1. **Title of workshop.**

"Mirroring Martyrdom: Early Modern Female Martyrs as Reflections of Their Predecessors"

2. **A two-to-three sentence summary of its focus and its relevance to a particular plenary or plenaries; please indicate its comparative nature.**

This workshop will engage with narratives of female martyrdom from the early modern period, using both accounts of Protestant martyrs and European accounts of Japanese Catholics who were martyred in the early seventeenth century. By working with texts that use earlier Christian paradigms of martyrdom to prove the truth of very different later types of Christianity in very different cultures, the proposed workshop will address the larger theme of "Commemorations," with specific references to the ideas of narratives, origins (in this case, of Christianity), and reception across time of the conceptualization of martyrdom that was established in the first several centuries of Christianity. It is our hope that this workshop will contribute to comparative work across Religious Studies and History, as well as participating in the ongoing expansion of early modern studies to include a more global focus, working across regions and cultures.

**Name, institutional affiliation, and disciplinary specialization of each organizer.**

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3. **Name of one organizer who will act as the contact person. This organizer must provide his or her home and institutional addresses, e-mail address, and telephone numbers. One organizer will also be responsible for submitting a written summary of the workshop after the conference for possible inclusion in the proceedings volume.**

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4. 1 to 1 1/2 page description of the workshop addressing the workshop criteria.

Christians tried and executed for their religious convictions forged a religious identity for post-Nicene Christianity. Accounts of horrible torture and death were memorialized in sacred biographies and annual prayers to the martyrs who had died for their faith. These foundational figures defined an idealized Christian posture and served as models for future generations. As Stephanie Cobb and Virginia Burris have documented, Late Antique female martyrs embodied a form of perfect Christian womanhood that defied certain gendered expectations for female silence, modesty, and submission.1

During the early modern period, the religious fractures of the Reformation and the global experiences of European missionaries and their new converts brought new martyrs. Martyrdom was reinvigorated by each of the emerging Christian confessions through published commemorations of trials and executions that reminded embattled communities of the validity and truth of their particular faith. The gendered tension between idealized Christian womanhood and the public execution of a martyr recur in memorial images and texts valorizing Protestant and Catholic women. Like their late antique foremothers, these women declaimed theological nuances elegantly to male judges, survived prison while guarding their chastity and maintaining obligations to family, and met their deaths while publically declaring their faith. Martyrdom was an area where, as seventeenth-century Jesuit Edmund Neville notes, a Christian audience could admire the courage of “the other sexe by nature inferiour, by faith equall, by the renowne of Martyrdome in a sorte superiour vn to me[n] the strength of divine grace shewing it self more admirable in feeble bodies.”2 Using sixteenth- and seventeenth-century songs, biographies, and published letters and portraits of Christian women executed in England, Japan, and the Low Countries, this workshop will invite participants to consider how the published memorials of women’s executions reinforced doctrinal dogma and gendered expectations for pious comportment specifically through the use of models from the past. These texts invite a consideration of individuals whose experiences were presented as a mirroring or continuation of their saintly foremothers. By comparing how early modern Christians in different countries and religious communities memorialized their death through connections to the earliest public executions of Christians, participants will also focus on reconstructing how early modern Europeans understood the relationship between past, present, and future, and how they incorporated other cultures’ experiences with Christianity into their own historical narrative.

The late medieval landscape was filled with female saints, whose deaths framed time, whose narratives defined the faith, and whose suffering through God reminded the pious of the presence of the divine within their world. Not all martyrs perform their deaths in public spectacles, but each martyr’s death becomes a theatrical show, replayed through image, narrative, and collective retelling and re-enacting of the central death. A key element of this retelling is the linking across time with the experiences of early Christians. As George Elison notes, European missionaries to Japan “constantly took solace in the parallels between their situation and that of the Primitive Church.”3 Though the Dutch Anabaptist martyrrologist Thieleman van Braght and the English Protestant


2 Edmund Neville, The Value of Christian Fortitude Or the glorious combats of Christians in Iaponia. Taken out of letters of the Society of Jesu’s from hence (St. Omer, 1624), 9.

martyrologist John Foxe adapted representations of Late Antique martyrs to suit their own theological perspectives by mapping a narrative of suffering like the early martyrs against the tyranny of Rome, while Catholic martyrologies presented suffering like the “Primitive Church,” all Early Modern martyrologies revived accounts of Christian victims of Roman persecution as a key element to link their own sacred dead to the true Christians of the distant past.

The use of martyrdom as a lens for viewing the past (both early modern and late antique) also allows for an investigation of how gender functioned within the early modern accounts. The majority of martyred women revolved in medieval litanies were praised as virgins, while in the sixteenth century, wives and mothers were just as likely to face trial and execution. For Anabaptist communities, representations of mothers captured near a cradle, tortured in front of a toddler, or embracing execution after ensuring the spiritual care for their husbands and young children replaced young women refusing to burn incense or marry a pagan. The need to present female martyrs according to gendered modes of piety could also lead to distortions in their story. Thus, Japanese noblewoman Hosakawa Gracia was transformed in Jesuit accounts to “fit the early modern European ideal of a good wife,” in ways that made her a much more passive figure within her own narrative.  

The proposed workshop is intentionally interdisciplinary and embraces a long historical arc that reflects the organizers’ expertise in late antique, medieval and early modern Christian history, visual culture, and gender studies, as well as Dr. Welsh’s expertise in early modern Japan. Texts, songs, and images were selected from three regions, Tudor England, the Spanish Low Countries, and Tokugawa Japan in order to allow participants to consider the phenomenon of executing Christian women in the early modern world in relation to the medieval cult of the saints. Participants will be encouraged to consider the importance of medium (print, song, image, text) in constructing an idealized female martyr. The workshop leaders will encourage a historically nuanced wide-ranging and constructive discussion of these sources. By examining the ways in which the early modern period made use of and reflected upon concepts that were developed in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the proposed workshop also works across two different eras. This is especially appropriate for the larger theme of Attending to Early Modern Women in 2015, as it engages with how specific religious concepts are received across time, memorialization, and how the narratives of early martyrdom could be used centuries later to establish the validity of specific branches of Christianity. The inclusion of European sources that present Japanese martyrs also bring an additional element to the workshop, contributing to the discussion of the global nature of the early modern period through an exploration of the ways in which one early modern culture perceived and presented another through the pre-existing structure of a narrative of faith and death that had developed centuries earlier in an entirely different cultural context.

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5. A preliminary list of readings (no more than 15-20 total pages, or 30 minutes reading per workshop) with the number of pages or other materials for prior circulation indicated, if applicable. You may include a list of additional SUGGESTED readings.

Excerpts from Edmund Neville and João Rodrigues, *The Psalm of Christian Fortitude. Or the glorious combats of Christians in Iaponia. Taken out of letters of the Society of IESVS from thence* (St. Omer, 1624) (5 pages)

Excerpts from William Wright and Pedro Morejon, *A Brief Relation of the Persecution Lately Made Against the Catholike Christians, in the Kingdome of IAPONIA*, (St. Omer, 1619) (4 pages)


Medieval Calendar and Suffrages from a Book of Hours (2 pages, 1 picture)

**Suggested Readings:**


THE PALME OF CHRISTIAN FORTITUDE.

Or the glorious combats of Christians in Iaponia.

Taken out of letters of the Society of Jesus from thence. Anno 1624.

Hier. ep. 150. 
Triumphus Dei est passio Martyrum, & crutoris effusio, & inter tormentia latitia.

God triumphes when Martyrs suffer, and shed their blood, and rejoyce in their torments.

With permission of Superiours. 
Anno 1630.
THE PREFACE.

H ere wrapt vp in a few sheets of ordinary paper, the Tráslatour offers thee, ô Engläd, with a present of inestimable price, with a carkanet of the richest gemes the Orient euer sent into Europe, Jewells of Iaponian pearle within the sea of persecution, bred of the dew of Divine grace, infused into soules, that by exact puritie of life, and by magnanimous contempt of all earthly objects, were euer open towards God, and ready to intromit his celestiall influences.

This fortunate and thrice happy Church was primituvely planted by the
THE PREFACE.

the great *Indian* Apostle S. Xaverius, brought thither by the course of his charity, which had no other bounds but the world; watered by the succeeding labours of the Fathers of the *Society of Jesus*, the sole workmen in that holy harvest for many yeares, finally manured also by other Professours of Evangelicall Poverty, whom their unquenchable zeal of soules urged to passe thither from Europe, ouer many vast worlds of water.

As Religious profession was the parent of these Christians, so by this narration (the theater of their virtues) you may see they doe not degenerate, but shew theirselves a worthy extract of so noble a stock, a genuine offspring of so sacred a plantation.

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tatìo, a pourtraicture of divine perfection corresponding to the high sanctimony of the Patterne. In the course of their lives so enamoured of Poverty, so inflamed with Charity, so devoted to voluntary afflictio of the body, to disciplines, wearing of haire clothes, extraordinary fastings, retired praying, dedicating themselves to the teaching of the ignorant and helping of soules, shine lively lineaments of more then secular sanctity, and assured markes of a Religious spirit superiour to the world. In their deathes they blaze forth rare, divine, miraculous examples of heroicall fortitude, whereby the peerlesse lustre of primitiue Martyrdome is renewed in these dayes, to shew the never decaying merit.
THE PREFACE.

merit of the precious Immaculate Blood, in whose shining candour all Martyrs, ancient and recent made white their Triumphal Robes.

The light of the Christian Roman Religion, which from thee, the Catholic Europe, Iaponia receaue, is here returned back againe with interest, & encrease, adorned with glorious victories, which by vertue thereof to the amazement of Infidels over Paganisme she hath obtained; by thy Religion, I say, professing and practising veneration of Reliques, Adoration of the Crosse prayer unto Saints, devotion unto Pardons, hearing of holy Masse, divine worship of the Venerable Eucharist, Sacramental Confession of sinnes, the saying of Angelicall salutations to the B. Virgin in a set number on beades, finally (to pretermit other points) joint invocation of IESVS MARIA even till the last moment of their sacred breath: This light of Religion to the splendour of her shining victories improved, she sends thee back, to drive away the darkness of heresy, that overshadows some parte of thy dominions, to discover the blasphemy of their conceit, who thinke thy Religion Idolatrous, and to open their eyes, that by the light of new triumphes they may discern who be the heirs of Ancient Truth, and not to doubt, but in that Church is found the light of Apostolical Faith, where the vigour of Apostolical Fortitude by the victory of torments and death to the over-throwe.
THE PREFACE.

throwe of Idolatrye flameth.

Such barbarous variety of cruel torments they endured, such glorious variety of excellent vertues in their sufferings shined, such a multitude of both sexes of all states and of all ages, from above Nine-tie til nine Seaven were by Martyrdom crowned, that this on Ilad within the space of one yeare, may seeme to have renewed all the famous examples of former Christian ages. Here is more then one Laurence rosted in fires without groaning or stirring, or so much as shrinking, with no other chaine then of charitie tied to the torment. Here is more then one troupe put into freezing waters starved to death in winter nights, not so much as one relenting...
THE PREFACE.

ble once, or to permit the voice of another, though without his priui-
ty or consent, to belie the constan-
cie of his faith. More then one Ad-
auelus, who meeting with the com-
panies of designed Martyrs, going
to the place of their death, by spon-
taneous joining encreased their nu-
mer, & made the joy of the heauelie
banquet the greater, whilst all har-
tilie wellcome the deare vnexpe-
cted guest.

And to speake also of the other
fex by nature inferior, by faith
equall, by the renowne of Martyr-
dome in a sorte superiour unto me,
the strength of divine grace shew-
ing it self more admirablie in feeble
bodies; behold more then one Felici-
citius with drie eyes looking on the
martyrdomes of her children, sen-

THE PREFACE.

ding them before her to heauen, as
harbingers to prepare a place of
blisse for their mother, that was pre-
sentlie to followe. More then one
courageous mother, that with her
daughters entred into deepe gulfes,
holding each other by the hand as
in a dance, singing the praisies of
Christ on the waters, as it were Ca-
rolles on the Christmas day of their
happie natiuitie into eternall life.
More the one Catherine, by the qua-
litie of their birth Princesses, over-
coming the insideltie of the Pay-
nime priests, being after the victo-
rie of manie torments and fearce
combats consummated by the sword.
More then one Apollonia charged
with yeares, but more stored with
merits of vertuous life, readier to
burne
THE PREFACE.

burne for Christ, then the persecutor to put her into the fire. More then one Agnes, that overcame tenderness of age by maturity of faith, lawfull witnesses of Christian truth, before they could be witnesses in any cause of the world, that recea-ued on their téder neckes the murthering sword as ioifullie, as if they had put on chaines of gold,holding the daies of their martyrdomes as their marriagges feastes. In a word, here (as I said) within one Iland, and in one yeare, you shall finde in a manner all the memorable martyrdomes and glorious triumphes of the primitiue times reuiued, and by new glorious imitation expressed to the quicke.

We the Catholickes of England, who

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who liue in the happie danger of being partakers of the like crownes, haue speciall cause to behold with ioie this Iaponian Palme-tree of Christian Fortitude translated, and planted on English soile. The victories of Martyrs recorded in writing be encourageméts vnto martyrdomes, that the Christian souldier, as Saint Gregorie saith, eominus in certamine trepidet, quo antese positos tot virorum fortium triumpos videt, so much the lesse doubt of the glorious successe of this combat, in that he beholde the manie conquests of triumphant Chápiós displeased to his sight. And although you doe not want other examples of great force; yet these may seem more potent(besides other respects) because they are more recent.
THE PREFACE.

recent. Their sacred blood newly issued out of the fornace of their ardent breast, doth yet still freshlie evaporate divine love, and by how much nearer they are to our daies, by so much the more efficaciouslie they applie to vs their flames. They were members of the same Church, professours of the same Religion, practisers of the same devotions, according not only the substance, but also euerie circumstance, which yet be variable with the time; and we haue Preachers of all the same Religious Orders, that were their guides & leaders in those victorious combats.

The vexations we endure compared with theirs, will seeme more tolerable; and if they should grow to greater excesses, we haue here

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cosfortable pledges to make vs sure the Faith we profess, is able to conquer the most superlatique rage of the world. As from the uttermost coasts we receaue newes of rare crueltie; so likewise from thence is brought the rare prize of the valiant woman. Here we learne that many waters cannot extinguish her charity, nor any frosts benumme harts inflamed therewith. The fires of povertie, of disgrace, of torment, that rage without, be not of equall force with the burning of her faith within. Nor continuance of sharpe afflictions can be so extended by length of time, as to outreach her longing to suffer for her crucified Lord.

O fire of heauen! O desire of Martyrdom! possess our harts, penetrate into our spirits, consume the
THE PREFACE.

drosse of humane pretences, quench in vs the flame of other loues. O that to die for Religion, that to suffer for Christ, that the crowne and purple of martyrdom were the summe of all our wishes, the marke of all our ambitions, our meditation in the day, our dreame in the night, that we were in all our prayers still seeking to obtaine it, in all our actions still ayming to deserue it, in all our cogitations still longing to enjoy it! O let vs without partiality often view ourselues in this admired mirroure, thereby to take away all dissimilitude from them in life, who we desire to paralell in the felicity of their death.
The death of Marie, wife unto John Sucanoto, and her soure sonnes.

After the death of John, the officers held their proceedings with Marie answerable to those who had already laid they held with Beatrice, for they kept her prisoner; and put a guard over her in her own house; made her drag a rope about her neck, and vexed her which other torments wherein we have already spoken. Upon the same day, on which Beatrice had notice given her from the Town of her verdict, was Marie also and her children advertised, that they were to die. So they made mutual joy, and with league of the officers, came together and after many congratulations, they animated with interchange each the other to a constant suffering in so glorious a cause.

Andrew, the eldest sonne of Marie, a youth of singular piety, recounted sundry examples and miracles which he had red, where by they all found themselves much encouraged; and for period of this satiethal gladness, turning himselfe unto the Christians, who were there present, he had them be of good comfort, and continue that constancy; where in they had so laudably hitherto persisted; and rest full of hope that the goodness of almighty God would in short time alay the present commotion.

Christian Fortitude.

motion, and give mighty increase to Christianity through our lapoama. The next morning at break of day, clad in most solemn attire, they imbarred for the aforesaid land; where being arrived, Marie, and Peter were put to death (after those of the family of Damianus) ending their lines by the sword. And Peter although he was but ten years of age, yet did he with example of rare fortitude offer his head to the executioner. There remained in the shippe, three other sonnes of John, who being carried in to the maine sea, were by those cruel officers, without any sense of pittie or compassion, thrust into several sacks, which where they had filled up with straw, they covered also over with others, and having then bundled them vp, bad them dispose themselves for death; these holy Brothers did so, and performed forthwith with many acts of ardent and inflamed devotion; and the time being now arrived, they were bound fast, and then tossed and tumbled to and fro, as if they had been woolpackes. It may seeme Almighty God was pleased to shew an argument of his power in these 3 young-men, for being wrapped vp each a part, as we laid, they requested a courtez as at the heds of the executioners, that they might be tied all 3 together, to the end they might be hoisted ouer-bord all at once; and as they were allready united together by the naturall yse of brotherhood.
The Palme of hood, and yet more straitly by supernaturall bondes of charitie in Christ our Lord, they might in conformity hereof, be now bound fast together, and receave their death jointly in the same place, who by the seale thereof, should be assured to enjoy each other for eternity. Their request was granted them, and with all a huge stone was annexed vnto the bundle. And soone as these loving brethren perceived themselves now wrappt up together in such sort that they were no more to be seuered, according to their harts desire; they interchangeably did animate themselves to die; and so rejoicing at the arraual of that fortunate houre, as they with most inflamed harts called vpon the names of Iesu and Maria, they were throwne in to the sea, where they ended their lives by a kind of cruelty not yet heard of in Iaponia; laue only in the state of Firando. The eldest of these three, called Andrew, was of the age of 25; the second, named Mancio, of 23; and John, who was the youngest, of twenty one years.

The feruat of God Marie, was natife of Novimo, an Iland in the state of Firando; she was borne of Christian parents, and baptizd in her infancy by our Fathers; she was second wife vnto John Quintaneone who died in a glorious confession of his faith; and she followed the forme of his footsteps, both in her life and death. Andrew, and the rest of his brethren were borne in sacrifice, and were also baptizd by ours. Andrew, was accustomed to reade a spirituall lecture vnto the people of his Country, to give them notice also of such fastes as were of precedent, and to assist them, both by his aduise and instructions, & which is of most consideration, he was vnto them all an example of good life & a mirrore of all vertue. This yongeman after the death of his Father, did so sollicite the cause of Christianity, as that he deterred to have a laurel for his guerdon; how be it our Lord God refuseth the bestowing of it vnto this present time.

The death of Michael Iamanto, Firmo, and Vosula his wife, with three of their children.

Michael lived in a sea-port of the state of Firando, called Coch. At such time as search was made after the Christians, the first whom the Gentiles fell upon, was Michael, whom they inveigled by many allurments to withdraw from the faith, wherein he made profession. But he did not only (as indeed he ought) shew himselfe constant and resolute, but adressed himself also vnto other Christians exhorting them, one by one, that they would not in any wise abandon the law of heaven, in consideration of any thing which might befall them on earthe.
John Tuquinoa was put to death, as we said, in the year 1622: but Catherine, his wife was suffered to live; whom in regard of her eminence, nobility, the Patron of the island of Pisano, laboured by all possible means to divert from the faith of Christ; and not only he, who was Lord of the land, but all the Gentiles in like manner did diversely solicit her without giving any respite either to her body or mind; so that it was worthy particular admiration that the constant servant of God should not deliver her selfe over unto them. The people all stricken with admiration of her unconquered spirit, sought her out one day; and having found her, (though indeed all this was done deceitfully, to make further trial of her courage;) they bad her prepare her selfe to dy, since she would admit no persuasions, and abandon her faith: the place of justice, the said should bee, the cell of a certaine Hermit, a famous Priest of their foolish Idols. This noble-minded woman, imagining all was true which they had told her, put her selfe joyfully into the way towards the place, accompanying her steps with acts of contrition for her sinnes, and a continuall reciting of her beads; but being come to that defert hermitage the Gentiles solicited her to offer sacrifice to their Idols, affirming that they had therefore brought her to that place. Which when she heard, flinging her selfe vpon the threshold of the door, she besought the B. Virgin, and her deere Saint, with many tears, sighs, and ardent clamours, for aide, and supply of new forces, where by she might ever remain victorious over their wily stratagems: So that the proueit heart, admiring at the inflamed affection, where with she made her prayer, and moved with compassion towards her, commended, that since there was no means to alter her designe, they should surcease to molest her any farther. The servant of God remained that night in the house of the Mother of that Idolatrous Priest; who, seeing the great calamity, which through their persecution, she was brought into, spent most part of the time in persuading her to have regard vnto her nobility, and not to bee so cruel and void of compassion towards her selfe, as to suffer such abatement at the hands of the base and vulgar multitude: but her words only flew in the winde, and were not able to make any impression vpon the mind of Catherine, whose vnvanquishable constancy was ever like vnto it selfe. Next day the officers to take
The Palme of

Taking a new assay of her courage bound her fast to a pine-tree: but seeing that this servant of God made no account thereof, they then loosed her, for a complement of their paynim cruelty, having utterly disrob'd her of all garments; behold they tyed her fast againe, without either sense of humanity, or regard unto the nobility of this woman, whose ancestors notwithstanding had been the Lords and sole rulers of that Country. Yet she, well furnish'd with a large provision of patience, did not only suffer with great indifferency this, as I may say unsupportable injury, but thriving for the love of God, after more and more torments, the rubbed her selfe so against the rough and craggy barks of the tree, that there pour'd out streams of blood of all sides of her. When the Gentiles perceived this, they unbound her once more, and gathering vp her blood (enjoying the Christians that pledge, which they knew they would both take vp, and conferre to carefully,) they fastened her vp a stake, and the punishing herselfe, as she had formerly done, they led her to an old decayed and injurious house, & there againe being now by the longe continuance become obdurate in their cruelty, they bound her the third time to a poste of the said house: yet in fine, the tormentours were sooner wearied out, then the person tormentted. So that, the chiefe of those wicked

Christian Fortitude.

wicked officers, perceiving that there was no hope to gaine ground of this generous servant of God; after many threats, they left some few to guard her, and themselves went to the Towne, to give him accounte of what had pass'd, who upon their relation gaue order forthwith, she should be put to death.

The officers being returned with this commandement, loosing this our Martyr from the poste, whereunto she was tyed, and appareling her againe with her owne garments, they objected vp to her that she was stitnecked, and should loone gather the fruits of her obstinacy. And the servant of God, imagining indeed what the matter was, rejoiceing not a little at their words, and perceiving that they in mockery hanged upon her shoulders an old ragged banner, which by chance was found in that forlorn place, turning vnto the Gentiles, who were present, she laid with a cheerfull countenance; Go to in Gods name, torment and vex me as much as you please; for all those wronges and outrageous injuries you shall possibly beare vpon me, must needs some light, yet sweet vnto me, when I consider how many and how unspeakable those were, which yet it pleased my Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, to vnder goe, for me more suffer, This being laid, they led her to the place of execution, where being arrived, she calld her selfe speedily on her knees,
The Palme of
knees, and with hands and mind elevated unto
God, gave Thanks with great feeling, unto his di-
vine Majesty, who had now granted unto her what
she had long, so ardently desired: Here spent she
some time in prayer, and then undauntedly offer-
ed her head unto the sword, which with one
blow was severed from her body. She being
now forty and eight years of age. She was no
sooner dead, but the Gentiles taking her body,
put it into a sack, and so threw it into the sea.
Yet, for many daies after in all the circuit there
about, men had for sole subjecte of their dis-
course the wonderfull courage and constancy
of this renowned servant of God: in so much
that the very Gentiles themselves would be rais-
ing the trophyes of her praiies.

This servant of God Catherine was native of
Ichibu; She was of noble extraction, and both
her Father and ancestors had beene Christians.
She was baptizd by our Fathers, and she was
acconnted to lodge them often in her house.
She farthered together with her husband the
good of Christian, much in those parts, admit-
ting and entertaining them in all friendly man-
ner, yea she made an Oratory in her house, that
they being there assembled might receive the
most holy Sacraments. The very first time her
husband was solicited by the Gentiles to put
off the precious garment of faith; she laid vnto
him

Christian Fortitude.

him with great courage, that he must also resolu-
mee to come more in her sight, if he gave any way
to their impious persuasions. Which wordes the
Gentiles tooke in great disdain, and even then
conceaued that wrathful fury, which here they
vented forth in so many cruel torments as wee
have saide.

The death of Thomas Maccachii.

Thomas was by edict banished his country
for his religion in the yeare 1625, after he
had been oft solicited by the Pagans, though
all in vain, to abandon his holy faith. But for
so much as he was found to bee in a place not
aboue two leagues distant, notice was given to
the Vero thereof, and that he continued Chris-
tian: whereupon he gave presently order that
he should be beheaded. He who was deputed
to fetch him executed, delivered the message, and
defired him he would not be offended with him,
since he did only what he was commanded.
I am, laid the servant of God, so farre from being
offended with you, that I am much pleased with the
good will you shew, and am sorry the performance
of your command hath put you to so great paines.
This laid, he let him loose in the way to a little
Hill called Capmas, there kneeling downe ready
for death, the executioner would him be must
riso
"ELISABETH'S MANLY COURAGE": TESTIMONIALS AND SONGS OF MARTYRED ANABAPTIST WOMEN IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

Hermina Joldersma and Louis Grijp, Editors and Translators

MARCQUETTE UNIVERSITY PRESS
2001
so waer ick wel ter saligher tijt gheboren. Hier mede vrede, afscheydinghe, na desen tijt niet meer. Houdt dit tot een eewich Adieu.

Hier na is Mayken Boosers te Doornick tot pulver verbrant, ende heeft haer Siele beheven inde handen des HEEREN.

_Een Liedeken van Mayken Boosers_  
Nae de wijs: He: daghet in den Oosten.

 Dies op den Heer be-trou-wen  En qua-men noyt ter schandt

Tsy jonck of out, man-nen of vrou-wen

God sterckt-se met-ter handt.

1. Die op den Heer betrouw
   En quamen noyt ter schandt
   Tsy jonck of out, mannen of vrouwen
   God sterckxte metter handt.

2. Daer was een vrou hier Mayken Boosers, die wert ghevaen
   Sy heeft getreden denge payken
   Ter rechter stadt waert aen.

---

Mayken Boosers

I would consider myself born at a blessed time. With this I wish you peace, goodbye, after this time no longer. Keep this as an eternal Adieu.

After this Mayken Boosers was burned to ashes at Doornik, and gave her Soul into the hands of the Lord.

_A Song of Mayken Boosers_  
To the Tune: “The Day is Dawning in the East”

1. Those who trust upon the Lord
   Were never put to shame;
   Be they young or old, women, men:
   With his hand God strengthens them.

2. There was a woman named Mayken Boosers: she was captured;
   She trod upon that narrow path,
   Towards that Godly city.

Ps 25:3, Is 49:23, Sir 2:10, Rom 9:33
2 Esd 7:7, Mt 7:13
3 Tot haer so is gecomen
Der Kercken Prochelpaep
En heeft nact geloofe vernomen
Van dat eenvoudicht Schaep.

4 Want sy was niet verschenen
In zijne Kerck in lang
Dus maecte hy hem op de benen
En nam tot haer den gang.

5 (Die vrou had haer gehouden
Stillekens in haer huys
Het welc haer niet en berouden
Al quam daer door net cruys.)

6 Waer is u Kerck (wast seggen)
Bekent is sy u niet
Want wist ghijt, sout daer op toeleggen
Dat ghysye in vree niet liet.

7 Wilt ghy oock wel geloven
Heeft hy gesprooken fijn
Dat alle Heyligen hier boven
Int Hemelrijkje zijn.

8 Sy had sulcx niet gelesen
Gaf sy te verstaen soet
Maer gelesen had sy van desen
Int boeck der wysheyt goet.

9 Der gerechtiger sielen
Sijn in des Heeren hant
Sdoote pijn sal haer niet om verneilen
Roeren ae eenich canta.

10 Veel quamen haer bevechten
Met menigherley list
Weerlijk en geestelijke knechten
Loos Vossen Antichist.

Mayken Boosers

3 And so to her there came
The Church's Parish Priest,
And he inquired about the faith
Of that Sheep so simple.

4 For she had not made an appearance
In his Church for quite some time;
And so he stirred those legs of his
And made to her his way.

5 (The woman had herself been keeping
So quietly in her house,
And this would cause her no regret,
Though the cross were her reward.)

6 "Where is your Church?" (was what was said);
"Not known to you, is she;
For if you knew, you'd do your all
To see that she would have no peace."

7 "Do you also believe, indeed,"
He spoke so nice and fine,
"That all the Saints, here up above
Are in the Heavenly Kingdom?"

8 She hadn't read that sort of thing,
She let them know, so sweetly;
But she had read the following
In wisdom's book so good:

9 "The souls of all the righteous,
Are in the Lord's own hands;
The pains of death, for their destruction,
Shall not touch them from any side."

10 Great numbers came to oppose her,
With many a crafty trick;
The servants of both world and church;
False Foxes of the Antichrist!
Maer sy stont haer vianden
Tegen, als een Heldin
So dat sy al quamden ter schanden
Die tot haer wilden in.  

Monsier Massaert, met Schepen
En noch een weeraik man
Hebben de seck ooc aengegrepen
En streden Mayken an.  

Dat sy waer van die quaestie
Sect, die ter wertel was oyt
Maer sy swichten voor haer int laetste
Door Godes woort gedoyt.  

Het is clairlijk gebleecken
Dat sy schreyden een paer
Ja dat sy nau meer conden spreecken
Sijnde verwonnen gaaer.  

Dus zijne int laest ghescheyden
En ginghen vriendlijck heen
Want daer langer niet te verbeyden
Was, dan oneer alleen.  

Broeders looft, prijst Gods wercken
Sonder ophouden seer
Die dus wonderlijk coeert verstercchen
Sijne Ledekens teer.

FINIS.
MARTYRS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

A TESTAMENT MADE BY MAEKEN VAN DEVENTER FOR HER CHILDREN

My children according to the flesh, but alas! not according to the spirit, here is a testament, which I, your mother, leave you, namely, Albert, Johan, Egbert, and Truyken, my dear children. The Lord bless you, as Isaac blessed his son Jacob, that he should be a ruler over his brethren. My children in the flesh, I must leave you; young, may the Most High permit us to meet in the world to come, which shall be done before long by the Father, who will paternal bless us with His most holy name. This I expect from day to day, that, when it pleases the Lord, I may offer up my life and body for His holy name's sake, and I trust that this will not be deferred, and that the good Lord will not forget me any longer. When you hear this, sorrow not, as the world does, which has no hope, or knows not where they shall be; but thank the Most High, that you have a mother who was found worthy to shed her blood for the name of the Lord, and who, through His great grace and mercy, may be counted as a witness or martyr. Hence, my children, respect this testament which I leave you.

I cannot leave you gold or silver, nor can I give you treasures of this world, as the world gives to her children; for this I did not take with me, but left it to your carnal father; and this I also did not seek, but I sought the eternal riches, which are imperishable. Do you also seek this way, and you shall live forever; and follow this testament and the instruction which I here write you. Even as Christ Jesus our forerunner left such to us for an everlasting testament, and sealed it with His blood; such a testament I also leave you, and will likewise seal the same with my blood, even as the blessed Jesus did. My children, do not set at naught or lightly esteem this; be not heedless: it is better than gold, for it will save your souls. If you do what I write you, you shall see me again in great glory, and you shall be as kings and queens; but you must keep yourselves from this corruptible world, for it shall pass away with all its lusts.

Hear, my children, the instruction of your mother, and incline your hearts to understanding, and open your ears to hear the words of my mouth, for I seek the salvation of your souls; believe me, and no one else, that you may come to me and live forever. Behold, my children, I hold before you the way of my Bridegroom, and our forerunner, Christ Jesus, who went before me, which leads to the truth, as the Lord has commanded me; and behold, I take up my cross, and follow the Saviour of the
whole world. Do so, my children; I shall go before you, without looking back, for this is the way of the prophet and martyr, and behold! I shall show you that you must drink, and I shall go the way which Christ Jesus, the Lord, fills all the grace and truth, who laid down His life for His sheep, even this cup can you drink, as Christ says: "I have a cup to drink of, and a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I to strengthen till I be accomplished"? Matthew 20:22, Luke 12:50. And thus through passing through, he calls His sheep, and sheep shall hear His voice, and follow Him whithersoever He goes, for this is the way to the living fountain; this way went the priestly kings coming from the altar of the true, as is written in its own, and I entered into eternity.

And behold, they had to drink of this cup, and to go this way, who are now under the altar, crying and saying: "Lord, Almighty Father, how long dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given them, and it was answered unto them: "Kneel, for a little season, till the number of your brethren that shall also be killed yet for the testimony of Jesus Christ be fulfilled." Rev. 6:9-11. These also drank of the cup, and ascended up to enjoy the eternal Sabbath of the Lord. And of this cup also shall they drink to drink when it is poured out, have patience in their hands, and are clothed in white. If Ecd. 2:42. Yes, this is also the way troo by the four and twenty elders of the earth, before the throne of God, and cast their crowns from their hands, and their harps before the throne of the Lamb, and fell down to worship God, and say: "O Lord, thou alone be praise, honor and glory, power and strength, forever and ever. Lord Almighty God, who sitteth upon the throne, and is the blood of thy servants shed, and ministers, thin be the victory, magnified by thine name, which is, and which was, and is to come. Amen." Ecd. 2:4. This way also we will pass, who know not of the law, and who follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth. 7:3-14. And they shall be called the multitude, neither walk in their ways; no footpath in their path, for they go to be swine, with the prophets of them, and whosoever shall be called, and shall say, "Hail, hath opened wide, and that they shall enter in the princes of the earth, the sheep, not having such understanding; therefore he that made not have mercy on them. Prov. 1:15. 3:14-27. Therefore the Lord slits the foundation of the world, and Paul says, that who He did foreknow He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son. Rom. 8:29. Christ our Saviour also says, that the servant is not better than his lord, nor the disciple above his master; but is for enough for the disciplé, that he be as his master. Matthew 25. This also Peter declares to us, that the time is come that judgment must be begun at God, what shall the end be of thee the righteous, and what shall be the unrighteous appear? 2 Tim. 4:17, 18.

Hence, my dear children, press through the narrow gate, for an easy and easy burden, and by faith from youth, thanking Him, and in your honor, for He receives no soul when it is chaste, for if you forsake chastisement, manner, whereas we all are become partakers, are not children, but bastards, and you lose out of your Father's inheritance. Heb. 12:11.

Hence, my dear children, gird your fellow Christ, and neither fear nor rest assured found this way. And search the Scripture, shall show you the way of life, for the enjoyment of the Lord, in a broad field, and is full of all good; the entrance thereof is narrow, and in a little path; and the path of the righteous as the shining sun in the morning. Prov. 4:17-26.

Therefore, my children, heed the charge, and the instruction of the Lord, and live eternally. For, if you lose your, which is of the earth, the Lord has prepared a better in heaven. Hence, my children, strive to live unto death for the truth and for righteousness, and arm yourselves with the armor of God, and are made ready for war, are not of the world, that you may not be afraid, and may be strong in the Lord. John 15:19; 17:16. And be diligent, that too much, and you found infections, whatsoever you ask them, and he will command the angels ministering, that should be one to send you, he shall give you this word: that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Spirit, for the true worshipers shall worship God Spirit and in truth; for them that be worshiped, for the world, for whom the prayers, it is upon the evil, and evil for evil shall be done with them. John 15:7; 1 Cor. 12:4; John 4:7-9. Hence, my dear children, do not become accustomed to it; see from it, and have no fellow with it. Rom. 12:2; Eph. 5:11. Regard not that is fair to the eyes, for it is all vanity; seek not, therefore, for the sake of your children, let your eyes look to the Lord, and not to man, and shall do so, that you may ever be with Him in heart. Heb. 6:12. Let your children be taught to weep, for they see the world, but let them be careful for them, for they are Thy handiwork; so that they may walk in Thy paths. Amen.

MARTYR WRENS, AND SOME OF THEIR FELLOW-HELDILERS, BURNED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS CHRIST, AT ANTWERP, A. D. 1573.

The north wind of persecution blew now the longer the more through the garden of the Lord, and the clear and bright of the trees and plants, and the beauty of the earth: the wind of persecution, for the sake of the spirit, and the beauty of the flesh. This appearance, among others instances, in the life of God-tearing and pious woman, named Mary Wren, who was the wife of a fair, poor, unhappy, and a woman of the order of Christ in the city of Antwerp, by the name of Matthew Wren, by trade a gunner. About the month of April, A. D. 1570, the Wrens, together with others of her fellow believers, were apprehended at
Antwerp, bound, and confined in the severest prison there. In the meantime she was subjected to much conflict and temptation by so-called spirituals (ecclesiastics), as well as by secular persons, to cause her to apostatize from her faith. But when she could by no manner of means, not even by severe tortures, be turned from the steadfastness of her faith, they, on the fifth day of October, 1573, passed sentence upon her, and pronounced it publicly in court at the afore-mentioned place, namely, that she should, with her mouth screwed shut, or with her tongue screwed up, be burnt as a heretic, together with several others, who were also imprisoned and stood in like faith with her. Thereupon, the following day, the sixth of October, this pious and God-fearing heroine of Jesus Christ, as also her fellow believers that had been condemned with a like sentence, were brought forth, with their tongues screwed shut, as innocent seals for the slaughter, and each having been fastened to a stake in the marketplace, deprived of the fierce and terrible flames, of their lives and bodies, in that fellowership they were consigned to ashes; which severe punishment of death they steadfastly endured; hence the Lord shall hereafter change their vile bodies, and fashion them like His glorious body. Phil. 3:21.

Further Observation

The eldest son of the afore-mentioned martyrs, named Adriaen Wens, aged about fifteen years, could not stay away from the place of execution, the day on which his dear mother was offered to the stake, he took his youngest little brother, nam’d Hans (or Jas) Matthias Wens, who was about three years old, upon his arm and went and laid him with him somewhere upon a bench, not far from stakes erected, to behold his mother’s death. But when she was brought forth and placed on the stake, he lost consciousness, fell to the gown and remained in this condition until his mother’s rest were burnt. Afterwards, when the pain had gone away, having regained consciousness, went to the place where his mother had been laid, and the rest were burnt. Therefore, when the Lord destined, having recourse to His grace, came to his help, and for which the Lord well knew it would come to the rest, we hope that the Lord will also help me through even the rest as He has helped those, for which I can simply trust Him. Oh, how easy it is and hard at the same time, as long as the flesh is not put to the trial, or nothing has been accomplished; then it is an easy thing to be a Christian.

There are three letters, one to my wife, and according to your command, you and your children to the Lord, that you may walk in wisdom, to the edification of your neighbor, and the salvation of your soul. I commend you to the Lord, and to the rich Word of His grace; this is the good governing wish of my heart. As regards further things, you may do them in the matter according to your pleasure; for I should indeed often desire your visit, were it not for the expense. But if you want to make your heart glad, you may come; I dare say nothing else, except that it costs too much, else I should desire to have you come soon. If you come, go to the nearest place in the way of bringing anything with you, as it costs too much. No more for this time, except that you may prosper in soul and body; this is my desire. Great the acquaintances in the Lord much in my mind, and also the friends according to the flesh. My companions also greet you greatly. My children also come in for a share.

Written in my bonds by your husband.

MARTYRS MIRROR.

The second letter from Mathew Wens, written to her husband.

The grace and peace of God the Father, and the great mercy and love of the Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who through grace was sent by the Father to the salvation of all those that have died unto their sins, and are thus risen with Christ unto newness of life; and the eternal, unutterable joy, comfort, and salvation, which the Holy Ghost shall strengthen and keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

After all cordial salutation to you my very dear and beloved husband and brother in the Lord, I inform you that my heart is still fixed to offer up a sacrifice to the Lord, the Lord be praised for the great grace which He shows to me poor miserable creature. And I am also tolerably well according to the flesh, as I trust through the grace of the Lord that it is also with you, my dear beloved in the Lord. Nothing more for this time, but I commend you to the Lord and to the words of His Spirit; this is the good wish of my heart and praying of my heart. Farewell for me.

By me, your dear wife and sister in the Lord.

MARTYRS MIRROR.

The third letter from Mathew Wens, written to her husband, April 1, 1573, to her son.

Always fear God and love Him above all.

My dear child Adrian, my son, I leave you this for a testament, because you are the oldest, to exhort you that you should begin to do our dear Lord, for you are getting old enough to perceive what is good or evil; think of Bettsen, who is about as old as you are. My wish is that you should follow that which is good and depart from evil; do good while you have time, and look at your father, how lovingly he went before me with kindness and
MARTYRS MIRROR

THE FOURTH LETTER FROM MARYEKEN WENS, WRITTEN TO HER SON

My dear son, though I am taken from you, strive from your youth to fear God, and you shall have a good life. Also shall you number all the days of your life in New Jerusalem, where parting will be no more. My dear son, I hope now to go before you; follow me as much as you value your soul, for with this there shall be found no other way of salvation. Thus, I will now commend you to the Lord; may He keep you. I trust the Lord that He will help you seek Him. Love one another all the days of your life; take Hansken on your arm as long as you are able for me. And if your father dies, and your children die, children, all of you. My dear son, be not afraid of this suffering; it is nothing compared to that which shall endure forever. The Lord takes away all fear; I did not know what to do for joy, when I was sentenced. Hence cease not, to fear God, because of this temporal death; I cannot fully trust my God for the great grace which He has shewed me. Adieu once more, my dear son Adriaen; even if I were to pray you, your afflicted father all the days of your life, and guaranteed them, but I say to the youngest. Herewith I will conclude this once more on the one hand, after I was sentenced, to die for the testimony of Jesus Christ, on the fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ.

By me, your mother, who gave you birth much pain, as a memorial to you. Preserve well the adieu which your father wrote you, and when she had been sentenced, and the advice of your mother.

MARYEKEN WENS.

Fear not them which kill the body.

THE FIFTH LETTER FROM MARYEKEN WENS, WRITTEN TO JAN DE MEYSTER, MINISTER

Love God above all: He it is who is, and shall be. The rich grace and peace of God the Father, as the love of Jesus Christ; even He be your comfort. Though we must now die, we are as dear to you who remain, as a vine to its branches. Therefore, one must abide the time with patience till the Lord comes. O my brother in the Lord, I would glad- ly have written you a short letter, but my time is slipped away, although I have been confined long enough. But I am such a poor writer; hence you must excuse me, and think if you were invited to be with these people, would you not comply? And you can also not write much, because I have been sentenced; nevertheless I was so full of joy, that I should not be able to express it with the mouth.
THE EXAMINATIONS
OF
Anne Askew

EDITED BY
Elaine V. Beilin

New York  Oxford
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1996
unto me. Open also thy their bylynde hertes, that they maye herafter do that thynge in thy syght, whiche is onely acceptable before the. And to sette forth thy variey syght, without all vayne fantasyes of synnefull men. So be it. O lorde, so be it. By me Anne Askewe.

Johan Bale.

Afore here she confessed with David that on God she had cast her care, and that in hym was all her hartes delyght. Psalm 60. She desyred hym also, never to mayle her in thy hartes conflict, but stronglye to assist her, and in no case to permitt her to be overrun of the flattered wyrdle, neyther yet to give place to hys enemies. And I doubt it not, but these are most eyvident sygnes that she was hys fayrchfull servaunt. I knowe certaynye, that all the power of helle, can not prevayle agaynst so ernest a fayrthe, Math. 16. For he hath so spoken it there, which can not lye, Luce 21. and 1 Peter 2. In thys lattre part, she sheweth the nature of Christes lyvely membere, and of a perfyght christen martyr in ii. poyntes first she desyred God to forgreve her enemyes as Christ desyred hym in the tyme of hys passyon, Luce 23. And as holye Steven also did for the tyme of hys death, Acto. 7. Secondlye she desyred their hartes to be opened, that they maye trulye beleve and be saved, Acto. 16. Thys supernaturall affect of charyte had she only of the sprete of Christ, whych wyll not the death of a frowarde synner, but rather that he be from hys wyckednesse turned, and so lyve Ezech. 33. Thus is she a Saynt canonyzed in Christes bloude, though she never have other canonyzacyon of pope, prest, nor Bysropp.

The destroyer shall be destroyed without handes. Daniel. 8.
I set not by their hast
For thou art my delight.
I am not sh that lyst
My anker to lete fall
For every dryslyenge myst
My stappe substanciayl.
Not ofte use I to wryght
In prose nor yet in ryme
Yet wyll I shewe one syght
That I sawe in my tyme.
I sawe a ryall trone
Where Justycye shulde have sytt
But in her stede was one
Of modye cruell wytt.
Absorpt was rygwaysnesse
As of the ragyrge floude
Sathan in hys excessse.
Sucked up the gytelesse bloude.

Then thought I, Jesus lorde
When thou shalt judge us all
Harde is it to recorde
On these men what wyll fall.
Yet lorde I the desire
For that they do to me
Lete them not tast the hyre
Of their inquyce.

FINIS.
God save the kyngye.

God hath chosen the weake thynge of the worlde, to confounde thynge whiche are myghtye. Yea, and thynge of no reputacyon, for to brynge to nought thynge of reputacyon, that no fleshe shuld presume in hys syght. 1. Corinth. 1.

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The Conclusyon.

Thus hast thou (dylygent reader) the ende of these ii. examynacyons and answers of the most Christen martyr Anne Askewe, with other addycyons besydes. Mark in them the horryble madde furie of Antichrist and the devyll, how they worke in thyse age by their tyrannous members, to bryng the last vengeaunce swyftlye upon them. Afore tyme hath not bene seane, soch frantyeck outrage as is now, the judges without all sober dyscressyon, runnyng to the racke, toggyng, halynge, and pullyng therat, lyke tormentours in a playe. Compare me here Pylate with Wrisleye the hygh chauncellour of Englund, with Ryche and with other whych wyll be countedy no small moates. And se how moch the pagane Judge excelleth in vertu and wysdome. the false christen Judg, yea, rather prodyygouse tyrant. When Pylate had enquyred, what accusacyon the Jewes clerige had agaynst Christ, he perceyved they ded all of malyce, and refused to meddle therin. Joan. 18. In Wrisleye and Riche is no soch equyte. But they rafter seke occasyon to accomplish the full malyce of Antichrist.

Pylate shewed the accused all faver possyble. He examyned hym pryvatelye, he gave hym fryndelye wordes, he bad hym not feare to speake, he hearde hym with generynnesse, he counselled with hym that he myght the more frelye suppress their madde furie, and he promised, they shuld do hym no wronge in case he wolde utter hys full mynde, Joan. 18. Farre contrarye to thyss were Wrisleye and Ryche, whych not all ignoraunt of the Byshoppes beastlye errors, mdlcyouslye without all feare of God and shame of the worlde, execued upon thyss godlye