Saviour’s parish, only one of which found its way to St. William’s little steeple. The transaction is thus recorded.

“7^o *Junii*, 25^o *Elizabeth* [1583].

“It is agreed by these presents that for so much as there is received to the city’s use two bells from St. Saviour’s parish, it is agreed that the one of the same bells being riven shall be sold for the city’s most advantage, the weight of which bells and also of three bells which were in chapel now delivered to the parish of St. Saviour’s hereafter followeth :

“The weight of three bells which came from the bridge :

“*Item*, the first bell weighing 1 c. 3 q. 16 l.

“*Item*, the second bell weighing 2½ c. 16 l.

“*Item*, the great bell weighing 3 c. 1 q. 10 l.

“Sum in weight 8 c. 14 l.

“The weight of two bells received from St. Saviour’s Church.

“*Item*, the first bell weighing 2 c. 1 q.

“*Item*, the second bell weighing 3 c. 3 q. 12 l.

“Sum in weight 6 c. 0 q. 12 l.” (n. 28, fol. 101).

Besides the bell, there was a clock in the steeple and there are various entries respecting it.

“27° *Aprilis*, 35° *Elizabeth* [1593].

“And whereas the inhabitants about Ousebridge have made their humble request and suit to this Court that the clock upon Ousebridge may be repaired, it is agreed that my Lord Mayor shall call John Newsome, the clockmaker, before him and speak with him touching the same and take such order therein as at his lordship’s discretion shall seem meet, both touching the amending and repairing thereof, and also for keeping of the same to go in good order” (n. 31, fol. 10).

“23° *Maii*, 1593.

“And now it is agreed that John Newsome and his man Wilson shall amend the clock upon Ousebridge so as the same may go in good order, and shall have 3l. 6s. 8d. forth of the chamber for their labours and pain therein. And from such time as the same shall be repaired they shall have 5s. a year forth of the said chamber to keep the same to go in good order (setting and daily keeping the same excepted)” (fol. 13).

“13° *Julii*, 35° *Elizabeth*, 1593.

“And now it is agreed that William Greneup the elder and William Greneup the younger, his son, shall keep the clock and dial upon Ousebridge, and ring the bell at four of the clock in summer and five of the clock in winter in the morning and eight at night, and that they shall have 26s. 8d. yearly fee for the same at Christmas and Midsummer by even portions” (fol. 17).

Besides St. William's chapel, the bridge held a considerable number of buildings both public and private. The most noteworthy of the former was the Council Chamber of the city, where all the proceedings were held which the Housebooks record, and where the Housebooks themselves and all the city archives were kept. This was the Lord Mayor's Court, and besides this there was the Exchequer Court, which adjoined the chapel, and there was also, as it would seem on a lower level, the Sheriffs' Court. Then there were the various prisons. On one side of the bridge was the debtors' prison, and on the other the Lord Mayor's Kidcote and the Sheriffs' Kidcote: and these two last were sub-divided into men's and women's¹ Kidcotes, and into upper and lower prisons. The upper prisons had a grate opening on the street at which prisoners might beg of the passers-by, and the lower were dark vaults close to the level of the river.

In addition to these abodes of misery the old bridge found room for a women's hospital called the *Maison Dieu*, the spelling of which name exercised the town clerk not a little (n. 28, fol. 48, 238 *b*, 245 *b*; n. 31, fol. 251). The form "Measondewe" doubtless represents the pronunciation of the time. A room over it was let, which may not have been altogether fair to the charity.

"1° *Julii*, 26° *Elizabeth* [1584].

"Agreed that Christopher Jackson, mercer, shall have a little chamber over the *Maison Dieu* as tenant at will, paying therefore yearly 5*s.* to the Common Chamber. And the poor women of the *Maison Dieu* to bring in their evidence" (n. 28, fol. 245 *b*).

Speaking of prisons, "John Trewe's house" on the bridge is frequently mentioned. In fact, John Trewe farmed a private gaol, and a singular portion of the arrangement was that prisoners who wished to be transferred to better quarters than the miserable Kidcote, paid the cost of fitting up this private prison.

"Also it is agreed by these presents that John Trewe, cordwainer, shall be farmer of the new house builded on Ousebridge,

¹ "12° *Jan.*, 41° *Elizabeth* [1598]. It is agreed that a good strong double inner door shall be made of the Chamber charges in the women's Kidcote" (n. 31, fol. 393 *b*).

and the chambers over the Exchequer of the same bridge within this city of York, and the same house and chambers to be gaol houses for the Mayor and Sheriffs of the city for the time being. And the said John Trewe to enter to the said house and chambers at Martinmas next, and to have and hold the same of the Mayor and the Corporation of this city, paying yearly for the same to the use of them and their successors 6*l.* at Pentecost and St. Martin's in winter by even portions; provided always that the prisoners now remaining in the same chambers over the place and Exchequer, who made cost of repairing the chambers, shall have the same during their natural lives, if they be not delivered or discharged of their said imprisonment, they paying therefore yearly 3*s.* 4*d.* at the days due and accustomed for the same. And upon condition that the said John Trewe shall become bounden with good sureties yearly to the Mayor and Sheriffs of this city that shall be, in the sum of 200*l.* or more at their discretion, for all the prisoners that shall be at their charges" (n. 25, fol. 148 *b*).

John Trewe was succeeded in his amateur gaolership by Christopher Fordam.

"*Item*, it is agreed that Christopher Fordam shall be tenant at will, during the pleasure of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Privy Council of this city, of the house and all the chambers over the chapel and Chequer Chamber, which were late in the occupation of John Trewe. And he to pay to the use of this corporation four marks of lawful English money in hand, and 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly for the same.

"Also it is agreed that Peter Smithe shall have the same four marks and 13*s.* 8*d.* or more to make up five marks for his good will of the same tenement, and for and towards his charges which he spent in and about suing to be tenant of the same, and in respect that he was promised some favour therein" (n. 29, fol. 134).

"3^o *Martii*, 1597.

"And whereas John Jackson, merchant, and Edward Birltson have made suit to this Court to have a lease of the gaol house

tenement upon Ousebridge wherein Elizabeth Fordam now dwelleth, it is thought by the most voices of these presents that the said John Jackson is a meet man to have the same place and not the said Birtleton; notwithstanding no full agreement is as yet concluded by these presents in that behalf" (n. 31, fol. 330).

"6^o Martii, 1597.

"Also it is agreed that the tenement upon Ousebridge late in the tenour [*i.e.* holding] of Christopher Fordam, deceased, and now in the tenour of *uxor* Fordam, and the stone pillar under the south side of the same, shall be viewed by Mr. Wardens of that ward and Mr. Sheriffs and Mr. Christopher Turner and they to certify in what decay the same is, and in what sort they shall think meet the same to be repaired" (n. 31, fol. 333).

Here is a specimen of the way in which John Trewe's house was treated as a prison.

"31^o Augusti, 22^o Elizabeth [1580].

"Forasmuch as George Goodyeare of St. Sampson's parish, being called before these presents for refusing to pay to the poor, hath this morning called together divers of the parishioners of St. Sampson's by tolling of the bell, and also hath now spoken and given divers evil and unseemly words to these presents, and also hath discouraged others to pay to the poor, therefore it is now agreed by these presents that the said Goodyeare for his said offences shall be forthwith committed to ward to John Trewe's house, there to remain as close prisoner, saving his wife to come to him, and before his releasement he to be bound with sufficient sureties for good abearing against the Queen's Majesty and all the citizens of this city" (n. 27, fol. 240).

But the prisons seem to have been used for the confinement of poor lunatics also, which must have been as bad for the lunatics as it was for the prisoners.

"It was agreed by these presents that Agnes Egleston of St. Margaret's parish, who had weekly 2*z*., shall be paid weekly

from henceforth *6d.* to be hers weekly, at Trinity hospital, and to begin the next week, and the other relief to cease. Also it is agreed that John Trewe shall have *4s.* paid him for keeping of the said Agnes in her madness since Monday was a sennight, to be paid forthwith by the chamberlains" (fol. 217).

"And it is agreed that a coat of grey of *2s.* a yard shall be provided of the Chamber's cost for the madwoman in the Kidcote" (n. 30, fol. 128 *b*).

The intermediate space on the bridge was occupied with shops, and here is a list of those who took them when the bridge was rebuilt, together with the rent they paid for them. The date is 8° *Jan.*, 9° *Elizabeth* [156 $\frac{6}{7}$] (n. 24, fol. 60 *b*).

"South side, west end, 1st shop, *13s. 4d.* a year, Mr. Willcock.

"2nd shop, same side, *10s.* a year, James Wilkinson, girdler.

"3rd shop, same side, next the height of the bridge, *8s.*, Guy Marshall, glover.

"North side, west end, 1st shop next the chapel, *13s. 4d.*, Robert Beckwith, goldsmith.

"2nd shop, same side, *10s.*, William Greenhope, glover.

"3rd shop, next to the height of the bridge, *8s.*, Thomas Boothe, pinner.

"North side, east end, shop with a chamber next to Andrew Trewe's, *20s.*, — Robinson, glass seller.

"2nd shop, same side, *20s.*, William Wood, capper.

"3rd shop, with chamber next to it, *20s.*, Reingold Holme's wife.

"Next shop to it without a chamber, *10s.*, vacant.

"5th shop, same side, *10s.*, James Hodgson, glover.

"6th shop, next to the height of the bridge, *8s.*, James Fawcet.

"South side, east end, shop with chamber, *20s.*, Mr. Greisdale.

"2nd shop, with chamber, *20s.*, Robert Fawdyn.

"3rd shop, without a chamber, *10s.*, Thomas Atkinson, merchant.

"4th shop, without a chamber, *10s.*, Robert Cowper, fletcher.

"5th shop, next to the height of the bridge, *8s.*, Ralph Elmeden, glover."

There was one other building on Ousebridge, more interesting to us than all the rest, as it was in it that Margaret Clitherow was pressed to death. That place was the tollbooth. For this word Dr. Johnson assigns no other meaning but that of a prison, but it is clear that the word originally meant the place where toll or custom was taken. Hutton's narrative shows us that the tollbooth on Ousebridge was open to the street, for the minister's wife said to her sister, when Francis Ingleby was going by to his martyrdom, "Let us go into the tollbooth and we shall see the traitorly thief come over on the hurdle."

From Mr. Mush's narrative we learn that the tollbooth where Margaret suffered was but six or seven yards distant from the prison. This means probably little more than across the street; and this agrees well with the mention of the place of the chain, where toll was taken.

"11^o Junii, 33^o Elizabeth [1591].

"Agreed that Martin Leeds shall have a lease of the chain at the far end of Ousebridge for one year from Christmas last past, paying 20s. at Christmas next, and so from year to year, at the will and pleasure of my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, he taking for every cart coming over the same bridge laden with coals 2*d.*, and for every wain 4*d.* and no more" (n. 30, fol. 242).

We may now conclude with all probability that, coming to the bridge from Micklegate, on the left hand—that is, at the west end of the bridge on the north side—were the Council Chamber, the Kidcotes, and John Trewe's house, the upper part of which¹ encroached on St. William's Chapel; while on the south side of the bridge, next to Micklegate, came the tollbooth, the Maison Dieu, and the debtors' prison. After these on both sides of the bridge three shops, and on the crown of the arch an open space. The eastern end of the bridge had six shops on the north side, the same side with the chapel, and five shops on the south side, the space of the sixth shop on that side being probably devoted to the steps leading down to the Staith or quay.

¹ This is shown in old prints of the bridge as having two gablets facing the river, under each of which was a low window with four mullions.

Having now done our best to construct our *compositio loci*, we may turn to the *dramatis personæ* and their kinsfolk.

Mrs. Clitherow's father was Thomas Middleton, citizen of York, and wax-chandler. He was admitted a freeman in 1530; he filled the office of chamberlain in 1552, and that of sheriff in 1564-5, and he was buried at St. Martin's, Coney Street, May 16, 1567. His will was dated December 14, 1560, and was proved June 10, 1567.

Gent, in his list of the sheriffs,¹ has put Oliver Middleton as sheriff in 1570, instead of Thomas, evidently because he had found in St. Michael's, Spurriergate, the inscription of an Oliver Middleton, sheriff of York, the date of which inscription he could not decipher. Oliver, however, was sheriff in 1504, and died in the year of his shrievalty; and in 1570 the sheriff was Thomas Middleton, tanner, whose son, Peter Middleton, also a tanner, was sheriff in 1618. Whether these were relations of Margaret Clitherow's father we do not know. The name of Middleton was not uncommon in York. Thus in January, 157 $\frac{2}{3}$, there were several of the name assessed for the poor—John in the parish of St. Michael's at Ousebridge-end, Thomas in that of the Trinity in Micklegate, Thomas in St. John's at Ousebridge-end, and two Roberts in Allhallows in North Street, the one a tanner and the other a mariner. Then we come across a George Middleton,² draper, in 1585; Thomas, who was searcher of the coverlet weavers in 1584, and Agnes, a widow, who received 5s. compensation on being turned out of her house in 1592 by Ralph Dikes, who had bought it. It has been said by Mr. Nicholson, who edited Mush's *Life of Margaret Clitherow* in 1849, that "Mrs. Clitherow's representative in the paternal line is Peter Middelton, Esq., of Stockeld Park, Yorkshire." It is possible that Thomas Middleton, the Sheriff of York, was a younger son of this gentle and knightly family. The third son of Thomas Middelton of Stockeld, and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, was called Thomas, and judging from the fact that his nephew William was squire of

¹ *Ancient and Modern History of York*, 1730, p. 220.

² This was probably Margaret Clitherow's brother. The parish register of St. Martin's has a large number of entries respecting his children.

Stockeld and Myddelton in 1585, when Glover, Somerset Herald, held his visitation of Yorkshire, there would seem to be nothing in the dates to prevent this Thomas from having taken up his freedom as citizen of York in 1530. It must be added that there would be nothing surprising, especially in those times, in a younger son being sent adrift to make his fortune in trade; still there is really no more reason, beyond the interest excited by Margaret Clitherow's martyrdom, for attributing relationship with the Middeltons of Stockeld to Thomas the wax-chandler, rather than to Thomas the tanner, or any other of the numerous Middletons who inhabited York before him and with him.

The election of Margaret Clitherow's father to the office of sheriff is thus recorded in the Housebooks of the city.

"In festo Sancti Matthæi Apostoli, scil. 21^o die Septembris, anno 6^{to} regni Elizabeth Reginæ [1564].

"Jacobus Symson, Maior, &c. Assembled in the Council Chamber in the Common Hall of this city, the day and year above said, for the election of two sheriffs of the city, to be chosen upon four lyts [elects], put in to them by the Common Council and the eldest searchers of the thirteen and fifteen crafts assembled in the said hall for that purpose, according to the charter of election, who did by their most voices, according to the King's Charter or Decree, choose for their four elects Edward Richardson, pewterer, William Thomson, victualler, Thomas Myddelton, wax-chandler, and Gregory Paycoke, merchant. Of which four elects, this worshipful presents, by their most voices, have elect and chosen the said Thomas Myddelton and William Thomson to be sheriffs of this city for this year next to come. Which said William Thomson was sent for, and came before the said presents, and took the oath of sheriffship.

"And for that the said Thomas Myddelton lay upon his bed, sick in the gout, and could not come; therefore these worshipful presents agreed that Mr. Appleyard, Mr. Bean, and Mr. Watson, aldermen, Mr. Maskewe, sheriff, George Goodyere, Richard Aynlay, John Johnson, and divers others of the Common Council should go to Thomas Myddelton's house, to hear him take his oath accustomed, before whom the said Mr. Myddelton

took his said oath, to him given by the mouth of Thomas Fail, common clerk; and that done, the said aldermen and others above named returned again to the said Common Hall to the presents there assembled, and then and there declared all their doings in the premises accordingly" (n. 23, fol. 156).

"23^o *Novembris*, 7^o *Elizabeth* [1564].

"William Thomson, one of the sheriffs of this city, did now take his oath of the Privy Council of this city accustomed, and thereupon gave the wine. Mr. Thomas Middleton, the other sheriff, is respited of his said oath, for that he presently lieth sick" (fol. 162 *b*).

Thomas was a member of the Common Council of the city—"Commoners," the city called them—which body consisted of two representatives of each of the thirteen principal crafts, and one of each of the fifteen lower crafts of the city. By his election as sheriff, he had become a member of the Privy Council, and his place in the Common Council was vacated. It was thus filled:—

"24^o *Januarii*, 7^o *Elizabeth* [156 $\frac{4}{5}$].

"Of two elects, put in by the occupation of wax-chandlers, viz., James Best and John Hall, to the intent that one of them, according to the usage of this city, may by these presents be chosen to be one of the Common Council, of the said occupation of wax-chandlers, in room of Thomas Myddleton, now sheriff, the said James Best is by most voices elect to be in the said room of Common Council, and was here presently sworn after the order accustomed" (fol. 169 *b*).

The following is Thomas Middleton's will, extracted from the Registry of the Exchequer Court of York.

"*In Dei nomine. Amen.* The 14th day of December, in the year of our Lord God 1560, I, Thomas Myddleton of the city of York, chandler, of whole mind and good memory, being sick in body, do ordain and make this my last will and testament, in manner and form following: First, I bequeath my soul to God

Almighty and my body to be buried within the church of St. Martin, in Conyg¹ [*i.e.* Coney] Street, in the middle aisle before the high choir. *Item*, I give to my curate for forgotten tithes 5s. *Item*, I give to Thomas Myddleton, my son, one close lying in the horse-fair at Ripon of 14s. by year, in the holding and occupation of William Swayn, to him and his heirs lawfully begotten for ever, and he to enter to it at the day of my death. *Item*, I give to Jane, my wife, the residue of all my lands and leases during her natural life. *Item*, I give to George, my son, one house and two shops lying in the Market Place in Ripon, with five roods of meadow lying in the Upper Ings in Ripon fields, after decease of my wife, to him and his heirs for ever; and if the said George die before that he come to lawful age, that then I will and give the said lands to Thomas Myddleton the one moiety, and to Margaret Myddleton the other moiety, my daughter, and to their heirs for ever, provided always that if Margaret Myddleton, my daughter, die without any issue, then I will that it shall go to Thomas Myddleton, and his heirs for ever. *Item*, I give to Margaret, my daughter, one house lying in Davygate within the city of York, after decease of my wife, to her and to her heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and for default of such issue, then I will that it shall go to the right heirs of me, the said Thomas, for ever. Also I give to the said Margaret one silver goblet and half a dozen of silver spoons, provided always I will that my daughter Alice and Thomas Hutchonson, my son-in-law, be content with those goods that I gave him with her the day of their marriage for her full child's portion; and if that he be so contented, then I will that they shall have, over and besides that five marks that I put in his hands, with my son, Thomas Myddleton, and all the rents and fermes of his house, which he does owe unto me; and if that they be not so content, then I will that he shall recount and so to pay the aforesaid five marks, with the [ar]rearages of all the said rents unto mine executors; also I give to Alice, my daughter, as a legacy, four marks in money. *Item*, I give to William Hutchonson one silver spoon. *Item*, I give to Agnes Hutchonson one silver spoon. *Item*, I give to the four wards of poor folks within this city to every ward 3s. 4d. to pray for me. Also I give to Myles

¹ This shows that King Street is the etymology of the name.

and to Matthew and to Ellis, my servants, to enrich one of them one yow [? ewe] to pray for me. Also I do give to the residue of all my servants, to every one of them, to pray for me 12*d.* Also I will and do ordain and make supervisors of this my last will and testament Edward Turner and Thomas Jackson, and either of them to have for their pains 5*s.* The residue of all my goods and chattels, my debts paid and my funerals made, I do give to Jane Myddleton, my wife, whom I do ordain and make my sole executrix by herself.

“Witnesses of this my last will and testament :

“SIR THOMAS GRAISON, my Curate,
GEORGE COOKE,
RICHARD AYNLEY, and
JOHN PARKER,

and every one of them to have for their pains 12*d.*”

“This will was proved in the Exchequer Court of York on the 10th day of June, 1567, by Jane Myddleton, widow, the relict of the deceased, the sole executrix in the said will named.

“JOSEPH BUCKLE, } Deputy Registrars.”
H. A. HUDSON, }

The house in Davygate, here left to his daughter Margaret, was probably where he lived and where she was born, in the parish of St. Martin's, Coney Street. In accordance with this, we find the name of Thomas Middleton in Bothome Ward, to which this parish belongs, in a list of citizens who were bound, July 1, 3^o Elizabeth, 1561, to furnish “thirty horse for my Lord President and his family riding towards Newcastle.”

Of the mother of Margaret Clitherow, we know but little. Mr. Mush says that Henry May, who was Lord Mayor when Margaret was martyred, “had been raised to this preferment of worldly wealth by marrying the martyr's mother, a rich widow, who died before this tragedy in summer last.” It does not look well that, as we learn from the register of St. Martin's Church, she should have married again within four months of her first husband's death.

“1567. Thomas Myddleton was buried the 16th day of May, *anno supradicto.*”

"1567. Henry Maye and Jane Mydleton were married the 8th day of September, *anno supradicto*."

The entry of her burial is in the same register.

"1585. Jane Maye was buried the 12th day of June, *anno supradicto*."

There was another Jane Maye, who was buried November 1, 1586, which was after Margaret's martyrdom. Her mother died about nine months before that event. Her stepfather died in 1596. Gent¹ gives his epitaph.

"Henry Maye, Lord Mayor of this Cittye in the xxviiij year of the rayne of our most graciouse Queen Elizabeth, who departed this lyfe the fyrste of July, 1596."

He was buried the day after his death, as St. Martin's register shows.

"1596. Henry Maye, alderman of this city, was buried the second day of July, *anno supradicto*."

Of this man Mr. Mush says, "The Lord Mayor, Mr. May, to show his gentle mind to the martyr's mother, which had taken him from the beggar's staff, made this his honourable table talk among his heretical brethren, that she died desperately, &c."

His wife's wealth does not seem to have done him much good, for we find that—

"21^o Aprilis, 23^o Elizabeth, [1591].

"Mr. Alderman Maye, being present in this Court, moved or requested by these presents to pay his arrearages, being 4*l.*, viz., for the poor for half a year *in anno* 1588, 26*s.* 8*d.*, and for a whole year *in anno* 1589, 53*s.* 4*d.*; and for Hull [as]sessment 3*l.*, and for the preacher for two years, ended at [] last past, 20*s.*, hath agreed willingly to pay the same, but allegeth that he is not able to make present payment thereof, and so hath requested the favour of these presents to give him reasonable days for payment thereof. Whereupon it is agreed by these presents that he shall have day to pay the same, by 40*s.* in the year, till it be paid, and that a bond shall be taken of him for payment thereof, to be paid at Martinmas and Pentecost equally" (n. 30, fol. 230*b*).

¹ *History of York*, p. 172.

We now turn to our martyr's husband, John Clitherow. The name of his father, Richard Clitherow, appears, with that of Thomas Myddleton, in a list of "the most honest of Commoners" (n. 22, fol. 110). On the 4th of February, 4^o et 5^o Philip and Mary, 1557⁷/₈, when Richard Clitherow was a younger man, he appeared in the Lord Mayor's Court, and his name is then recorded in less honourable fashion.

"12^o Maii, 5^o Edwardi VI. [1551].

"*Item*, that for as much as appeareth plainly to these presents that Richard Clithero hath behaved himself disobediently and unfittingly to Mr. Johñ Lewes, one of the aldermen of this city, for that he would not 'waile' his bonnet to him going by him in the street, but said he would not cap to such 'chorles and pollers;'¹ and here now examined, confesseth in manner the same self words and gesture, saying openly he called him 'chorle,' and if he had called him 'poller,' he had said but truth, and asked this audience whether he should cap to him whom he had rather fight with than otherwise, or whom he cannot love; wherefore it is agreed by the said presents that he shall be bound to good abearing, and for his offence to be committed to ward, and further to be ordered as my Lord Mayor shall think good, according to his further behaviour" (n. 20, fol. 54 b).

In 1564 Richard Clitherow died, and September 21, in that year, Thomas Gibson was elected one of the Common Council in his room (n. 23, fol. 155 b).

John Clitherow, his son, in 1571, made Margaret Middleton his wife. She was living with her stepfather, to whom her mother had been married nearly four years, and naturally the wedding took place in his parish church, St. Martin's in Coney Street. The registers of that parish begin with the year 1557, and are preserved in duplicate, so that we have the register of the marriage—

"1571. John Clitherow, butcher, and Margaret Middleton were married the 1st day of July, *anno supradicto*."

¹ *Poller*, a barber, one who shears, clips, or shaves; a pillager, a robber. *Johnson*.

John Clitherow was evidently a well-to-do man. January 29, 1571⁰, he was sworn in bridgemaster (n. 24, fol. 222). In 1572, John Oldcorne is one of the four sworn men against "the late rebels and other evil-disposed people suspected of Papistry" for St. Sampson's parish, and John Clitherow an assistant for Christ's parish (n. 25, fol. 38). In the year following he was chosen a chamberlain of the city.

"18^o Januarii, 16^o Elizabeth [1574³].

"*Christophorus Harbert, maior. Robertus Maskewe, maior electus, &c.* Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ouse-bridge the day and year above said, when and where Richard Hewton, Ralph Richardson, merchant, James Stock, notary, John Clitherow, butcher, and Richard Yowdale, cook, five of the new chamberlains of this city, were presently sworn, and laying down their exoneration silver, did pay the same one to another, and so also did undertake every of them for the other" (n. 25, fol. 105).

By this election plain John Clitherow, butcher, became Mr. Clitherow. The office of chamberlain, says Drake,¹ "entitles its bearer to the appellation of gentleman, and the title 'Master' or 'Mr.' is always prefixed to their name in writing or speaking to them ever after, a title which the vulgar take so much notice of, that when they hear it, as they think, misapplied, they repeat, 'Mr. quotha! pray who was Lord Mayor when he was chamberlain?'"

In 1572 John Clitherow was assessed to the poor at the rate of 2*d.* a week, which was the highest rate of assessment, excepting that of the aldermen who were assessed at 6*d.*, and Sir Valentine Browne, whose assessment was 12*d.* Another token of his comparative wealth is to be found in the return² made in 1576, when his wife is first mentioned as in trouble for her religion. He then declared himself to be worth 6*l.* in clear goods, and there was only one other mentioned in the return who was worth as much.

¹ *History of York*, Abridged Edition, 1785, vol. ii. p. 30.

² *Supra*, p. 252.

John Clitherow and his wife lived, no doubt, in the Shambles,¹ and in all probability the house is standing yet where the devout woman entertained priests and "served God"—that is, heard Mass. The street so called runs from Christ Church to Crux, and, with its overhanging wooden houses and primitive butchers' shops, has been less changed than any street in York. Besides his house in Christ's parish, John Clitherow had a close at Monk-bridge end, and there was a constant question whether he was bound to keep the highway in repair which lay under his close-side leading to the abbey mills (n. 30, fol. 336; n. 31, fol. 202).

After his wife's death, John Clitherow's name occasionally appears in the City Housebooks. In 1597 "John Clitherow and Christopher Cowling, butchers, free citizens of this city," passing through Barnard Castle, resisted a claim for toll, on which John Allanson took distress of them for the toll. Citizens of York were by Charter toll free all over the kingdom, and the Corporation went to law with any one that disregarded the privilege. The threat that "suit should be commenced at the next term at the common law for the same" was sufficient, and John Allanson "confessed that he had wrongfully troubled" the butchers of York (n. 31, fol. 284, 301 *b*, 360).

At the very end of Elizabeth's reign, February 2, 160 $\frac{2}{3}$, amongst the commoners called in for the election of a Common Clerk, which "were of the best sort of the citizens and well liked of by this Court" was John Clitherow (n. 32, fol. 238). And his name is the second in the Monk-Ward list, Christ parish, "of the best citizens and inhabitants in this city," who were "to have decent and comely gowns made after the citizens' fashion of a sad colour" to receive King James as he passed through York on his way from Scotland on his accession.

Though John Clitherow was not a Catholic, his brother William was a priest, as we have already seen:² and it is probable that the "Thomas Clitherow, of York, draper," who was in the Castle for his religion in 1600, was another brother.

¹ "February 7, 158 $\frac{8}{9}$, John Clitherow and George Toppin chosen ffeoffers for 40*l.* given to the butchers in the Shambles of this city for ever, yearly to be lent, by Mr. William Drew" (n. 30, fol. 87).

² *Supra*, p. 279.

Of his sons, Henry and William went abroad to study for the priesthood, the one to Rome and the other to Rheims. The latter, as we have seen,¹ was imprisoned in York Castle in 1618, and shortly after was banished.

Anne, the daughter of twelve years of age, to whom Margaret Clitherow sent her hose and shoes, to signify that she was to follow in her mother's steps, became a religious in St. Ursula's Convent, Louvain, in 1596, and was one of the four English sisters who remained there when the others established St. Monica's Convent.² Anne had been imprisoned in Lancashire gaol, and her father induced the Lord Mayor of York to write for him the following letter to the Earl of Derby to obtain her liberation.

"My humble duty unto your honourable lordship remembered. Whereas I have been earnestly entreated by this bearer, John Clitherow of this city, butcher, to certify unto your honour of what demeanour and behaviour this bearer is, and whether he heretofore had or hath a daughter named Anne Clitherow or no. May it therefore please the same to be certified for truth, that he is a free citizen and inhabiting within this city, and was born within the same and hath here inhabited by a long time, and is a man of good behaviour and a dutiful subject, obedient to her Majesty's laws, of good ability, and dutifully and orderly hitherto hath repaired to the church to hear divine service and sermons. And that in the time of his so dwelling here he hath had three wives, by the second of which he had a daughter born within this city named Anne Clitherow, which at this present, if she be living, is of the age of eighteen years or thereabouts. The which daughter, as he informeth me, did about four years ago depart from him without his consent or knowledge, and at this present is in Lancaster gaol by your honour's commandment for causes ecclesiastical. His humble suit unto your honourable lordship is, that it would please the same to grant that he may have his said daughter delivered unto him upon his bond to bring her to this city with him to remain here to be conferred withal by some learned and godly preachers for such reasonable time as to your

Supra, p. 279.

² *Troubles*, First Series, p. 7.

honour shall seem convenient, and if within the same time she cannot be conformed, then to make her appearance before her Majesty's Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical in these parts to receive and do as by them shall be thought convenient in that behalf. And thus ceasing to trouble your good lordship any further at this time, I humbly commit the same to the merciful protection of Almighty God. From York, this 12th day of July, 1593.

"Yours honour's humbly to command,

"ROBERT ASKWITH, Mayor" (n. 31, fol. 20).

Addressed—"To the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, one of the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council."

The interesting Housebooks of the city of York shall do us one last service before we take our leave of them. Bishop Challoner¹ raises a doubt of the year of Margaret Clitherow's martyrdom. He says that it happened "on the 26th of March (some say the 25th) of this or the foregoing year," that is 1585 or 1586, "for authors are divided about the time." When the martyrdom took place Henry May was Lord Mayor, and Fawcet and Gibson sheriffs of York. The Housebooks show us that "Roland Fawcet and William Gibson were by the most voices of the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, chosen to be sheriffs of the said city of York for this year next following, according to the ancient charter and custom of this city," on the feast of St. Matthew, Sept. 21, in the 27th year of the reign of Elizabeth, that is, 1585 (n. 29, fol. 38 b). On the next day, "some questions did arise between them, whether of them should be first

¹ One of the few inaccuracies in Bishop Challoner's *Missionary Priests* is to be found in his notice of Margaret Clitherow, and into it he has been led by another book, ordinarily most accurate, the *Concertatio*. The Bishop says that "her husband was forced into banishment." This report evidently came from the command imposed on John Clitherow to absent himself from York six days before his wife's execution. It may be doubted whether the threat to whip one of the boys—apparently not her son, but the Flemish boy who was witness against her—is not the origin of the further statement that "her little children were taken up, and being questioned concerning the articles of their religion and answering as they had been taught by her, were severely whipped." If this were the fact, Mr. Mush would certainly have recorded it. He says that the children and servants were all sent to divers prisons, and that the eldest girl, Anne, was induced to go to church to save her mother's life.

named and set down sheriffs," and "upon voices secretly taken, the said Roland Fawcet is by most voices elected and chosen to be in the first place" (fol. 39 *b*). November 29, in the 28th year of Elizabeth, that is to say still 1585 (her regnal year beginning Nov. 17), "Mr Roland Fawcet and Mr William Gibson, sheriffs of this city, took their oaths of the Privy Council of this city, and so gave the wine" (fol. 54 *b*).

"Decimo quinto die Januarii, anno regni Elizabeth Reginae, &c. vicesimo octavo [1585]."

"Andreas Trewe, Maior, &c. Assembled in the Common Hall of this city, the day and year above said for election of a Mayor according to the charter of election, and upon three elects put in by the Common Council and head searchers of the thirteen and fifteen crafts, that is to say, Mr. Henry Maye, Mr. Ralph Richardson and Mr. James Birckbie, aldermen, the said Mr. Henry Maye is by most voices of the Lord Mayor, aldermen and sheriffs chosen to be Mayor of this city from the feast-day of Saint Blase next coming [Feb. 3] for the year then next ensuing [1586]."

"Tertio die Februarii, anno regni Dominæ nostræ Elizabethæ Reginae, &c. 28°."

"Andreas Trewe, Maior. Henricus May, electus, &c. Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, the day and year above said, when and where my Lord Mayor delivered to our new master the seals of office of Mayoralty and Statute merchant with six keys thereunto annexed, and one little seal for sealing of passports, and also 40s. called Girdlington money, and the basin and ewer of silver parcel gilt of Sir Martin Bowes' gift, and one other basin and one ewer of silver parcel gilt of Mr. Thomas Metcalfe's bequest, and two livery pots of silver gilt, one pot of silver gilt, with a cover, of Mr. Tankard late Recorder's bequest, and one other pot of silver gilt of Mr. Christopher Maltby, late alderman deceased, and one nest of goblets double gilt, and two great salts of silver with a cover double gilt of the gift of Mr. John Dyneley, late alderman deceased, and also one silver bowl parcel gilt late brought from St. Thomas' house, and also three scarlet cloaks" (fol. 83).

“3^o Octobris, 28^o Elizabeth [1586].

“And for as much as Roland Fawcet and William Gibson, late sheriffs of this city, did divers times during their said office, go without any officer or waiter against the worship of this city, and the said Roland and William being now present here, did submit themselves to the order of my Lord Mayor and aldermen and this house for their said offence, whereupon it is agreed now by these presents, that either of them shall pay 40s. for their said offence and other offences by them committed during their said office, to the Common Chamber of this city.”

New Year's Day in England up to the year 1754 was Lady Day, March 25, and Margaret Clitherow's martyrdom was on that day, the first of the year 1586 according to the Old Style. The year is plain enough. As to the day Mr. Mush says plainly that it was the Feast of the Annunciation, and also that it was “Friday, wherein all Christendom celebrated the memory of Christ's death and piteously lamenteth His pains.” In 1586 Lady Day fell on a Friday, and as Easter O.S. was April 3, that day was Friday in Passion Week. But Mr. Mush perhaps means to say that it was Lady Day in England, and Good Friday wherever the Gregorian or New Style prevailed; and this was true, for the day which in England was March 25 by New Style was April 4, and Easter that year falling a week earlier in the New Style than in the Old, that day was Good Friday, N.S.

The following narrative is printed by the kind permission of William Middelton, Esq., of Myddelton Lodge and Stockeld, from a contemporary manuscript in his possession. St. Mary's Convent, York,¹ possesses a manuscript copy of the same narrative, not differing much from the other in the meaning of the phrases, but containing a very large number of verbal differences. On its title page it is said to be “now newly transcribed out of an old manuscript by Rbt. Setgr., 1654.” This copy was edited in 1849

¹ St. Mary's Convent has also the happiness of possessing the only relic of this holy martyr which is known to exist. It is her hand, which Mr. Charles Weld of Childeock has worthily encased. It is not known how the relic came there, but the Convent, having existed in York since 1680, was naturally the most fitting receptacle for this treasure.

by William Nicholson, Esq., to whom consequently the credit is due of having first published Mr. Mush's history of this martyr. Another manuscript copy is the property of St. Mary's College, Oscott.

Not only is Mr. Middelton's manuscript of much earlier date than that belonging to the Convent, as the handwriting shows, but the manuscript from which it was copied was written before that from which the Convent copy was taken. Its original was written so soon after Margaret's martyrdom that it was out of the author's hands before Francis Ingleby suffered, yet his death followed Mrs. Clitherow's in less than three months. The writer's words are, "They have martyred of late divers good Catholic priests and lay persons, among whom suffered the last day at York [*i.e.* at the last execution, November 26, 1585] one priest and one layman [Hugh Taylor and Marmaduke Bowes], and a little after [March 25, 1586] one woman [Margaret Clitherow]." This passage in the Convent copy runs thus: "They have murdered divers good Catholic priests and some lay persons, four priests at London [Edward Stransham and Nicholas Woodfen died before Margaret Clitherow, January 21, 1585, and Richard Sergeant with William Thomson, April 20, 1586], and at York three priests [Hugh Taylor, Francis Ingleby, June 3, and John Finglow, August 8, 1586], and three laymen [Marmaduke Bowes, Robert Bickerdike, and Richard Langley], and one woman [Margaret Clitherow]." This cannot have been written before December 1, 1586, on which day Richard Langley was martyred; and it is singular that having been written then, the writer should not have heard of the martyrdoms of John Lowe, John Adams, and Richard Dibdale at Tyburn, of Robert Anderton and William Marsden in the Isle of Wight, and John Sandys at Gloucester, who all suffered in the course of the year 1586.

John Mush, the writer of this life was a distinguished secular priest, who has already appeared in our pages¹ in the admirable part of a pacificator on the occasion of the divisions amongst the prisoners for the faith at Wisbech. He was a Yorkshireman by

¹ *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 265.

birth, and having commenced his studies at the English College, Douay, he was sent to Rome to finish his philosophy and to study his theology in the newly-founded English College there. He was one of the first set of students who entered the College in 1579, his name being twenty-second in the list. He was sent on the English mission after his ordination, and John Pitts, writing in 1612, while he was yet alive, says that he made a large harvest of souls, during twenty years, both in and out of prison. He was sent to Rome by his brethren of the secular clergy, and after his return he was for fourteen years one of the assistants of the arch-priest. Bishop Challoner adds that "after having suffered prisons and chains, and received even the sentence of death for his faith, he died at length in his bed, in a good old age, in the year 1617." Both Pitts and Dodd record that, besides other books, he wrote *An Account of the Sufferings of Catholics in the Northern Parts of England*. It is but a conjecture certainly, but it does not seem improbable that this is the very paper which is given above, under the title "A Yorkshire Recusant's Relations." If so, he has spoken of himself, when mentioning the author of Mrs. Clitherow's life, as "a friend of ours."¹

¹ *Supra*, p. 86.

A TRUE REPORT OF THE LIFE AND
MARTYRDOM OF MRS. MARGARET
CLITHEROW.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

IT hath been a laudable custom in all ages, from the beginning of Christ His Church, to publish and truly set forth the singular virtues of such her children as either in their lives by rare godliness did shine above the rest, or by their patient deaths most stoutly overcome all barbarous cruelty, and both by their lives and deaths glorified God, encouraged to like victories their faithful brethren, and with invincible fortitude confounded the persecuting tyrants. For who can sufficiently imagine how God is glorified in the constancy of His infirm servants, who in this life would not for anything either in heaven or in earth be drawn from their faith and charity of Him, and in death, with exceeding joy, would forsake all the world, contemn all kind of tortures and their own life for His sake? Who can think how the victory, gotten in flesh and blood by God's grace, doth strengthen and encourage weaklings? How to love God and contemn life for the same discomforteth, and with shame confoundeth the persecutors; who, notwithstanding their cruelty in killing the body, are yet overcome in all such conflicts in their own both bodies and souls? *Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus*, saith the holy prophet, "Laud and praise our Lord in all His saints;" the which

thing we do then dutifully perform when we thank Him for His gracious sanctifying of them, and rejoicing in the memory of their virtues, diligently endeavour by our works reverently to imitate them in their holiness. For like as all goodness in them first proceeded from the gracious and most bountiful hand of God opened upon them with abundant blessing, to the end they might glorify Him by their good works; so both all that which is truly and sincerely uttered to their praise, and also well done by imitating of their virtues, must needs redound principally to the same laud and praise of God, the Author and Giver of all good and perfect gifts.

In this thing, therefore, we may be bold in verity to declare and set forth their virtues to the glory of them without derogation of God's honour, because He hath both willed us to laud Him in His saints, and the honour given to them cannot possibly be but most to God's honour, by whose mercy and grace all His saints are made honourable. And if we may do this to God His saints and justified children, and with great gladness of spirit rejoice in the beauty of Christ' our Saviour His members, either militant here in earth, or triumphant with Him their Head in the glory of His heavenly kingdom; much more surely we may perform the same to those which hath constantly run the race of this inconstant life, with their invincible charity hath entered combat with death itself, hath mightily vanquished the malice of their deadly foes, and now perfectly possessing the security of all heavenly felicity, are far removed from any access of their slanderous adversaries, and other envious caitiffs.

In the infancy, and also in some riper ages of Christ His Church (when the devil, by infidels and heretics his limbs, sought to devour the gracious children of this holy Mother), God was often glorified by the patience and double martyrdom of these virtuous lives and honourable

deaths amongst His servants ; thereby tyrants were confounded, the whole world conquered, innumerable people became Christians, the blood of martyrs (which is the plenteous seed of Christ His Church) brought forth the happy fruits of Christianity and peace everywhere, most mighty princes yielding their swords and sceptres into the obedience and defence of Christ's faith and Church, until these unfortunate times, wherein this most fruitful Mother is now in her old age no less persecuted by the cruelty of those which once she had brought forth as her own children, than she was in her infancy by infidels persecuted, ever her professed enemies. But as in those days perfect virtue in the most Christians, and the bloody victories by many subdued her persecutors to her obedience, and thereby a calm peace ensued everywhere ; so now the abuse of peace bringing to man security, and again security too much negligence and slackness in virtuous life (without which true peace cannot come or endure stable any long time), it turneth again to open persecution and cruel shedding of blood. Virtue is lost, peace abandoned, the adversaries rage more and more, and striving to get victory, with all tyranny [and] discomfort put to flight and murder the children of this their aged Mother, and hope they shall as easily, by violence, drive her Christian children from her, either by forsaking or dissembling their faith, as by the fraudulent allurements of pleasure and worldly vanities they enticed and divided them from her virtues. In the primitive Church they persecuted her that she should remain barren and bring forth no increase ; now they labour also to the same effect, but principally to subvert and destroy her already born children ; and as she then cast her seed of blood to the generation of many, so now she fighteth with blood to save those that she hath borne, that the lily roots being watered with the fruitful liquor of blood, may keep still and yield new branches hereafter with so much

more plentiful increase by how much more abundantly such sacred streams flow among them.

Of this kind of gracious moisture, there hath been no scarcity in divers provinces of Christendom these late years, since Luther's apostacy from the known Catholic Church and universal faith of all Christian nations; but in those places especially where the heretical canker of Luther, Calvin, and their contentious fellows and fautors most prevailed, as in this country of England, accursed no doubt in God's heavy indignation for the punishment of the dissoluteness and iniquity as well in the Catholic clergy as laity, the fury of all sorts of heretics and atheists hath so vehemently raged over the whole realm with such exceeding cruelty and barbarousness that, within this threescore years, it hath shed more just blood, murdered more innocent Catholic people, made greater havoc and destruction of all godliness than it or any other hath done either in England or all Christian nations beside, either in the same time or in many hundred years before. Insomuch as now not one Religious house standeth, not one altar unrased and undefiled, not one church free from heretics and heresy, not one sacrament rightly administered, nor one Religious person to be found, not one Catholic priest but judged as a traitor or able to escape unmurdered, not one known Catholic man or woman suffered to live without intolerable vexation and continual danger of liberty to be lost, of lands and goods, yea, of life and blood. Whereby, it appeareth that this our ungracious country is the outcast of all others, is rather by God's wrath appointed and given over to these mischiefs for the example of all nations, than to be equally scourged with any of them; rather to be showed as a wonder and derision to all the world than to sustain with any some part of common calamity. What numbers of Catholic men of all sorts, in the beginning of these miseries, witnessed by suffering exquisite torments and

by shedding their blood, that the supreme ecclesiastical authority of God's Church was not due to any temporal prince, nor could lawfully be usurped by any civil magistrate. How many in these late years also hath confessed to death the same truth, and, for their fidelity to God, hath been unjustly condemned, and with all cruelty executed as traitors and disloyal to their temporal prince, although in very deed they were not inferior to any of their persecutors in all kind of serviceable duty to the present State, which might possibly stand with the sincerity of a Christian's conscience, and their principal honour to God. This one thing I am assured of, that this rebellious and most barbarous heresy in sixty years' space has violently destroyed more virtuous priests, Religious persons, and good lay people, only to establish the high spiritual jurisdiction upon the temporal magistrates' head (yet under the pretence of treasons), than all ages before hath done, either by first placing it by Christ upon the person of Peter, or by keeping it upon his successors ever since, which thing argueth plainly such ecclesiastical authority to be both unnatural, ungracious, and uncomely in profane usurpers thereof.

Hitherto their madness hath raged against the best Catholics, either for their constancy in this point of faith, or else for their Catholic refusal to participate with them in some either their heretical or schismatical conspiracy and irreligious acts, as for not going to their service, sermons, &c. ; but now storming at every good they see in the Catholics, or rather at those that be not already oppressed with all sorts of unjust tyranny, they have most impiously enacted by their disordered authority of their profane and servile Court of Parliament all lawful Catholic priests, their own spiritual fathers, to be in case of high treason, unless they yield to their heretical proceedings. And to show the deadly malice to be no less towards the sheep than it appeared to be towards the

shepherds, minding indeed to cut the throats and suck the blood of both with like iniquity, they have decreed all maintainers, receivers, aiders, and comforters of such Catholic priests to stand in case of felons; all which barbarous cruelty as themselves are rather ashamed to hear of, how impudently they execute it, so we both hearing and beholding the bloody effects of their practices, cannot but be ashamed of them, our countrymen, which have far exceeded all other nations in this thirst of blood, and daily lament our country's miseries.

But to affirm and establish this foresaid horrible act and decree, they have martyred of late divers good Catholic priests and lay persons, among whom suffered the last day at York one priest and one layman, and a little after one woman, whose godly lives and fortitude in the last conflict of death I doubt not but some will publish, to the honour of God and His saints, and for the profitable example of other Christians not free as yet from the like terror, when God shall permit. And I, for my small portion of ability, being most willing to set forth so good a work, have attempted to manifest the virtuous life and glorious martyrdom of one of them, that is of the woman, with whose state and virtue in her life, I, although unworthy, have been no less acquainted than all her bloody tormentors, to their perpetual reproach and shame, were privy to her most joyful constancy at her death.

As for the man, that was made away twelve or thirteen weeks before this woman, yet both for the like cause, that is, for the harbouring, maintaining, and aiding of priests, I can give no special report with certainty, but so much only as after his arraignment and execution was hidden from none. He was named Marmaduke Bowes, an honest substantial gentleman or yeoman, I know not certainly whether, wonderfully beloved, and well spoken of among his neighbours, one that liked well of the Catholic

religion, as in heart believing it to be the infallible and only true religion of God, and all other new and uncertain faiths (whereof this miserable country hath well near as many and as diverse as it hath ministers or heretics) to be false faiths and heresies, as they are indeed, yet fearing, as infinite do, the extremity of those late monstrous laws and statutes, which oppress and violate the natural liberty of man's conscience, by forcing them by excessive penalties to do and yield to that which is both against all truth and their own infallible knowledge; he chose rather sometimes to accompany the ministers and to go in to their church than he would fall to the unmerciful handling of heretics, and lose both goods and liberty. Thus he continued a long time, divided miserably within himself, detesting all their heresies in his heart, and yet fearing in his bodily actions to show himself a Catholic, believing inwardly the Catholic faith in every point, and yet fearing not to seem outwardly an heretic. Nevertheless, in all this time of his schismatical dissembling, he thought it a desperate point of impiety to shut up his hospitality from priests, whom he knew well to be the messengers of God, sent, not to commit treasons (as the heretics slanderously pretend, and would falsely persuade the world to believe), but to bring God's grace and salvation to all men: to these men, I say, he opened his doors bountifully, whom he received and as gladly entertained as any men could be, trusting no doubt one day thereby to participate of the good gifts they brought (neither hath his hope failed him), and by such works of mercy in these unmerciful days to find the sooner and more certainly grace and mercy at God's hands. About Michaelmas last, before his execution, the which was in the year of our Lord, 1595, a young man chanced to be apprehended, who was then Catholic, but soon after, through their torments, fell and became most graceless; and after he had undone himself he left no cruelty untried that he might by some

occasion work the destruction of many more. Among others, he accused this Mr. Bowes, to whose children he had been schoolmaster, and told the magistrates that he received some priests since the promulgation of the statute against the receiving of them ; whereupon both he and his wife were sent for to York, and after a little imprisonment licensed to depart home again under bond until the next gaol delivery. To the which he returned at the time appointed, being on a Wednesday, where he found a priest to be arraigned, who had been apprehended in another man's house, and whom the schoolmaster had accused Mr. Bowes to have harboured. The priest at his gaol delivery was condemned, and as a traitor executed the Friday following. And also the same Wednesday, Mr. Bowes was indicted and condemned upon the only evidence of the schoolmaster, who had broken his faith and promise to God and man a little before, carrying still a conscience saleable for sixpence, of known and notable infamy, as it was openly reported before the Bench, and proved against him ; yet notwithstanding upon the evidence of such a companion, the gentleman was judged and condemned as a felon, and upon Saturday following hanged. Before his death he was made a member of the Catholic Church, the which he boldly confessed with great alacrity of mind, lamenting that he had lived in schism so long, and without fear of death desired not to live any longer, but that his death might be some part of satisfaction for his schismatical dissembling bypast. And in the mercy of Christ, who made full satisfaction for us all, he offered up his own life, wishing that he had many more to spend in so good a cause. Some others knowing more particularly the state of this first martyr [in this kind], and remembering St. Alban's time, who was also martyred for the harbouring and maintaining a Catholic priest by the infidels, may set forth more amply both the heretics' most unjust proceeding against him, and his patient

virtuous behaviour in suffering their cruelty. For my part I will pass it over and come to this double martyrdom of the woman, who was the second martyr for receiving God's priests. In whose life I will not, by God's grace and assistance, make relation of anything more than that which I saw and well knew in her myself by some years of our conversation together, for which season I was privy to her whole heart as much as any. And as for those things which happened at her apprehension, imprisonment, arraignment, judgment, and death, I will report no more than that which I have received from the mouths of divers honest and credible persons, which were present witnesses and beholders of every action.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE VIRTUOUS EDUCATION OF MRS. MARGARET CLITHEROW.

THIS martyr's name was Margaret Clitherow, wife of Mr. John Clitherow, citizen of York. She was born in York, the daughter of Mr. Middleton, a man of good wealth, who had been sheriff in the same city. As touching her worldly state and condition, she was about thirty years of age, and to her beautiful and gracious soul God gave her a body with comely face and beauty correspondent. She was of sharp and ready wit, with rare discretion in all her actions, a plentiful mother in children, and her husband of competent wealth and ability. About twelve or thirteen years past, two or three years at the most after her marriage, when she heard first of the Catholic Faith and Church (for before she frequented the heretical service, not suspecting there had been any other true way to serve God), she became as desirous to learn the Christian duty in truth and sincerity, as she had learned before to serve only the world vainly; and, after a little

consideration, finding no substance, truth, nor Christian comfort in the ministers of the new gospel, nor in their doctrine itself, and hearing also many priests and lay people to suffer for the defence of the ancient Catholic Faith, (which is known to have been the Faith of all England, common with all the Christian world many hundred years since the world was first delivered from idolatry and paganism), she carefully employed herself to know plainly the same, and to become a lively member of the Church, wherein this faith had been taught and preached. Even, at the first, fully resolving rather to forsake husband, life, and all, than to return again to her damnable state, which gracious desire she then more speedily accomplished, not without contradiction of her worldly friends, than at any time after she could peaceably enjoy the same.

For that in those days neither heretical fury was so outrageous as it hath shamefully increased ever since, and more then were known Catholics in one town (Catholic times being fresh in memory of all, which the tempest of violent heretics hath destroyed and taken away) than are now to be found almost in a whole country.

In the passage of these twelve years, she hath been often tossed in the waves of tribulation; for her former zeal and constancy in the Catholic faith, divers times separated from her husband and children, cast into prison, sometimes by the space of two years together, and sometimes by more, that it might be plainly verified in her which the Apostle speaketh of God's elect, *Omnes qui piè volunt vivere in Christo persecutionem patiuntur*; that is "All that will live virtuous in our Lord Jesus suffer persecution;" for she had no sooner escaped the devil's throat, and resolved with herself to serve God sincerely, who had so mercifully delivered her from the danger of that damnation which had been the certain reward of her former erroneous faith, which, in her youth, she had

learned of new apostatas; but the devil and his ministers raged fiercely against her by the terrors of the persecutions to separate her from God and His Catholic Church, and drive her again into the damnable snares of heresy and schism. But the matter fell out quite contrary to their malicious intent and expectation; for the spirit of God wrought so graciously in her, that all troubles, persecutions, and cruelty practised against her for Catholic religion and conscience' sake daily increased more and more the constancy of her faith, and most mightily increased [*i. e.* strengthened] her former weakness with all patience and fortitude to resist and sustain what cruelty soever the heretics could devise and attempt against her. The prison she accounted a most happy and profitable school, where the servants of God (as delivered from all worldly cares and business) might learn most commodiously every Christian virtue. And surely this fruit she reaped of it at all times, that there she made her provision, and heaped together such good store of virtues as might serve her need whensoever she should be set at liberty, and drawn again into the malignant world. In this her imprisonment, therefore, she greatly deceived her enemies, which intended by such terror and violence to weaken her strength, to abate her courage, and to infringe her constancy; for every day she, growing stronger than herself, marvellously increased in fervour and charity to God and man, planted in her heart a perfect contempt of the world, and laboured principally to overcome herself in all disordered passions and inclinations of nature, that her actions and service might be acceptable in the sight of God, as she preferred His honour and will before all things. And, therefore, when she understood at any time, either by the false or slanderous reports of heretics, or by some true and certain fame, that any Catholic prisoners behaved themselves disorderly, in idleness, impatience, covetousness, murmuration, dissension, or frowardness, self-love, or

greedy desire of liberty, inordinate worldly pleasure, or any other thing inconvenient to their calling, which should be mortified to the world and all concupiscence thereof—although the devil labour with all his heretical routs more vehemently to overthrow, by divers continual assaults and temptations, such spiritual professed soldiers of Christ, than a thousand living abroad at random in the delights and vanities of the world, as having caught them already with the sugared hook of deceitful allurements, and not much fearing their escape—when she heard, I say, of any like things, she would greatly lament their case, and say: “Fie on it, that this thing should be heard of, or be at all among Catholics imprisoned for their conscience. Methinks, by this time they should have learned to overcome themselves. Would to God, if it might stand with the duty to my husband and my house, that I were in prison again, where I might (being delivered from the disquietness and cares of this world) attend wholly to the service of my God, and to the getting of such virtues as I perceive to be wanting in me. Oh, how happy are they that have such good opportunity and occasion to do well. I fear God saw something in me for which I was unworthy to continue among them; but God’s blessed will be done,” which was a usual phrase with her. By which speech, and such like, uttered so often with a gracious humility of voice and countenance, besides the perfect knowledge which I had of her whole mind and actions, made me ever to admire her virtue, and did perceive her endeavours during the time of her imprisonment to have been most commodious unto her, and there to have found the true riches of many virtues; amongst which this was not the least, that she had a most instant desire to suffer anything for God’s sake and the Catholic Faith.

Thus she turned all things to her good, and sucked honey out of the cruelty of her enemies. They persecuted,

and she thereby learned patience; they shut her up into close prison, and she learned thereby to forget and despise the world; they separated her from house, children, and husband, and she thereby became familiar with God; they sought to terrify her, and she thereby increased in most glorious constancy and fortitude, insomuch that her greatest joy was to be assaulted by them, whereby we see evidently this saying of the Apostle verified in her: *Scimus quod diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum iis qui secundum propositum vocati sunt sancti*; that is, "We know that to them that love God all things do work together unto good to such as according unto His purpose are called to be saints."

But that her diligence in labouring to plant virtues and to root out vice in her may the better appear and be seen to the honour of God, and the glory of her, His saint, and comfort and imitation of good people, I will briefly touch some particular virtues wherein I saw her most to excel.

CHAPTER III.

OF HER HUMILITY, THE FOUNDATION OF ALL HER VIRTUES.

FIRST, therefore, after she became a member of the Catholic Church, and had resolved constantly to serve God, she laboured to lay a sure foundation of true and unfeigned humility, wherein she made such progress as was meet for the building of a virtuous and holy life, and for the receiving of a glorious crown of martyrdom by her death. For, notwithstanding all her other virtues, whereof a little after I shall speak, notwithstanding all the good she did to many, yet both in her own eyes she thought herself nobody but an unprofitable servant to God and man, laden with imperfections, and unworthy of any good, and also (as

much as she could without sin and offence to God) desired heartily so to be thought of and accounted in this world: never pleasing herself in the goodness she had already, but continually striving to get that which she perceived in herself to be wanting. I have marvelled many times to see her joy and great desire she had, that either her spiritual father or any other could advertise her of her faults and imperfections, suspecting always her own actions not only to be impure in the sight of God, but also imperfect and not worthy of the sight of men. And therefore, being suspicious that those which were most conversant with her might perhaps oversee or not note them, she was very desirous of the company of any such as she understood to judge hardly of her, or far otherwise than indeed she did deserve, as virtue will never want an envious neighbour, that by contradiction it may be exercised to great perfection and glory. She was accustomed to say: "For God's sake let such an one come and abide with me awhile, for if they mislike of me, not knowing me, surely they heard something of me, and would espy it in me if they were present, which neither you (unless you conceal it from me) nor I can find in myself, and yet would very gladly amend if I could know it."

If at any times she had not gotten her good desires, which was principally in the sacraments and service in God's Catholic Church, she would not impute the want of it to the fault of any other, but forthwith have called to mind her own evil deserts, and humbly think her own unworthiness to be the hindrance of so good grace. By which humility and earnest desire she gained more abundance of grace sometimes in foregoing the thing that she wished, than she might have done in enjoying the same. When any spoke well of her, then with heavy cheer she used to sigh, and never so much feared or disliked her own estate as when she knew that any did praise her. Commend or praise her and her doings, and you oppressed

her with sorrow ; condemn and rebuke her, and seem to despise her, then you filled her heart with joy and inward gladness. Sometimes her friends of purpose would try her both ways, as well for the exercising of her as for their own comfort and imitation : now to dispraise that which, indeed, deserved praise, now to commend that which was unworthy, now to praise that [which] she did well, and again now to find fault with that which might perhaps have been amended—that in all her well-doings she might keep humility of heart, and in her actions not to respect the opinion of men or her own commendation, but yield all honour to God, and walk in His sight in sincerity and lowliness of spirit. When she had been reprov'd of anything, she would mildly have answered to have satisfied them ; and if it would not serve, then, without all contention, keep silence, and return to the comfort of her inward mind and conscience, referring all to God, rather more willing to acknowledge a fault, although she were innocent, than to defend or excuse herself when she was any way reprehended.

And in this virtue she profited so greatly, that in all prosperity and good that befell either herself or others, she, acknowledging her own unworthiness, returned all glory and hearty thanks to God, and usually would say, "God be thanked ;" and, in all adversities, think herself unworthy of better, saying also, "God's will be fulfilled." In this tranquillity of a humble spirit she lived in exceeding joy. Her external actions discovered the true humility of her heart, for there was nothing to be done in the house so base that she would not be most ready to do or take in hand herself, and the baser the office should be, the more unwilling would she be the maidens should do it, but rather keep it as a necessary exercise in store for herself of her own humility. Yea, although she were inferior to none of her neighbours in any honest, comely, womanly, or decent quality, and worthy to be

preferred before them in every point wherein the commendation of a good housewife standeth, yet she would not disdain, as many do, more outwardly nice than inwardly virtuous, or think much to make the fire, to sweep the house, to wash the dishes, and more gross matters also, choosing rather to do them herself, and to set her maids about sweeter business. Although sometimes, to muzzle them to such acts of humility, she would acquaint also her servants and children with doing the same. In talking of this matter, I have heard her say many times: "God forbid that I should will any to do that in my house which I would not willingly do myself first. They that think much, and are not willing to do such base things, have little regard of well-doing or knowledge of themselves." Thus she walked in the safe way of humility, ever fearing her own deeds, and preferring all others before herself.

I have greatly marvelled oftentimes how she, being an unlearned woman, tossed up and down in worldly business, except only in the times of her imprisonment, wherein she learned to read English and written hand, could attain to that humility, to which I know few faithful clerks to have reached nigh, but *Digitus Dei hic, hæc mutatio dexteræ Excelsi*: "It is the finger of God, this change is of the right hand of the Highest;" and surely, as I persuade myself, she is a pattern of virtues given to me and others to follow, who are so slack in imitating the virtues of our Saviour and of His other saints, which we have heard of and never seen, that we might be quickened and stirred up to more fervour by the example of this glorious Martyr, whom we have both seen and known, and [with whom] we have been a long time familiarly conversant, the which good benefit, I trust, she will, during this my mortal life procure for me of God by her gracious help and prayers, having also daily before my eyes the fresh memory of her excellent virtues.

CHAPTER IV.

OF HER PERFECT CHARITY AND LOVE TO GOD.

WITH this virtue of perfect humility did shine in her a rare charity and love to God. This appeared in her most fervent zeal in setting forth and making provision for the serving of God. In all her virtuous life, in the great troubles she sustained for His sake, and especially, last of all, in the voluntary and ready offering of herself to a cruel death in the testimony of her true love to Him and the truth of His Catholic faith: for so He saith, *Nemo habet majorem charitatem quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis*—"None hath greater charity than to give his life for his friends' sake." No time verily seemed to her long enough for the service of God, no pains grievous, nothing too dear for the setting forward of His honour. By three things specially I noted in her the true love of God.

First, that she had every day a hearty sorrow and humble repentance for her youth spent out of the Catholic Church of Christ, in vain follies and schism, which daily exercise wrought in her a continual savour to repentance [for] those years, with her whole strength, by God's grace, to honour Him as she had dishonoured Him before.

Secondly, that she had a vehement desire that all others, both heretics, schismatics, and lukewarm Catholics, might know God and His truth, be made children of His Catholic Church, serve and love Him above all things, and obtain no less grace than she wished for herself; that God might be glorified in all His people. And in this her perfect charity toward God she let no occasion slip, no opportunity escape, to draw all with whom she might safely deal, to their dutiful and sincere obedience toward God.

Thirdly, that she kept always a most firm and constant purpose not to do willingly and advisedly anything, how small soever it were, which she thought was offensive to God ; but, as much as her state and ability would permit, to do that the rather of two good things which she imagined or could learn to be most acceptable to Him, and to the more glory of His holy Name.

How often have I heard her speak these words, when we have talked together of the perfect obedience and love some saints have had, and we all should have towards God. "God knoweth," said she, "I am far off from that [which] I should be, and I am clogged with many imperfections, but by God's grace I never mind to commit any sin willingly, which I know to be a sin or against God's will, though it were to gain the whole world or save my temporal life." Some little imperfections reigned in her, without the which this mortal life is not possible. But in truth I never found her void of this constant purpose willingly not to offend God, and as much as her condition suffered her, most desirous and ready to do in all things that which most did redound to God's honour.

And this charity so enkindled, and rather inflamed her in such marvellous sort, that it overruled all worldly fears and natural inclination in her ; that to serve God she neither feared the world, neither the flesh, nor the devil, neither yet all the cruelty that hell gates, heretics, or other creatures could work against her, and therefore in all her actions it evidently appeared that she loved Him whom continually she served, and joyfully served Him whom she loved above all things, and that her industry to keep earnestly in her heart this true and chaste love of God, far surpassed the diligence of any other foolish lovers in seeking to give and accomplish inordinate desires.

CHAPTER V.

OF HER OBEDIENCE TO HER GHOSTLY FATHER.

FROM the deep foundation of her perfect humility, and the fruitful root of her burning charity to God, did rise up and spring great plenty of all virtues: for being timorous to offend God, and only desirous to obey His will in every thing, and withal suspicious of her own doings that they were not so perfect in God's sight, as both He required, and of duty they should be, she found out the only sure and safe way to do well, which she might ever follow without offence, and exercise with greatest gain. This golden woman did utterly forsake her own judgment and will in all her actions, to submit herself to the judgment, will, and direction of her ghostly father; and in this she fully believed and persuaded herself, that as she was in the secrecy of her own conscience most desirous and willing to do only the will of God, and yet unworthy in any particular action to have it from Him immediately revealed to her, (for that He worketh all things orderly, and disposeth His works most sweetly, governing inferior creatures by the means of superiors in every degree,) so if she, for His sake, did renounce the peril of her own will, most subject to error and offence, He would of His infinite goodness provide her such ghostly guides that should safely conduct her through all dangers: to the which persuasion she was much induced (as I remember she had said) by this motive, that since God of His infinite mercy had sent His priests already to call her to His grace, by delivering her from error in faith and ungracious affections of the will, He would also with like goodness that by their helps she should continue in the same: and as she might offend God in every of her actions, so it seemed to her the only safe way to please God, humbly

to submit herself in all things to follow the advice and direction of His priests.

And surely in this obedience she attained to such perfection, that although some ghostly fathers might have been thought, worthily, not of that sufficiency which was requisite for her direction in every point in her affairs (for she could not have present with her at all times those which she had chosen and chiefly desired to be guided by in all things, by reason of the scarcity of priests, and the plentiful harvest in sundry places abroad,) yet her confidence was so strong in God that she never doubted but He would endue and furnish every His priest, for the time of her need, with sufficient wisdom and discretion to direct her actions as should be most to His honour and her own spiritual good. And hereupon she bare a singular reverence to priesthood in every person, giving only respect to God, whose person and authority they represent and carry, and not to any man's person or other natural qualities in them. For many [times] when some, [with whom] she could have been well content, were called from her by occasion of more urgent business, she would say: "For God's sake let me not be without one or other, for whosoever beareth the name or authority of a Catholic priest shall be most welcome unto me, and find me willing by God's grace to follow his direction."

And truly she performed it in every respect; for the word of any priest, but especially of her ghostly father—nay, any little notification of his will to her, or if she could have gathered it by word, countenance, or sign, was [in]stead of his commandment to do his will; which ever she did with that marvellous alacrity, that her inward joy appeared outwardly in her mild and smiling countenance, no less cheerful and pleasant, than comfortable to all that saw her.

One thing I will set down, which may abundantly witness her singular love to God, and confident obedience

to her spiritual father. One day they two talking together (as at all times with reverence she was bold to disclose her whole mind unto him, and willing to be as thoroughly known to him as to herself), she requested him to satisfy her in a matter of no small importance touching her own estate. After she had opened the whole case to him, and he had examined every point and circumstance thereof, and finding her without fault or blame at all (which she more scrupulously suspected than she had cause), he sent her away in good contentation and quietness of spirit.

After that, three or four months at the least, the same father being desirous to make some especial proof of her charity to God, and obedience to her ghostly father, moved talk again with her as concerning the same matter, and feigning himself to have more advisedly considered of it, and also have read more of such cases, told her that she had offended God in the first doing of it, and should daily sin if she continued to do the same; at which speeches she fetched a deep sigh, and said nothing. He, expecting her answer, asked her: "What she would do in it?" "In truth," quoth she, "I am heartily sorry that I offended God in doing it at the beginning, yet by His grace (though it be the great cross that ever could have happened to me in this life, and the malicious world will be ready to condemn me of worse than the thing is indeed) I will with all my heart make here an end. Rather than I offend God herein any more, I will sustain any temporal rebuke or reproach. Therefore, if you speak the word, I am ready to obey it with perfect love and obedience to God and His priest." Her ghostly father marvelled not a little, and assuring [her] that the matter was in good case as he had told her before, he willed her never after to trouble herself or any other with the same. Thus she was to God most charitable, and for His sake (that she might more certainly work His will) of rare obedience to her ghostly father.

One thing more, among many, it will not be inconvenient to report of her love to God, and fear to displease Him. It chanced that a little after the impious and bloody statute stood in force against all Catholic priests and aiders, a Catholic man (which sometime before had served God in her house) came to her, and in the way and manner of friendly advice willed her to be more careful of herself, and since that virtue and the Catholic cause was now made treason and felony, that either she would not with such danger receive any priests at all, or else very seldom; and this he added also, that it was no wisdom to admit her children and others to God's service, and that she ought not to adventure upon these things without licence of her husband. After such other like speech he departed, leaving her in some discontentment by reason of his uncharitable talk. She not having leisure or opportunity in three days after to impart this unto her ghostly father, and he then being ready to depart from her, she took him aside, and desired that she might ask him one question, "which," quoth she, "I never doubted of, yet by some speech from a Catholic, it hath troubled my mind these two or three days together. May I not," said she, "receive priests and serve God as I have done, notwithstanding these new laws, without my husband's consent?" "What think you," quoth he, "in this matter?" "Truly," quoth she, "hitherto I have been desirous to serve God, and both to know and do my duty in receiving His servants, and have put my whole confidence in you, that I might safely walk by your direction without sin: and I know not how the rigour of these new statutes may alter my duty in this thing: but [if] you will tell me that I offend God in any point, I will not do it for all the world." "Then," quoth he, "it is your husband's most safety not to know these things unless he were resolved to serve God notwithstanding any danger; again, by his consent and licence you should

not serve God at all, and in this, your necessary duty to God, you are not any whit inferior to him. Neither doth the cruelties of wicked laws anything change or frustrate your duty to God: and therefore, an it were lawful and a good deed before these statutes to receive God's priests, and continually to serve Him in Catholic manner, the same is still lawful and well done; yea, and more meritorious in God's sight than ever it was. Besides this," quoth he, "no man can now refuse to receive them for fear of these laws, but he must be partaker in some part and guilty of the wickedness in the law and law-makers, as by his own deed giving them their intent, scope, and effect, which is to banish God's priests from their sheep, and abandon [*i.e.* banish] the Catholic religion and faith out of the whole realm." At which words she, stricken with great joy, said: "I thank you, Father. By God's grace all priests shall be more welcome to me than ever they were, and I will do what I can to set forward God's Catholic service." "Then," quoth he, merrily, but yet always he thought it would happen to her reward, "you must prepare your neck for the rope." "God's will be done," said she; "but I am far unworthy of that honour." Thus they departed: he with no less comfort to see her virtue, she to have her former liberty to serve God. Yet the same Father, and others also, hath heard her often in remembrance of that person, and his dissuasions of her duty to God, show great disliking towards him and said she made less account of him than she had done, and would not care how little she had to deal with such timorous Catholics, which would not only, through worldly fear, slack their own Christian duty, but would also be an instrument of the devil and of the heretics to discomfort and terrify such as would gladly do well.

Hereby you may perceive her singular love to God, from whom to be separated a short time in this life she accounted death. And yet, for the same love and

obedience to Him and His priests, ready for a season as it were to forego God, lest she should any way offend God.

CHAPTER VI.

OF HER CHARITY TO HER NEIGHBOURS.

AS she was in her own heart most lowly to God, most loving for His sake, to His priests singularly obedient, receiving and hearing them with reverence due to the messengers of God, so was she inflamed with marvellous love towards her neighbours, in setting down of which virtue, as I saw it in her, the iniquity of the time doth rather cause me to speak in general, [than] to descend to many of her particular good works, lest by touching either the proper name or the state of any, which are not in body delivered from the heretics' tyranny, I should give light and intelligence when to vomit out their spite and fury upon the secret servants of God.

Over these, therefore, she had a special care, which were her neighbours and citizens, or (as she used much to call them) her brethren or sisters in the Catholic Church, if they were in prison, or other furnace of trial, by all comforts and means she could devise, to make their burden light, and Christ's yoke to savour sweet to them; if they were Catholics abroad, and yet not void of tribulation (for that the heretics, as the natural whelps of the devouring lion that seeketh everywhere whom he may destroy, permitteth none peaceably to enjoy either spiritual consolation or bodily quietness) to procure them help and comfort both of soul and body; if they were schismatics, to reduce them again to the Catholic unity; if they were heretics, and she had any hope of their conversion, or through some familiar acquaintance with them doubted not of their secrecy, to have them instructed in the true faith; and, finally, if they were malefactors or persecutors of God's

people, to pray most earnestly for their amendment and pardon of their malice. How have I wondered, good Lord, to see the charitable care, large providence, continual diligence, and toil of Thy servant, to bring all to Thee! To make Thee, her God, sweeter to them than their own lives, or all Thy created pleasures; to let all know the Catholic truth, without which there was no truth at all; to allure all men to love Thee, as she, by Thy grace, loved Thee; above all, to turn Thy wrath from the persecutors, and to have Thy holy Name glorified in every degree. How often hast Thou seen my secret heart rejoice and leap within me, when I saw and considered then an unworthy father to her, and I confess, O Lord, the abundant charity and good work of Thy daughter, which [Thy] hearty goodness enriched with plentiful graces to my comfort and instruction, and now in Thy most happy kingdom hast crowned with the just resplendent dignity of supreme honour, that with great hope I may cry to Thee by her, my blessed mother, whom I joyed so often here to have my virtuous daughter, Thou knowest, my God, and for the glory of Thy saint whom Thou so mightily hast glorified: I also will ever witness the same, how carefully she cast her charitable eye into every corner, where Thy secret servants lay desolate and afflicted, to get them fed with Thy heavenly food in due season, lest, for want of Thy banquet, they might happen to fall from Thee. How also she hath looked to their bodily needs, and procured to every one relief with discretion; with how much gladness hath she gathered together by ten or twelve Thy poor Catholic people at once, and brought to pass,—first to have them purified and fed with Thy gracious Sacraments; then their bodies refreshed with sufficient meat and drink; herself, with a marvellous gift from Thee of joy and humility, ministering and waiting on them diligently, and after refection providing money for every one according to their need. These now lament the unjust spoil and loss

of Thy handmaid, their common mother, and accuse, no doubt, with sorrowful hearts all the heretical cruelty, that hath injuriously bereft them of so provident a mother.

This one thing I mused many times to behold, her great gladness in the company of such as were fervent in the service of God and of virtuous life. Good Lord! how familiar and pleasant would she have been with them, very prompt and ready, with continual smiling countenance, to provide and help them forward in their good desire! The young children and novices of Christ's Church she liked greatly, and would embolden and encourage them in the way of virtue, not only by her own example, but also by some familiar or sweet counsel after her best fashion. And, contrariwise, how she lamentably disliked and loathed the state and company of worldling and lukewarm Catholics, which would not give themselves to virtue, neither for the example of good Catholics, nor the often calls and admonitions of God's messengers.

By this, her hearty gladness of all folks' well-doing, though by all her other actions any man might have known her true virtues, yet I most infallibly gathered a rare perfection of grace in her. For many in external show doth right well, and seem to want nothing necessary to a virtuous life, yet their imperfection is bewrayed in some spice of envious emulation to such as are no less virtuous than themselves, or are preferred before them. Others also have indeed ascended to some degree of goodness, and are not envious for grudging in the same way; yet they show their imperfections, are void of all joy and alacrity when some others (especially if they be of their own state and calling) is said to be equal with them, or preferred before them: insomuch that every word spoken in the commendations of others afflict their heart with noisome grief, which kind of grief and imperfection were far from the virtue of this glorious martyr: for her joy and comfort was no less of the well-doing of others than of her

own, because that she knew that God was equally honoured in them both.

Finally, her enemies (which for many years together, as they persecuted the Church of God, so left they no cruelty untried to destroy the Catholic faith and God's grace in her) were never excluded from her most ample charity; for they never so often practised wickedly against the Church herself, or any member of it, but she had this in her mouth: "I pray God amend them, forgive them, and give them grace to know their error and to amend it."

What shall I say of the many hard griefs and deep sighs I have heard and seen in her, when any loose Catholic lived in folly or fell from the unity of Christ's Church, or when any Catholic or schismatic departed this world to the terrible and just judgment of God? Upon all which events (though she were cast thereby into some anguish of mind) yet she gathered no small profit, for of the evil behaviour of others she received a reverent and a necessary fear of her own weakness, that might easily slide to the like follies, unless it were daily strengthened with God's grace, and served Him sincerely. By the woeful death of the rest she remembered in what danger she had been in, and how mercifully God had delivered her. By which consideration she greatly increased in her thankful love to Him again, and thought she could not honour Him worthily for such His goodness by all that she was able to devise.

But to end this her rare charity to her neighbours of every degree with their general reports, for this dark time may abide no more light, let those with woeful hearts witness more particularly the abundance of this virtue, which hath been relieved greatly by her means, and now with good cause bewail the want of such a friend, for I will pass briefly to other matter.

CHAPTER VII.

OF HER ZEAL AND FERVOUR IN THE CATHOLIC
RELIGION.

WHEN I would speak anything of her fervent zeal in the furthering of the true religion of God, I cannot tell where to begin, nor what to say equal with her doings. This I always manifestly saw in her, that her most care, thought, and study was to have God catholicly served, and by all means His truth known, and Him honoured. For after her deliverance out of prison she straightway provided place, and all things convenient, that God might be served in her house. The heretics themselves, though they [be] full of malice and wickedness, can witness her great provision for this purpose, all which they sacrilegiously spoiled and carried away to their own profane use, but with as much right and honesty as thieves deal with true men's purses. In all her affairs this was the chief that she cared for, to the which as to the end of Christian life, all her other actions were referred. Fervour overcame all fear, and her inflamed zeal to God's service consumed all worldly terrors. She would ever say: "I will not be afraid to serve God, and do well. This is a war and trial in God's Church, and therefore if I cannot [do] my duty without peril and dangers, yet by God's grace I will not be slacker for them. If God's priests dare venture themselves to my house, I will never refuse them." These and such like words I have heard from her mouth many times, when talk hath been moved of the dangers wherein all Catholics do live under the ravenous heretics.

And of that courage she was for the setting forth of God's service, that she would not fear or cease to attempt anything (wherein manifest danger appeared not) whereby God might be honoured, and herself and other receive

spiritual commodity. For this end she prepared two chambers, the one adjoining to her own house, whereunto she might resort at any time, without sight or knowledge of any neighbours. In this she served God every day in quiet and calm times, with her children and others. The other was distant a little from her own house, secret and unknown to any but such as she knew to be faithful and discreet, whereunto she could not daily resort without suspicion, nor at any time without the sight of her neighbours. This place she prepared for more troublesome and dangerous times, that God might be served there when her own was not thought to be safe, although she could not have access to it every day as she desired. Upon a time I asked her, why she would make that provision from her house, since she herself could not resort thither to serve God, not past once or twice in the week. "Well," said she, "my heart is with you, and I trust you remember me when I am toiling in the world. And though I cannot come as I desire, yet it doth me good and much comforteth me that I know I have you here, and that God is any way served by my means."

The ravening heretics can report to their shame and damnation how she had spared no cost to maintain her religion, and that they thought so much Church stuff had not been in a whole county as they found with her. And truly her fervent zeal was so vehement, that all she did seemed to her little or nothing, whereas others knew well, that with her it was more necessary to use the bridle than the spur.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF HER ALACRITY AND JOY IN MIND AND BODY.

NEITHER was this fervour without its happy effect and true reward in this life, which is peace, joy, and gladness of mind and body at all times, for all her actions were

tempered with all inward tranquillity and comfort, with discreet and honest mirth, with mild and smiling countenance; ready of tongue, but yet her words modest, and courteous, and lowly; quick in the despatch of business, and then most pleasant when she could the most serve God, or procure the same to others.

Good Lord! how joyful have I seen her when she had two or three Fathers at once. How would she laugh for inward joy to have God served in her house divers times in one day, and how she deceived the heretics. Her outward behaviour, so mild, so lowly and pleasant, that as it proceeded from her inward joy and comfort, so was it most grateful and comfortable to all that were conversant with her. So long as she had with her a ghostly Father to serve God, no time seemed wearisome; for after her household business were despatched, she would once or twice a day serve [him], and no trouble nor sorrow could make her heavy during this time.

In one thing she could never overcome herself, that was, in the absence of a priest, to be merry or without heaviness, for that time she thought herself desolate, and ever suspected that for some fault which God saw in her, she was unworthy of them. What secret sighing have I heard suddenly burst from her, and what sorrowful cheer have I spied in her unawares for the departing of her ghostly Father, and especially when he was to pass some danger, or to abide long from her; for she ever feared that if anything should happen to him, others afterward would be more unwilling to come to her, and so she should remain without the service of God, in the which she had her greatest comfort. And surely I remember not that ever I have seen her cast into any sorrow or heaviness (the gracious penance and grief for sin, and the trouble of God's Church, and loss of souls excepted), but only for the want of a priest and God's service. If any priest had passed that town and had not seen her, she would not have

been a little troubled, and have thought herself to have lost no small benefit.

Thus in all her actions she served God with joy and gladness, without fretting or lumpish mind, beginning here [that] blessed peace, which God in this vale of misery granted in some imperfect sort to His servants, which He now hath perfected in her by the abundance of her exceeding joy in heaven.

CHAPTER IX.

OF HER DEVOTION AND SPIRITUAL EXERCISE.

HER devotion and spiritual exercise were no less excellent than her other virtues, and all most worthy to be imitated. I will not speak as she used them during the time of her imprisonment, for she thought that God sent her thither, as to a school, principally to learn how to serve Him in this world. Judge, therefore, by her exercise at home (where she was laden with necessary household business) what she did in prison, where she had no such cares, but good time and opportunity to attend only to serve God, and the gathering of spiritual riches. In these things she utterly forsook herself, and would not in anywise follow her own fantasy, but committed all wholly to the guiding and direction of her ghostly Father. No prayer seemed sweet unto her, no time convenient, no order straight, unless he had first perused them, and judged them meet for her. Every morning ordinarily, before she took in hand any worldly matter, she continued secret in her chamber one hour and a half, or most often two hours, praying upon her knees, and meditating upon the Passion of Christ, the benefits of God bestowed upon her, her own sins and present estate of her soul, &c. Immediately after which time (if her husband or some importunate business letted her not) she came to her spiritual Father's chamber to hear the divine mysteries, and with him to offer to God

the Father His dear Son, sacrificed upon the holy altar by His priests for the quick and dead. If there had been two Fathers to celebrate, she would have been present at both, unless on some occasion her ghostly Father had willed her to depart, or some extreme necessity had called her away. Her most delight was to kneel where she might continually behold the Blessed Sacrament, and usually she chose her place next the door, behind all the rest, in the worst and the base seats, and most unseemly corner in all the chamber. After service, when she had committed her and all her works that day to the protection of God, she occupied herself in necessary worldly affairs, endeavouring all the day long to have her mind fixed on God. And to this end she strove marvellously with herself not to begin anything in her house before she had lifted up her mind to God first, desiring Him that she might do His pleasure to His honour, and to do her duty in it rather to fulfil His blessed will thereby, than for any worldly respect.

Divers times, for want of this good actual intention (as it was impossible in so many and divers affairs to have it in every particular action), she would reprove herself greatly, and say to her ghostly Father, "Now, for God's sake, pray for me; methinks I do nothing well because I overslipped this right intention, which God's servants should always have actually, to refer all my doing to His glory."

Her devotions all the rest of the day were as she could get leisure; which almost she never had until four of the clock in the afternoon, about which time she would shake off the world and come to evening-song, where she, praying one hour with her children about her, afterward returned again about her care of the household until eight or nine of the clock, at which time she used to resort to her ghostly Father's chamber to pray a little and ask his blessing, which of her own humility she did, and would not slip and forget at morning and night. From thence, going

to her chamber, she ordinarily spent an hour at the least in prayer and examining of her conscience, how she had offended God that day.

Twice a week she frequented the Holy Sacraments of Confession and Eucharist, if her Father had thought expedient, and although she received sometimes not twice a week, she would be very importunate with him every Wednesday and Sunday to be shriven, that in God's sight her conscience might be clear and pure from sin.

Truly, if I should endeavour to tell her humility, her hearty contrition, and sorrow for her small imperfections, the loathsomeness she conceived of her sinful and unprofitable life in the world, as unworthy of any benefits from God and His creatures, with tears shed for her offences, the sighs and lamentations that she could not serve God with as much liberty at all times as she desired, by reason of her worldly cares: if I should set down the love and wonderful affection she bare to His sacraments: with what care, simplicity, lowliness, and sincerity she revealed to her ghostly Father the bottom of her heart, conscience, and every corner and secret inclination, I should, I confess, want words, and for all that could not come near to that which the thing required. I will therefore speak no more thereof: *Secretum meum mihi*—"The secret shall be to myself."

As then I admired her, so now I do more and more, hoping by her blessed intercession to emulate some little part of that virtue and purity which I know to be in her; for if her graces were in her frailty of such efficacy and force, that she never came to confession to me but before her departure I was cast into some extraordinary joy of mind, and a most comfortable remorse of my own sins, verily I doubt not but in her secular [*i.e.* eternal] glory she will be mindful of me, and procure me those graces which she knoweth me to want.

And Thou, O my God! the searcher of all secrets, hast

seen how often Thy plentiful graces, wherewith Thou hadst beautified her, did stir up my soul to Thee in hearty remembrance of my own miseries, whereby I saw myself far off from Thee, and wished but to be so gracious in Thy favour as she Thy servant was, whom here Thy goodness did adorn with so rare gifts, and prepared as Thy loving spouse to so gracious a marriage day, that she might so victoriously enter Thy triumphant city in her bloody scarlet robe.

In the time of her receiving the Blessed Sacrament of Christ His Body, she ever coveted to have the lowest place, so far as she could do it without trouble and noisomeness to others, for she would [not] seem to any to desire it. Whilst she received, her lowly and gracious countenance was washed with sweet tears trickling from her eyes. Afterward she would depart for half an hour into some close corner, where she might familiarly enjoy the delights of her God, whom she had brought into the secret parlour of her heart, and all the day after she would be merry and smiling, yet most wary to keep her senses shut, lest she should by negligence or false security be robbed of her treasure.

A marvellous desire she had once a week at least to hear a virtuous exhortation by her ghostly Father, and would sometimes make secret motions and signs to him of this secret desire; sometimes also reverently request him to speak something for such audience as she would provide, which thing she did commonly at those times when strangers, or such as could get opportunity to serve God and be present at exhortations, were assembled, so careful she was of every man's well-doing.

When she had leisure, she most delighted to read the New Testament of Rheims Translation, Kempis of the *Following of Christ*, Perin's *Exercise*, and such like spiritual books. I have heard her say, "if that it pleased God so to dispose, and set her at liberty from the world, she would with all

her heart take upon her some religious habit, whereby she might ever serve God under obedience." And to this end (not knowing what God would do with her) she learned our Lady's Matins in Latin.

CHAPTER X.

OF HER ABSTINENCE.

SO long as she was in prison she fasted four days every week, (for so did all there, partly for lack of necessary victual, partly to satisfy for their former sins, partly for the greater merit, and the sooner to procure God's grace again to His afflicted Church). The same abstinence she slacked not any time after she was delivered, but kept it still as no less necessary for her spiritual good in the world, than it was in prison. Every Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday she abstained from flesh, and [had] but one meal a day. Every Friday she fasted [on] bread and drink, afflicting her body with some sharp discipline, when she could have licence of her ghostly Father.

And, notwithstanding this, she was of very good liking, as though she had fared most daintily every day. Her most desire was to eat rye bread, milk, or pottage and butter. This cheer she preferred before all others. Nothing did more grieve her than to be invited to banquets abroad, where (she said) she "could never but exceed her ordinary measure, and by reason of company and by diversities of meats eat more plentifully than she wished." Wherefore, to avoid this inconvenience, she would devise many excuses and shift off her husband's importunity (who, loving company himself, desired to take her with him), by feigning some urgent business, where indeed that time she would have spared from superfluous feeding her body, and employed it to feed the soul by prayer and meditations.

In her diet she had so mortified and overcome herself, that neither she desired delicate fare, nor at the table if one piece had been better than another, would she have taken it, but carved it to others, and have pleased herself with the worst. She used also, after she was set at meat, to say an *Ave Maria*, or to elevate her mind a little to God by some short meditation before she would move her hand to anything upon the table.

CHAPTER XI.

OF HER PILGRIMAGE.

AFTER the priests had first suffered martyrdom at Knaves-mire, (all which at most had been her ghostly Fathers,) and by their holy blood and death had sanctified their reproachful gallows, she greatly desired often to visit that place, for she called it her pilgrimage; and thither she would go, accompanied with two or three virtuous women. This being the common place for execution for all sorts of malefactors, distant half a mile from the city of York, made the passage sometime more difficult to her, because she might not adventure thither but by night because of spies, and only at such time as her husband was from home. Her desire was greatly often to go thither, where so many her ghostly Fathers had shed their blood in witness of the Catholic faith, where they had triumphed over the world, the flesh, and the devil, from whence they had ascended into heaven, where she earnestly wished (if it were God's will) for the same Catholic cause to end her life, and where she hoped one day God should be glorified in the memory of His martyrs. But by reason of this wicked time, her ghostly Father thought not good to permit her so often to go as she desired.

As I remember she went barefoot to the place, and kneeling on her bare knees ever under the gallows, medi-

tated and prayed so long as her company would suffer her. As I understand, her desire and request was, after she was condemned, that she might be carried to this place to suffer what cruelty they pleased, but they would not grant it; no doubt but by God's Providence that her glorious death might sanctify some other profane place, and that thou most wicked and ungrateful city, mightest in time to come behold in the midst of thine own heart, for a perpetual shame to thine own cruelty, in murdering so rare a Margaret, as thou wast not worthy of, and for extinguishing such a light as was not to be found in many realms the like. One day a most corrupt and loathsome sink of iniquity, thou shalt be honoured and excel many nations, not for the cruelty that is in thee but for the famous victory and abundant merits of this martyr. Thy children surely shall lament in time to come, and be ashamed of this thy barbarous fact, and humbly crave her to be their patron and mother of life and prosperity whom thou hast denied life unto, and which the height of thy heretical fury hath pressed to death. Oh, if thou couldst see and consider the time of thy visitation, how the blood of many saints, yea, the blood of thine own daughter, hastened God's vengeance upon thee; and yet thou hardened more thy obstinate heart, that thou in this thy wicked and faithless generation mayest be speedily rooted up, and the next humbly acknowledge their most glorious citizen, and abhor their fathers' cruelty.

Sometimes also she used to go on pilgrimage, but not in any prohibited manner; as, when she was invited with her neighbours to some marriage or banquet in the country, she would devise twenty means to serve God that day more than any other at home; for she would take horse with the rest, and after that she had ridden a mile out of the city, one should be there ready provided to go in her stead, and all that day she would remain in some place nigh hand, where she might quietly serve God, and learn of her ghostly

Father some part of her Christian duty as her heart most desired, and at night return home again with the rest as though she had been a feasting all the day long.

This she used even from the beginning of her conversion, at which time also she procured some neighbours to feign the travail of some woman, that she might under that colour have access and abide with her ghostly Father the longer to be instructed in the necessary points of Catholic religion.

CHAPTER XII.

OF HER MARVELLOUS DESIRE TO SUFFER FOR CHRIST
AND HIS TRUTH.

AFTER her first conversion, but especially after her first public conflict with heretics, she never feared nor once shrunk at any worldly affliction or pain sustained for the Catholic faith and her conscience ; but was most desirous and as willing to suffer as the enemy was to afflict her. In this desire she obtained such perfection, that when she was quiet from the assaults of the heretics, she would not let escape almost one day, if she might have had her own will, without something voluntarily taken whereby she might suffer pain either of body or of mind. It was her daily prayer that she might be worthy to suffer anything for God's sake. And when the cross came indeed, as she was not often without one or other, she rejoiced so much in it that she would say that she feared to offend God with too much gladness. When we had been talking of these dangerous times, wherein as appeareth heretics are sorry to spare any cruelty, and it hath been told her that it could not be but the devil would storm at the daily serving of God, which was brought to pass by her means, and stir up his ministers to hinder so great a good, and that certainly their malice would be deadly against her ; that if she escaped their bloody hands, yet

she should be cast into perpetual prison, she would with smiling countenance wag her head and say, "I pray God His will may be done, and I [may] have that which He seeth most fit for me. But I see not in myself any worthiness of martyrdom ; yet, if it be His will, I pray Him that I may be constant and persevere to the end. As for all that the heretics can do, I fear it not a whit."

She thought herself not in good case that she was so often delivered out of prison, and would say that she was unworthy so high a calling.

As for her desire to suffer for God's cause, it may appear by her last apprehension and martyrdom, which I will set down a little after. But she knowing how precious a gift and benefit of God it was to suffer for His cause any cross, she was also willing it should be imparted to others, and would no less be joyful of their patience than of her own, ever praying for their perseverance to the end. When she had heard any Catholic to be persecuted, or shut in more close prison, or debarred from things necessary, or otherwise cruelly dealt with, she would say, "They are most happy. I pray God give them patience and joy." And again, if she had heard of any to shrink or fear persecution, she would lament and sorrow, and marvel what Catholics meant to receive such infinite good so unwillingly. Although she were most careful and charitable to relieve the hungry, and ease the affliction of all Catholics, either in prison or elsewhere, yet could she not abide to hear that in their distresses any should murmur, impatiently repine, or be careful to escape such accidents, and [would] say, "Jesu, methinks if they considered thoroughly these things, they should be so mortified that no such trouble nor affliction could grieve them, but rather be glad of every cross for Christ's sake."

I have heard her many times wish heartily that, if it were God's will, she might be in prison all her life,

to ease the griefs of such as were there discontented, to suffer by any painstaking for them. Finally, although she exceeded in compassion, yet never saw I her heavy or sorrowful for the poverty, tribulation, or persecution which fell to any so long as they showed their patience and gladness to suffer for God's sake; whereas, if she had seen any contrary disposition or behaviour in them, she would have sighed and lamented, and earnestly have prayed for them.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF HER CONTEMPT OF THE WORLD, AND ALL PLEASURES THEREOF.

WITH this great desire to suffer for God's cause all sorts of crosses, was joined as rare a contempt and hatred of the world and of all the vanities and pleasures therein, she accounting them all temptations and baits to deceive Christian souls, and therefore to be taken heed of and eschewed as mortal enemies. In selling and buying her wares she was very wary to have the worth of them, as both her neighbours uttered the like, as also to satisfy her duty to her husband, which committed all to her trust and discretion; yet she would say that she suffered greater and oftener conflicts in dealing in this worldly trade of buying and selling, as it is the occasion of many waste words, loss of time, and distraction of the mind from God, than in all her other affairs besides. And therefore she was in hand often with her husband to give up his shop, and to sell his wares in gross with as much gain and with less unprofitable toil. For riches she desired none, but prayed God that her children might have virtuous and Catholic education, which only she wished to be their portion, and would say that, generally, the more folks grew in wealth the further they were from God, and less disposed to do well. And therefore in all

her husband's losses she would be exceeding merry and say, "Yet he hath too much, he cannot lift up his head to God for weight of his goods; I pray God he may by these casualties know God and serve Him."

Her ghostly Father hath said to her sometimes, "I marvel your losses enter no further into your mind to abate some part of your accustomed gladness." "Nay, God defend," would she say, "God giveth, and He hath taken them away again; farewell they, for I will not be sorry for the loss of any temporal matters. I pray God we may well use to God's honour the rest we have." This was all the care that ever I saw her take for worldly chances and damages. As for all other worldly pleasures, she had ever from the beginning of her conversion so abandoned them, that they molested her not once in the whole year. This contempt of the world she wished also greatly in others, and would marvellously lament to see such as knew well their Catholic duty to God, for the love of riches or pleasures of the world, to neglect the same.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF HER DISCRETION AND PRUDENCE IN ALL HER BUSINESSES.

IT would cause any man to admire the gifts of God in her if he should thoroughly have known her ready wit, discretion, and prudence in contriving and despatching all her business, but those especially wherein she had to deal with heretics about the Catholic cause for God's honour and help of herself and others. If the difficulty had appeared never so great, and the thing almost desperate, by her advice it would have been lessened, and continually brought to pass without much danger. Her vehement fervour to serve [God] herself, and to teach others their duty therein, caused her now and then to

adventure more than in these ungracious times might be thought convenient to timorous and worldly wise men; as to admit every one that desired to her house for spiritual comfort, rather than they should have remained comfortless, by which great resort, they all being not so staunch of tongue as was necessary, her house became more notorious than the whole town besides. Her zeal bewrayed her, for none knew her but they were assured she would not be without a priest, if any could be gotten in the whole country. Moreover, the confidence she had in so just and godly a cause, and the exceeding commodity, she should gain thereby whatsoever befell, consumed all fears in her, and caused her the less to prevent common dangers, except they had been apparent.

One thing only in all her doings may perhaps seem, and be judged void of discretion, which was to let the children in her house be acquainted with the privy conveyance for safety, as they were once in the absence of her ghostly Father; I know not whether by her own means or knowledge, or if it were done by her consent (though it ever disliked me, and I wished it had been otherwise), yet I, for my part, dare not condemn her for indiscretion for so doing: first, because her intention was sincere and good, and the danger not much, the place being without her own house, where the raveners were not likely to have come again. She might do it to ease some priests labour, for the entry was painful to him that was not acquainted with the door, by reason of the straitness thereof, and yet large enough for a boy. And lastly, because by that means, God had appointed (as it fell out indeed) she should begin her martyrdom to His glory and her own felicity, and the just punishment of many. Let the worldly wise heads scan of this one fact as they think good. If it were not by her own consent (as in good faith I know not certain), their rash and foolish surmises are deceived. And I rather think it was done in the beginning by some

other without her knowledge, she oftentimes being absent when things in that place should have been occupied of necessity. But howsoever it chanceth, God knoweth; some[times] the wisest alive may in some one particular action want such discretion as was requisite, and yet, nevertheless, remain wise and discreet still.

Her discretion was marvellous to them that perfectly knew her dealings, and as I not seldom admired it myself, so have I heard others of no small judgment do the same, and say, "they never saw the like prudency in any woman, and that they learned more wisdom by her behaviour than ever they had done by the conversation and example of men in any degree."

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE LOVE SHE HAD AMONGST HER NEIGHBOURS.

AS God had enriched her with His gifts of rare discretion and prudency in all her doings, so disposed sweetly to her hand all external helps to set forth and bring to effect her good purposes. For He gave her a singular grace to have great good will and favour in the sight of her husband and neighbours; insomuch, that not only Catholics, but also schismatics, yea, and well-natured heretics would both be glad of her company, and also be most ready to do what she desired them. Some heretics, suspecting the truth indeed [that] she used daily to have God's service Catholicly in her house, would be so careful to conceal her doings and give intelligence when they learned of any danger likely to befall, as though it had been their own affairs. Other some, also, fearing that themselves or theirs should be brought by her example and means to do well, and (as men choked with worldly desires and their own sensualities), would now and then burst forth into inconvenient and dangerous speeches, if they had been uttered in the audience of malicious people, which, when she had

understanded, she would have gone unto them, and with one word have stopped their mouths, won their favour, and made them sure to her.

Truly, in this grace, she passed all other which ever I saw. Every one loved her, and would have ventured for her more than for themselves, thinking to have a jewel (as indeed they had a most precious Margaret), so long as she dwelt among them. How would they run to her for help, comfort, and counsel, in their distresses, and how familiarly would she use them, and with all courtesy and friendship relieve them.

I have known some myself to whom she hath used some matters of weight, as this heretical times goeth, who, after a few words, would yield to her, and say, "For God's sake do what you will, and I am content." Such grace she found in the sight almost of every person, except they were furious and hot blasphemous heretics, void of all good nature, or desperately malicious. Her servants also carried that reverent love to her, that, notwithstanding they knew when priests frequented her house, and she would reasonably sharply correct them for their faults and negligences, yet they had as great a care to conceal her secrets as if they had been her natural children.

Sometimes I asked her "how she durst be so sharp with her servants when they offended by slacking their duties, since they might procure to her much danger if they revealed, upon any displeasure or grief, the priest's being there." She would answer, "God defend that for my Christian liberty in serving Him in my house I should neglect my duty to my servants, or not to correct them as they deserve. God shall dispose all as it pleaseth Him: but I will not be blamed for their faults, nor fear any danger for this good cause." Whereby plainly appeareth that she had a marvellous liberty of heart to serve God.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE PERSECUTION SHE SUFFERED AMONG THE GOOD.

IN this her happy course I noted much one thing, which methought was an infallible sign both of her own rare virtue, and also that she was most dear to God ; this was that, almost continually after her first conversion, she suffered persecution, not only for her invincible constancy in the Catholic faith by heretics, but also for her true virtue by some one or other emulous Catholic. If the heretics had perhaps ceased their rage, as they did seldom, and given her a short calm, forthwith some Catholic raised a storm against her, and often, at the same time, she did bear the assaults of them both together. I can well call to mind, for that I both heard and saw it myself, and yet never without a great admiration of God's merciful and unsearchable Providence therein, how she hath been in this kind of trial tossed and every way afflicted ; how, without all cause and probable show of cause, she hath been assaulted, not indifferently by every Catholic (for with the most and best, she was rightly esteemed of an especial virtue and good life), but by such as were bound to her by many and singular benefits, themselves of no good desert for the same, and also nothing comparable to her in any degree of virtuous life, although externally they might be thought of no small perfection. What ungracious surmises and false judgments have some in their secret hearts conceived against her, who could worse brook her well-doings than some such as of her own good will and rare courtesy she laboured to please, and with no small benefits and her own pains to pleasure, and was she not then most disliked by them, when she did her best ? Imperfect virtue, and yet perfect self-love, in this kind of adversary ungratefully imagined her chiefest virtues

to be their most hindrance ; her praise to be their discredit ; her joy and continual gladness to be their sorrow and discomforts ; peevishly gathered to themselves most bitter and hurtful poison out of her sweet and gracious flowers.

I can witness the very secrets of her heart, that she was both as willing to help and pleasure every one, but Catholics principally, and as heartily rejoiced in their comforts and well-doing as she did in her own, and that all her inward contentions and outward behaviours proceeded from singular charity, and might well have been a perfect example for the most I knew ; in every respect innocent and blameless ; and yet all this would not stay the rancour of the enemies' slanderous tongues in some foolish Catholics [more] than her constant faith stayed the furious cruelties of heretics. So that she passed not in any company without her crosses, which truly she bare so meekly, and with that quietness and tranquillity of mind, that her virtue appeared more in them than in any other thing. For in this undeserved trouble she rejoiced exceedingly, and withal would heavily lament her persecutors' hurt. And, indeed, she thought this the heaviest cross of all, to see them, upon some false conceit against her, so uncharitably offend God ; although, also, she simply thought herself worthy of no other, but to be on every hand molested and persecuted, and with exceeding desire and joy suffered all that heretics could devise against her, accounting them as the enemies of God, and of all goodness, yet could she never but sorrow and think much with herself when Catholics, which professed virtue, would move themselves without cause against her. When this chanced, she would sit down with great humility, and bewail her own state, fearing that she were the cause of their offence, and that something lay secret in her which might be the cause of their unquietness ; yet she would not by all means cease to pacify them, and humbly to let them see wherein they were deceived ; and still she kept a most pure and hearty love to them,

imputing all the fault either to herself or to the illusions of the enemy, seeing it is but the enemy that seeketh to weaken charity amongst us, and to hinder us of well-doing.

The innocency of her own conscience, the example of Abel and Joseph, which were not persecuted by strangers, but by their own brethren ; the example of Christ Himself, which was betrayed, not by His open enemies, but by his own apostle, Judas ; the example of Christ's Church, vexed not so much by infidels as by heretics, once her own children, did much comfort her in all this kind of temptation ; and to them that saw all, and more deeply considered the marvellous judgment of God over His elect in this miserable life, clearly appeared her true happiness by these dealings. Virtue never wanted two adversaries : the one an open enemy, the other an envious brother, as David saith : *Pro eo ut me diligere, detrahebant mihi*—" Instead that they should love me, they did backbite me." And, again, of the other side he saith : *Si inimicus meus maledixisset mihi sustinuissem utique, et si is qui oderat me super me magna locutus fuisset, abscondissem me forsitan ab eo : tu vero, homo unanimis, dux meus, et notus meus, qui simul mecum dulces capiebas cibos, in domo Dei ambulavimus cum consensu* : " If mine enemy had spoken evil of me, truly I had sustained it ; or if he which hated me had boasted over me, perhaps I had hid myself from him : but thou, a man of mine own mind, my guide, and mine acquaintance, which hast eaten sweet meats together with me : and, with consent, walked together in the house of God."

So I doubt not but her victorious end confoundeth the one, and, I trust, calleth the other to repentance, procuring grace and amendment to them both from the triumphant glory where she reigneth with God, unless they hinder it themselves by their unworthiness.

It chanced upon a time that she accompanied her

husband to a neighbour's house to banquet, and after meat (I know not upon what occasion) talk was ministered of Catholic religion and Catholics; and her husband, liberal of tongue among the pots, spoke such like words as these, with an oath or two: "I cannot tell," quoth he, "what Catholics are. They will fast, pray, give alms, and punish themselves more than we all, but they are of as evil disposition in other things as we;" and uttered, moreover, some slanderous words against them, the which she hearing, and knowing none to be Catholic but herself in that company, could not abstain from vehement weeping. Her husband called her "fool," and said he meant not those words by her, for, indeed, he would ever report that he could wish no better wife than she was, except only for two great faults, as he thought, and those were, because she fasted too much, and would not go with him to the church. But all her neighbours, knowing her virtue, comforted her, saying that her husband spake but merrily, and meant no such matter as he said. She answered: "I pray God forgive him," and no more. This matter troubled her all night; and the day following she came in heaviness to her ghostly father, and opened all to him, complaining much of her own imperfection, that she could not contemn all such slanders. He asked her what was the cause of her vehement weeping at that time, and that, in recounting the matter to him, she still remained sorrowful. "Truly, Father," said she, "I was not then, nor am I now, anything at all sorry in respect of myself, for, I thank God, I have ever been a true and a chaste wife to my husband, both in thought and deed; God and mine own conscience doth witness it; but it grieveth mine heart that he should so heinously offend God by slandering Catholics and the Catholic Church, whereby I fear me he shall more hardly come to God's grace, and be a member of His Church. This thing only caused me to weep, and maketh me sorry still when I think on it." Such crosses as these now and

then she suffered by her husband and others, yet always much grieved for the offence to God, and their harm, and nothing at all for her own injury.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF HER DILIGENCE IN OBSERVING OTHER FOLK'S VIRTUES.

IN all her conversation with priests and Catholics, one thing she most diligently observed, and that was to mark in what virtue every one did most excel, which she gathered together for the beautifying of her own soul and conversation. Sometimes she would with great joy remember what Father Hart, Father Thirkeld, Father Kirkman, with other martyrs and priests, used to say or do virtuously; and if she had not seen the same in some other, for that she earnestly desired to see every one decked with spiritual beauty, she would recite for their instruction what good she heard or saw in such a Father. So that, in truth, she had collected, as a honey bee, of every flower some honey, both for her own store and her neighbour's, that it might be aptly verified in her, which the wise man saith, *Multæ filiæ congregaverunt divitias, tu supergressa es universas*: "Many daughters have heaped together riches, but thou hast gone above them all." And every one might have learned true wisdom, unfeigned humility, patient fortitude, perfect charity, fervent mildness, or any other virtue by her example, for she had drawn plenty of them out of many fountains.

Let this, therefore, which I have reported truly thus far of her life, be enough for others to conjecture what a Margaret she was, that God hath now so gloriously exalted by martyrdom, the devil so deeply maliced, heretics so unjustly murdered, and all Catholics so heartily lamented to be taken from them. And when they shall see her last conflict with hell, the world, and the flesh, let them remem-

ber always that so rare a victory could not have been gotten without the foundation of a more gracious life than I could have written in so brief a treatise, and rather with great diligence endeavour to imitate this her first martyrdom of a virtuous life, wherein the chiefest glory in this life consisteth, than curiously to know in what sort she obtained the second of a virtuous death.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF HER APPREHENSION.

IN the year of our Saviour's Incarnation, 1586, the 28th of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the 10th day of March, when the blessed martyr had remained about one year and a half in her own house at liberty under bands, the Lord Ewers [Eure], Vice-President, Mr. Meares, Mr. Hurleston, and Mr. Cheeke, Counsellors at York, sent for Mr. Clitherow to appear before them in the morning. They rebuked him that he had not waited upon them the day before as they had commanded: He answered that he gave attendance according to their commandment, and departed seeing them greatly so busied in other matters, having long expected their opportunity. After some few words, they commanded him to return to them again immediately after dinner, which he did. The martyr, hearing of this, and having good experience of their subtleties, feared the worst; and when her husband was departed, she came to the Father, which came to her but that morning, and said: "The Council hath commanded my husband to be with them again. I pray God they intend no falsehood, and now, whilst they have him, make my house to be searched. They pick quarrels at me," quoth she, "and they will never cease until they have me again, but God's will be done." She had sent without the knowledge of her husband, more than one year before,

her eldest son into France for virtuous education and learning, hoping one day to see him a priest, the which she most desired. The Council at York, after a while, had intelligence of it, and greatly stormed thereat, yet lingered to deal in the matter, which caused her husband, as one timorous of their unreasonable cruelty, to be more unwilling to go unto them when they first sent for him, thinking that it was to answer that matter, which, being done without his consent or knowledge, he might well have answered, if they had been reasonable, and not rather furious to destroy all before them, whom they might have gotten without any show of cause.

As the martyr suspected, so they deceitfully practised indeed, and sent forthwith the sheriffs of York, with divers other heretics, to search her house. They found the martyr occupied in her household business. The priest was in his chamber, which was in the next neighbour's house, and some other persons with him, and being forthwith certified of the searchers, they were all safely shifted away into a lower chamber of her house. There was a schoolmaster named Mr. Stapleton, who had escaped a little before out of the Castle, where he had lain almost seven years for the Catholic faith, teaching her own children, with other two or three boys besides. Whiles he was quietly teaching his scholars, not knowing what was done in the house below, a ruffian bearing a sword and buckler on his arm, opened the chamber door, and suspecting the schoolmaster to be a priest, he shut again the door, and called his fellows. The schoolmaster, thinking him to be a friend, opened the door to call him in; but when he perceived the matter, he shut the door again, and by that way, which was from the martyr's house to the priest's chamber, escaped their paws. The searchers, greedy of a prey, came in great haste to the chamber, and not finding him, they raged like madmen, and as though he had been a priest indeed, took all the

children, the servants, and the martyr away with them. At this time they searched chests, coffers, and every corner of her house ; but, as I learned, they found nothing of any importance. Then they stripped a boy, about ten or twelve years old, and with rods threatened him, standing naked amongst them, unless he would tell them all they asked. The child, fearing that cruelty, yielded, and brought them to the priest his chamber, wherein was a conveyance for books and church stuff, which he revealed. They took the spoil, and conveyed two or three beds away as their own. The children and the servants were all sent to divers prisons. The martyr was brought before the Council, and being merry and stout for the Catholic cause, thereby moved their fury vehemently against her, especially by her smiling cheerful countenance, and the small esteem she made of their cruel threats and railing. They kept both her husband and herself in several places until night, when about seven of the clock they committed the martyr unto close prison to the Castle, and her husband also in like case an hour after.

What more was said or done that day before the Council I could not learn as yet. The martyr came to prison in so wet a bath, that she was glad to borrow all kind of apparel to shift her that night. The boy accused more that he had seen in the martyr's house at Divine Service ; among whom was Mistress Anne Tesh, who was also committed to the Castle the 12th of March, being Saturday, and continued in a chamber with the martyr until Monday following, which was the first day of the Assizes in York.

All this time the martyr kept great abstinence and prayer, and was so merry and joyful of her trouble, that she would say, she feared to offend God thereby.

A rumour was spread in the town, that the boy had accused her for harbouring and maintaining divers priests, but especially two by name, that was, Mr. Francis Ingleby

of Rheims, and Mr. John Mush of Rome. It was reported withal that she should suffer for it according to the new law and statute. When word was brought to her of this, she laughed, and said to the messenger: "I would I had some good thing to give you for these good news. Hold, take this fig, for I have nothing better." The boy that accused her, was born in Flanders of an Englishman and a Dutch woman, and had been brought from thence almost two years before.

Once the martyr was permitted to speak with her husband in the audience of the gaoler and other more, but she never saw him after, notwithstanding all which both their friends could labour for it, unless she would yield to do something against her conscience.

Upon Monday she looked to be arraigned before the judges, and made herself ready against she should be called. Sometimes she would say unto her sister Tesh: "Sister, we are so merry together that, unless we be parted, I fear me we shall come to lose [the merit] of our imprisonment." A little before she was called to the judges, she said: "Yet, before I go, I will make all my brethren and sisters on the other side of the hall merry;" and looking forth of a window toward them—they were five-and-thirty, and might easily behold her from thence—she made a pair of gallows on her fingers, and pleasantly laughed at them. After dinner the gaoler told her how she must go even then before the judges. "Well," quoth she, "God be thanked, I am ready when you please."

CHAPTER XIX.

OF HER ARRAIGNMENT.

THE 14th day of March, being Monday, after dinner, the martyr was brought from the Castle to the Common Hall in York, before the two judges, Mr. Clinch and Mr.

Rhodes, and divers of the Council sitting with them on the bench.

Her indictment was read, that she had harboured and maintained Jesuit and Seminary priests, traitors to the Queen's Majesty and her laws, and that she had [heard] Mass, and such like. Then Judge Clinch stood up, and said: "Margaret Clitherow, how say you? [Are you] guilty of this indictment, or no?" Then she [being] about to answer, they commanded her to put off her hat, and then she said mildly with a bold and smiling countenance: "I know no offence whereof I should confess myself guilty." The judge said: "Yes, you have harboured and maintained Jesuits and priests, enemies to her Majesty." The martyr answered: "I never knew nor have harboured any such persons, or maintained those which are not the Queen's friends. God defend I should." The judge said: "How will you be tried?" The martyr answered, "Having made no offence, I need no trial." They said: "You have offended the statutes, and therefore you must be tried;" and often asked her how she would be tried. The martyr answered: "If you say I have offended, and that I must be tried, I will be tried by none but by God and your own consciences." The judge said, "No, you cannot so do, for we sit here," quoth he, "to see justice and law, and therefore you must be tried [by the country]." The martyr still appealed to God, and their consciences. Then they brought forth two chalices, divers pictures, and in mockery put two vestments and other church gear upon two lewd fellows' backs, and in derision the one began to pull and dally with the other, scoffing on the bench before the judges, and holding up singing breads, said to the martyr: "Behold thy gods in whom thou believest." They asked her how she liked those vestments. The martyr said: "I like them well, if they were on their backs that know to use them to God's honour, as they were made." Then Judge Clinch stood up and asked her:

"In whom believe you?" "I believe," quoth the martyr, "in God." "In what God?" quoth the judge. "I believe," quoth the martyr, "in God the Father, in God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; in these Three Persons and One God I fully believe, and that by the passion, death, and merits of Christ Jesu I must be saved." The judge said: "You say well;" and said no more. After a while the judges said to her again: "Margaret Clitherow, how say you yet? Are you content to be tried by God and the country?" The martyr said, "No." The judge said: "Good woman, consider well what you do; if you refuse to be tried by the country, you make yourself guilty and accessory to your own death, for we cannot try you," said he, "but by order of law. You need not fear this kind of trial, for I think the country cannot find you guilty upon this slender evidence of a child." The martyr still refused. They asked if her husband were not privy to her doings in keeping priests. The martyr said: "God knoweth I could never yet get my husband in that good case that he were worthy to know or come in place where they were to serve God." The judge said: "We must proceed by law against you, which will condemn you to a sharp death for want of trial." The martyr said cheerfully: "God's will be done: I think I may suffer any death for this good cause." Some of them said, seeing her joy, that she was mad, and possessed with a smiling spirit. Mr. Rhodes also railed against her on the Catholic faith and priests; so did also the other Councillors, and Mr. Hurleston openly before them all said: "It is not for religion that thou harbourest priests, but for harlotry;" and furiously uttered such like slanders, sitting on the bench.

The Bench rose that night without pronouncing any sentence against her, and she was brought from the hall with a great troop of men and halberts, with a smiling and most cheerful countenance, dealing money on both sides

the streets, to John Trewe's house on the bridge, where she was shut up in a close parlour.

The same night came to the martyr, as she was praying upon her knees, Parson Wiggington, a Puritan preacher of notorious qualities, and ministered talk unto her, as their fashion is. The martyr regarded him very little, and desired him not to trouble her, "for your fruits," quoth she, "are correspondent to your doctrine." And so he departed. All that night she remained in that parlour, with one Yoward and his wife, two evil-disposed persons of their own sect.

The next day following, about eight of the clock, the martyr was carried again to the Common Hall; and she standing at the Bar, the judge said to her: "Margaret Clitherow, how say you yet? Yesternight we passed you over without judgment, which we might have then pronounced against you if we would: we did it not, hoping you would be something more conformable, and put yourself to the country, for otherwise you must needs have the law. We see nothing why you should refuse; here be but small witness against you, and the country will consider your case." "Indeed," said the martyr, "I think you have no witnesses against me but children, which with an apple and a rod you may make to say what you will." They said, "It is plain that you had priests in your house by these things which were found." The martyr said, "As for good Catholic priests, I know no cause why I should refuse them as long as I live; they come only to do me good and others." Rhodes, Hurleston, and others said, "They are all traitors, rascals, and deceivers of the Queen's subjects." The martyr said, "God forgive you. You would not say so of them if you knew them." They said, "You would detest them yourself [if] you knew their treason and wickedness as we do." The martyr said, "I know them for virtuous men, sent by God only to save our souls." These speeches and the like she uttered very

boldly and with great modesty. Then Judge Clinch said, "What say you? Will you put yourself to the country, yea or no?" The martyr said, "I see no cause why I should do so in this matter: I refer my cause only to God and your own consciences. Do what you think good." All the people about her condemned her of great obstinacy and folly, that she would not yield; and on every hand persuaded her to refer her trial to the country, which could not find her guilty, as they said, upon such slender evidence; but she would not. "Well," said Judge Clinch, "we must pronounce a sentence against you. Mercy lieth in our hands, in the country's also, if you put your trial to them; otherwise you must have the law." The Puritan preacher, called Wiggington, stood up and called to the judge on the bench, saying, "My lord, give me leave to speak;" but the murmuring and noise in the Hall would not suffer him to be heard: yet he continued still calling that he might speak, and the judge commanded silence to hear him. Then he said, "My lord, take heed what you do. You sit here to do justice; this woman's case is touching life and death,—you ought not, either by God's laws or man's, to judge her to die upon the slender witness of a boy; nor unless you have two or three sufficient men of very good credit to give evidence against her. Therefore, look to it, my lord, this gear goeth sore." The judge answered, "I may do it by law." "By what law?" quoth Wiggington. "By the Queen's law," said the judge. "That may well be," quoth Wiggington, "but you cannot do it by God's law;" and he said no more. The judge, yet desirous to shift the thorn out of his own conscience into the whole country, and falsely thinking that if the jury found her guilty his hand should be clear from her blood, said again, "Good woman, I pray you put yourself to the country. There is no evidence but a boy against you, and whatsoever they do, yet we may show mercy afterward." The martyr still refused. Then Rhodes said,

“Why stand we all the day about this naughty, wilful woman. Let us despatch her.” Then the judge said, “If you will not put yourself to the country, this must be your judgment :

“You must return from whence you came, and there, in the lowest part of the prison, be stripped naked, laid down, your back upon the ground, and as much weight laid upon you as you are able to bear, and so to continue three days without meat or drink, except a little barley bread and puddle water, and the third day to be pressed to death, your hands and feet tied to posts, and a sharp stone under your back.”

The martyr, standing without any fear or change of countenance, mildly said, “If this judgment be according to your own conscience, I pray God send you better judgment before Him. I thank God heartily for this.” “Nay,” said the judge, “I do it according to law, and tell you this must be your judgment, unless you put yourself to be tried by the country. Consider of it, you have husband and children to care for ; cast not yourself away.” The martyr answered, “I would to God my husband and children might suffer with me for so good a cause.” Upon which words the heretics reported after, that she would have hanged her husband and children if she could.

After this sentence pronounced, the judge asked her once again, “How say you, Margaret Clitherow ? Are you content to put yourself to the trial of the country ? Although we have given sentence against you according to the law, yet will we show mercy, if you will do anything yourself.” The martyr, lifting up her eyes towards heaven, said with a cheerful countenance, “God be thanked, all that He shall send me shall be welcome ; I am not worthy of so good a death as this is : I have deserved death for mine offences to God, but not for anything that I am accused of.”

Then the judge bade the sheriff look to her, who

pinioned her arms with a cord. The martyr first beholding the one arm and then the other, smiled to herself and was joyful to be bound for Christ's sake; at which they all raged against her. So the sheriff brought her with halberts to the bridge again, where she was before. Some of the Bench were sent to mark her countenance as she was carried forth of the Hall, but she departed from thence through the streets with joyful countenance, whereat some said, "It must needs be that she received comfort from the Holy Ghost," for all were astonished to see her of so good cheer. Some said it was not so, but that she was possessed with a merry devil, and that she sought her own death.

The two sheriffs brought her betwixt them, she dealing money on both sides as she could, being pinioned.

After this none was permitted to speak with her but ministers, and such as were appointed by the Council. When her husband heard that they had condemned her, he fared like a man out of his wits, and wept so vehemently that the blood gushed out of his nose in great quantity, and said, "Alas! will they kill my wife? Let them take all I have and save her, for she is the best wife in all England, and the best Catholic also."

Two days after, as I remember, came to her Mr. Meares, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and others of the Council, and secretly asked her many things, the certainty whereof I cannot as yet learn in particular. I cannot learn more than that they asked her if she would go to the church with them, if it were but to one sermon, and she should have favour. She answered that she would, if it pleased them to let her choose the preacher, and grant him safe conduct to come and go. They asked her also if she thought in her conscience that she were with child. She said she knew not certainly, and would not for all the world take it on her conscience that she was or she was not, but as she thought rather she was than otherwise. They asked her why she would not so much as desire to be reprieved

for some time. She said, "I require no favour in this matter; you may do your pleasures." They asked her an she knew not Ingleby and Mush, the two traitor priests. She answered, "I know none such." They replied, "Will you say so? Beware of lying." She said, "I have not to accuse any man; you have me now, do your wills." Thus much have I heard, and no more, that the Council should say unto her. After this they went to the judge, and told him what she had said.

Her kinsfolks and friends laboured much all that week to cause her to say directly that she was with child, but she would never affirm it of any certainty, but said she would not dissemble with God and the world, for that she could not tell certainly whether she was or no. Upon Wednesday the sheriff of York came to the judge, Clinch, and demanded what he should do with her. The judge answered, "She may not be executed, for they say she is with child." Rhodes, Meares, Hurleston, Cheeke, and the rest urged sore that she might be executed according to judgment and law. And Mr. Rhodes said, "Brother Clinch, you are too merciful in these cases; if she had not law she would undo a great many." Then Judge Clinch said, "If she be with child, I will not consent that she shall die." "Then," quoth the sheriff, "my lord, I shall make a quest of women to go upon her." "It needeth not," quoth the judge; "call four honest women, which know her well, and let them try it." The four women upon the Thursday came to the martyr, and returned answer to the judge, that she was with child as far as they could perceive or gather by her own words. That night, or the next day, Hurleston, the Councillors, and ministers, who most greedily thirsted after her blood, came to Clinch in his chamber and said, "My lord, this woman is not to have the benefit of her condition, for that she hath refused trial by the country, and the sentence of death is passed against her." The judge answered, "Mr. Hurleston, God defend

she should die, if she be with child; although she hath offended, yet hath not the infant in her womb. I will not for a thousand pounds, therefore, give my consent until she be further tried." Hurleston urged still and said, "She is the only woman in the north parts, and if she be suffered to live, there will be more of her order without any fear of law. And therefore, my lord, consider with yourself," quoth he, "and let her have law according to judgment passed, for I will take it upon my conscience that she is not with child." The judge would by no means consent; but, thinking to wash his hands with Pilate, referred all to the Council, and willed them to do their own discretions; and at his departure he commanded to stay the execution till Friday after, which was the twenty-fifth of March and the feast of our Lady, and then to do as they should think good, if in the meantime they heard not from him to the contrary.

The martyr, after her judgment, with much prayer and fasting prepared herself to die, fearing still that she was not worthy to suffer such a death for God His sake. In this time she sent word to her ghostly Father, desiring him to pray earnestly for her, for it was the heaviest cross that ever came to her, that she feared she should escape death.

The second day after her condemnation came Bunney, a notorious minister, Pease and Cotterill, arrogant heretics, with others, and said, "Mrs. Clitherow, we are sent by the Council to confer with you touching three points, and to see if you will be any whit tractable or no. First, we must know why you refuse to be tried by the country, according to the order of law, wherein you show yourself wilful in seeking your own death contrary to God's law, and damnable to your own soul, as making yourself guilty of your own death without trial, forcing the law to proceed by order, which could not be abridged in such a case; where otherwise, upon trial, you might have been saved

upon so simple evidence, yet notwithstanding," said they, "it was well known and proved that you maintained and harboured traitors, contrary to the Queen's Majesty's laws." To this the martyr answered, "I am a woman, and not skilful in the temporal laws. If I have offended, I ask God mercy, and I know not whether I have offended against them or no; but in my conscience I have not. As for traitors, I never kept nor harboured any in my house." Secondly, they asked, "Do you know yourself to be with child or no? Although," quoth the minister, "you cannot have the benefit of your condition." The martyr said, "I can neither say that I am nor that I am not, having been deceived heretofore in this, and therefore I cannot directly answer you, but of the two I rather think that I am than otherwise." Thirdly, they asked, "Why refuse you to come to our church, we having so plain and sure testimonies to show on our side for the truth?" And to this end they brought forth many texts of Scriptures. The martyr answered, "I am not aminded to your Church, God defend I should, for I have been within the Catholic faith twelve years, I thank God; and if I should now fear or faint, all that I have done heretofore were in vain, and I wish rather to die." Pease said, "Then what is the Church? You know it not: you have been led away by blind guides, making you believe in stocks and stones, and tradition of men contrary to the word of the Lord. Answer me," quoth he, "what is the Church?" The martyr said, "It is that wherein the true Word of God is preached, which Christ left to His Apostles, and to their successors ministering the Seven Sacraments, which the same Church hath always observed, the Doctors preached, and Martyrs and Confessors witnessed. This is the Church I believe to be true." And when she alleged anything for the Church of Rome (which in all her talk with them she stood unto), they said, "Now ye go from us." Then Bunney began to make, as it were, an oration, and allege

places of Scripture, God knoweth to what end. The martyr said, "I beseech you trouble me not; I am no divine, neither can answer you to these hard questions. I am according to the Queen's Majesty's laws to die, and my spirit is very willing, although my flesh may repine. I say, as I have said heretofore, my desire is to die a member of the Catholic Church. My cause is God's, and it is a great comfort for me to die in His quarrel: flesh is frail, but I trust in my Lord Jesu, that He will give me strength to bear all troubles and torments which shall be laid upon me for His sake." After that Pease had railed and blasphemed a while, they departed for that day. The third day came Wiggington, the Puritan, and, as they say, he began in this manner: "Mrs. Clitherow, I pity your case. I am sent to see if you will be any whit conformable. Cast not yourself away; lose not both body and soul. Possibly you think you shall have martyrdom, but you are foully deceived, for it cometh but one way. Not death, but the cause maketh a martyr. In the time of Queen Mary were many put to death, and now also in this Queen's time, for two several opinions; both these cannot be martyrs. Therefore, good Mistress Clitherow, take pity on yourself. Christ Himself fled His persecutors, so did His Apostles; and why should not you then favour your own life?" The martyr answered, "God defend I should favour my life in this point. As for my martyrdom, I am not yet assured of it, for that I am yet living; but if I persevere to the end, I verily believe I shall be saved." "Are not you assured?" quoth he. "No, I wis," quoth the martyr, "so long as I am living, because I know not what I may do." "How think you," quoth Wiggington, "Mrs. Clitherow, to be saved?" The martyr answered and said, "Through Christ Jesus His bitter passion and death." "You say well," quoth he, "but you believe far otherwise, as in images, ceremonies, sacramentals, sacraments, and such like, and

not only in Christ." "I believe," said the martyr, "as the Catholic Church teacheth me, that there be Seven Sacraments, and in this faith will I both live and die. As for all the ceremonies, I believe they be ordained to God's honour and glory, and the setting forth of His glory and service; as for images, they be but to represent unto us that there were both good and godly men upon earth, which now are glorious in heaven, and also to stir up our dull minds to more devotion when we behold them; otherwise than thus I believe not." Wiggington said, "There be not Seven Sacraments, but two only, that is, Baptism and the Supper of our Lord; as for all the other, they be but ceremonies, good, holy things, but yet not sacraments." "They be all sacraments," said the martyr, "ordained by Christ and His Apostles, and all the whole Church hath confirmed them ever since." "Well, Mrs. Clitherow," said Wiggington, "I am sorry that I cannot persuade you," and so departed for that day. Every day after there came to her either minister or some of her kinsfolks, both men and women, to desire her to consider of her husband and children; but the martyr answered them with great courage and constancy. Amongst whom also came the Lord Mayor, and by all means persuaded her to yield in something, and he would not doubt yet to get her pardon. He had been raised to this preferment of worldly wealth by the marrying of the martyr's mother, a rich widow, which died before this tragedy the summer last. He kneeling down on his knees, as they say, with great show of sorrow and affection, by all flattery allured her to do something against her conscience, but she valiantly resisted. And when he perceived that nothing would serve, he desired her to give him her eldest daughter. She thanked him, and refused his courtesy, because that she was loth her child should be infected with his heresy.

Upon Saturday next came Bunney again, and began to persuade her in fair and courteous manner, at the beginning

saying thus : " Good Lord, Mrs. Clitherow, consider your own case, you are judged to die, and surely, surely die you must, unless you will do something. Do therefore something, and you shall have mercy ;" and made as it were an oration, and alleged texts of Scriptures. The martyr desired him to be contented : " For I am," said she, " fully resolved in all things touching my faith, which I ground upon Jesu Christ, and by Him I stedfastly believe to be saved, which faith I acknowledge to be the same that He left to His Apostles, and they to their successors from time to time, and is taught in the Catholic Church through all Christendom, and promised to remain with her unto the world's end, and hell-gates shall not prevail against it : and by God's assistance I mean to live and die in the same faith ; for if an angel come from heaven, and preach any other doctrine than we have received, the Apostle biddeth us not believe him. Therefore, if I should follow your doctrine, I should disobey the Apostle's commandment. Wherefore, I pray you take this for an answer, and trouble me no more for my conscience." Bunney said : " Alas ! Mrs. Clitherow, I am sorry you are so wilful : I would to God you would see the danger for your soul. The Lord illuminate the eyes of your heart, that you may see how blindly you have been seduced by these Romish Jesuits and priests," with like speeches. After, seeing he could not any way prevail against her, he began to grow something angry, and charged her that she shifted from point to point, and that she was not the same woman she was before, nor so conformable as she had been. " Belike," said he, " some have given you counsel to the contrary." The martyr answered : " I marvel why you charge me thus : have you found me since the first time I came to prison in any other mind than I am now ? Have I not always answered you, that whatsoever the Catholic Church teacheth and believeth, the same I firmly believe ? Neither do I shrink any jot from any article thereof, and I trust

in my Lord God never to do." About Monday came Wiggington again, and said: "Mrs. Clitherow, I am once come again to you. I am sent by the Council to see if you be any more conformable than you were before. Will you," said he, "come and hear a godly sermon? Otherwise, I know not how you will escape the danger of the law." The martyr said, "I will with all my heart hear a sermon." "That is very well said, good Mrs. Clitherow," quoth he. "I pray you understand me," quoth the martyr; "I mind to do it, if I may have a Catholic priest or preacher, but to come to your sermons I will never." He said, "If you will come to a sermon, I shall procure you a good and godly man both of life and doctrine, though I seek him to the furthest part of England." Mrs. Yoward, standing by, said, "Here is the Dean of Durham, Toby Matthew, a godly and learned man; I am sure he will take as much pains as any to do you good." The martyr mildly answered, "I will never have the Dean of Durham, nor any other of that sect. My faith is stayed already, and I purpose not to seek for new doctrine." "I myself," quoth Wiggington, "have seen Christ once in a vision, and am assured of my salvation." The martyr at that word began to smile, and made but small answer. Then Wiggington brought forth some places of the Doctors to prove that his doctrine was true. The martyr said: "If you would believe the Doctors and follow them, then were both you and I of one faith, but you slide from them. I have no learning to read them, but I believe that which they preached and taught to be the truth." "Well, Mrs. Clitherow," said he, "I perceive you will cast yourself willingly away, without regard of husband or children; you follow blind guides. Is there any of them that hath any learning, I would fain know?" The martyr said, "Peruse their works, and you shall see." After that he had pitied her case a while, he departed and came no more.

Another preacher also, called Harwood, came and

began to persuade her to yield herself to be tried by the country, and to make her submission to the Council, and to confess she had offended God and the Queen's Majesty, and so she might *possibly* find mercy. The martyr answered : " I pray God I may make my submission unto Him, and do my humble duty to my prince in all matters temporal ; but in this which I am charged withal, I trust I have neither offended God nor my prince." The minister began after his manner to rail and blaspheme against Jesuits and priests, calling them traitors to her Majesty, and that she was an harbourer and maintainer of them. The martyr answered, " I never harboured nor maintained any traitors to her Majesty, but such as wished no worse to her than to their own souls." Others also came to her at divers times, and said she died desperately, and had no care on her husband and children, but would spoil them, and make all people to exclaim against her ; and how mercifully the Queen's laws were, and how the Council were willing to deal with her, and show favour upon her submission ; as it might appear by deferring the time of her death, and by sending them to confer with her about the same. The martyr said : " You charge me wrongfully. I die not desperately nor willingly procure mine own death : for not being found guilty of such crimes as were laid against me, and yet condemned to die, I could but rejoice ; my cause also being God's quarrel. Neither did I fear the terror [of the] sentence of death, but was ashamed on their behalfs to have such shameful words uttered in the audience as to strip me naked, and press me to death among men, which methought for womanhood they might have concealed. As for my husband, know you that I love him next unto God in this world, and I have care over my children as a mother ought to have ; I trust I have done my duty to them to bring them up in the fear of God, and so I trust now I am discharged of them. And for this cause I am willing to offer them freely

to God that sent them me, rather than I will yield one jot from my faith. I confess death is fearful, and flesh is frail; yet I mind by God's assistance to spend my blood in this faith, as willingly as ever I put my paps to my children's mouths, neither desire I to have my death deferred." They said: "You can allege no cause that you die for religion, but for disobedience and maintaining traitors in your house against the laws of the realm." The martyr said, "I deny it, I kept no traitors; make of it what you will, I pass not. I take witness I die for the Catholic faith, the same that I was christened in." They said, "You are not of Mr. Hart's opinion, for he said it was lawful for women that had no learning to defend their cause, to go to the Church." The martyr said, "Father Hart was not of your opinion, neither would he say any such thing, and, if he had said, I would not have believed him. But he answered all your objections by learning, as it was manifest." "Know," they said also, "that Mr. Comberford renounced the Pope, and confessed he had been blindly led many years." The martyr answered: "This is not the first lie that hath been made of dead men, which are not here to answer, but such talk as this will get you small credit." When they saw that they could not persuade her, nor make her yield in anything, they brought in ridiculous slanders against her, and told her how the boy had confessed that she had sinned with priests, and that the priests and she would have delicate cheer, when she would set her husband with bread and butter and a red herring. When she heard these words, she smiled and said: "God forgive you for these forged tales; and if the boy said so, I warrant you he will say as much more for a pound of figs." But principally they urged her to confess she had offended her husband. The martyr said, "If I have offended my husband in anything but for my conscience, I ask God and him forgiveness." Still they urged her to confess some fault against him, thereby to slander herself. The martyr said, "I trust my husband

will not accuse me that I have offended him at any time, unless in such small matters as are commonly incident to man and wife ; and I beseech you," said she, " let me speak with him before I die." They said she should not, unless she would yield unto something. The martyr said, " God's will be done, for I will not offend God and my conscience to speak with him." When they could no way prevail against her, they contradicted her in all speeches and doings : but they could never move her to impatience, change of talk or countenance.

Two days before her martyrdom, the sheriffs of York came to her and told her what day was appointed for her death. The martyr thanked God, and requested them that she might go to the place where she should suffer half a day or half a night before, and to remain there all that time until she should die ; but they would not grant it.

After the sheriffs were departed, the martyr said to a friend of hers, " The sheriffs have told me that I shall die on Friday next ; and now I feel the frailty of mine own flesh, which trembleth at these news, although my spirit greatly rejoiceth. Therefore for God's sake pray for me, and desire all good folks to do the same." And she kneeling down praying a little, the fear and horror of death presently departed, as she said herself.

Truly in all her speeches, countenance, and behaviour, she never showed herself sad, or sorrowful, or fearful, unless this one time ; never expecting or hoping for pardon notwithstanding the time was so deferred, and many speeches given forth that she should not die. But her mind was always on her end, craving all good prayers for perseverance and for ghostly strength to overcome all combats, and joyfully to depart from this world to the glory of God and advancement of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER XX.

OF HER MARTYRDOM.

SIX days before her death her husband was set at liberty, and commanded by the Council to depart the city for five days, whereby the martyr and all others first gathered that they intended indeed to suck her blood. From her first coming to the bridge she put off her smock, and never wore any after during her life. Her diet was a water pottage, rye bread, and small ale, which she took but once a day, and that in little quantity. And from the day that the sheriffs gave her certain intelligence of her death (which was Tuesday at night), she took no food at all.

Being in a parlour with Yoward and his wife the night before she suffered, she said to Yoward's wife, "I would gladly have one of the maids to bear me company this night, not for any fear of death, for it is my comfort, but the flesh is frail." The woman said, "Alas! Mrs. Clitherow, the gaoler is gone, the door is locked, and none can be had. Then the said Yoward's wife, being ready to go to bed, clasped again her clothes, and sitting beside the martyr almost till midnight, after went to bed. At twelve of the clock she saw the martyr rise from her knees, and put off all her apparel, putting on a linen habit like to an alb, which she had made with her own hands three days before to suffer martyrdom in. Then she kneeled down again, without anything upon her saving that linen cloth, from twelve of the clock until three, at which time she arose and came to the fireside. There she laid her down flat upon the stones one quarter of an hour. After that she arose and went to her bed, covering herself with clothes, and so continued until six in

the morning. Then she arose and put on her apparel, and made her ready against the sheriffs' coming.

She desired Yoward's wife to see her die, and wished her that some good Catholics were by, in her last agony and pangs of death, to put her in remembrance of God. Yoward's wife said she would not see her die so cruel a death for all York; "but," quoth she, "I will procure some friends to lay weight on you that you may be quickly despatched from your pain." The martyr said, "No, good Mrs. Yoward, not so. God defend that I should procure any to be guilty of my death and blood."

About eight of the clock the sheriffs came to her, and she being ready expecting them, having trimmed up her head with new inkle,¹ and carrying on her arm the new habit of linen with inkle strings, which she had prepared to bind her hands, went cheerfully to her marriage, as she called it; dealing her alms in the street, which was so full of people that she could scarce pass by them. She went barefoot and barelegged, her gown loose about her. Fawcet, the sheriff, made haste and said, "Come away, Mrs. Clithero." The martyr answered merrily, "Good Master Sheriff, let me deal my poor alms before I now go, for my time is but short." They marvelled all to see her joyful countenance.

The place of execution was the tollbooth, six or seven yards distant from the prison. There were present at her martyrdom the two sheriffs of York, Fawcet and Gibson, Frost, a minister, Fox, Mr. Cheeke's kinsman, with another of his men, the four sergeants, which had hired certain beggars to do the murther, three or four men, and four women.

The martyr coming to the place, kneeled her down, and prayed to herself. The tormentors bade her pray with them, and they would pray with her. The martyr denied, and said, "I will not pray with you, and you shall not pray with me; neither will I say Amen to your

¹ *Inkle*, inferior tape. *Halliwel*.

prayers, nor shall you to mine." Then they willed her to pray for the Queen's majesty. The martyr began in this order. First, in the hearing of them all, she prayed for the Catholic Church, then for the Pope's Holiness, Cardinals, and other Fathers which have charge of souls, and then for all Christian princes. At which words the tormentors interrupted her, and willed her not to put her majesty among that company; yet the martyr proceeded in this order, "and especially for Elizabeth, Queen of England, that God turn her to the Catholic faith, and that after this mortal life she may receive the blessed joys of heaven. For I wish as much good," quoth she, "to her majesty's soul as to mine own." Sheriff Gibson, abhorring the cruel fact, stood weeping at the door. Then said Fawcet, "Mrs. Clitherow, you must remember and confess that you die for treason." The martyr answered, "No, no, Mr. Sheriff, I die for the love of my Lord Jesu;" which last words she spake with a loud voice.

Then Fawcet commanded her to put off her apparel; "For you must die," said he, "naked, as judgment was given and pronounced against you."

The martyr with the other women requested him on their knees that she might die in her smock, and that for the honour of womanhood they would not see her naked; but that would not be granted. Then she requested that women might unapparel her, and that they would turn their faces from her for that time.

The women took off her clothes, and put upon her the long habit of linen. Then very quietly she laid her down upon the ground, her face covered with a handkerchief, the linen habit being placed over her as far as it would reach, all the rest of her body being naked. The door was laid upon her, her hands she joined towards her face. Then the sheriff said, "Nay, you must have your hands bound." The martyr put forth her hands over the door still joined. Then two sergeants parted them,

and with the inkle strings, which she had prepared for that purpose bound them to two posts, so that her body and her arms made a perfect cross. They willed her again to ask the Queen's Majesty's forgiveness, and to pray for her. The martyr said she had prayed for her. They also willed her to ask her husband's forgiveness. The martyr said, "If ever I have offended him, but for my conscience, I ask him forgiveness."

After this they laid weight upon her, which when she first felt, she said, "Jesu! Jesu! Jesu! have mercy upon me!" which were the last words she was heard to speak.

She was in dying one quarter of an hour. A sharp stone, as much as a man's fist, put under her back; upon her was laid to the quantity of seven or eight hundred-weight at the least, which, breaking her ribs, caused them to burst forth of the skin.

Thus most victoriously this gracious martyr overcame all her enemies, passing [from] this mortal life with marvellous triumph into the peaceable city of God, there to receive a worthy crown of endless immortality and joy.

This was at nine of the clock, and she continued in the press until three at afternoon. Her hat before she died she sent to her husband, in sign of her loving duty to him as to her head. Her hose and shoes to her eldest daughter, Anne, about twelve years old, signifying that she should serve God and follow her steps of virtue.

The little girl was at the first committed to ward because she would not betray her mother, and there extremely used for that she would not go to the church; but when her mother was martyred, the heretics came up to her and said, that unless she would go to the church and hear a sermon, her mother should be put to death. The child, thereby thinking to save her mother's life, went to a sermon, and thus they deceived her.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CONCLUSION, WHEREIN IS PARTLY SHOWN THE UNJUST DEALINGS OF THE HERETICS WITH THIS MARTYR.

NOW the next day the heretics railed against her out of their pulpits with most shameful lies and slanders. The Lord Mayor, called Mr. May, to show his gentle mind to the martyr's mother, which had taken him from the beggar's staff, made this his honourable table talk among his heretical brethren, that she died desperately, and that she had been an dishonest woman, with many such like and false heretical slanders. As for my Lord Mayor, I will have more regard to his honour than he hath to his honesty. Let him remember whether he himself had not good proofs of this martyr's constant honesty at all times when she was in his mother's house.

But what shall I need to speak against the vicious murderers in defence of this chaste martyr, whose honesty and other virtues are well known to her neighbours, as well heretics as others, who can witness that as she was not once suspected of any dishonest behaviour in all her life, so it will be impossible after so glorious a death for heretics to persuade any but such as wallow in the same abominable puddle of uncleanness with them that their slanders be true. For who seeth not this, that these are the ordinary fruits of their heretical humour, then chiefly to heap up most untrue and detestable slanders, without all proof or likelihood, when they would contrive or have committed some shameful fact, thinking thereby to cover their horrible practices and barbarous cruelty. . . .¹ Your own fellows in heresy, but yet of more modest nature and not so far from all honesty and truth as you are,

¹ Six pages of declamation to the same effect are here omitted.

after this martyr's death, they seeing her behaviour witness freely what constant virtue was in her, and say she was a rare woman in mortification to the world and the delights thereof, and that nothing wanted to make her a true martyr but only a true faith. Your slanders therefore will redound to your own reproach and discredit, and to this martyr's great glory. For the priest's chamber, what dainty cheer found you there? You report whatsoever a shameless spirit biddeth you, with all untruth and railing. Was not common bread, with two or three apple tarts, made in Lent time without any oil or butter, all the cheer you found? Is this delicate cheer with priests and worthy of an infamous outcry for delicacy in them; and in Lent time any flesh or other dainties is not dainty or to be spoken of, [though it be] against your heretical laws? And perhaps it is so indeed, for that you live always in pleasures and delicate lusts, as your sensuality desireth. Hear this, which is truth, as willingly as you cast abroad untruths. This I say to the glory of God and His Catholic Church, whose children your malicious tongues would defile with your own ignominy, this most happy martyr and those priests were delicate and dainty in this manner. During that whole time of Lent, they ate but one meal a day, as the custom of Christendom hath ever been and is still. In that also they forbore all flesh, they tasted not any white meats, as eggs, butter, milk, and cheese, if fish might be gotten, as it is not plentiful this season, God punishing your intemperate and fleshly minds, which rebel against His Church's ordinance in this choice of meats. For such holy times they received it with thanksgiving, and in such scarcity as continually remembering to afflict their bodies by denying their appetite its lawful and necessary fill (as by human imperfection sometimes before they might have exceeded in superfluities), knowing to be acceptable to God and some little part of satisfaction

by the virtue of Christ's merits for excesses past to turn to God again in prayer, weeping and fasting, mourning, as by His prophets He willeth us; whereas on this contrary part, all this holy time you devour flesh twice or thrice a day. . . . Then in your ridiculous gluttony, your beef must be named Spanish ling, your pigs pikes, your conies cods, your partridges perches. Judge now, therefore, who be delicate, who be fleshly crows, Catholics or heretics, fasters or lawlers. But what if we suppose your lies were truth, what gain you thereby? Suppose, I say, the martyr and the priests had fared as delicately as yourselves, will you in this condemn them? . . .

Behold how God hath wrought by His servant all things to her immortal honour, and your endless confusion and shame. She, a woman, with invincible courage, entered combat against you all, to defend that most ancient faith, wherein she and you were baptized, and gave your promise to God to keep the same to death; where you, men, cowardish in the quarrel, and faithless in your promise, laboured all at once against her, to make her partaker of your turpitude and dishonesty. She in everything simple and innocent, you in everything deceitful and mischievous; she patient and joyful, you furious and fretting; she victorious, you conquered; she exalted, and you confounded. Where is now the force of your tyranny and impious law? Hath not the fortitude of one woman showed the injustice of it? Hath she not weakened both them and your statute? You know well that these new statutes, which violently you endeavour to establish by shedding of much innocent blood, and which are quite contrary to the ancient justice and laws of the realm, which in this point is not justly abrogable by any modern temporal authority or new decree. Is it so indeed? Then have you proceeded against justice to call her in question of life and death, only for harbouring of priests (which thing was ever till now, in England and all

Christendom, thought to be a work of singular justice), and consequently she might justly refuse trial by your order of law, you proceeding with her against all ancient law and justice. But well you know for what reason the martyr, of her own discretion, after her apprehension (not having any counsel in this or any other point), refused to be tried by the country, as they willed her. Not thereby she meaning to favour or save her life, but only pitying to cast her blood into the hands of many ; whereas, by her refusal, it should in that case principally rest in the judge's bosom, although also many more were guilty of it.

These were her own words to a very friend of hers after she was condemned : "Alas!" quoth she, "if I should have put myself to the country, evidence must needs have come against me, which I know none could give but only my children and servants. And it would have been more grievous to me than a thousand deaths, if I should have seen any of them brought forth before me to give evidence against me. Secondly," said she, "I knew well the country must needs have found me guilty to please the Council, which earnestly seek my blood ; and then all they had been accessory to my death, and damnably offended God. I thought it therefore in the way of charity on [my] part to hinder the country from such a sin ; and since it must needs be done, to cause as few to do it as might be ; and that was the judge himself." These were her own reasons, which sufficiently defend and clear her from all her slanderers of obstinacy, desperation, or other crime at all ; nay, they convince a rare and marvellous charity in her at that time. And though in all her other speeches and doings she showed great wisdom, yet surely in none it appeared more than in this refusal to be tried by the country.

But what may we think of Mr. Clinch, the judge that pronounced sentence against her ? Ask Wiggington, the puritan gospeller, out of whose mouth yourselves say the

Word of the Lord proceeded. He cried openly in the Common Hall that it was against the laws both of God and man to condemn her to die upon any evidence brought against her at her arraignment, and that the testimony of a boy about ten or twelve years old could not justly be sufficient to condemn her to death, but that further three or four honest and grave men must in case of death bear evidence against her. Did not perhaps God open the mouth of Balaam's ass to detect the injustice contrived against His servant, standing in the thickest of her bloody enemies and desolate of all human comfort? . . . This was the general rumour of the hall. If you say they all were ignorant of the law in this usual case of justice, what say you to Mr. Clinch himself? Is he not sufficient to witness the justice of his own fact? How often uttered he these and such like words in open audience? "Good woman, refer yourself to the trial of the country. I see no cause why you should fear or refuse, there being no evidence or witness against you but a boy." . . .¹

Were it law at all? No, surely, unless you heretics say that the law might be without reason and justice and yet be a law. Still if you say thus, we grant it were your law, but in the same predicament with all your other laws that be against God's Catholic Church, that is not only no law, but your unjust and tyrannous law, and so in truth no law nor to be obeyed.

But what do I speak of the law which might be, whereas your dealings with this saint are convinced to be unjust by your own law which is in force already. By your law therefore I say you have none such refuge that any innocent or guilty prisoner, against whom sufficient proof and evidence faileth, can for his refusing trial only be pressed to death. What say we then to the Judges, the Council, and grave Bench, which tell us they judge according to law and justice? Let us go to the statute itself, wherein this pain of pressing, called *peine forte et dure*, was

¹ Five pages are here omitted.

instituted for mute malefactors. In the statute 1 *Westm. cap* 12^o anno. 3^o *Edwardi I.* this pain of pressing and the order to be kept in it is prescribed as followeth.¹ Thus in plain words by this statute it appeareth that none shall be judged to this *peine forte et dure*, unless there be evidence of proveable matter to convince them of the crime or otherwise they be notorious felons and of evil fame. . . .

Perhaps the Judge's manifest iniquity may be lessened by the Council's secret malice and circumvention, which as it is reported is this. Meares, Cheeke, Hurleston and the rest had condemned and executed Mr. Bowes at Christmas last, as I said in the beginning, which they did according to their accustomable dealing with Catholics by the only evidence of one silly schoolmaster, whom they had forced to forsake God and His faith a little before in so perfect a degree of infamy that he was well known to bear a conscience saleable for sixpence. The fame of this gross injustice was spread far and near, and all men abhorred to hear the barbarous cruelty of such malicious bloodsuckers, whose tyranny was not remediable, as the world goeth in these days, when chiefest credit is gotten by contriving injuries against Catholics. Judge Rhodes, as report flieth, at his coming to York this Lent Assizes, whether it was to show his authority above this Council, in his controlling humour, sorry that himself should not be a principal party in so foul murther, or that he loathed to

¹ Mr. Mush intended to quote the statute, but did not do so. Blackstone says that "the statute directs such persons as will not put themselves upon inquests of felonies before the judges at the suit of the King, to be put into hard and strong prison (*soient mys en la prison forte et dure*), as those which refuse to be at the Common Law of the land. It appears by a record of 31 Edw. III. that the prisoner might then possibly subsist for forty days under this lingering punishment. The practice of loading him with weights was gradually introduced between 31 Edw. III. and 8 Hen. IV., at which last period it appears in our books."

It would be difficult to defend our author's view of the illegality of the proceeding. Before Margaret Clitherow could have been arraigned and been called upon to plead, the grand jury must have found a true bill on the indictment; and it did not rest with the judge but with the grand jury to say whether there was sufficient evidence of the indictment, not for the conviction but for the trial of the person accused.

hear the general outcry that a man's life should be taken from him so unjustly and against the course of common law, God knoweth, and others may gather of his proceedings in this like case, at his coming to York, I say, he greatly reprehended the Council for that unjust part against Mr. Bowes, saying that by law they did great wrong, and ought not to have condemned him upon the evidence of an infamous person. They storming at this rough check imagined by what means they might give the judges a more shameful mate, and by this opportunity they easily circumvented them. They had taken Mrs. Clitherow a little before, and, not having any evidence against her that she harboured priests, except a little boy, they turned the matter upon the judges, earnestly labouring them to execute more shameful judgment against her by the evidence of this boy than they themselves had done before against Mr. Bowes, by the testimony of one infamous man. Thus was this circumvention diligently contrived by the Council, intending by greater wickedness in the judges to justify their own also shameful enough; and after they had brought this to pass in the judges, then said Meares, "Well, now, the judges' hands are as far in as ours; I think now they will reprove us no more." Thus they played with Catholics, not regarding what mischief they did, so they might thereby win credit and cover their foul dealings. . . .

Hath not God turned everything in this your horrible murder, to the most honour of His saint? Behold the very time of her martyrdom witnessed your impious fact. You chose the 25th of March, wherein all true Christians celebrate with great solemnity the most gracious Annunciation of our Blessed Lady, the Mother of God. Was not this the first day of the creation of the world, as most of yourselves hold opinion? Was not this day man formed and endued with life, as many think? Was not this day the heavenly message of grace sent to ungracious mankind, and the Son of God Incarnate in the Sacred Virgin's womb, as the whole Church of Christ confesseth? Was

not man's redemption finished by Christ upon the Cross this same day, as many judge? Was not this day, as it were, the midst of the time called in Christ's Church *Tempus Passionis*? Nay, was it not Friday also wherein all Christendom celebrateth the memory of Christ's death and piteously lamenteth His pains suffered this day, for our offences? . . .

But now, O sacred martyr, letting go thy enemies, I turn to thee. Remember me, I beseech thy perfect charity, whom thou hast left miserable behind thee, in times past thine unworthy Father, and now thy most unworthy servant, made ever joyful by thy virtuous life, and comfortable by lamenting thy death, lamenting thy absence, and yet rejoicing in thy glory. Behold me wrestling in the multitude of mine imperfections, and bestow, for God's sake, that alms on me, in the exceeding fervour of thy charity, which in this toilsome life so many times, for God's sake, thou humbly didst require of me at the holy altar. I was not so able to help thee as thou art now to procure mercy and grace for me; for thou art now all washed in thy sacred blood from all spots of frailty, securely possessing God Himself; whereas I am yet a woeful wretch, and clothed with impiety, as now thou seest, and not so able to break the loathsome bonds of my own sensuality as I shall be when, by thy gracious intercession, I receive more help. Be not wanting, therefore, my glorious mother, in the perfection of thy charity, which was not little towards me in thy mortality, to obtain mercy and procure the plenties of such graces for me, thy miserable son, as thou knowest to be most needful for me, and acceptable in the sight of our Lord, which hath thus glorified thee; that I may honour Him by imitation of thy happy life, and by any death, which He will give me, to be partaker with thee and all holy saints of His kingdom, to whom be all glory and honour, now and for ever. Amen.