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ANNALS OF THE REFORMATION
VOLUME 1

(FORMERLY VOLUME 1, PART 1)

by John Strype

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ANNALS

OF THE REFORMATION

AND

ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION

AND OTHER VARIOUS OCCURRENCES IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

DURING

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S HAPPY REIGN

TOGETHER WITH AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL PAPERS OF
STATE, RECORDS, AND LETTERS

BY JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

A NEW EDITION

VOLUME 1

(FORMERLY VOLUME 1 PART 1)

THE KING.

THIS presumption, dread sovereign, of setting your august name before these Annals of the Reformation of the Church of England, will, I hope, obtain your majesty's pardon; since God hath placed you, next under himself, the great patron and supreme head of the same happy reformed church. And you have often, in a most gracious manner, declared to your people your royal defence and protection thereof: the evident and remarkable blessing of Almighty God, from your auspicious entrance upon the government of these kingdoms, accompanying your majesty therein; and preserving us in this holy religion, (as we pray in our excellent office,) in "*wealth, peace, and godliness.*"

Nor is it without precedent that I offer my dedication of this part of our church's history to your majesty, since the beginning and progress of it, written by a right reverend bishop of this church, the former part of which was inscribed to one of your royal predecessors, and the latter part to yourself, with good acceptance. And so the favour to these volumes may seem entitled to your royal patronage, as being but a continuation of the same history, where the former ended; viz. commencing at the happy access of queen Elizabeth to the throne: when the great and divine work was taken in hand again, of removing the gross superstitions and errors of Rome, which had been restored by queen Mary, her immediate predecessor; shewing the steps then taken in the restoring and reestablishing that excellent primitive religion professed among us, and continued (thanks be to God) to this day.

And I cannot but add, that as we, your majesty's subjects of this protestant communion, have abundant cause to give God thanks for his peculiar blessing in setting over us a prince under whom we enjoy this true, reformed religion; so also for your preserving and maintaining us in our civil rights and properties, together with peace at home and abroad: insomuch that we seem to be altogether as happy a people now, under your majesty's influence and care, as they that lived under the glorious queen Elizabeth.

And as your majesty's reign over us hath hitherto been so signally blessed by God, moved by the many devout petitions, daily and constantly made, in the words of the liturgy of this our church, and the good effect they have

found, so I cannot conclude this my humble address to your majesty better than in another address to the great” King of kings and Lord of lords, the only Ruler of princes,” that (as we pray in our said holy office) you may long reign over us; and that he would rule your heart in his faith, fear, and love; and give you the victory over all your enemies: and that as God hath set your majesty, and other kings and princes of the earth, in great place and dignity, so to make you and them great instruments of benefiting mankind; and as you are earthly gods, so you may have grace to imitate the God of heaven in doing good to all, and in executing justice, mercy, and truth in the earth: and that we, your subjects, duly considering whose authority you have, may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey you, according to God’s holy word and ordinance. And lastly, that your royal issue, that God hath blessed you and us with, may be enriched with all heavenly graces, and prosper in all earthly happiness; and, after you, may happily reign over these kingdoms in a long succession of after-ages. These are the sincere and daily prayers of,

May it please your majesty,
Your most dutiful and
ever loyal subject,
JOHN STRYPE.

THE

PREFACE.

For the church of England, piously and rightly reformed under queen Elizabeth, have been written solid apologies and vindications, both of its doctrine and discipline, ministry and worship, by divers able and learned men. Care also hath been taken from time to time to preserve and establish it by wholesome laws and constitutions. And the members of it have (thanks be to God) enjoyed plentiful means of Christian knowledge and edification, not only by the constant preaching of God's word, but by the practical and devotional books frequently published for their use. But one thing hath been wanting still, after so long a time that this excellent church hath flourished; viz. an historical account of its reformation, and the particular method and order of the proceedings in that glorious work; and what oppositions or encouragements it met with from time to time; what friends or enemies it found; what bishops or divines, singular for their piety or learning, it was adorned with; and the various successes and occurrences that attended it after its first settlement.

And it is some wonder that we should be left destitute to this day of so material a branch of our English history under that incomparable princess, except what is written by Mr. Fuller, (who is very brief,) and Dr. Heylin, and the right reverend bishop of Sarum, who goes little further than the beginning of her reign. It is probable such an undertaking was intended long since, that is, in Camden's time: for in his Annals of that queen, he purposely passeth lightly over church-matters; and in some places hinteth the reason, that he left them for the ecclesiastical historian; as if there had been some such fixed upon for that work in his time. And before him John Fox intended his last labours that way, and had prepared very considerable materials for that purpose; some whereof are fallen into my hands; many are dispersed elsewhere; and not a few lost. And I have been told, great heaps of collections were in and after the times of that queen got together, in order to write her ecclesiastical history; but that this good work and the collections themselves were stifled, and lost in the civil wars.

Notwithstanding, of the use of such an history, there is none, I believe, but is sensible. Both the clergy of this church, (who are the ministers and

professed servants of it,) and all its other members, may hereby satisfy themselves, and (as occasion serves) inform others, what reasonable, just, and wise methods were taken in the reforming of it; and how signally the providence of God all along favoured and furthered it. It will shew us upon what firm ground of scripture and antiquity our reformation stands, and will help to direct and enlighten us in our controversies about it. And by making us understand what our original constitution is, we shall not be easily imposed upon; and we shall know, When we, or others, go beyond, fall short *of*, or vary from the true reformed church of England.

Since then, after so long a time, no abler pen hath undertaken this province; viz. to relate how true religion was restored, under the foresaid princess, so regularly, wisely, and legally, by consent of prince and people, and what progress was made therein; I have at length attempted it, and done my endeavour, according to my small capacity, to serve God, and this church herein; and that from proper collections by me, for many years made, as well out of private studies, as other public libraries and treasuries of MSS.: where many choice and secret matters are discovered, to furnish out a true account of these religious transactions.

And that I might not write superficially, by undertaking too much at once, I have stinted myself to go no further than to the thirteenth year of queen Elizabeth. Within which compass of time, as there was great variety of events, so at that period the religion seemed to have surmounted its chief difficulties, and to have been well and strongly settled. However, there is room enough, in the succeeding years of the queen, for the pen of an ecclesiastical historian.

In this work I have pursued truth with all faithfulness and sincerity. My relations of things are not hearsays, nor taken up at second hand, or compiled out of other men's published writings; but I have gone as near the fountainhead as possible; that is, to archives, state-papers, registers, records, and original letters, or else to books of good credit printed in those times; directing more surely to the knowledge how affairs then stood. And the unfeigned disposition I have ever had to truth, and my inclination to give fair and just representations of men and things, will prepare the reader, I hope, to have a good opinion of my integrity, and of the impartiality of my writing.

I have set down as much as hath come to my knowledge, of moment, for the illustration of our religion, and to open a true prospect into the affairs

of our church in those times: though I suspect, I may be censured by some of different persuasions: as, that I had not used a discretion in concealing some things rather than in relating them; and that the knowledge of other things might have better, for the service of the church, been buried in oblivion; because the bringing them to light might tend to provoke and irritate party against party, or supply matter for contest, or perhaps betray some imperfection in the government, or the like. But this practice (which cannot be exempted from partiality) becomes not a just historian; nor ought he to assume such a power to himself; nor, in my judgment, by any means to omit or obscure any thing material, (whatever the supposed consequences be,) no more than to alter or misrepresent what he pleaseth: when by taking this liberty, the history becomes defective, actions and events are not set in a full light: and hence the reader is not sufficiently instructed; and so either is led into error, or disabled from making a true judgment of things. And therefore, had I taken this course, I could not have avoided the heaviest charge against an historian; which is, of writing *odio aut favore*; i.e. with favour to some, or displeasure towards others.

Besides the general course of the history, (for the further laying open to view those times,) I have mentioned the books written of religious subjects or controversies, that were published from year to year, as many as I have seen, and given some brief account of them. I have also made notes and remarks of the several eminent men, of what persuasions or principles soever, that have been spoken of in the series of the history, and have given them their just and due characters. I have also observed the several bills brought into the parliaments relating to religion, and shewn, as I have had light, their ends, how they were managed, and with what success passed or rejected. And many short and particular notices I have interspersed of civil or more private affairs and transactions, passed over by our historians, and yet perhaps not unworthy recording to posterity.

I have chosen commonly to set down things in the very words of the records and originals, and of the authors themselves, rather than in my own, without framing and dressing them into more modern language: whereby the sense is sure to remain entire as the writers meant it. Whereas by affecting too curiously to change and model words and sentences, the sense itself, I have observed, often to be marred and disguised.

In conclusion, he that readeth and weigheth this history, will see great reason to acquiesce in the reformation of our church, and to be a peaceable

and thankful member of it; and be convinced what a mighty hand of God overruled in this blessed work, and overthrew all opposition before it. For (take it in the words of one that lived in the beginning of these times, and bore a great part in them,)

“All these things came to pass at such a time, as to any man’s reason it might seem impossible, when all the world, the people, priests, and princes were overwhelmed with ignorance; when the word of God was put out of sight; when he [the pope] took upon him the great rule of all together, was crept into the holy place, and had possessed the consciences of men, as if he had been God; and had set himself above the scriptures of God, and gave out decrees, that whatsoever he should do, no man should find fault with him: when all schools, priests, bishops, and kings of the world were sworn to him, that whatsoever he took in hand, they should uphold it: when he had chosen kings’ sons and brothers to be his cardinals; when his legates and espies were in every king’s council; when nothing could be attempted any where, but he by and by must have knowledge of it; when whosoever had but muttered against his doings must straight ways have been excommunicated, and put to most cruel death, as God’s enemy; when no man could have thought there had been any hope that even these days should have been seen, that God of his mercy hath given us to see; when all things were void of all hope, and full of despair; even then, I say, even contrary to all men’s reasons, God brought all these things to pass. Even then God defeated their policies; not with shield and spear, but only with the Spirit of his mouth; that is, with the preaching of the gospel. And therefore this is the day that the Lord [and not man] hath wrought.

“And the power of God was as remarkable, that all the bloody, cruel, and inhuman methods, to destroy all that would not submit to their errors, could not prevail. No persecution, no torments, no fire, no fagot did ever weaken the cause of the gospel. This must be acknowledged the Lord’s doing, and marvellous in our eyes.

“And such a religion now was brought in and settled, that whosoever shall come near (as the foresaid father shewed) and view it well, and try it to the uttermost, shall find that all things were done seemly and orderly, according to the old doctors, to the

apostles, and to the primitive church of Christ; and shall fall down to the ground and confess, that the order and manner thereof, or any thing that is taught therein, is not heretical, as the papists most falsely charged it. And if any stood in doubt of this religion, whether it were of God or no, he bade him but consider and think with himself, how great *numbers* of errors were now revealed; superstition was removed, idolatry was taken away, the sacraments rightly and duly used, the dumb speak, the blind see, the poor afflicted minds receive the gospel; the prayers are in such sort used, as the people may take profit and comfort by them.” Thus bishop Jewel.

And by whose influence, under God, these blessed things in our church were brought to pass is another contemplation, wherein more of the miracles of mercy towards us shine forth: which I will give in the words of another great divine, that lived a little after the former.

“That work [namely, that king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI. had begun and proceeded in] was in short space so overthrown, as if it almost had never been; till such time as that God, whose property is to shew his mercies then greatest, when they are nearest to be despaired of, caused in that depth of discomfort and darkness a most glorious star to rise; and on her head settled the crown, whom himself had kept as a lamb from the slaughter of those bloody times: that the experience of his goodness in her own deliverance might cause her merciful disposition to take so much the more delight in saving others, when the like necessity should press. But that which especially *concerns* ourselves was the state of the reformed religion; a thing which at her coming to the crown was even raised, as it were, by miracles, from the dead: a thing which we so little hoped to see, that even they which beheld it done, scarcely believed their own senses at the *first* beholding.”

“Here we have a work,” (writeth another great divine and bishop, not long after him,) “for which we are bound to glorify God. Elizabeth, a prince at the beginning weak, destitute of friends, unfurnished of treasure, unprepared of all things, had in no other account of her great neighbours round about her, but as one left as a prey to the strongest that would invade her and her kingdom: yet preparing her heart to God, giving God the glory, establishing his

truth in her land, and trusting in him, she was in a few years made strong against her enemies. They feared her more than she feared them. This is an example can hardly be paralleled: it was the work of God in the deliverance of his church here.”

This was the sense of those wise, learned, and godly fathers, concerning this great work of the reformation, and of her that under God was the chief instrument thereof.

These passages concerning the queen, together with her vigorous methods used for the overthrowing of popery, and her frequent public declarations of her mind, (apparent in the following history,) are abundantly sufficient to evince how little affection she had to that religion; however Parsons the Jesuit would impose upon the world a different conceit of her: which hath indeed amused some observing men. But we may resolve briefly what he relates concerning her, partly into her dissembling for her life, in her sister’s reign; the rest into uncertain hearsays, and popish calumny.

This church thus planted, reformed and continued by the wonderful providence of God, still stands now for a century and half of years, and more, and flourishes at this day under the influence of an incomparable king, by the same peculiar and singular care and favour of God towards it, notwithstanding all the plots and machinations used by its open sworn enemies, and its pretended friends, to overthrow it.

“Thus many years” (to use the words of the aforesaid judicious author) “*it* hath continued standing by no other means, but that one only hand which erected it: that hand, which as no kind of imminent danger could cause at the first to withhold itself, so neither have the practices, so many, so bloody, following since, been ever able to make weary.”

Mr. Hooker goes on:

“And no other aid or help hath been hereunto ministered for the preservation of the work of reformation, other than such kind of help as the angel in the prophet Zachary spake of: *Neither by army nor strength, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts*: which grace or favour Of divine assistance hath not in one thing or two, nor for some few days or years appeared, but in such sort, so long continued, (our manifold sins and transgressions striving to the contrary,) what can we less thereupon conclude, than that God

would at leastwise by tract of time teach the world, that the things which he blesseth, defendeth, keepeth so strongly, cannot choose but be of him.”

This conclusion is more abundantly illustrated since that writer’s time, by those manifold additions of divine protection, and signal footsteps of Providence, shewn in the behalf of this reformation, and this reformed church.

The reason of this second impression of these Annals was, because the first was gone off some years ago, and was wanted by divers learned persons, especially such as are studious of the history and transactions in the introducing and settlement of our happy reformation, when queen Elizabeth first set that great work on foot, and our holy religion then so regularly and carefully reformed, according to the word of God, and the primitive practice. And I, having since met with many other historical remarks, for the further improvement of this volume, (communicating more knowledge of those ecclesiastical affairs,) was loath to let them lie in obscurity, since an opportunity by this new edition presented itself, to make them public.

These additions are of two sorts: some entered in the body of the history in many places of it, and divers records more set in the Appendix. Among which are not a few original letters of our divines and bishops at the beginning of the reformation to the divines of Zurich in Helvetia, and of them to ours: for between them there was a very brotherly correspondence. They are authentic, having been transcribed from the originals (extant in the library of that church) divers years ago by Daillee, a French refugee, and communicated to me by Mr. Roger Morice, who had employed the said learned man to write them out: as were divers more of them sent hither. At the end of all which the said French minister wrote thus:

Superiores epistolas ex MSto codice ecclesiae Tygurinae (quae Magnum Monasterium vocatur) ubi autographae servantur, scripsi mense Martio, ineunte anno Christi 1689. Joannes Dallaeus, Jo. Fil. Parisiensis ecclesiae patriae Carentonae olim (heu!) sacros coetus habebat, pastor; nunc autem evangelii causa exul, Tiguri.

And for the supply of both sorts of additions, to such as have the first edition, and so want them, they are all, upon request, printed by themselves, and may be added at the end of the second volume; together

with directions to the several places to which those additional insertions and records do belong. Thus, good reader, I take my leave, and wish you both profit and pleasure in the reading.

J. STRYPE.

Jan. 14, 1724-5.

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INTRODUCTION.

SECTION 1

Queen Elizabeth proclaimed. The present ill condition of the kingdom. What presently to be done. Counsels taken. A fleet set out. A plot already against the queen. Conjurers. Dangers from France and Scotland. The queen makes warlike preparations. She removes from Hatfield. France intends a conquest of England.

FOR entrance into this present undertaking, of shewing the happy steps queen Elizabeth made for bringing in and settling religion reformed from popery in her kingdom, it is necessary to see with what policy and counsel she began her reign. Without which, and a wonderful success attending her affairs, it had been impossible she should so soon have attempted, and so fortunately proceeded in this great work. And I shall the rather do this, because our printed historians are so silent, or so short and superficial in these matters, which were the very basis of her succeeding prosperous government; and have been all taken by me, partly out of a book of the minutes of the council, sometime belonging to this queen's secretary, and partly out of divers other authentic MSS. either in the king's paperhouse, the Cotton library, or elsewhere.

Queen Mary deceased the 17th day of November anno 1558, and about eleven or twelve o'clock aforenoon, the lady Elizabeth was proclaimed queen by divers heralds of arms, trumpets sounding, and many of the chiefest of the nobility present, as the duke of Norfolk, the lord treasurer, the earls of Shrewsbury and Bedford; also the lord mayor and his brethren the aldermen, with many others. In the afternoon the bells in all the churches in London rung in token of joy; and at night bonfires were made, and tables set out in the streets, where was plentiful eating and drinking, and making merry. The next day being Friday, it was not thought decent to make any public rejoicings, out of respect, I suppose, to the day, being a fasting-day. But on the next, viz. Saturday, November 19, *Te Deum laudamus* was sung and said in the churches of London. Thus the satisfaction generally conceived by the people for this new queen superseded all outward appearances of sorrow for the loss of the old one.

And no wonder, since the nation was not pleased with her administration, having left the kingdom in as low and miserable an ebb as ever it was known to have been in, in any former times: embroiled in war with France and Scotland, the exchequer very low, that queen having contracted great debts. By this means Elizabeth had formidable enemies before her and behind her: but illy guarded at Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, Dover, against France: so that an invasion was feared on that side. And on the Scotch quarters, Berwick was in a woful condition, wanting both fortifications and men. Thus the new queen's hands were now full, to secure herself and kingdom.

And indeed what to think of the queen at this time, as to her religion, one might hesitate somewhat: who in her sister's reign went to mass, and complied outwardly with her practice; as John Knox told her in a letter dated from Edinburgh; though indeed (as he added) it was for fear of her life, that she declined from religion, and bowed to idolatry. And sir Richard Shelly, called lord prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, but living beyond sea under this queen, in a private letter to her, speaking of what he had lost for his diversity of conscience in religion, disagreeable to the law established, "Whereunto," saith he, "your majesty's self at the first was not easily brought to condescend;" and mentioning the *schism*, as he called the religion reformed, "whereof," said he, "your majesty was not the cause efficient, but one without which it could not take effect." She protested also to count Feria, whom king Philip had lately sent into England,) that she acknowledged the real presence in the sacrament. Which he signified to the said Philip in a letter dated in November, but the day before queen Mary died. The same also she protested to the lord Lamac; and also that she did now and then pray to the virgin Mary.

And moreover, to see in what ill case the kingdom was when queen Elizabeth came to the crown, hear what one at that time spake.

"She received it at the hand of her sister entangled (I will not say oppressed) with foreign wars: the French on the one side, and the Scots on the other: which sucking out of their ancestors' poisoned breasts immortal and deadly hatred against this realm, lay in wait *like* thieves to invade and spoil it. The French, though in truce, when he heard of queen Mary's death, kept still his Germans about him, upon hope, that if there had been any stirs in England, he might have set in a foot. And for that purpose had willed the

cardinal of Lorrain to confer with our churchmen to see what might be done. Whether he did so or no, God knoweth: but it was certain that the cardinal had such commission. And besides that she was thus left, who saw not the realm not *philipped*, but fleeced for Philip's sake, by maintaining all the last summer such a navy on the *seas*, and an army on the land; besides some tokens of love [money and provisions sent over] that past, I am sure, from the queen to her *spouse*, to shew that she was a loving wife?"

This was well known and observed by the wise men in those days. Insomuch that the lord keeper Bacon in his speech, at the opening of her first parliament, spared not to call it *the ragged and torn estate* of her kingdom by *misgovernance*: and noted

“the great decays and losses of honour, strength, and treasure, and the peril that happened to this imperial crown of late time, the marvellous waste of the revenue of the crown, the inestimable consumption of the treasure, levied both of the crown and of the subject, the exceeding loss of munition and artillery, the great loss of divers valiant gentlemen of very good *service*, the incredible *sums* of money owing at that present, and in honour due to be paid, and the biting interest that was to be answered for forbearance of this debt.”

These evils the said statesman, under the commendation of the present queen, laid to the charge of the former, saying,

“that she [the present queen] was a princess, that was not so wedded to her own will and fantasy, that for the satisfaction thereof she would do any thing that were likely to bring servitude or bondage to her people; or give any just occasion to them of any inward grudge, whereby any tumults or stirs might arise, as had been done of late days, [by the Spanish match.] Things most pernicious and pestilent to the commonwealth: a princess that never meant nor intended, for any private affection, to advance the cause or quarrel [of another] with any *foreign* prince or potentate, [as Mary did with France for her affection to king Philip,] to the destruction of her own subjects, to the loss of any of her dominions, or to the impoverishing of her realm.”

Of this queen's first course she took in her government, this account was given by one who had opportunity of knowing well the court, and lived at that time:

“That whereas the former queen did all in haste in the beginning of her reign, her sister did every thing with more advisement and less trust. For she knew,” said he, “that to be true which Seneca saith, *Velox consilium sequitur paenitentia*, i.e. Repentance follows that counsel that is taken too speedily. Whereas she, being God's chosen instrument to represent here among us his majesty, walked wisely in the steps of him that called her; and studied diligently to *represent* a lively image in her mortality of the incomparable and infinite Majesty, by using correction without severity, by seeking the lost with clemency, by governing wisely without fury, by weighing and judging without rashness, by purging evil humours with deliberation; and to conclude, in doing her duty without affection.”

The choice of her counsellors bespake also her wariness and great discretion, and contributed much to her first successes. For such she picked out to serve her (as the former observing man related) as were neither of common wit nor common experience. Of whom some by travel in strange countries, some by learning, some by practice, and like authority in other rulers' days, some by affliction, either one way or other, for their gifts and graces which they had received at God's hand, were men meet to be called to such rooms.

Add, that this wisdom and caution wherewith she managed herself and her affairs, took place in her in a great measure by occasion of the hardships and misusages she underwent before: whereof she had a greater share than commonly falls to the lot of princes born; but out of which dangers God miraculously delivered her. She was taught by afflictions. I think (saith the person before mentioned) no Englishman is ignorant, that her afflictions were far above the condition of a king's daughter; for there was no more behind to make a very Iphigenia of her, but her offering up upon the altar of the scaffold. How she behaved herself in those storms and tempests, let them witness, who, being her adversaries, had the musing of her: of which he would say nothing, though he could say much. But this he must say, that then she must be in her afflictions marvellous patient, who shewed herself now in her prosperity to be utterly without desire of revenge, or else she

would have given some token, ere this day, of remembrance how she was handled. And then he descends to some particulars of her unjust sufferings;

“Was it no wrong, think you, that she sustained to be first a prisoner, and guarded with a sort of cut-throats, which ever gaped for the spoil of her house, that they might have been fingering of somewhat? Then with great solemnity, with bands of harnessed hangmen (happy was he that might have the carrying of her) to be fetched up as the greatest traitor in the world; hoisted into the Tower; there kept, not like a king’s daughter, nor a queen’s sister, but as one that had come out of Turkey to betray England. What assemblies and councils, what examinations and wrackings of poor men were there, to find out the knife that should cut her throat! What gaping arming many lords of the clergy to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white ratchets in her innocent blood!”

But through all these difficulties the divine Providence brought Elizabeth safe to the government; which nevertheless ended not her dangers, beginning her reign at so great disadvantage, as was shewn before. But *she*, by taking other measures than her sister did, and using more moderate counsels, and favouring a reformation of religion, was as prosperous to this church and nation, and retrieved again its ancient splendour and glory. Insomuch that within four or five years after her accession to the crown, by means of her wise and careful administration, she was extolled among her people for a princess,

“worthily to be compared with the most noble, most peaceable, most honourable, most merciful, and most godly governors that ever reigned in the world.”

And what methods she took we may perceive by a paper or memorial drawn by her great counsellor, sir William Cecyll, November the 17th, (that is, on the very day of the former queen’s decease,) the Cotton library, viz.

I. “*To* consider the proclamation, and to proclaim it; and to send the same to all manner of places, and sheriffs, with speed, and to put it in print.

II. “To prepare the Tower, and to appoint the custody *thereof* to trusty persons: and to write to all the keepers of forts and castles in the queen’s name.

III. “To consider for removing to the Tower: and the queen there to settle her officers and council,

IV. “To make a stay of passages to all the ports, until a certain day. And to consider the safety of all places dangerous toward France and Scotland; especially in this *change*.

V. “To send special messengers to the pope, emperor, the kings of Spain and Denmark, and to the state of Venice.

VI. “To send new commissioners to the earl of Arundel, and the bishop of Ely, (who were treating a peace at Cambray.) And to send one into Ireland with a new commission, and letters under the queen’s hand, to all ambassadors with foreign princes, to authorize them therein.

VII. “To appoint commissioners for the interment of the late queen.

VIII. “To appoint commissioners for the coronation; and the day.

IX. “To make a continuance of the term, with patents to the chief justice, to the lord treasurer, justices of each bench, barons, and masters of the rolls; with inhibition, *quod non conferant aliquod officium*.

X. “To appoint new sheriffs and justices of peace, or continue the old, by a proclamation to be sent to the sheriffs under the great seal.

XI. “To inhibit by proclamation the making over of any money by exchange, without knowledge given to the *queen’s* majesty; and to charge all manner of persons, *that* either have made any, or have been privy to any *exchange* made by the space of one month before the 17th of this month.

XII. “To consider the condition of the preacher of Paul’s Cross, that no occasion be given by him to stir any *dispute* touching the governance of the realm.”

As to the first of these articles, she took care with speed to have her right and title proclaimed to the imperial crown of this realm,

“as the only right heir by blood and lawful succession to the kingdoms: giving knowledge by the same proclamation to all her subjects, that from the beginning of the seventeenth day of November, at which *time* her sister departed this life, they were discharged of *all* bonds and duties of subjection towards her, and bound *only* to Ehzaheth, as their only lady and queen. And *then* professing on her part no *less* love and care towards their preservation, than had been in any of her progenitors. And lastly, straitly charging all her subjects to keep themselves in peace. And [as though she meant the better to conceal her intention of altering religion] not to “attempt upon any pretence the breach or alteration of any order or usage at that time established in the realm. The proclamation may be read in the Repository.”

The lady Elizabeth was at her seat at Hatfield when queen Mary died. Thither some great persons forthwith repaired to her, namely, the earl of Pembroke; lord Clinton, lord admiral; the earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain: which three, with sir Thomas Parry, sir William Cecil, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Ralph Sadleir, (who was sent from the lords at London,) and sir Richard Sackville, sat at Hatfield in council with her, being the first privy council she held. (Yet the lords of the deceased queen’s council sat at London.) The chief matters then done were, that sir Thomas Parry, knt. aforesaid, who had been a servant much about her, was by her command, and in her presence, declared the comptroller of her household, and sworn of her privy council; sir Edward Rogers, knt. her vice-chamberlain and captain of her guard, and one of her privy council; sir William Cecil, knt. her principal secretary, and one of her privy council. And letters were despatched by this present council to Dr. Walter Haddon to repair thither: and in like manner to John Norris, esq. late gentleman usher of the deceased queen’s privy chamber.

The next day, viz. November 21, the earl of Bedford came to Hatfield, and sat in council with the rest before named.

And whereas robberies were now very rife, the robbers expecting their pardon of course upon the coronation; this occasioned the drawing up of a proclamation touching such as robbed on these hopes: which was sent to the lords of the council at London by sir Ralph Sadleir; who also carried letters to the said lords.

The late queen's commissioners were now treating beyond sea about Calais, lately lost. And now at this council, November 21, a letter was dated from Hatfield, sent by the queen and her council there to Malyn, vice-admiral of the narrow seas, to equip the ships in his charge to the *seas*, to keep the passage, and to hinder as much as he might the victualling of Calais, and to see good wafting of such as should come from the commissioners; and to set none over, except he had a passport from hence.

And this order was so strict to Malyn, that not so much as fishermen or coasters were allowed to go out. But the inconvenience arising hence made the lords of the council soon after, viz. November 24, to send a letter to the lord admiral, that he would take order,

“that fishermen and other coastmen, that crossed not the seas, should be suffered to go to sea about their occupations and business, notwithstanding the former restraint: yet foreseeing that such as had charge of the ports should have good eye unto them that were so suffered, that they carried not out any of the commodities of the realm, or any persons not having licence; and to stay all persons that should be found suspicious herein.”

And on the same November 24, this restraint was taken off in a great measure by another order to the lord warden of the cinque ports, to set the passages at liberty, and to suffer all men that were not otherwise prohibited by the law to pass thereby. And the lord admiral was required to suffer such lords as had been stayed, to pass to the seas.

The queen and council, still at Hatfield, are taking care of her remove to London; and considering what noble persons to have present. Whereof the marquis of Winchester, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Darby were sent for by a letter; in which were enclosed the names of such other noblemen as her highness thought good to attend upon her to London; and the archbishop of York, with sir William Petre and sir John Mason, appointed in the interim to transact any urgent business emerging. The letter may be consulted in the Repository.

There were some already of the popish faction contriving mischief against the queen, by setting up the Scotch queen's title, and by getting assistance from the Guises in France to carry on their designs in her behalf, and by dealing with some conjurers, to cast their figures to calculate the queen's life, and the duration of her government, and the like. In this plot cardinal Pole's brothers were concerned. The knowledge of this coming to the queen and her council, it was ordered at council, November 22d, that Anthony Fortescue, who had been comptroller to the cardinal, should be apprehended; a letter being sent for that purpose to the earl of Rutland; and that he should have conference with nobody. Sir John Mason had the bodies of two more charged in the said accusation, viz. Kele and Prestal. He was willed to examine them diligently upon such points as the said Kele should open unto him, and to keep Kele in safe custody in his house; so as none should have conference with him. Accordingly examinations were taken by Mason and the earl of Rutland: which examinations the lords perused November 25, and resolved, they should be forthwith set at liberty; bonds being first taken of each of them for their forthcoming, when they should be called by the lords of the council.

One named Thirkel, a tailor, was now also in hold for conjuring about the matters aforesaid, and in the custody of John March, esq. who was ordered, November 24, to examine him, and to keep him in safe custody without conference with any. And Richard Parlaben was another of these conjurers, taken up, and in custody of Thomas Sackford of Greys-inn, esq. Thus early did this excellent lady's enemies plot, and continue their devices of mischief against her, and combine to dethrone her, when she had been scarcely possessed of her crown.

Divers other conjurers were now also in custody, of the same design and purpose, I suppose, with the former; and were examined. And December 18, the lords sent their letters to the bishop of London, viz. Boner, with certain examinations, sent withal by Mr. Attorney: and he was willed to proceed by such severe punishments against them that should be proved culpable herein, according to the order of the ecclesiastical law, as he should think meet; and to signify back what he did herein.

It is strange to consider, how these sorceries prevailed about this time, and so on for some of the first years of the queen's reign, and the mischiefs they did, and the fears many good and sober men had of their bewitching

the queen herself. This is evident from a passage in a sermon of bishop Jewel's before the queen: wherein he thus addresseth himself to her:

“By the way to touch but a word or two of this matter, for that the horrible using of your poor subjects enforceth thereunto. It may please your grace to understand, that this kind of people, I mean witches and sorcerers, within these few last years are marvellously increased within your grace's realm. These eyes have seen most evident and manifest marks of their wickedness. Your grace's subjects pine away even unto the death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft. Wherefore your poor subject's most humble petition unto your highness is, that the laws touching such malefactors may be put in due execution. For the shoal of them is great, their doings horrible, their malice intolerable, the examples most miserable: and I pray God they never practise further than upon the subject.”

This I make no doubt was the occasion of bringing in a bill the next parliament, for making enchantments and witchcraft felony.

And now because this Scotch business falls thus in our way` we shall relate what the acts and practices of the friends of that party were; from whence we may conclude, what just jealousies were raised in the queen's mind hereby. Mary queen of Scotland, and the dauphin of France, to whom she was married, gave broad signs of their pretences to the crown of England, by the coat of arms that they gave: whereby the queen became in danger at this time of two nations invading her. It was borne *baron and femme*: in the first was the coat of the dauphin of France, which took up the upper half of the shield; the lower half contained the arms of Scotland. This impaled quarterly.

1. The arms of Scotland.
2. The arms of England.

The third as the second. The fourth as the first. Over all, half an escutcheon of pretence of England, the sinister half being as it were obscured or cut off: perhaps so given to denote that another (and who should that be but queen Elizabeth?) had gotten possession of the crown in her prejudice. Under the arms were writ these rhymes in the Scottish dialect:

*The arms of Mary queen dolphiness of Fraunce,
The noblest lady in earth, for till advaunce:
Of Scotland queen, and of England, also
Of Fraunce, as God hath providit so.*

This escutcheon being lately brought out of France, was delivered to the duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of England; who sent it to the office of heralds for their judgment upon it, June the 13th, 1559. Their answer was to this tenor:

“Hyт may please your grace, that upon good delibera tion, we, garter and clarencieux, with others of the office, have perused this escutcheon of arms, delivered by your grace; and we find the same prejudicial unto the queen’s majesty, her state and dignity; and that hyт doth not appertain to any foreign prince, what marriage soever he *hath* made with England, to quarter, bear, or use the arms of England otherwise than in *pale*, as in token of marriage. And albeit James, late Scottish king, grandfather to the Scottish queen that now is, married with one of the daughters of king Henry VII. And the said Scottish queen, being but one of the collaterals, cannot nor ought not to bear any escutcheon of the arms of England: nor yet the dolphin her husband in the right of her, or otherwise.

“*Furthermore*, we find the said escutcheon falsely marshalled, contrary to all law and order of arms.”

But that the French king might keep his pretence to England, he would not forego usurping the title, and quartering the arms of England and Ireland with Scotland. July the 27th. The arms of the Scotch queen, with the arms of England, were set up at the marriage solemnized for the king of Spain with the French king’s daughter, and those verses written, *The arms of Mary queen dolphiness of France, &c.* as before. And in November, the queen of Scots made her entry into the Castle Heraut, where her style was published as queen of England. And four verses were made upon her; whereof the two last were,

*Nunc Gallos totoque remotos orbe Britannos,
Unum dos Mariae cogit in imperium.*

But queen Elizabeth in the treaty did require Francis of France, and Mary of Scotland, to leave off this usurping title and arms. To which they gave

no direct answer, but solicited pope Paul IV. to declare the queen's title not good.

And this was long after, viz. anno 1572, laid to the Scotch queen's charge, when she was detained in England, (among other articles drawn up against her,) namely,

“her claim to the crown of England in possession, with refusal and delay to remove the same: giving the arms of England without difference, in escutcheons, coat-arms, plate, altar-cloths, which were openly seen at the triumph; writing of the style of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, in letters patents during her coverture; and of her pedigree, conveying her three ways to the crown: first, as descending from the eldest daughter of king Henry VII. another, from the Duke of Somerset: the third, from a daughter of Edmund before the conquest.”

To which may be added, that there was a grant, dated Jan. 16, 1558, of certain things made to the lord Fleming, by the dauphin of France, and his wife the queen of Scots, by the style of king and queen of Scotland, England, and France, and Ireland.

And the queen had still more reason to be jealous of the Scotch title, since her sister, the late queen Mary, used to taunt her by telling her often, that the queen of Scots was the certain and undoubted heir of the crown of England, next after herself. Add to this, that the cardinal of Lorraine in a conference with some delegates from Spain at Cambray about this time asserted, that his niece, the said queen of Scots, was most just queen of England.

Which consideration might well be the reason of the queen's and council's forementioned order to the vice-admiral, forthwith to set out a fleet to guard the narrow seas: and that in the beginning of December strict inquiry was made what ammunition was in the Tower, in order to a supply thereof. For December 6th, the council sent a letter to sir Richard Southwel, master of the ordnance and armory, to make his repair to the lords, and to bring with him a perfect declaration of the state of his office, as well touching the provisions, expenses, and remains, as also of the present wants of the same. Care was also taken about Portsmouth and the strong places on that coast. For at the same council Richard Worsely, esq. was ordered to repair to

Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, and the forts, castles, and bulwarks thereabouts; and consider the state of the same.

Now these were the several removes of the queen before she came to the palace at Westminster. And *she* sat in council every day, except her days of travelling. She sat first in council at Hatfield, (where she was saluted queen,) November the 20, 21, 22. The next day, being the 23d, she removed towards London, attended with a thousand or more of lords, knights, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen, and came to the Charter-house, then the lord North's place; where the archbishop of York and the earls of Shrewsbury and Darby came to her. Here she remained six days, and sat in council November the 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. Her next remove thence was to the Tower, which was on the 28th day of November. All the streets she was to pass, even to the Tower, were new gravelled. And so she rid through Barbican and Cripplegate, and along London-wall unto Bishopsgate, and thence up to Leaden-hall, and so through Grasschurch-street and Fanchurch-street, turning down Mark-lane into Tower-street, and so to the Tower. Before her rode many gentlemen, knights, and nobles; after them came the trumpeters blowing; then all the heralds in array, my lord mayor holding the queen's sceptre, riding with garter: my lord of Pembroke bare the queen's sword. Then came her grace on horseback, apparelled in purple velvet, with a scarf about her neck: the sergeants of arms being about her person. Next after her rode sir Robert Dudley, (afterwards earl of Leicester,) master of her horse: and so the guard with halberds. There was great shooting of guns, the like was never heard before. In certain places stood children, who made speeches to her as she passed; and in other places was singing and playing with regals. Here at the Tower she lay until the 5th of December, which was the eve of St. Nicolas. The 1st, 2d, and 4th of which month, with the last day of the month preceding, were council days there.

Then, December the 5th, she removed a little nearer to Westminster; viz. to the Strand-house, or Somerset-house, going by water, and shooting the bridge, trumpets sounding, much melody accompanying, and universal expressions of joy among the people. Here she sat also in council daily, viz. December the 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. And now at last she came to Westminster; that is, the 23d day of December; where she kept her Christmas, and continued all the ensuing winter; her first parliament then sitting there; and where she was in April 1559.

And now having brought the queen to her palace, let us proceed in shewing her present cares. It was concluded at court, and taken for granted, that the French meant to endeavour the conquest of this realm, by reason of the preference of title which they made thereto, in these four regards; their open challenge at the treaty of Cambresey; the beating of the arms; the using of the style, and the making commissions under the seal, and with the style of England and Ireland. It was likewise concluded, that the French would attempt this conquest this present year; and that upon these grounds which secretary Cecil drew up.

“First, they would not defer it, because of the doubt of the queen [of Scots] life. Secondly, they had now got an occasion to conquer Scotland, and had already men of war there, and prepared a great army, both out of France and Almain. Their captains were appointed; their victims provided, their ships in rigging. Thirdly, they reckoned within a month to have their wills in Scotland. Fourthly, that done, it seemed most likely they would prosecute their pretence against England; which had no fort but Berwick to stay them: and that was unperfect, and would be these two years day. Fifthly, if they offered battle with Almain, there was great doubt how England would be able to sustain it; both for lack of good generals and great captains; and principally for lack of people, considering the waste that had lately been by sickness and death these three last years. Again, if it were defended with strangers, the entertainment would be so chargeable in respect of money, and so hurtful to the realm, as it could not be borne.”

Hence these questions were propounded by the said secretary. First, what to do. Next, whether it were better to impeach the enemy in Scotland now in the beginning, before their army were come; and so to take away their landing places: or to permit them therein, and to provide for the defence of the realm?

Upon the question, it was to be considered, as convenient to be done:

“First, that the queen’s majesty did with speed send to king Philip to understand his mind, and to obtain his friendship. *Item*, That one be sent to the king of Denmark, to stay him, and to cause him to doubt of the French. *Item*, To send to the princes of Almain. *Item*, To provide all manner of ways for money, armour, &c. *Item*, To send with all speed to the French king, to declare to him what

occasions the queen hath to doubt his proceedings: and therefore to let him know her purpose of defence. And that if his proceedings increased as they were begun, her majesty must needs provide to prevent the dangers. *Item*, That in the mean season, the ships lie in the Frith of Edenburgh, and to pike as many quarrels as they might of themselves, to impeach any more succours to come out of France to Lethe. And this to be done by them upon their own heads, without notice of a commandment so to do; and so to use the matter as the cause might come of the French. *Item*, That if the French armed any greater navy to the seas, which by appearance should annoy ours in the Frith; then also the like to be armed by the queen's majesty. *Item*, The duke of Norfolk, lord lieutenant of the north, to have a power of horse and foot ready upon the borders, both to defend, and invade, or offend, if cause were given."

And upon this it was moved that sir Nicolas Throgmorton should be despatched to France; and the lord Mountague and sir Thomas Chamberlain to Spain. And so they were.

SECTION 2.

The queen procures money diligently. She calls in her debts. She requires her myzes from Wales. She looks to her forts and castles. Betwick: orders for that place, and for Newcastle; and the east and middle marches. Letters to the lord warden. The assured Scots. Peace with Scotland.

FURTHERMORE the queen, for the better strengthening herself, and providing against her enemies, besides what she had already done, saw that money was with all speed to be procured. Presently therefore she employed her merchant and agent, sir Thomas Gresham, knight, to take up at Antwerp divers sums of money; and the city of London gave their bonds for payment; a letter having been sent from the queen's council to the lord mayor; aldermen, and common-council, for sealing bonds for that end: which service towards her they readily shewed their goodwill by doing.

She was diligent also in calling for the remainders of the fifteens and tenths given by act of parliament to her sister, which had not. yet been brought into her exchequer. And because several of the collectors were behindhand in their accounts, letters from the lords of the council, dated in December 1558, were sent forth to the sheriffs of the several counties of Bucks, York, Gloucester, Nottingham, Oxon, Berks, Stafford, and Warwick; and to the mayors of the towns of Northampton, Darby, King's *Lyn*, and Southampton, to apprehend the collectors of the fifteens and tenths, in the said shires and towns behind of their collections; and to bind them into good bands in treble the sums, to make payment of all that was by them due in the Exchequer, within fifteen days after the bands taken. Again, letters were sent to John Aylworth, receiver of the counties of Somerset, &c. and to the sheriffs of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Darby, and Chester, to make payment forthwith into the receipt of the exchequer, of all such sums as were by them due in their several collections at Michaelmas last, as they would answer for the contrary at their utmost peril. And when it was understood, that some of her own household were behind in their payments of the subsidy, a letter proceeded from the council to the tellers of the Exchequer, to send them a perfect book of the names of all such as were behind, within the queen's house, of the payment of the last subsidy granted to the late queen.

And for the better understanding of the debts, the lord Paget, with others, having been appointed commissioners in the time of the late queen, for the taking knowledge of what was owing to her, was prayed to give a particular note of what he had found touching the same matter.

The queen began thus early to look intently also into her own revenue, and unto all such as were the chief farmers of it. And in this business sir Walter Mildmay, one well versed in accounts, (having a great while belonged to the Augmentations,) was chiefly to be employed. And a letter was directed to him from the lords, to send to all the auditors, and such others as he thought good for his better instructions in the matter, for the names of all the head farmers, within the realm, of the queen's majesty's revenue; and especially of all the copyholders westward; requiring him thereof to make a book out of hand, and to send the same to court with all convenient speed.

And the next council-day, the lord treasurer (who was the marquis of Winchester) was ordered to cause process to be made with all speed out of the exchequer, for the answering of the temporalities of these bishoprics now void, viz. Canterbury, Norwich, Rochester, Bristol, Oxon, Chichester, Hereford, Sarum, Gloucester, and Bangor; signifying also unto his lordship, that the queen's pleasure was, that sir John Mason, treasurer of her chamber, should have the care of seeing this prosecuted with speed.

And that she might know the true state of her purse, Mr. Damsel was sent to certify all manner of debts due in the in the court of wards: and so was sir Ambrose Cave, chancellor of the duchy, to do the like in the court of the duchy. And the lord treasurer at the same time, namely December 24 to cause speedy certificate to be made to the queen, of all manner of debts due in the exchequer; to the intent, the same being known, order might be given by such as she had appointed in commission, to see the same answered with all expedition.

To this may be added, that she appointed a commission A to understand what lands had been granted from the crown in the late queen's reign. The commissioners whereof were the marquis of Winchester, the lord Rich, the lord North, Mildmay, &c.

In the same month she also took her advantage against certain Italian merchants for bringing in commodities from the enemy: ordering her customers of London to levy and get into their hands the sum of 2542*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* [by way of fines and forfeiture] due to her from Germin Ciol,

Alexander Bonvice, Augustin de Sexto, and John Heath, for the impost of certain wines and other French wares. And also laid Ciol in prison.

Nor did she forget her myzes; that is, what was due to her from the people of Wales, by ancient custom due to the princes of Wales, and to all the princes of the realm at their first entrance upon the supreme government. Which thing was anciently an honorary present to the prince, of corn and wine from each county towards the expense of his family: but afterwards paid in money. For the receiving of this she appointed a commission, which, in February 1558, met with some opposition in the town of Carmarthen, chiefly by one Thomas Lloid, of Llan Stephan, gent. and certain others his complices, making a disorder against her commissioners in that county; who were therefore committed to ward; and a letter was sent to the lord president and council of Wales, to send for them to the marches, and to take such order at their coming thither, as to send up forthwith unto the queen's council, under safe custody, the said Lloid, and two or three other most faulty; and to commit to ward the rest there, to remain till the principals had been brought up and received condign punishment for their said disorders. The names of the others sent up with Lloid, were David ap Gorward, John Palmer, and William Jack: all which were presently committed to the Tower. But it being for a contempt only, and for the terror and example of others, the letter from the council had instructed the lieutenant to use them honestly; but to keep it to himself. They were committed March 18, 1558, and discharged April the 8th following. And of this the lords of the council advertised the lord president of Wales; and mentioned withal, how they alleged, that after the death of king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI. greater sums were levied for the *myzes* in the county of Carmarthen, than was answered to the prince. The said president therefore was willed to hear what the said Thomas Lloid could say herein: and to call for such before him as should, be found faulty in this matter; and to cause them to repay to the queen's use what they had detained; and further to punish them as the quality of their default should demerit.

Let me here add one passage more *in transitu* concerning this custom. In the month of March the inhabitants of Wales, and of the county palatine of Chester, presented the queen a supplication for their ancient liberties and customs to be allowed, in respect of their myzes, of certain debts, felonies, &c. Which business the queen committed to the lord president and council of the marches of Wales.

And upon another petition of theirs, an order was made in the queen's first parliament, by the queen with the consent of the Lords, that in this year wherein a subsidy was to be paid the queen, they should not be charged with the payment of the *myzes*: nor at any other time that she received them, her subsidies should not be paid that year.

But to return a little backward, to observe further this part of the new queen's state-wisdom, in her care of her treasure: she also called upon Sir Anthony St. Leger, late lord deputy of Ireland, and Andrew Wise, of Baigtiss in the kingdom of Ireland, esq. vice-treasurer of that kingdom, requiring their accounts, (as well as she had done others,) especially being in considerable arrears with her. The former she wrote to, to this purport, "that being indebted to her in great sums of money, he was willed to make payment thereof forthwith to her use; and to signify with speed to the lords what he minded to do." And in February certain soldiers of Ireland claimed their wages for one and twenty months, due in the time that he was deputy there, and he ought to have paid; which made the lords write to him another letter. And a third was sent him in March, with order to pay the poor soldiers of Ireland such sums of money as were due to them: and if it should be found that he ought not to pay the same, it should be defalked out of such sums as he owed to the queen. As for Wise, he was put into the Fleet: and a little after, viz. about the middle of January, a bond of 12,000*l.* was taken of him, with two sureties, to discharge all such sums of money with which he stood charged and indebted to the queen. And the lords appointed sir William Petre, sir John Mason, sir Richard Sackville, and sir Walter Mildmay, to audit his account. But it seems he was not able to give up his accounts to the satisfaction of the queen, and so his bond was forfeited, and he committed again to the Fleet, April 12th, 1559.

Nor would the queen release the merchant adventurers of a new impost laid by queen Mary upon cloth and other commodities: which the said merchants did earnestly sue to the council to be released of: refusing a good while to answer such sums as were by them due upon the same account. Whereupon, in January 30, they were summoned before the lords, where they declared they would stand to such end as should be ordered by law: and this they subscribed to in a bill, which was delivered to the lord great seal. But after divers appearances before the privy council, they were finally answered, March the 30th, that the queen's majesty could by no means (her great charges considered) either undo or mitigate the same. Nevertheless they gave the merchants further day to be again before them;

who were pleased both to hear what they could further say in this matter, and also to consider certain licences which they claimed of the grant of the late queen, for the carrying out of cloths.

Thus did the queen play the good husband, that she might have treasure, for the better providing for the charges of her royal estate: for she saw round about her vast expenses necessary to be laid out, for the defence of herself in this state of hostility, wherein she found the kingdom involved. She was to pay off her sister's debts, besides her funerals; the garrisons and army were behind in their wages; the strength and fortifications on the frontiers, both against France and Scotland, very defective; her number of soldiers too few, and her forces to be increased.

And that the queen might the more effectually look to herself, a letter was wrote in the beginning of January to the lord treasurer, to send thither a perfect book of all the castles, forts, and bulwarks of the realm; and what captains and soldiers were placed in the same, and what entertainment each of them had. Which letter was in order to what was agreed to by the board, a day or two before, viz. that the lord admiral should have the consideration of all the forts and bulwarks of the realm, and to understand the present state of the same.

And now let us see what care was taken for Berwick, whereof the lord Eure was captain. The place was found to be in great danger of being taken by the Scots, wanting both men and strength. Some fortifications had been begun under that lord; and a letter, dated in November 1558, was sent to him, that he should go forward as the season of the year would suffer; so as at the least, so much might be done as should have been done by the late queen, had she lived. Ordnance and munition was also hastened thither, and the lord admiral had instructions to give order for the wafting of it. And in the same month a letter was sent to the lord Eure for the garrisons at Berwick; requiring him, for the better meeting with such fraud as was used at musters, and for that it appeared that the numbers appointed to serve were not full, and divers wanting, to cause on a sudden, without warning given, musters to be taken by some fitting persons, and to observe what defects were in their numbers and in their arms. The queen also encouraged the said lord, captain of Berwick, upon his suit, granting him 20s. a day, by way of her majesty's relief, towards the entertainment of an hundred horsemen serving there under him, though not as captain of Berwick: but whereas he sued to come up, and leave his charge for a time

with Mr. Bowes, the marshal there, he was by the lords required to forbear, until a more convenient time hereafter, that her highness might be moved, and her pleasure therein signified unto him.

Abyngton, the surveyor of victuals for Berwick, had bought up at Hull, for the better furniture of that place, an hundred quarters of wheat, and as many of malt. And a letter was despatched to Alrede, customer of Hull, requiring him to suffer it to pass unto Berwick; yet to keep a perfect docket of the very quantity that passed.

And because the soldiers in those parts were too apt to be absent from their quarters, (a thing of very dangerous import, while invasion was daily expected,) therefore the queen caused a proclamation to be made for Berwick, as also for the frontiers governed by the earl of Northumberland, that all captains and soldiers that were absent from their charge should repair thither upon pain of forfeiture of all such wages as were due unto them, from the last pay unto the first of January next, if they were not found there at that day. She also confirmed the liberties and corporation of this town of Berwick.

Newcastle was now in great danger of being surprised by the French, who intended that way to invade England: but some secret intelligence thereof coming to the queen, she endeavoured timely to prevent the danger by fortifying the place, and supplying it with sufficient forces, to be sent from the neighbouring parts, the duke of Norfolk being lord lieutenant of the north. This present danger she signified to the earl of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant (as it seems) of Derbyshire: and by her letters in December, committed a special charge to him for the defence of the realm, against these attempts of the French that had been lately discovered (as the lords of the council wrote to him) though not disclosed, to levy certain horsemen, both demilances and corselets: and she sent also her letters to divers persons of good livelihood within that county, to will them with all speed to make ready certain horse, and to send them to Newcastle by the 25th of January. The council gave the earl particular instructions in this emergence, as to send for the sheriff, and for other of the principal in every quarter of the shire, and to confer with them how this charge and service might best be performed. The queen also at this time ordered the said earl to levy certain numbers of footmen to be raised in Yorkshire, to be sent to Berwick. And secretary Cecyl in a letter shewed him, that the French had

pressed fifteen thousand Almaines in Germany, and were arming all their ships to the seas.

On Thursday the latter end of December, the abovesaid lord Eure, governor of this place, did some service against Scotland, (for which he received a letter of thanks from above,) namely, in annoying the enemy, and burning the mill, the kill, and other houses near unto Aymouth: but he was required utterly to forbear to embrace any Frenchman's offer (of which nation several supplies were already sent to Scotland) that should run away from Scotland, if they might be suffered to pass through the realm; nor other wise to use any one of them during the wars, than to procure intelligence at their hands, and to learn somewhat that might advance the service of the queen.

Care was also taken to send treasure to Sir William Engolby, treasurer of Berwick; that is, so much as should make the full pay for the old ordinary garrison *there*; and for what should be due February 14. And the same month a thousand ton of timber was bought by the queen's order of sir Richard Lee, at 10s. the ton, to be sent to Berwick, and delivered at Hull. For which the queen's council sent order to Richard Whalley, esq. to go forward in the bargain: and the said sir Richard Lee not to make. sale of any wood that he should fell, but to keep the same for the queen's majesty's use at the said price. And in March they were very busy in making strong the fortifications there. And Abyngton, surveyor of the victuals, received a letter from the council, signifying unto him, that the queen's highness might be the better answered of such money as should be due by the labourers and workmen of the fortifications there, for their victuals; her highness' pleasure was, that he should appoint certain particular victuallers under him, to take upon them the care and charge of the victualling of the same labourers from time to time; and to be present also themselves at every pay, and to defalk so much of their wages as should be due by them for the said victuals so received at their hands.

And finally, Sir James Croft, knt. who had been employed by the queen in overlooking, and examining, and ordering of all matters relating to Berwick, by many particular letters wrote to him from the council, at length in March had a commission under the great seal of the captainship of the town and castle of that place, in the room of the lord Eure. Crofts had desired a continuance of a benevolence for the increase of the wages of the old garrison (which was 3d. a day) granted the last year: but it was

answered him, that forasmuch as this was a new charge, the lords did not think meet the same should be continued. And therefore he was required to persuade the soldiers to be contented with their ordinary entertainment, until her highness should be of better ability to consider them. The sick and unserviceable men he was ordered to cass, by taking up money of the merchants at Newcastle, which should be repaid them at the coming down of the treasure, that should be shortly.

And this was the provision and care the queen took for Berwick, for the restoring it to its pristine condition and strength, to be able to maintain itself against Scotland.

The like also she took for the frontiers of the east and middle marches, which were under the government of the earl of Northumberland, lord warden thereof. There was an evil practice among the soldiers for these borders, which was of very dangerous consequence: it was, that their numbers being not full, but divers of them wanting, at the musters persons were procured to appear then only, that it might seem as though none were wanting. Therefore for the better meeting with this fraud, as sir Henry Percy had reported it, the lord warden was appointed to cause forthwith, in most secret manner, certain discreet gentlemen, not being Northumberland men, or borderers, to repair at one instant time to all the several places where any numbers were set, and to take musters of them, to see how many were wanting, how many were Northumberland men, and how many inland men; how they that remained were appointed and furnished with arms; and to signify the same up to council: and what other device he thought meet for *redress* hereof: as order was also given for the like purpose to the lord Eure aforesaid for his government. This was done in November. And sir Henry Percy, (who was the earl's son,) as he had been lately despatched out of the north from the earl to the court, so he was sent back again to him with these instructions.

Orders were also given to the said earl to see the bands diligently furnished. An hundred hagbutters were sent to the frontiers from the lord Dacres, lord deputy of the west marches: and the earl was required to be careful in mustering the bands; to have espials in Scotland; to keep the fords and watches: and as the queen added 3d. a day to the pay of the soldiers, so it was to be publicly declared, for the better encouragement of the soldiers in their duty.

And to secure the loyalty of sir Ralph Grey in those *parts*, who had before the grant of leading an hundred men, in consideration of his losses upon the borders, and his good forwardness in service, she caused a letter to be wrote to him, signifying her good pleasure that he should be continued in his place, and that he should also have an augmentation, by way of reward, for the said number; and so was required to shew himself answerable to her majesty's expectation in service, as she might think this charge to be well bestowed: otherwise it was plainly told him, she would not fail to place another in that charge.

There was a proclamation to be issued out for these east and middle marches, to be published in those *parts*, viz. that all captains and soldiers having charge upon the frontiers, being absent from it, should repair thither, upon pain of forfeiture of all their wages that would be due the first of January. The lord deputy was required accordingly to put this proclamation in execution upon all such as should not accomplish the contents thereof. And all this care was taken for these borders in the month of December.

According to a late order, the earl of Northumberland sent up the muster-book of garrisons under his charge, together with his letters for instruction in certain points. It was signified to him from above,

“that as the lords did very well like his diligence and secrecy in taking of the musters upon the frontiers, so it could not but much mislike them *that* there were such deficiencies in the numbers. And whereas he wrote that the garrison of the enemy was increased, the lords thought, that if the numbers under his charge and the garrison of Berwick were reduced into one number, the same would far exceed the power of the enemy: and considering that the enemy's force was for the most part placed in forts, and that they would not leave the same in danger to come to the frontiers; yet nevertheless his lordship's request was allowed, to have some further relief, wherein order should be taken.”

In the mean time the lord Eure was writ to, to help the lord warden in time of necessity only, with some horsemen out of Berwick, in the day time, so as they might return to Berwick before night, for the guarding of that piece: for it was thought the enemy would attempt nothing before the next light night.

Orders also were sent to the bishop of Durham, to send men from the bishopric in case of necessity. And finally the earl was desired to stand upon his guard.

And when, toward the beginning of January, Leonard Dacres, the lord Dacres' son, had by his valour and conduct done some considerable service against the Scots, the lords of the council sent him the queen's thanks; and required him to thank captain Tutty, and the rest that served with him. And that as the lords did very well like his forwardness, so they would have wished he had forborne the annoying of them, and stood only upon his own guard, considering that they would seek to revenge it: and indeed so it proved; for the Scots soon after did some exploit upon the English, and increased their former forces upon the frontiers.

Whereat the queen determined to send forthwith to the borders a thousand men: and for that purpose, as she had addressed her letters to the bishop of Durham, January 7, to put the force of the bishopric in such readiness as they might, upon any sudden warning, be ready to serve under sir George Conyers: so four days after, by another letter, he was enjoined to levy in the bishopric five hundred footmen; and that he should confer with sir J. Croft concerning fit gentlemen to have the leading them; and to have special foresight, that none of the officers used any frauds for the sparing of any man from this service; a disorder which as it had been practised in the south, so the lords would be sorry it should creep into the north.

Letters were also written to certain gentlemen of the north riding of Yorkshire, to levy two hundred men in that part of the shire; and to the earl of Northumberland, to levy three hundred men in Richmondshire, where he was steward. And he was also willed to confer with sir James Croft, who was newly sent down there, touching the placing the same numbers upon the borders in such sort as might most annoy the enemy; and that he should always have good espials.

The queen also now took occasion to let the earl know of the notice she took of his son sir Henry Percie's activity and forwardness, commending it; but adding, that she would not in any case he should hazard himself, otherwise than that he should be at all times ready to make his party good. And lastly, she advised, that the lord Dacres (which now came from her) and he, the earl, should confer, for the better annoying of the enemy: which the lords thought would be best done, if they agreed upon some enterprise

against them at one time. These were the transactions of January and February.

In March, the lord deputy of the east and middle marches discharged the garrison of the Northumberland men; and orders were sent to him to discharge and cass many others, as by reason of sickness, or any other respect, should be thought unfit or superfluous for their present service: yet so, that his doings tended not to the weakening or danger of his charge. Now about the middle of March there was a cessation of arms between the English and Scots; and instructions were sent to the lord Dacres, upon his letter, how to use the *assured* Scots during the abstinence from war: he was willed to signify their names and behaviours, and to send a copy of the articles of their *assurance*; to the end some order might be taken for them upon the conclusion of the peace: and in the mean time give them in charge to forbear to make any incursions into Scotland, but to use themselves quietly as the subjects of this realm, as they minded the preservation of their security.

Now there being a fair prospect of peace, the earl of Northumberland was ordered to proceed in casting the number of horsemen ors the frontiers, for the abridging of the queen's charges, so far forth as he should perceive the same might be done without any danger to the frontiers; and to cass all such as might conveniently be spared, especially Northumberland men, and those that joined upon them. And for the better understanding what he was to do in this matter, to have good espial of the Scots doings. And a mass of money was soon after sent down.

And in the beginning of April 1559 peace was concluded with the Scots: which occasioned another letter from the council to the earl of Northumberland, signifying the same; and therefore requiring him to give order, that none serving under him should annoy the Scots, but to use them as friends. And he was willed to stay the publishing of this by proclamation, until he should further understand from the queen. And the like was sent from sir James Croft, now captain of Berwick.

The queen's commissioners for Scotland were, the earl of Northumberland, the bishop of Durham, the lord Dacres, and sir James Croft; (whereof the bishop was of the quorum;) these met the commissioners of Scotland: and in July 1559 they fully concluded the articles of peace with the Scots accordingly. And the 14th of the said month the said bishop was at Doncaster, onward of his journey to court, to make a full relation of the

said commission: taking small journeys, though they were great to him; “carrying his old carcass with him,” as he wrote from Doncaster to the earl of Shrewsbury.

Now the English forces were revoked from the marches of Scotland; but as for the French, the queen’s other neighbour enemy, their army’ continued still in Scotland, and increased by secret supplies out of France. The galleys were appointed to be brought from Marseilles: a great navy prepared in France for the marquis D’Albeuf, to pass into Scotland with wonderful preparation. Monsieur Martiques assembled the nobility of Scotland, moving them to invade England: but they, after deliberation, answered, that the success would never be good. Captains were sent into the east parts of Germany for soldiers, and put aboard two men of war, not signifying where they should be employed. Hereupon the queen amassed some numbers of men both by sea and land, and sent them into Scotland: where an accord was made, that the French should avoid.

This was two or three years afterwards urged by the queen’s ambassador to France, for the restoration of Calais; viz. upon the breach of an article agreed upon at the treaty at Chasteau, in Cambresis: her ambassador (sir Thomss Smith, if I mistake not) arguing from these aforesaid attempts, that the French thereby had lost their pretended right to Calais, according to the orders of that treaty; since this evidently was *attentare, armis innovare et moliri vel directe vel indirecte*, as the article ran: and had also thereby forfeited 500,000 crowns, *nomine poenoe*.

SECTION 3

Provision for Portsmouth; and the Isle of Wight; and Dover; and the cinque ports; and for Wales; and Guernsey; and Ireland. The condition of the ordnance. Commissioners appointed for the care of the kingdom. Treaty with France. The queen inquires into the loss of Calais. Embassy from Sweden. Her respect to Spain. Preparations for the coronation. A call of sergeants; and some to be ennobled. The queen comes to the Tower. Goes through London triumphantly. A Bible presented her there. Crowned. Queen Mary's funeral celebrated. Letters to the sheriffs for elections. Other miscellaneous matters.

AND as the queen took this care of her northern confines against her enemies the Scots, so she had the like caution for her southern quarters, against her other enemies the French. For this purpose provision was made for Portsmouth, and the Isle of Wight especially. To that intent an hundred soldiers were commanded from Guernsey, left there September last, to be conveyed to Portsmouth: and the lord Chidioc Poulet, who had the charge of the government there, was instructed to receive them, or so many of them as should be thought necessary. And Rich. Worsely, esq. was ordered to repair to Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, and the forts, castles, and bulwarks thereabouts; and to view and consider the state of the same. The said Worsely, and one Peter Smith joined with him, were appointed to muster the garrison at Portsmouth: and the lord Chidioc Poulet was sent to, to be aiding unto them therein, and in such other things as they had commission to do there.

And the lord marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, had a note sent to him of such provisions as were thought requisite to be made for the fortifications there, and at the Isle of Wight; which note sir Richard Lee brought him. And the said marquis was desired by the queen's council to confer with the said sir Richard herein; and if he thought it needful, to appoint some trusty and skilful person for the providing of the same. The queen also ordered the garrisons here should be paid by Peter Smith, by the money brought down with him, according to certain instructions; and to use the advice of the foresaid lord Poulet herein. And that being done, to proceed to the viewing of the forts and munition at Portsmouth and

thereabouts, according to former directions, and to make Worsely privy to his doings; who was then indisposed in his health. And that no unjust embezzlement of powder and munition might be concealed, the lord Poulet, the governor of Portsmouth, was sent to, to signify with speed, how much powder was spent the last year, and for what purpose, and what remained of that quantity that was sent thither, that order might be taken therein. And all this was done in the month of December.

In the beginning of March, the queen made the said Rich. Worsely captain of the Isle of Wight; as about the same time sir James Croft was made captain of Berwick, as is before said.

The like care was taken for Dover: the soldiers whereof were behind of their pay now, in March 1558, for seven months; of which they complained to the council. Order was taken for the looking carefully into that piece, lying also against France. And Tho. Wotton, esq. (who, if I mistake not, was now high sheriff of Kent,) was required, either by himself in person, or to appoint one Rudston, or some other trusty gentleman, to repair thither, to take the muster of the soldiers on the sudden; and to learn whether any of them were wanting; how long they had served there; and what money they had already received; and what armour and weapon they had. And soon after, the queen sent them their full pay.

There was a decay of the pier and black bulwark there: a complaint of which the mayor and jurats of Dover made to the queen. Therefore the said Wotton was willed to cause the same to be viewed, and to signify what should be done therein. And in April following, she sent thither sir Will. Woodhouse, knt. to view and consider the state of the said pier and black bulwark; and to take order for the repair of the same, according as was prescribed him. And a letter was now also sent to the said mayor and jurats, and such other to whom it did appertain, to attend upon the said Woodhouse, and to shew him what they thought meet to be known for the redress thereof.

The lord warden of the cinque ports, sir Thomas Cheyne, Order, eat being lately deceased, the queen well considered those places, to the and caused five several letters to be writ to the said five ports, Jan. ports; willing all the officers and inhabitants to continue the accustomed good order, in keeping of peace, justice, and quietness, until she would appoint a lord warden there. And in the mean time, if any wreck or other casualty should happen in any of the ports or members of the same, to signify it up to her; and to

take care that the thing were kept to the queen's majesty's use, or such as her highness should appoint.

Wales was another of her extreme borders that she found needful to be looked after: here being a government constituted, called *the president and council of the marches of Wales*, was signified unto them, in November, the queen's pleasure for their continuance in their commission; and that the instructions they had already they were to follow, until the contrary should be signified unto them. And if they thought any thing necessary to be added to their instructions, when they should be signed anew by the queen, they were willed to put the same in articles, and to send them up for that purpose.

In April 1559, the council sent down sir Hugh Poulet to be vice-president there in the absence of the lord Williams, who was appointed president.

Sir Leonard Chamberlain was captain of Guernsey. He now wrote to the queen for greater forces to be sent thither; and licence to be granted him to repair to her: which he had accordingly.

In Ireland also things were but in ill case: for sir Anthony St. Leger, lord deputy there, and Andrew Wise, treasurer, consulting their own profit more than the good of that kingdom, had left great debts upon the queen, and the soldiers unpaid, notwithstanding the sums they had received for public uses. The queen therefore called them to account, as was shewed before. And the lords set apart a day on purpose, about the beginning of February, to bestow it wholly, forenoon and afternoon, for the considering the state of that kingdom, and taking order therein.

For the better strengthening herself in the midst of her dangers round about her, she had a careful regard to her arms and ammunition. In order to which, in December, sir Richard Southwel, master of the ordnance and armory, was ordered to make his repair to the council; and to bring with him a perfect declaration of his office, as well touching the provisions, expenses, and remains, as also of the present wants of the same. And on the 17th of December, the said sir Richard made suit to the lords, to make a declaration before them of the state of his office: when it was resolved, the earl of Bedford, the lord admiral, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, and sir Ambrose Cave, should hear the same, and make report thereof.

The like care the queen took about her ammunition in the north; whereof Thomas Gower was master. For in this month of December he was ordered

by the council's letter to set all things in his charge in good order; and thereupon to repair up with speed, bringing with him all such books and writings, for declaration of the state of his office, And in the beginning of February, the council sent a letter to sir James Croft and sir Will. Engleby, to consider what proportion of munition, ordnance, and other things the said master had issued out of his office for the queen's service at Berwick; and to comptrol his books from time to time. And when they would have any thing out of the said office for the service and furniture of the town, they were required to address their warrant to the said Gower, signed with the hands of both of them.

Information was someways brought, that certain pieces of ordnance were delivered by John Benet, late master of the ordnance in the north, and were concealed by certain inhabitants of Newcastle; and that they had caused the queen's into. arms and mark to be defaced and taken out of the said ordnance: whereupon a letter was sent from the council to the mayor of Newcastle, to Bartram Anderson, and to the said Tho. Gower, to examine diligently where and in whose hands any of those pieces remained, and to cause the same to be returned to the office of the ordnance; and to signify what they had found therein.

Thus exactly and pensively did the queen mind her business at home. And in short, December 23, to put the cares of her kingdom into a method, she distributed them into several commissions.

First, for the care of the north parts towards Scotland and Berwick, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Bedford, and Pembroke, the lord admiral, and sir Ambrose Cave were commissioners.

Secondly, to survey the office of the treasury of the chamber, and to assign orders of payment, lord chamberlain, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary, and sir Walter Mildmay.

Thirdly, for Portsmouth, Mr. Worsely and Mr. Smith.

Fourthly, for consideration of all things necessary for the parliament now suddenly to meet, the keeper of the great seal, the judges, sergeants, attorney, solicitor, sir Thomas Smith, and Mr. Goodrike.

Fifthly, to understand what lands have been granted from the crown in the last queen's time, marquis of Winchester, keeper of the seal, lord Rich, lord North, Mr. Mildmay.

Only I may insert here a note of this early care that was taken for staying the further persecution of the professors of the gospel, by an order from the queen's privy council to sir Ambrose Jermin, (a justice, as I think, in Suffolk,) dated Nov. 28 this year: on this occasion: commissions were given out under queen Mary to certain persons in the countries, for the giving information of all such, which the commissioners made their privy use and benefit of; by getting money out of such as they found of that sort, to prevent any prosecution of them: or by virtue of some order given, to lay a pecuniary punishment upon them. But now sir Ambrose Jermin, upon this change of government, put a stop to the practice of these men and their doings: which the queen's council being made acquainted with, sent him their letters of approbation of what he had done, and gave him some further instructions to deliver to the other justices in those parts in this matter; and of requiring an account of those in the aforesaid commission, viz.

The council then sitting at the Charter-house, sent their letter of thanks to him, "for his discreet doings, touching the stay of that commission, granted to John Shepherd and his fellows. Whereof he was both required by them to warn the justices of peace his neighbours in those parts *to* do the like; and also to certify thither to them, what sums of money had been extorted, or otherwise received, by any colour of the said commission, of the queen's subjects there; with such further particularities, as he could by examination learn of that matter. To the end the same being objected there [at court] to the parties, they might be further proceeded withal as should be thought convenient."

And as became a prince that intended not to rule with rigour, but with justice and clemency, one of her earliest actions was to relieve the captives, and to restore liberty to those that were freeborn; especially if their faults were pardonable, or none at all. Of this matter we shall have the particulars hereafter.

These were the queen's cares at home for her own security and her kingdoms. Now to look abroad, and to see what was to be depended upon from France, as she had brought herself to good terms with Scotland, as was shewed before. Thirleby, bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury, were queen Mary's commissioners to treat with France, about the restoration of Calais, and for making peace. *To* them queen Elizabeth sent a new commission, and in January 1558, by her council, writ to them

to proceed according to that commission; sending now the earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain, to join with them: for she was much disposed to be at peace with her neighbours, having great matters to do at home, and in no very good condition to go to war.

The pains of these her commissioners succeeded. For in the beginning of April, the council sent a letter to the lord mayor, declaring the peace concluded between the queen and the French and Scots: which he was willed to cause to be proclaimed in such places within the city, and in such decent manner, as had been accustomed. And letters were likewise sent the same day to the customers, comptrollers, and searchers of the five ports, Southampton, Pool, Bristol, Plymouth, and Dartmouth, to have special care, that now, upon the publishing of the peace, no bullion or money be suffered by them to be transported out of the realm.

Several Frenchmen, prisoners, were in hold at Rie, that expected now to be set at liberty freely, without paying their ransom. But the lords of the council let the mayor and jurats of the town understand, that it was not meant otherwise by the conclusion of the peace, but that such French as were taken and remained in the town should pay their ransoms to their takers, notwithstanding the peace: which they were willed to declare unto them; and upon the payment of their ransoms to set them at liberty.

And now peace being effected, but Calais still in the hands of the French, and a great question whether it were ever like to go out thence again, the queen thought it convenient to look into the causes of the loss of it. And if any of the captains or officers had not done their duty, she resolved to frown upon them, and call them to a strict trial for their lives, in case she found any want of trust and faithfulness in their respective charges; though perhaps this was more for a cover, to satisfy the angry people in a loss so dishonourable to the English nation. Therefore several of them were indicted of high treason. And among the rest Harleston, captain of Ricebank, one of the forts of Calais: which Harleston, now in the beginning of April 1559, being come over, was retired among his friends in Essex. But this coming to the ears of the queen and her council, a letter was speedily despatched to Tho. Mildmay, esq. high sheriff of the county, importing, that it could not but seem very strange, that he, the said Harleston, being indicted of high treason, and being come over, and presently remaining in Essex, was suffered to go at liberty. He was therefore commanded in the queen's name to cause search to be made for

him; and to apprehend him, and send him to the lords under safe custody. He was soon brought up: for in two or three days after, he was by the order of the lords sent to the Tower; and by a letter to the lieutenant he was willed to keep him in ward, without conference with any, until he were examined. And within a few days after, the lord Wentworth, the late governor of Calais, was also committed by the council's letter to the said lieutenant to receive him, and to keep him in safe ward without having conference with any, until he should receive order from the lord marquis of Northampton, appointed high steward of England for the time. But he was acquitted by his peers. Harleston nevertheless, and another captain, called Chamberlain, were cast; but pardoned. I was willing to lay these French matters together, though this last mentioned belong to the beginning of the year following.

It was not least in the wise queen's thoughts and endedvours to carry all fair abroad, and to express all obliging behaviour towards the states and princes her neighbours. The king of Sweden had already sent an ambassador to her, as well to court her for a wife, as to congratulate her accession to the throne of England. But upon some disgust to the ambassador, occasioned I know not how, a great uproar was made at his house by the common people, December 16, at night, against the ambassador, and certain of his servants. But the very next day the queen caused a letter to be sent to the lord mayor, willing him to send some discreet persons to the said ambassador, to learn the circumstances of this matter, and the doers thereof: and thereupon to cause them to be committed to ward, and further punished according to the quality of the fault. And that the said ambassador might understand, that it was not otherwise meant, but that he and his should be courteously treated here. The said mayor was also ordered to signify to the ambassador the time, when the mayor minded to proceed to the punishment of the offenders, to the end, the ambassador might send some one that he trusted, to see the doing thereof.

She was also very respectful towards Spain, being loath to give any offence to king Philip: as appeared by these two or three *passages*. John Galarzo and John de Sarausse, servants to certain officers of the king of Spain, were going in December by ship from Rie to Spain: but they were arrested, by occasion, I *suppose*, of the order of the council to stop all *passengers* from going over sea, especially carrying bullion with them. But a letter was sent from above to the mayor of Rie, and all the queen's officers of that

port, requiring them to suffer those two to pass in their intended voyage to Spain, with their provision of wax, rosin, and 1300 ducats in money, which they had in their pinnace, for the furniture of the king of Spain's army: commanding the said officers further in her majesty's name, friendly to aid them with victuals, and all other things necessary to their voyage, for their reasonable money.

And some days before this, certain merchants of Finnders complained to Dassoileville, the king of Spain's ambassador, concerning wrongs and delays of justice done them here. The king laid this before the queen's council. Whereupon, December 18, they sent a letter to Dr. Lewis, judge of the admiralty, with a note of these complaints, willing him to consider them, and to signify to them the state of the same suits in the court of the admiralty, the sooner to give them justice and despatch.

Again, the king of Spain had coined money in the Tower: but his implements of coinage were for some time stopped by some officers, supposing they might belong to the queen's mint. But upon Mr. Stanley, comptroller of the mint, his certificate to the council, a letter was directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, to suffer seignior Frauncis de Lixaide, treasurer of the king of Spain, to carry and convey out of the Tower at his pleasure certain iron tools and other instruments belonging to the said king, and not to the queen's majesty, as did appear by letters addressed in the matter to Mr. Secretary. Cecil from Stanley.

Having seen these trarisactions of the queen for the security of herself and kingdoms, let us proceed to relate another of her first cares, which was for her *coronation*. Which that it might be done with the greater magnificence, the customers of London were appointed in November last, to stay all crimson-coloured silk as should arrive within their ports, until the queen should first have her choice towards the furniture of her coronation; and to give warning to the lords of the council, if any such should arrive there: but nevertheless to keep the matter secret. And perhaps that was the reason of another order of council the next day by letters to sir Nicolas Throgmorton, and sir Gawen Carew, to desire seignior Prioli, executor to cardinal Pole lately deceased, to suffer certain parcels of that cardinal's plate, which were thought meetest by the officers of the jewel-house for the service of the queen, to be bought; and that some of his own folks might bring them. That the same being viewed he might receive the value thereof, or of so much of it as should be thought meet for her highness's

use; and the rest to be safely returned back to him again; which, as the letters ran, they might be bold in her majesty's name to assure him.

Another provision was also thought fit by the council to be made respecting the coronation. The hopes of pardon and grace, usually accompanying it, occasioned many enormities, and especially robberies, to be committed. Therefore, for the preventing of it as much as might be, a copy of a proclamation was sent, November 21, from Hatfield, to the lords of the council at London, wherein public warning was given, that such violators of peace and good order should expect but little favour by any such acts of grace.

In order to this inauguration, preparation was making for Preparation the queen's coming up to London, and reception at me queen's Tower. Therefore, November 21, those of the nobility and coming to council that were with her at Hatfield, wrote to the marquis of Winchester, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Darby, to attend upon her to London, with a schedule enclosed of the names of certain other noblemen, whose company she thought good to have at that time. And letters soon after were sent to sir Tho. Cavarden and others at the Tower, willing them, for the making room against the queen's being there, to take order for the removing of certain persons out of their lodgings there: and particularly Dr. Weston, late dean of Windsor, committed in the last reign [not for his goodness,] of him to take sureties, such as he had in a readiness, for his good behaviour; and to suffer him thereupon to have the liberty of the Tower, until such time as his cause might be further considered. He was, for sickness, soon after removed to one Wintour, a friend's house in Fleet-street, where he died, December 8, and was buried at the Savoy.

And as for certain others, namely, Dudley, Bowyer, Mylford, Pollard, and Flabell, (persons, I suppose, or some of them, concerned in a late insurrection, headed by stafford, wherein Scarborough castle was taken,) they were all to be appointed to one lodging; there to remain, till upon further examination of their several cases the same might be further ordered. Of these, Bowyer soon after had the queen's pardon.

One Henry Middlemore was sent beyond sea, December the 13th, into Flanders, to provide things necessary against the coronation: for which he had a passport to the mayor and jurats of Dover, to suffer him to pass without search, for that reason.

Now the queen also made a call of sergeants, accustomedly practised at such times: and December 11 commanded Martin, clerk of the crown, to make writs after the usual manner to the persons following, being appointed to be sergeants at the law, viz. to Who. Carus, Reignold, Corbet, John Welsh, and John Southcote, of the Middle Temple; William Symonds, George Walle, Richard Harper, of the Inner Temple; Randolph Cholmely, of Lincoln's Inn; Nicholas Powtrel and John Birch, of Gray's Inn. And to Oliver St. Johns, esq. the lords wrote, that the queen's highness, for his worthiness and estate, was determined to advance him to the degree of a baron at her coronation. And therefore that he was required both to put himself in readiness, and to repair to the court to receive the same accordingly. With him also she raised to honour sir Will. Par, Edward Seymour, lord Thomas Howard, and Henry Cary; and no more.

Let me add one particular more, as preparatory to the queen's coronation. The lords sent to Boner, bishop of London, to send to the bishop of Carlisle, who was appointed (as they writ) to execute the solemnity of the queen's majesty's coronation, *universam apparatus pontificium, quo uti solent episcopi in hujusmodi magnificis illustrissimorum regum inaugurationibus, i.e.* all the pontifical habit that bishops were wont to use in such glorious inaugurations of most illustrious kings.

In Christmas week scaffolds began to be made in divers places of the city, for pageants against the day the queen was to pass through to her coronation, which was to be January 14, and the conduits to be new painted and beautified

On the 12th day, the queen took barge at Whitehall, and shooting the bridge went to the Tower; the lord mayor and all the crafts waiting upon her in their barges, adorned with streamers and banners of their arms.

On the 13th day the queen made knights of the bath within the Tower.

On the 14th she came in a chariot from the Tower, with Rides all the lords and ladies, all in crimson velvet, and their horses the city. trapped with the same; and trumpeters in scarlet gowns blowing their trumpets, and all the heralds in their coat armour; the streets every where laid over with gravel. The city was at very great charge to express their love and joy, in the magnificent scaffolds and pageants they had erected, in adorning the conduits, appointing music, preparing speeches and verses to be said to her; which the queen took very well, and promised to remember it: besides

the present of a purse of a thousand marks in gold, which they presented her at the lit fie conduit in Cheap, where the aldermen sat; and the recorder, in the name of the city, made a speecho to her. But for a full relation of all the splendour of this day, recourse may be had to Holinshed's Chronicle.

Yet let me mention one particular, as having some more special respect to religion. In a pageant erected near the said little conduit in the upper end of Cheapside, an old man with a scythe and wings, representing *Time*, appeared, coming out of a hollow place or cave, leading another person all clad in white silk, gracefully apparelled, who represented *Truth*, (the daughter of Time,) which lady had a book in her hand, on which was written, *Verbum veritatis, i.e. the word of truth*. It was the Bible in English: which, after a speech made to the queen, *Truth* reached down towards her, which was taken and brought by a gentleman attending, to her hands. As soon as she received it, she kissed it, and with both her hands held it up: and then laid it upon her breast, greatly thanking the city for that present; and *said, she would often read over that book*. Which passage shews as well how the citizens stood affected to religion, (notwithstanding the persecution that had raged among them for some years before,) as what hopes the kingdom might entertain of the queen's favour towards it.

On the 15th day she was crowned with the usual ceremonies at Westminster-abbey. She first came to Westminster-hall. There went before her trumpets, knights, and lords, heralds of arms in their rich coats: then the nobles in their scarlet, and all the bishops in scarlet: then the queen and all the footmen waiting upon her to the hall. There her grace's apparel was changed. In the hall they met the bishop that was to perform the ceremony, and all the chapel, with three crosses borne before them, in their copes, the bishop mitred; and singing as they passed, *Salve festa dies*. All the streets new laid with gravel and blue cloth, and railed in on each side. And so to the abbey to mass: and there her grace was crowned. Thence, the ceremony ended, the queen and her retinue went to Westminster-hall to dinner; and every officer took his office at service upon their lands; and so did the lord mayor of London, and the aldermen.

On the 16th day, in honour of the queen's coronation, were great justings at the tilt; there being four challengers, whereof the duke of Norfolk was the first.

And on the 17th was tourneying at the barriers at Whitehall.

Now, to set down a few more historical collections of less moment, yet not fit to be lost, of things that happened between the queen's first taking the sceptre, and the conclusion of this year 1558.

November the 20th, Maurice Griffin, bishop of Rochester, and parson of St. Magnus on London-bridge, died. November 30, he was carried from his place in Southwark unto the said church; and had a hearse of wax, and five dozen of pensils, and the quire hung with black, and with his arms; two white branches, and two dozen of torches, and two heralds of arms, attending: sir William Petre chief mourner, sir William Garret, Mr. Low, and divers others, mourners. Twelve poor men with black gowns, and twelve of his men bearing torches, waited. White, lord bishop of Winchester, preached his funeral sermon. The funeral was adorned with a great banner of arms, and four banners of saints, and eight dozen of escutcheons. And after he was buried, they all repaired to his place to dinner.

December the 10th, the late queen Mary was brought Queen out of her chapel, (where her corpse had been laid,) with all the heralds, lords, and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen, attending, and all her officers and servants in black; and brought to St. James's. On the 13th day she was brought from St. James's in great state in a chariot, with an image resembling her, covered with crimson velvet, her crown on her head, and sceptre in her hand, and many goodly rings on her fingers. And so she was attended along Charing-cross to Westminster-abbey. December the 14th was the queen's mass said, and all offered on the high-altar. The bishop of Winchester preached her funeral sermon.

About this time of this queen's death and burial, being a very sickly season, many other men and women of quality, and eminent churchmen, died, and had honourable burials, as attendants of her into another world. November the 22d, Robert Johnson, gentleman to the bishop of London, was buried in Jesus' chapel, [a chapel, I suppose, in St. Paul's,] with many mourners accompanying, and the masters of [the fraternity of] Jesus, with their black satin hoods. November 26, Basset, esq. one of queen Mary's privy-chamber, was buried in the friars' church in Smithfield. November 30, the bishop of Rochester, as is above mentioned. December 7, lady Cholmely, wife of sir Roger Cholmely, knt. late lord chief baron of the Exchequer, buried in St. Martin's, Ludgate. December 8, Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, and after of Windsor, buried at the Savoy. December 9, Dr.

Gabriel Dun, buried honourably at St. Paul's. December 10, Cardinal Pole was removed and carried forth to his burial, from Lambeth towards Canterbury, being the same day the queen's funerals began. Ditto 12, sir George Harper, knt. buried at St. Martin's, Ludgate. And the same day, Verney, master of the jewel-house, buried within the Tower. At or near the same day, was the lady Windebank (late of Calais) buried in St. Edmund's, Lombard-street. The 16th, the lady Rich, wife of the Lord Rich, was carried in a chariot from St. Bartholomew the Great, into Essex, to the place where she dwelt there; [which was either Lees or Rochford;] and on the 18th she was buried in the parish church in great state. The 23d, was performed at Westminster the solemnity of the obsequies of Charles V. emperor of Germany. The 28th, Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, was buried at Christ-church, London, with all the popish ceremonies. A great banner was carried of the arms of the see of Chichester, and his own arms; and four banners of saints. Five bishops did offer at the mass, and two sung mass. And after, all retiring from the place of burial, were entertained at a great dinner. In January, the lord Cheyne, (who died December the 8th,) master treasurer to the late queen, lord warden of the cinque ports, and knight of the order of the garter, was buried in great state in the Isle of Shepey. The same month also was sir John Baker, knt. sometime chancellor of the augmentations, buried with much state in Kent. Finally, in the beginning of February, was the marchioness of Winchester carried down in a chariot to Basing to be buried: and sir Thomas Pope, knt. a great man with the former queen, buried with much magnificence in Clerkenwell. But now to some other remarks.

The lord chief justice of the queen's bench, sir Edward Saunders, had made out an attachment against the judge of the admiralty, Dr. Lewis; upon pretence that he had intermeddled within his jurisdiction, in a matter depending between one Adam Wintrop, of London, and *John Combes*, a frenchman. The lords of the council, December 3, upon the hearing of both the said judges, and what either of them could allege for himself, ordered that the process awarded against the said judge, and the said matter in controversy between Wintrop and Combes be stayed, until their lordships should take some further order therein, upon consideration of what should be alleged on both sides, for the maintenance of their several jurisdictions. For the better doing whereof, they were commanded to bring to then lords of the council a note in writing, of the causes wherein they have contended, or may contend, for their said jurisdictions: that thereupon the lords might

determine some stay and order between them, according to equity and justice.

December the 9th, Gilbert Gerard, esq. was sworn in the council-chamber the queen's attorney general; and Thomas Sackford, esq. was also in the same day and place sworn one of the masters of requests in ordinary.

December 25, the marquis of Northampton, queen Katharine Parr's brother, condemned, but pardoned in the late reign, was by the queen's command declared by Mr. Secretary to be sworn one of her privy council.

December ult. the council wrote to Sir John Mason and Clement Throgmorton, to examine diligently a complaint made to the queen's highness, by certain near kinsmen of Dr. Ridley, late bishop of London, for divers parcels of his goods, that came into the hands of the bishop of London that now is, [viz. Boner,] and to signify to them what they should find out therein.

January the 7th, letters were despatched from the council to Thomas Mildmay, esq. high sheriff of Essex, touching the choosing of knights of that shire at the next county court, according to the minutes in the council-chest.

Such letters to the high sheriffs, instructive of the persons to be elected parliament-men for the shires, were not unusual in former times. At least, so it was done by queen *Mary*, this queen's immediate predecessor. There be extant her letters, which I have seen, to the sheriffs, for choosing such parliament-men "as were of the wise, grave, and catholic sort, such as indeed meant the true honour of God, with the prosperity of the commonwealth: the advance-meat whereof she and her dear husband, the king, did chiefly profess and intend, without alteration of any *particular* man's possessions, as, among other false rumours, was spread abroad to hinder her godly purpose, by such as would have their heresies return, and the realm by the just wrath of God to be brought to confusion. From which she had seen the same marvellously delivered; and minded, by God's help, and the advice of her counsellors and estates of that parliament, to uphold and continue:" as she wrote in the said letters.

The same day Robert Gascoyn, John Foster, John Winter, Tho. Clark, John Man, and Robert Kicheman, messengers, being sent with letters, [to the high sheriffs, I suppose, for the purpose abovesaid,] sir John Mason,

treasurer of the chamber, was ordered to pay them such sums as he should think necessary.

Against the time of this election, the lord Rich (who was a great man in the county) had taken up one Scot's house in Chelmsford. Afterwards the said Scot let his house to sir John Rainesford: but upon this, Hainesford was ordered to appear before the council: and, January the 5th, a letter was writ to him from thence, requiring him to give place to the said lord Rich, considering it was first appointed for him, and for avoiding all inconvenience that might otherwise arise.

Thomas Nele, bachelor of divinity, had the reading of the Hebrew lecture in Oxford, according to the foundation of king Henry VIII. The council, January 16, wrote to the dean and chapter of Christ-church, to pay to him all such money as was due to him for the reading of the said lecture, and to continue the payment thereof, until they should receive further order from thence. They writ again to the same dean and chapter, February 20, to the same purpose, requiring them to pay the said Hebrew reader, whose salary they had detained without just cause. This Nele was of New college, chaplain to bishop Boner, and rerosined reader to the year 1569.

January the 19th. This day the bishop of Winton, who had been before commanded to keep his house for such offences as he had committed in his sermon at the funeral of the late queen, was called before the lords of the council; and after a good admonition given him, he was set at liberty, and discharged of his said commandment of keeping his house.

Ditto, a letter was sent from the council to Thirleby, bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, commissioners now abroad, for settling terms of peace with France and Scotland, signifying the queen's determination to send the lord chamberlain, lord Arundel, to join with them: and that they should in the mean time proceed according to their commission now sent. And John Malyn, admiral of the float in the narrow seas, received an order the same day, to waft John Sommers presently sent with these letters to the commissioners; and to provide shipping for six geldings of the lord chamberlain's to be transported over.

ANNALS OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER 1.

Prohibition to Carne, resident with the pope. Cardinal Pole's burial. Letters in favour of his executor. The queen dismisseth prisoners for religion. Orders from the council for that purpose. A late commission against Lollards looked into. Preaching prohibited. Notwithstanding papists preach; and protestants. Slanderous words of papists. Pulling down images in churches. The council's letter to the city about it.

WHAT with more special regard to religion was transacted or fell out upon queen Elizabeth's first assumption of the crown, we shall now proceed to declare.

According to the twelfth article of the memorial given to the queen by Cecyl the first day of her government, the next Sunday after, being the 20th of November, Dr. Bill, her chaplain and almoner, a prudent and learned man, preached at St. Paul's Cross, and made a pious sermon.

Whereas the late queen had an old civilian, viz. sir Edward Carne, resident at the court of Rome, the present queen intending to have little correspondence with that Roman prelate, gave him a check very early, not to meddle in the transferring of any causes within her dominions to that court. And there being now a controversy about a matter of matrimony, depending between Mr. Chetwood and Mr. Tyrrel, a letter was despatched to him from her council; requiring him, that forasmuch as he was heretofore placed there as a public person by reason of his ambassade, he should therefore from henceforth forbear to use his authority in soliciting or procuring of any thing in the said busihess. And so he abode there privately till February following, when it was signified unto him by the council, that the queen was pleased, in consideration there was no further cause why he should make any longer abode there, to command that he put himself in order to return home, at such time and with such speed as he

should think most meet. But March ult. the pope, hearing that the queen had received the discipline of protestants, required this knight, by virtue of his command by the oracle from his own mouth, under pain of the great excommunication, and forfeiture of all his goods, that he should not stir out of the city of Rome, and take upon him the English hospital near St. Hierom's church.

But before the year came about he dies, viz. January the 18th. And though the aforesaid command of the pope was pretended for his not coming home, yet in truth it was his own choice to remain where he was: as appears by his monumental inscription, which was as followeth; giving some account of him, and the time of his death, though not a word of his being rector of that English hospital.

EDUARDO CARNO,

Britanno, equiti aurato, jurisconsulto, oratori, summisque de rebus Britanniae regum ad imperatores, ad reges, bisque ad Romanam et apostolicam sedem, quarum in altera legatione a Philippo Mariaeque piis regibus, misso. Oborto deiude post mortem Mariae in Britannia schismate, sponte patria carens ob catholicam fidem, cum magna integritate, veroeque pietatis existimatione decessit. Hoc monumentum Galfrid. Vachanus et Thomas Freemannus amici ex testamento pos. Obiit MDLXI. 14 cal. Febr.

The above said cause, being an appeal depending at Rome, (which this Carne solicited there,) had it seems obtained so much favour in the queen's first parliament, that in the of Rome diction over the state ecclesiastical, wherein the pope's pretended authority was extinguished over all the queen's subjects; there was notwithstanding a clause, that if the sentence in the said appeal should be given at the court of Rome before the end of threescore days after the session of that parliament, then it should be judged and taken good and effectual in the law. The matter was thus: one Richard Chetwood, esq. and Agnes his wife, by the name of Agnes Woodhull, in a case of matrimony solemnized between them, at the suit of Charles Tyrrell, gent. were brought into the consistory at St. Paul's, before certain judges delegate, by the authority legatine of cardinal Pole; and a sentence was obtained against them, as it seems, to annul the marriage, in favour of Tyrrel. From this sentence they, the said Chetwood and Agnes, appealed to the court of Rome: which appeal depended there till queen

Elizabeth came to the crown; and yet while the parliament was sitting was undetermined. Perhaps it stopped by the council's letter to Carne abovementioned. But now in favour of the said Chetwood the cause was Permitted to go on, and the sentence in that court to stand good in law, if it could be obtained in sixty days, for the reversing of the pretended sentence given against him by cardinal Pole's delegates. But if not, then the said Richard and Agues, and either of them, at any time hereafter might commence, take, sue, and prosecute the said appeal from the said pretended sentence, within the realm, as was used to be done at any time since the 24th year of king Henry VIII. upon sentences given in the court or courts of any archbishop within the realm; and the sentence therein to be judged good and effectual in law.

Cardinal Pole, who died at his palace at Lambeth, November 17, between five and six in the morning, (or about three, according to the author of the British Antiquities,) lay there till the council gave order for his burial, both as to the time and place. And his corpse being intended and allowed to be interred at Canterbury, seignior Prioli, his executor, requested the queen and council, that two bishops, of the cardinal's great acquaintance, and who formerly had adhered to him, when he was an exile, might attend his funerals; namely, Pate, bishop of Worcester, and Goldwell, (who had been his chaplain,) bishop of St. Asaph. Whereupon a letter, dated the latter end of November, was directed from the council, then at the Charter-house, to the said bishops, signifying that it was the queen's pleasure they should attend upon the said funerals, according to seignior Prioli's request; which two bishops perhaps performed, the one the Latin, the other the English oration pronounced at his funeral,

The council sent another letter in December to Sir Tho. Finch, (to whom was committed the keeping of the park at Canterbury after the cardinal's death,) to deliver to the said executor all such cattle, hay, and wood felled in that park, belonging to the said cardinal, and in the house of St. Augustin's; and six or eight does, and one hundred couple of conics, for the furnishing of the funeral of the cardinal.

The said executor was courteously assisted by the council for the better recovery of debts and arrears due to the cardinal; there being an open letter, dated in December, from the council to all the receivers, bailiffs, and tenants of the late cardinal, to pay all such rents as were by them due at the

feast of St. Michael the archangel last, of the revenues of the archbishop of Canterbury, to Mr. Pynning, for the use of the said cardinal's executor.

And whereas by the act of the 2 and 3 of Philipians and Mary, the tenths, impropriations, and other spiritual rents and pensions due to the crown, were given for augmentation of small livings and better maintenance of the clergy; and the payments of them to be made to the cardinal, who was to dispose thereof according to his discretion; (and of these were many arrears;) the queen and her council were so obliging to this executor, that, in the beginning of January, letters were sent to all the bishops of the realm, and where bishops wanted, to the deans and chapters of the cathedral churches, to make payment in the city of London, by the last of January next, such sums of money due of the revenues arising of the first-fruits, and tenths, and benefices, impropriate within every several diocese; either to the ministers of the late lord cardinal, that were appointed for this purpose, or to such as should be appointed by the archbishop of York, and the rest of the council.

Another letter was written the same month by the council to the same purpose, to the mayor of Chichester, and the bailiff of Lewes; to make several proclamations in the same towns where they had charge, upon the next market-days, that all and singular persons, as well spiritual as temporal, that had not yet paid such rents as were by act of parliament granted to the disposition of the late cardinal, within the diocese of Chichester, should make payment of the same within six or seven days after the publishing of the proclamation, at the bishop's palace in Chichester, to Peter Adished, appointed collector for this purpose: or else to, repair forthwith to the council, to make payment of the same there to such as the same collector should appoint. This gives me occasion to suspect, that a great share of these tenths and pensions, designed for augmentations, were converted to Pole's own use, and went partly to maintain that cardinal's port and family, and partly distributed among his retinue.

And this is the last tidings we hear of the cardinal and his concerns here in England. For the Italian his executor, as soon as he could pick up the cardinal's debts, and had distributed his legacies, which were chiefly to Italians, retired into Italy.

The queen was not backward upon her first coming to the crown, to shew her merciful nature (so different therein from her late sister) towards the

afflicted professors of the gospel in bonds and imprisonment; and for putting a speedy stop to the cruel methods used before, for the detecting them in all places, and taking them up by a kind of Spanish inquisition; so as became a prince that intended not to rule with rigour, but with justice and clemency. One of her earliest actions was to release the captives, and to restore liberty to the freeborn. Therefore order from above was sent to the keepers of the prisons, wheresoever these honest and pious people were detained, that they should set them at liberty, taking their own bonds for their appearance, whensoever they should be called to answer.

In the queen's bench were detained John Morice, Henry Burgess, Robert Seulthroppe, Henry London, committed, I make no doubt, for heresy. Concerning whom an order was despatched from the council to Richard Mallory and Henry Fallowfield, officers of that prison, to take bonds of these persons to be forthcoming when they should be called, and so to dismiss them, and set them at liberty. "For that they, the lords, by such examination as they the said Mallory and Fallowfield had taken, found no great cause of stay for them there:" as they expressed it in this their order, which bore date December 7.

John Tother, priest, was delivered out of the Tower by a special order from the lords to Sir Edward Warner, lieutenant there, December 12. And four days after, the sheriffs of London were sent unto to set at liberty the bodies of one Mather Mainard, remaining in Newgate; and one Burden in one of the counters; taking their own bonds to be forthcoming, when they should be called for to answer to what should be objected against them. And also one Gilbert Gennings, remaining in one of the counters for the like cause, to be in like manner discharged of his imprisonment.

If we look out of London, in Colchester gaol were detained Richard George, John Pilgrim, James Wilson, Elizabeth Yong, and three others. Concerning whom, December 21, a letter from above was directed to John Taye and William Carnal, (or Cardinal,) esquires, justices of the peace of Essex, to call unto them the bailiffs of Colchester, and to examine for what causes these were committed to their castle, and to certify the same.

In Salisbury gaol lay certain prisoners committed thither by the bishop's officers, and others; and there still remaining. Concerning whom the lords sent a letter, December ult. to the lord Montjoy, Sir Will. Keylway, and Sir John Zouch; willing them to examine what the cause of their committing was. And if they found that there was no cause by law to detain them, then

to set them at liberty; taking first their own bonds to be forthcoming, when they should be called to answer that which should be objected against them.

In Maidstone gaol now remained Joan Saunders, Agnes Terre, Joan Valeant, and Margaret Atterbury. For the setting of whom at liberty, Mr. Wotton, high sheriff of Kent, was sent to, January the 4th, by special letters from the lords; taking first their several bonds to be of good behaviour and quietness. And no doubt many more such letters from the council were despatched to other prisons in the realm on the same account.

For those in Colchester castle mentioned before, (who it seems refused to give their bonds, standing upon their own innocency, and their unjust imprisonment, which was certified up by the two justices, January 14,) another order came to the said justices; requiring them to take order with the bailiffs of Colchester, for the enlarging and setting at liberty those that remained in the castle there, committed thither in the late queen Mary's time, as persons suspected in religion; naming the four abovesaid, and four more, viz. Alice Michel, Christian Crampe, John Hoste, and Edward Grewe: taking nevertheless their own several bonds, to be of quiet behaviour, and forthcoming when they should be called. Which if they should refuse, then to cause them to be sent up to the lords of the council, with whom further order should be taken.

To give account next of a commission for *inquisition* after such persons as had any inclination towards the gospel; by means of which those above mentioned, and many others, had been laid up: this commission was so disliked by the queen, a lady of a more mild and merciful disposition, that it was presently taken notice of. But to fetch this commission from its first beginning. It was made anno 1556. against the Lollards, (as the professors of the gospel were called,) for the more effectual extirpating them; and went forth from the king and queen. The commissioners were the lords of the council, and many bishops and others. And besides this general commission, there were many other commissions more particular; as one for Norfolk and Suffolk, another for Essex. This last was directed to the earl of Oxon, the lord Darcy, Terryl, and other gentlemen of Essex: who were empowered to impose an oath upon whomsoever they called, to answer to what should be demanded of them. Whereby they were to swear in effect to accuse themselves and all their friends that were of the same opinion, and held the same doctrine with themselves. And these

commissioners might seize the lands, tenements, and goods of such as fled from their houses: which by inventories taken were to remain in safe keeping. This was an effectual way to ruin infinite numbers of persons, and reduce poor widows and children to beggary, in case the fathers fled for their lives from the tyranny that pursued them. And by this means great numbers of men and women were clapt up every where, or skulked in woods and by-places from their houses. And yet the names of those that fled were brought and given in, as persons suspected for treason, or fugitives, or disobedient to law. These commissioners, and those under them, had scraped together much money and goods of Poor honest people by these means; and the queen had thoughts of calling them to account for them.

For London and other parts adjacent were three chief commissions: wherein the bishop of London, and sir Roger Cholmely, a judge, but a turncoat and a covetous man, among others were concerned. And these commissions had registers appointed them. To those three commissions aforesaid, William Say, Robert Warrington, (or Warnington,) and Will. Babham, proctors of the arches, were registers. To these three, three private letters were sent from the lords of the council, ordering them to make a particular and perfect note of all such matters as had been brought before the bishop of London and the said Cholmely and other commissioners, appointed to call before them certain persons of this realm: and to signify withal, what judgments had been passed against them, and what fines were cessed and levied of them; and to whom the same were paid. And in the mean time they were commanded, as they would answer for the contrary, to keep this matter close to themselves, and that they were written unto herein; because they were registers attendant upon the said commissioners. These letters were dated December the 18th. Present at this council, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Pembroke; the lord admiral, i.e. lord Clinton; the lord chamberlain, i.e. lord Howard of Effingham; Mr. Vice-chamberlain, i.e. sir Edward Rogers, who was also captain of the queen's guard; secretary Cecil; sir Ambrose Cave, (chancellor of the duchy;) sir John Mason, (treasurer of the chamber;) and sir Richard Sackvile.

Likewise, the council wrote in the beginning of the next month to Boner, bishop of London, to repair thither on the morrow at two of the clock afternoon: and at his coming to resort to Mr. Vice-chamberlain: and to bring with him all such commissions as were made to him and others, for

the examination and ordering of heresies and other misorders in the church, in the time of the late queen.

Again, to those three registers aforesaid were three several letters directed in January following, from the privy council, to pay to Mason, treasurer of the chamber, all such sums of money as remained in their hands, of such fines as had been levied of divers persons in the time of the late queen, by order of the bishop of London, and other commissioners for the examination of heretics, and other misdemeanours in the church.

Now did both the evangelics and the papalins bestir themselves for their parties. The former were afraid the queen would not set upon the work of reforming religion, or make too much delay in so necessary a work: the latter were very jealous of her, by the little she had already done towards a reformation, that she would in the end throw down the late new raised structure of their religion. Therefore on the one hand, many of the gospellers, without authority, abhorring the superstitions and idolatry remaining in the churches, were guilty of great disorders in pulling down images and such other relics there. The others spared not for lewd words poured out against the queen, without measure or modesty. And both took their occasions to speak freely their minds in the pulpits.

Of which last the queen being aware, forbad all preaching, and especially in London. And the latter end of December, a letter was sent to the lord mayor of London, with ten proclamations of one tenor, for the inhibition of preachers; which he was required to cause to be published the day after in divers parts of the city, and to be set up where the people might see and read. By virtue of which proclamation, not only all preaching was forbidden for a time, but all hearing and giving audience to any doctrine or preaching. And nothing else was allowed to be heard in the churches, but the epistle and gospel for the day, and the ten commandments in the vulgar tongue; but without any manner of exposition, or addition of the sense or meaning thereof. And no other manner of prayer or rite to be used than was already used, and by law received, except the litany used then in the queen's chapel, and the Lord's prayer and creed in English. And so to last till consultation might be had by parliament, for the accord of matters and ceremonies of religion. This proclamation may be found in the Repository.

But it happened that on the very day that this proclamation was given forth, at Worcester-house was an assembly got together for this purpose: which occasioned an order to be sent the same day to the said lord mayor,

with the body of one Thomas Parrys; whom he was willed to commit to ward in one of the counters, to remain there, until further order should be taken by the council; for suffering, contrary to the queen's proclamation, assemblies of people to be at the said house, whereof he had the keeping. For though these gospellers could not yet get the churches, yet, instead of them, they held congregations in other places, convenient for the capacity and largeness of them.

Yet, although preaching was thus inhibited, in the Lent following sermons were preached at court, however not so much as allowed at Paul's Cross. Some of these court preachers I can name. On Ash-Wednesday, or the first day of Lent, February 8, Dr. Cox, sometime dean of Westminster, preached before the queen. Friday after, preached: Dr. Matthew Parker, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Sunday following, Skory, late bishop of Chichester: and the Wednesday following, Mr. Whitehead. The rest of the preachers axe not mentioned in my MS. till February the 22d, when Grindall preached. And on the 25th, Sandys, and next, Cox again.

The next month, when the prohibition against preaching seems to have been taken off, the preachers of the Spiral sermons were, March 27, Dr. Bill; the 28th, Dr. Cox; and the 29th, Mr. Horn. And April 2, being Low Sunday, Mr. Sampson preached at Paul's Cross. Where, by observing what sort of learned men were put up to preach at court, might be gathered how the queen stood affected to religion, however at present she concealed herself. But to return back again.

Now also, but especially a while after, when the parlia ment came together, and by their authority, a common form of prayers in the vulgar tongue was like to be brought in, instead of the old mass; the popish priests that could preach, bestirred themselves every where in the churches, to prejudice the people against receiving it. Thus in February, John Murren, [Morwen perhaps,] chaplain to the bishop of London and parson of Ludgate, was summoned before the lords of the council, for preaching contrary to the queen's proclamation, and expounding the gospel in the church: which, when he was before them, he could not well deny. Wherefore he was committed to the Fleet, there to be kept without conference with any, until he were examined.

On which day the said bishop of London, Boner, was ordered to be before the council; perhaps to be present when this chaplain of his made his

appearance, and to understand whether what he had done was by the bishop's knowledge, suggestion, or connivance. But this contempt Murren some time after being content to declare and confess in the same church, according to a bill thereof subscribed by him, remaining in the council chest, the lords therefore sent an order in March to the warden of the Fleet to set him at liberty.

About the same time, Henry Cumberford, one of the canons of Litchfield, had also preached lewdly, and misdemeaned himself; (those are the words in the minutes of the council-book;) of which the lords had information sent them by the bailiffs of Litchfield. Which occasioned the said lords to send the said Cumberford a letter to appear before them, and another to the bailiffs and burgesses of Litchfield, to send some one sufficiently instructed at the time of the appearance of the said Cumberford, to object such matters against him as he was to be charged with. But Cumberford, pretending sickness, stayed fourteen or fifteen days: when the lords sent another letter to the said bailiffs and burgesses, to signify to them, that if it were so indeed, that he had been sick, then when he should be able to travel, to command him in the queen's name to repair up; and then they to send one sufficiently instructed to charge him. This matter (whatever it was) proving so lewd on Cumberford's part, when he appeared before the council, on the 20th of March, the lords thought fit, that the disorder committed by him, and complained of by the bailiffs, should be referred to the hearing and examination of the lord chief justice of England, and master solicitor. This man was detained in prison unto April the 17th, 1559, when he was bound in a recognisance to the queen of an hundred mark, to make his personal appearance before the lords of the council about Michaelmas next; and then not to depart before he should have licence so to do; and further to stand to such order as should be taken with him for such matter as was objected to him. The last I find of this man was, that he was discharged the 2d of December, until the town of Litchfield began their suit again, having reasonable warning.

Likewise in Canterbury, a zealot there, namely the curate of St. George's, the first Sunday in Lent had given such offence, that the mayor gave in a declaration thereof to the council. Him they willed the said mayor, by their letter wrote the beginning of March, to commit to ward, and there to keep him, till he could be content to resort to the place where he offended; and there in humble sort to acknowledge his folly, and recant the same. Which

if he should refuse to do, and continue his obstinacy, to signify it up; that he might receive further order how to proceed with him.

Here was also another priest, named sir Loye, curate of All Saints, who had also now transgressed in the same nature. Concerning which the lords ordered the said mayor to call unto him two of the next justices of the peace, and having substantially examined him, to give such order for his punishment, as the quality of his offence should seem to him and the said justices to have deserved. And to observe the like order henceforth towards such offenders, without further troubling or molesting the council with any such matters. The very words or matters spoken by these priests are not expressed in the council-book; but very probably they were such as tended to charge the queen as a promoter of heresy, or some reflections upon her mother's marriage, and the like.

In Devon and Cornwall also the priests were very officious now in seditious preaching: insomuch that letters were sent to the sheriffs of those two counties,

“that where the lords were given to understand, that notwithstanding the queen's majesty's proclamation, certain within that county had taken upon them without authority to preach; they were required to call such of the justices unto them as they knew to be serviceable to her highness; and upon conference with them to take order, that all such as should so attempt to preach, might be apprehended and committed to ward: and to signify up from time to time what they should do therein.”

The queen herein shewed herself impartial. For on which side soever they were, she punished the breach of her proclamation: which evidently appeared in that two protestant preachers, viz. Mr. Pullen and Mr. Dodman in Colchester, were commanded to be sent up to the lords under safe and sure custody: a letter to that intent being sent from the council to Thomas Mildmay, high sheriff of the county of Essex, the bailiffs of Colchester, and other justices of the peace thereabouts. And a few days *after*, another letter was wrote from the council to the said sheriff of Essex, and to the rest of the justices, to give order for the *apprehending*, and committing to ward, such preachers as used to preach in that shire [noted to be well affected in religion] as was informed, without a licence, and against the queen's late proclamation in that behalf. And thereupon to

signify their names, and further proceedings herein, together with the faults of the said preachers.

But the popish priests and other zealots took frequent occasion not only to preach (as was said before) but to speak very untoward words against the queen, reflecting (as it seems) upon queen Ann Bolen, her mother, and her own legitimacy and title to the succession, and in favour of the queen of Scots. For they had a great eye upon her as the next heir (at least) to the crown: and reckoned queen Elizabeth, being accounted no better than an heretic, was to be put by. Which they imagined and suggested would come to pass either by the French's invading England, (whereof indeed there were great preparations,) or by the shortness of her life; wizards and conjurers prognosticating that she should not live out a year. Many were the complaints of this nature that were brought to the council. Thus, beside what was mentioned before, one Robert Forrest in Lincolnshire, had spoken slanderous words. Which caused the council in December to send order to sir Edward Dimock, knt. to commit him to ward, there to remain for a month: and then to be set on the pillory in the market-town next to the place of his dwelling, with a paper on his head containing in great letters these words, *For false and slanderous reports*. And in case he should not shew himself repentant for his fault, then to cause one of his ears to be cut off.

John Shory also, sacristan of the cathedral church of Chichester, in the said month of December spoke lewd words; whom the council directed to be punished by pillory, or otherwise, as should seem good to sir Thomas Palmer, John Palmer, and John Appesly, esquires.

There was also one John Buke, in Surrey or Sussex, that had also spoken lewd words, whom sir Edward Gage had apprehended, and certified the same to the council: who sent to the said knight, and thanked him for his diligence therein; willing him to send unto them the said Buke under safe custody, that the matter objected against him might be further examined. And he was willed to do the like with all others, whom he should find touched in that matter.

In the same month of December, a lewd malicious fellow of Ashford in Kent spake treasonable words against the queen. Sir Thomas Moyle, sir Thomas Kempe, sir Thomas Finch, knights, and Thomas Wotton, esq. were sent unto by the council, to call this man before them; and to examine him of his misdemeanours. And if the matter should upon sufficient

testimony be found true, to send up the examination and the person himself, to be further ordered according to the laws.

In the month of January from Southampton a supplication was brought to the lords of the council, exhibited by certain inhabitants of that place, touching a disorder, and certain lewd words uttered by sir Thomas, priest of St. Michael's in the said town, and others. Whereupon the lords sent their letter to the mayor of Southampton, Thomas Pacy, and other magistrates there, to consider of the same. And if they should find the matter so as was represented in the said supplication, to cause the party culpable to be apprehended, and committed to safe ward: and to signify what they should find in the matter; that order might be taken in the same, agreeable to equity, and the quality of the offence.

In the same month, the council wrote to the archdeacon of London upon a complaint against Geffrey Frauncis, sumner, some forward man against the professors of the gospel; and by their order he, the said Frauncis, was committed to the Gatehouse in Westminster. And one sir Edward Clypsham, priest, was, by the like order to the mayor of London, committed to one of the counters. But both soon dismissed again.

In February, Mountford, commissary to the bishop Lincoln, and one Sabcots, scribe, were, by virtue of a letter to the alderman of Stamford, and two of his brethren, to give to the said two persons letters of appearance before the lords, upon an information of the said nature against them.

John Gregyl, of Barking in Essex, had spoken maliciously. Wherefore the lords directed their letters to sir Anthony Cook and sir Thomas Wroth, with the information exhibited against him by one Thomas Pierson: which they were willed to examine; and to send for the parties: and to signify what they should find. Afterwards he was committed to the Fleet without having conference with any. But after he had been in hold about two months, he promised to make a public recantation. The lords hereupon sent to sir Anthony Cook and sir Peter Mewtas, requiring them, for that they were neighbours, to be present (at least one of them) at the said vicar's acknowledging his late offences before his parishioners; and referring it to their discretions to appoint the time and place.

Information was also brought against one Christopher Savery, living, as it seems, in the west. The lords sent to sir Rich. Edgecomb, Mr. Hogmore,

and Mr. Reignolds, to examine diligently the said information touching lewd words by him spoken, and to signify what they should find therein.

To Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, a letter of appearance was sent upon the like account. For in February information had been brought against him, that he used himself of late very disorderly, in stirring up the people, as much as in him lay, to sedition. And that it was reported by some of the servants of the college of Christ's church, Canterbury, that *religion could not nor should not be so altered*. And that one man of the college had well near an hundred harnesses. So a letter, dated February 11, came from the lords to sir Thomas Finch, and George May, an alderman of that city, to examine this matter diligently; and to call before them all such, whom they should think meet, to be examined herein, or culpable touching the same. And thereupon to cause such as were faulty to be committed to ward; and to signify what they should find. And also to search what armour was in the said college; and what had been delivered out; and by whom; and for what purpose; and to whose hands. And to write their knowledge in these particulars.

Thomas Malet wrote a lewd and untrue letter to his uncle Dr. Malet: for which he was by the lords committed to the Gatehouse; and there to remain without conference with any. And soon after was bound in a recognisance of an 100*l.* to be of good abearing; and personally to appear, and make his attendance upon the lords of the council every council day betwixt that and Easter, and not to depart without licence.

One Thomas Hall, of Huntington, spake certain lewd words also: which the justices of assize in that county were wished to consider: and finding them culpable, to commit him to ward, and to see him further punished according to the quality of his offence, to the terror of others.

One William Bassenden, parson of St. George's in Canterbury, had also spoken lewd words: whose body the mayor of Canterbury was ordered to send up under safe custody, with some one that was present when he spake the same.

In the month of March, a Spanish priest in Bristow, called Francisco del Gado, used much unseemly talk of the queen's highness. Whereupon the mayor and aldermen stayed him: and took an examination of him; which they sent up to the council. Who in a letter thanked them for what they had done, and gave order to keep him still in prison, till he could be content to

be sorry and acknowledge his fault. In which case he should be suffered to depart; or otherwise remaining stubborn and without repentance, the same to be signified to the lords, and to receive further order thereupon.

Thomas Pain, of Castle Acre in Norfolk, was sent up for upon the same account. Thomas Birch, vicar of Witley, and John Deuton, parson of Spelhurst in Kent, for the like ill behaviour, were ordered to be committed to ward. Sir Raphe Backhouse, parish priest of Little Wenham in Suffolk, had spoken lewd and seditious words; whereof sir Henry Doyle, and Christopher Goldingham informed the council. Who in answer required them, if they knew the accusers to be of honesty and credit, to cause the said priest, upon the next market-day to be holden at Ipswich, to be set on the pillory, and one of his ears to be cut off, and after committed to prison, there to remain until the justices of assize shall come next into the country: and then to be brought before them, and further ordered.

One sir Peter Walker, priest, living in Colchester, uttered certain lewd and untrue reports. For which the bailiffs of Colchester were by the lords ordered to put him in the pillory the next market-day in Colchester, with a paper on his head, having these words written in great letters, For *false seditious tales*: and after, if he can find sureties for his good behaviour, to be set at liberty, or otherwise to be committed to gaol. The vicar of Hoo in Kent was also by order of the lords to be apprehended, and sent up in safe custody. All these in the month of March.

I will add but one more of these delinquents, namely, Robert Forster, parson of Over-Watton; against whom matter had been exhibited. The lords sent to Hercules Rainsford and Thomas Gibbons, esquires, to examine him upon the same: and in the mean time to keep him in safe ward. This was in April 1559. But I intend to stop here; because I will not step over the present year.

One would admire the new good queen should have so many ill-willers every where, as appeared by these slanders and false reports given out and spread against her, to breed disaffection in her subjects towards her from her first coming to the crown, and to shake her title to it. Hence no question it came to pass, that one, two, or three of the first bills brought into the queen's parliament, that sat in January, were designed to meet with these defamatory reports and libels: as the bill for the *recognition* of the queen's title to the imperial crown of this realm; and the bill, wherein

certain *offences be* declared treason; and that against *slanderous and seditious words*. These bills ripened into acts before the parliament ended.

That entitled, *An act whereby certain offences be made treason*, was but the renewing of the like act made in queen Mary's reign. But that act extended no further than to that queen's person: so that if the like offences mentioned and contained in that statute happened to be committed against the queen that now was, viz. queen Elizabeth, there was no due remedy or condign punishment provided. This statute therefore was now made and declared to be in force in behalf of the present queen. It was made against such as should maliciously compass or imagine to deprive the queen's majesty and her heirs of her body from the style, honour, and kingly name of the imperial crown of this realm, or to destroy her or any of her heirs, or to levy war within the realm; or to utter by open preaching or express words the same compasses or imaginations.

Ecclesiastical persons for every such offence, immediately upon such attainder, to be deprived of all their benefices and promotions. This act also reached to such as affirmed by writing or printing, or some overt act, that the queen ought not to have the style, honour, and kingly name of this realm: or that any other person beside the queen ought to have and enjoy the said style: or that the queen that then was ought not to be queen of this realm during her life. This was made high treason.

That other bill against slanderous words, when it became an act, was entitled, *An act for the explanation of the statute of seditious words and rumours*: which was also a former act, made 1 and 2 of Philip and Mary. This act the same parliament thought most convenient to revive and reenforce, rather than to frame a new one. Wherein they made every branch, article, word, and sentence to be expounded and judged to extend to the queen's highness, as fully to all intents and constructions as it had to the former queen. And that all persons that should maliciously speak or utter any false, seditious, or slanderous news, rumours, sayings, or tales of the queen or of her heirs, being kings or queens of this realm, should incur such pains and penalties as in the said act [of queen Mary] was limited and appointed. Which punishment was the pillory, and the cutting off both ears, or the payment of an hundred pounds, and imprisonment three months, for him that of his own imagination spoke false, seditious, or slanderous rumours of the king or queen. And the reporting thereof from any other

was the pillory, and cutting off one ear, or 100 mark, and imprisonment one month.

And for malicious writing or printing, and setting forth any book, rhyme, or ballad, containing false matter, clause, or sentence of slander of the king or queen, or to the stirring or moving of sedition or insurrection; his right hand that had so done was to be stricken off, for the first time; and for the second, imprisonment during life, and forfeiture of all his goods and chattels.

And surely these severe laws afterwards terrified and restrained these malecontents and ill-willers to the queen, and bigots for popery, which appeared already so numerous.

There was also in this beginning of the queen's reign much zeal shewn on their side that desired reformation of corrupt religion. Who not being able to away with the superstitions practised, and the images in the churches, committed great disorders by their own hands, pulling them down without any public authority, and defacing the churches where they were. Of this I shall give some instances; coming to the ears of the queen's council. It was but about the beginning of December, that one Thomas Pike committed some such disorder in the church of Sholisbury, (Shobury in Essex perhaps,) of which the parson of the said church sent up a complaint to the council. Who listening to it, sent it back enclosed in a letter to the lord Rich, living in those parts, and no very good friend to protestants: willing him to send for the said Pike; and if, upon examination of the matter, he should find the same true, then to cause him to be punished according to the quality of his offence.

What acts of this nature happened afterwards I do not find (only that on the 8th or 9th of January the image of St. Thomas, that is, Thomas Becket, the patron of the mercers, that stood over their chapel door, was thrown down and broken) until the beginning of March; when a notable disturbance was made in the churches of Dover. Upon which the lords of the council sent to Thomas Keyes, sergeant porter, and Edward Boys, esq. to examine it diligently; and to cause such as they should find faulty there, to be apprehended, and bound in good bonds to appear at the council to answer their doings. Which if they refused to do, then to commit them to ward; and to signify what they had done herein. The next month I find John Castle of Dover, mariner, Tho. Ramsden of the same town, shoemaker, and John West of the same town, butcher, were each bound in'

recognisances of 20*l.* on condition that every of them should henceforth be of good abearing; and should also on the Sunday next, each of them in the parish church of Dover, whereof he was a parishioner, declare openly in the time of service, that he did very ill, and without order, to pluck down the images of that church, before a law did authorize him so to do.

And in the latter end of March, the parish church of Halylesham in Sussex was spoiled, and that by the inhabitants of the said town: whereof Tho. Busshop and John Thatcher, justices of the peace, made complaint to sir Rich. Sackville, one of the council. This (whatsoever it was they had done) the council styled a *heinous disorder*; and by their letters to the said justices willed them, for the better punishment thereof, to call for the assistance of sir Nicholas Pelham and sir Edward Gage, and other justices dwelling nigh unto them: and having found out who were the authors and ringleaders of that matter, to commit them to ward; and to put them to such fines for their offence, as by their discretions should be thought most meet, and agreeable to the laws.

In Bow church, London, also about this very time, several got together privately and undiscovered, and pulled down the images and the sacrament, and defaced the vestments and books: which notwithstanding was so well liked by many, that no complaint was preferred thereof to the council. But some information coming to them, they sent a letter to sir Thomas Lee, lord mayor, calling it an *outrageous disorder*; and not hearing of any order by him taken for redress thereof, they found it very strange. He was therefore put in remembrance of an exhortation made by the queen's majesty unto him on Candlemas-day last past, and straitly commanded to use the best means he could to bolt out the doers hereof, and to cause them to be apprehended and committed to ward; and to signify unto them [the council] what he should find therein. Thus even and impartially did the state carry it toward both parties, until some further law should be made to direct the subjects in their public worship and service of God.

CHAPTER 2.

Cardinal Poles message to the lady Elizabeth before his death. The carriage of the bishops to the queen. The posture of rely. Secret counsels for restoring it. parliament; and convocation: what was done there; and in the parliament. The act of supremacy; and uniformity. Private acts. Manet bishoprics become void by the act of supremacy; and other ecclesiastical preferments.

EARLY interest was made with Elizabeth for the continuance of the old religion. For, when the papalins saw their power was unequal to put her by from reigning after her sister, they laboured to persuade her to let religion remain as she found it. There was a secret message sent from cardinal Pole but three or four days before his death, to her, being now but lady Elizabeth, together with a letter; whereof Seth Holland, dean of Worcester, his chaplain, was the bringer. The letter was as follows:

“It may please your grace to understand, that albeit the long continuance and vehemency of my sickness be such as justly might move me, casting away all cares of this *world*, only to think of that to come; yet not being *convenient* for me to determine of life or death, which is only in the hand of God, I thought it my duty, before I should depart, so nigh as I could, to leave all persons satisfied of me, and especially your grace, being of that honour and dignity that the providence of God hath called you unto. For which purpose I do send you at this present mine faithful chaplain, the dean of Worcester; to whom may it please your grace to give credit in that he shall say unto you in my behalf. I doubt not but that *your* grace shall remain satisfied thereby. Whom Almighty God long prosper to his honour, your comfort, and the wealth of the realm.”

By your grace’s orator, Reg. *Car. Cantuarien.*”

From *Lambeth, the 14th of November, 1558.*

By this letter and message, as it seems to me, he drove at two things: the one, to satisfy the lady Elizabeth, that he was in none of the faction against her life and reign; and thereby to recommend himself and his friends unto her, when she should come to the crown, which he saw was not far off, the present queen being past hopes. The second, to leave with her certain

counsels and instructions for her future government and behaviour of herself, especially in regard of the Roman religion, that then 'was in place, and to continue it: importing this in point of Policy to be her safest course; and the extraordinary danger hanging over her head, should she attempt the alteration of it. Which no question the cardinal's chaplain set as home upon the queen as possible,

Yet surely it tended not a little to disaffect the queen towards that religion, that the clergy and bishops from the very first shewed themselves so very wayward and disobliging. Many instances of this in the inferior clergy we have related already: now some passages concerning the bishops, which I take from a Roman author of great fame. Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle, standing ready to say mass before the queen, she commanded him not to elevate the consecrated host, to prevent the idolatry that the people were wont then to commit; but to omit the ceremony, because she liked it not. Which the said bishop nevertheless (to his great honour, said the writer) constantly refused to obey. When she was to be consecrated by some bishop at her coronation, they all refused, till with much ado the foresaid bishop was prevailed upon to do it, who was the inferior almost of all the rest. For his former refusal he never repented it, but for the doing the other office towards her, when he saw the issue of the matter, and both himself and all the rest of that order deprived, and the church's holy laws and faith, (as that writer expresseth himself,) against the condition of her consecration, violated, he sore repented him all the days of his life; which were, for that special cause, both short and wearisome afterward to him. And the reason those bishops refused to crown her, (as that Romanist relates,) and that they durst not invest her, was, for that they had evident probabilities and arguments to doubt, that she meant either not to take the oath, or not to keep the same, which all Christian kings, and especially ours in England, did make in their coronation, for maintenance of holy church's laws, honours, peace, and privileges, and other duties due to every state, as in the time and grant of king Edward the confessor. They doubted also, lest she would refuse, in the very time of her sacre, the solemn divine ceremony of unction, through the evil advices of certain young counsellors, being then in the heat, prime, and pride of their heresy; whereby great scandal might arise, and hurt to the realm. Upon this surmise of her future misgovernment, they did, what in them lay, reject her from being their queen. These carriages might well estrange her mind from them.

But whether she were determined in her mind before or no, certain it is, that the affairs of the church continued for a while in the same posture and condition they were in before, abating persecution for religion: mass celebrated in the churches; the ejected and exiled clergy not restored to their former places and preferments; the popish priests keeping Possession; orders, that things in the church should for the present continue as they were; such punished as innovated any thing in the church or public worship: which put the favourers of the gospel under great fears and jealousies; and they began to suspect the queen intended to make none, or very little amendment in religion.

But as certain it is, (and we may believe the queen privy to it,) that, at the very beginning of her reign, some there were of considerable rank engaged in a deep and very secret deliberation about the method and way of restoring religion again; and what was to be done in matter of Policy for securing the inconveniencies that might arise at home and abroad, from the reformation of religion; who of the queen's council were first to be made acquainted with the design; what learned men to be employed in making the alterations; and concerning the appointments of time and place. There was about the beginning of December such a device drawn up by some notable hand, and offered to secretary Cecyl; and which, by the steps that afterward were taken, appeared to have been followed. By whose pen it was writ doth not appear. I suspect it to have been either John Hales, a man of a politic and working head, and a zealous protestant, and clerk of the hanaper to this queen, as he had been to king Edward VI. or sir Thomas Smith, a very wise man, and secretary of state to king Edward: and I am rather inclined to think it the latter.

In which device are these questions, with practical, apt answers to them.

I. When the alteration shall be first attempted? The answer to which is, At the next parliament.

II. What danger may ensue upon the alteration? The answer to which weighs the danger from the bishop of Rome, from the French king, from Scotland, from Ireland, and from many people here at home.

III. What remedy for these matters? Answer to which is given particularly and distinctly, as to France, Rome, Scotland, Ireland, and at home.

IV. What the manner of doing it? The answer to which propounds certain learned men to contrive and bring in a book, or platform of religion ready drawn, to the queen; and having her approbation, to be put into the parliament-house. The men named for the drawing this up, are Bill, late master of Trinity college, Cambridge; Parker, late dean of Lincoln; May, late dean of St. Paul's, doctors in divinity; all under king Edward heads of the university of Cambridge, but cashiered by queen Mary, and remaining obscurely in England in her reign: and beside these, Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, and Pilkington, who were exiles, and newly come home; and sir Thomas Smith, a learned knight, and doctor of the civil law, was to call them together, and assist with them in the work. And before this, it was thought necessary that all innovation should be strictly forbidden, until such time as the book should come forth.

By the sequel it appears, that this advice was taken, whosoever was the giver of it; those being the persons appointed for the revising king Edward's book of common prayer: and a proclamation being issued out in the latter end of the month of December to the effect aforesaid, as shall be told by and by.

But proceed we to the other questions.

V. What might be done of the queen, for her own conscience, openly, before the whole alteration? Or, if the alteration must tarry longer, what order is fit to be in the whole realm, as an interim? The resolution was, to make no further alteration than the queen had already done: except, to receive the communion as she pleased on high feasts; (that is, whether in one or both kinds;) and 'that the chaplains at mass receive in both kinds; and that some devout sort of prayers be framed and used for a while, and mass said more seldom.

VI. What noblemen might be thought to be most fit to be made privy to these proceedings, before the privy council should have it propounded? To which four are mentioned, Northampton, Bedford, Pembroke, and Grey.

VII. What allowance should be assigned to the learned men, while they were reviewing the book of common prayer; and where to meet? The answer to which is, Sir Thomas Smith's lodgings in Chanon-row;

and sufficient provision to be made of meat and other things. This excellent paper is summed up by Camden in his History of Queen Elizabeth, but first saw the light by the means of the right reverend the bishop of Sarum, who hath printed it in his History of the Reformation, from the MSS. of the lord Grey of Ruthen, now lord viscount Longuevil. But there being another MS. of it in the Cotton library, somewhat different from that used by him, and explanatory of it in some places, and more correct, I am therefore tempted to put it into the Repository from that MS.

A difficult work this was now taking in hand: the reformation of corrupt religion being the harder to bring to pass, because there was not only in this juncture a formidable popish party to struggle with, but a Lutheran party also. For there was not a few now that, in the alteration of religion, would endeavour to have it settled according to the Augustan Confession: whereby a real and substantial presence might be acknowledged in the eucharist; crucifixes and images might be retained in the churches; the wafer put into the receiver's mouth, and such like. And of this the learned men of the foreign reformed churches were much afraid. I find a letter written anno 1559, from Bullinger, chief pastor in Zurich, to Utenhovius, another learned man, now at Frankford, (but under king Edward VI. belonging to the Dutch church in London,) signifying, how many strove to have the Augustan Confession received I see," saith he, "no little disturbances like to arise even in England, if, as some do require, the Confession of Augsburg be there received; a thing unsuitable in "many respects." He went on, and shewed how this confession had caused vexation in all the sincerer churches, and laboured to infect all with its leaven. That Utenhovius knew what it had done in Poland; and bade him take heed, and give his assistance that it took not place. And that king Edward's reformation satisfied the godly,

But notwithstanding this stay of religion enjoined by the queen, as was said before, divers of those that were ministers in king Edward's days now soon returning home from abroad, and others concealed within the realm, began to shew themselves, and exercise their ministry, especially in London, after the order of the reformation in that reign; great numbers of people assembling at those times. And this the queen shewing herself displeased at, upon pretence of the occasion it gave to unfruitful disputes and contentions, declared the same by a proclamation sent out December 27, from Westminster: wherein she charged all, as well such as were called to

the ministry, as others; the one to forbear to preach or teach, and the other to hear any doctrine or preaching, than the gospel and epistle for the day, and the ten commandments in English, without exposition or addition of any manner of sense or meaning to be applied. Nor any manner of public prayer to be used in the church, but what then was used, and by law received; except the litany, the Lord's prayer, and the creed in English, as she used in her own chapel. Yet this order of the queen's was somewhat mitigated, by adding, that it was to last only till she and her three estates in parliament should meet, and consult for some reconciliation of matters as were then moved in point of religion: withal promising, that she meant, by all means possible, to procure and restore the advancement of religion among her people; but threatening severe punishment to those that should disobey this her proclamation. Which proclamation I have also placed in the Repository. And accordingly, Jan. 1, the litany, epistle, and gospel in English, began to be said in London, by virtue of that proclamation of the queen, according as was used in her chapel.

But the day of the parliament's meeting now drawing on, being January the 23d, we shall proceed to look upon their transactions, especially in the matters of religion, wherein so much was to be done. As we must also look into the convocation-house, where the clergy sat at the same time upon the same business.

The sitting of the parliament this day, by reason of the queen's bodily indisposition, was prorogued till January the 25th, when the lord keeper, sir Nicolas Bacon, opened it with a long and eloquent speech: and that branched into three general matters: which the queen, he said, had called the parliament together for. The first whereof was, for the well making of laws for the according and uniting of the people into an uniform order of religion. This he touched tenderly and wisely, as representing the queen not inclinable to one side or other, but only aiming to settle the religion, to be professed among her subjects, upon true principles. The sum of what he said relating to this point was,

“that the queen had God before her eyes, and was not unmindful of precepts and divine counsels; and therefore meant chiefly in this conference, that the advancement of God's honour and glory should be sought, as the sure and infallible foundation whereupon the policies of every good commonwealth were to be erected; and was as the straight line, whereby it was wholly to be directed and

governed; and as the chief pillar and buttress, wherewith it was continually to be sustained. And as the well and perfect doing of this could not but make good *success* in all the rest, *so* the remiss ‘and loose dealing in it could not but make the rest full of imperfection and doubtfulness: which must needs bring with them continual change and alteration; a thing to be eschewed in all good governances, but *most* of all in matters of faith and religion. That the queen therefore principally required them, for the duty they bore to God, and their service to her and their country, that in this consultation they would, with all humbleness, singleness, and pureness of mind, use their whole *endeavor* and diligence to establish that which by their *wisdoms* should be thought most meet for the well preserving of this godly purpose: and this without respect of honour, rule, or sovereignty, profit, pleasure, or ease; or of any thing that might touch any person in estimation or opinion of wit, learning, or knowledge; and without all regard of other affection.

“And that in their conference about this, they should wholly forbear, as a great enemy to good counsel, all manner of contention, reasonings, disputes, and sophistical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, matters for ostentation of wit, rather than consultation of weighty matters; comelier for scholars than counsellors. And because commonly they were causes of much expense of time, and bred few good resolutions.

“He advised, that by counsel provision should be made, that no contentious and contumelious words, as *heretic*, *schismatic*, *papist*, and such like, being nurses of seditious factions and sects, should be used, but banished out of men’s mouths, as the causers, continuers, and increasers of displeasure, hate, and malice; and as utter enemies of all concord and unity, and the very marks they were now come to shoot at. And that as nothing should be advised or done, that might any way breed or nourish any kind of idolatry or superstition, so heed was to be taken, that by licentious or loose handling, any occasion were given, whereby contempt or irreverent behaviour towards God and godly things might creep in.

“That the examples of fearful punishments that followed these four extremities, that is to say, idolatry, superstition, contempt, and

irreligion, in all ages and times, were more than he could declare: and yet not so many as the blessings and benefits of God to those that had forsaken them, and embraced their contraries. That for their better encouragement to run this right and straight course, he thought he might affirm, that the good king Hezekiah had no greater desire to amend what was amiss in his time, nor the noble queen Hester a better heart to overthrow the mighty enemies of God's elect, than their sovereign lady and mistress had to do that which might be just and acceptable in God's sight. And so forced to this by their duties to God, feared thereto by his punishments, provoked by his benefits, and drawn by their love to their country and their wives, and lastly, encouraged by so princely a patroness, he exhorted them in God's name to go about this work."

Now before we observe what impression this speech had upon the parliament, let us first see a little what was done among the members of the convocation.

Herein the popish clergy did notably bestir themselves. It began the 24th day of the said month; that is, the next day after the parliament were called together, Nicolas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, being prolocutor: when, by the order of the bishop of London, president, the lower house drew up articles, and desired the bishops of the upper house to present them to the parliament. The *history* of it was thus; as I take it from archbishop Parker's volume, entitled *Synodalia*.

In the fourth session, the bishop of London asked the clergy of the lower house, whether they had thought of anything which they would explain that day? When the prolocutor, with Thomas Reynold, John Harpfield, and William Chedsey answered, that they knew not for what cause, and concerning what things they were to treat; and they prayed, that a way might be considered of, how religion might be preserved. To which the bishops answered, that it seemed expedient, that the clergy should make a supplication to the queen, that no burden might be imposed upon the clergy in that parliament; and that then they should consider about the supply of a subsidy, and the way of raising it.

Session 6. The prolocutor and the clergy offered to the bishops certain articles in writing, which the said clergy had devised, for the disburdening of their consciences, as they said, and the protestation of their faith: and petitioned the bishops, that they would head them in the same.

Session 7. Febr. ult. They exhibited their articles conceived in the former session; which were read, and the bishops promised to present them to the upper house of parliament the next day. The articles were these:

- I.** That in the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the words of Christ, duly spoken by the priest, is present *realiter*, under the kinds of bread and wine, the natural body of Christ, conceived of the virgin Mary, and also his natural blood.
- II.** That after the consecration there remains not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but the substance of God and man.
- III.** That in the mass is offered the true body of Christ, and his true blood, a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and dead.
- IV.** That to Peter the apostle, and his lawful successors in the apostolic see, as Christ's vicars, is given the supreme power of feeding and ruling the church of Christ militant, and confirming their brethren.
- V.** That the authority of handling and defining concerning the things belonging to faith, sacraments, and discipline ecclesiastical, hath hitherto ever belonged, and ought to belong only to the pastors of the church; whom the Holy Ghost for this purpose hath set in the church; and not to laymen.

The three former of these were solemnly disputed at Oxford, the first year of queen Mary, as the great **κριτήριο** of popery, against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer.

The next session, the prolocutor and clergy asked the bishops, whether they had presented the articles? The bishop of London said, he had presented them to the lord keeper of the great seal; and that he received them, as appeared, gratefully; but gave no answer. They desired the upper house, that they would before the next session inquire the good pleasure of the keeper concerning them.

In a session following, the bishop of London told them, that the articles under the hand of a public notary were exhibited, (one only article, viz. the last, excepted,) being before approved by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Nothing more followed, but adjournments, until the middle of May 1559, when, I suppose, this convocation was concluded, the parliament being dissolved a little before, viz. the eighth day of the said month.

All this while the clergy that favoured sincere religion were not but private standers by, and were not consulted with: which put them into some disturbance, fearing the issue; their hearts trembling, as old Eli's did, for the ark of God: and well they might, there being neither any order taken for the restoration of the old protestant bishops to their sees, whereof there were four surviving; nor of the inferior clergy, that married wives under king Edward, and were deprived under queen Mary, to their former dignities and benefices.

But now let us look into the parliament, and see what was done there about religion, and for the establishment of the queen upon her throne. First, Richard Cox, D.D. (sometime dean of Westminster, and of Christ church, Oxon, but that had lived abroad all the late reign, and now lately come home,) preached before the parliament at the opening of it. But queen Mary's bishops and prelates only sat in the house, from whom was to be expected all the opposition that could be against casting off the pope's usurpation, and restoring of true religion. They were indeed few, some being newly dead, as Canterbury, Salisbury, Norwich, Chichester, Rochester, and some others; several absent, who had sent their proxies, as Durham, Peterborough, Ely, (now abroad in an embassy,) Bath and Wells, St. David's: to which add, one prior, sir Tho. Tresham, lord prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, who also sent his proxy. Those that appeared were, Heath, archbishop of York, that had been lord chancellor, Boner, bishop of London, White of Winton, Pate of Worcester, Kitchin of Landaft, Bayne of Coventry and Litchfield, Turberville of Exeter, Scot of Chester, and Oglethorp of Carlisle, with Feckenham, lord abbot of Westminster.

The chief bills brought in, which this present history especially requireth our taking notice of, shall follow. The most whereof passed into act, (but some were rejected,) to all which, the bishops that sat in the house, generally, one and all dissented and protested.

The first bill preferred in the upper house was read on Monday, January the 30th. The substance was, for the *restitution and annexation* of the first-fruits, tenths, &c. to the imperial crown of this realm. Which, by reason of the present impoverished state of the revenues, was thought highly necessary to be restored again to the crown, to help to uphold the "huge,

innumerable, and inestimable charges” of the royal estate, as the bill expresseth it; mentioning how these first-fruits, tenths, yearly rents of impropriations, rectorles, &c. had been given away by queen Mary from the crown, which they accounted a great disherison and decay done to the crown and royal estate of the realm, and the succession thereof. This bill was read the third time, and passed Saturday, February 4. To this bill all the bishops present, which were eight, dissented, viz. York, London, Worcester, Landaff, Coventry and Litchfield, Exeter, Chester, Carlisle. But all the temporal lords consented *nemine contradicente*: as appeared easily by the standing up, first of the temporal lords, who voted in the affirmative, and then of the spiritual lords, who voted the negative: in respect of the apparent inequality of their voices.

The second and next bill brought in, and read in the lords’ house, was on Wednesday, February the 1st, which was still in order to uphold the queen’s estate, being for *recognition of her title* to the imperial crown of this realm. This bill was finished February the 9th, and by universal consent concluded. Observe that here the bishops did not dissent. This bill was conform to the practice of queen Mary’s first parliament, wherein such a bill was brought in and passed, declaring and recognising her to have been born in a most just and lawful matrimony; and so consequently their rightful queen.

The third bill that was read in the said house was on the said 9th of February, still relating more nearly to the queen, By this bill certain offences were declared treason.

And the fourth bill was read the same day, *against slanderous and seditious words*. What need there was of such a bill to restrain the tongues of many against the queen and her proceedings, is evident from what hath been related before.

The next (being the fifth bill proper here to be taken notice of) was read February the 10th, wherein the queen was made inheritable to the late queen Anne, her majesty’s mother. And it is remarked by the author of the history of the journal of this parliament, concerning this bill, that after the reading two other bills the same day, it was read again, and ordered to be engrossed. Which speed, he saith, the house took for the passing of this bill, to express their zeal and affection to her majesty. February the 13th, this bill was read the third time, whereby the queen was restored in blood to the late queen Anne, her mother, and concluded with the common

consent of all the lords: neither is there any mention in the journal of the house, of the bishops dissenting to this: which because it is a private act, and unprinted, I exemplify it in the Appendix.

February the 27th came a very material bill from the house of commons, where it had been despatched; it was for the *restoring the supremacy* to the imperial crown of this realm; and *for repealing* divers acts made to the contrary. This bill was tossed about in both houses, and many alterations made, and many provisoes added. Once it was entitled, “A bill to avoid the usurped power claimed by any foreign *potentate* in this realm; and for the oath to be taken for spiritual and temporal officers.” This was the reason it was read so often in the upper house, as the 27th and 28th of February: again the 13th, 15th, 18th of March: on which day it is said in the journal to be concluded; these two temporal lords dissenting, viz. the earl of Shrewsbury and viscount Mountague; and these spiritual, being nine bishops and one abbot, that *is*, I suppose, all that were in the house, viz. York, London, Winton, Wigorn, Landaft, Coventry and Litchfield, Exon, Chester, Carlisle, and the abbot of Westminster. And after, March the 18th, by reason of some additions, provisions, and reviews of so weighty a bill, it came into this house again several times before it was finished.

March the 20th, fourteen bills were brought up from the commons to the house of lords: whereof one was to *take away all pains and penalties* for religion in queen Mary’s time; and another for *making ecclesiastical laws* by thirtytwo persons. The rest of the fourteen were about temporal matters. The former was taken into the bill of the *supremacy*. The latter bill, being for an emendation of the civil and ecclesiastical laws, (wherein infinite pains had been taken by archbishop Cranmer, and divers of the learnedest men in king Edward’s reign,) had been often brought into that king’s parliaments, and had found difficulty to pass, though earnestly desired by the best men: nor had it better fortune in this reign. Men did not then care to be restrained by church discipline.

March the 22d, the bill for *the restitution of the firstfruits and tenths* was returned from the lower house, and concluded by the lords. And likewise the bill *for restoring the supremacy* to the imperial crown, with a new proviso added by the commons; which was read the first, second, and third time, and concluded; the bishops of York, London, Winton, Landaff, Coventry and Litchfield, Exon, Chester, Carlisle, and the abbot of Westminster, dissenting.

The same day, the bill for *admitting and consecrating archbishops and bishops* was sent from the lower house, and was read then, and read again the second time: and the next day, viz. March the 23d, was read the third time, and concluded. This bill also was put into the bill for the *supremacy*.

April the 4th, 1559, the bill, *that the queen, upon the avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric*, might exchange the temporal possessions thereof with parsonages impropriate, was read now the first time. April the 5th, the same bill was read again, but worded thus; "That the queen, upon the avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric, may resume the temporal possessions thereof into her hands; recompensing the value thereof with parsonages impropriate," &c. The next day the same bill was read the third time, and concluded; the bishops of York, London, Wigorn, Coventry and Litchfield, Exon, Chester, Carlisle, and the aforesaid abbot, dissenting.

April 14, Friday, four bills were brought from the commons: whereof one was to review the act 5 Edw. VI. for keeping of holydays and fasting-days. This bill either came to nothing, or was taken into the bill of Uniformity. And another, *for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and for abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same*: both which were read. Here this important bill of the Supremacy came into the upper house again, and received the title wherewith it stands in the statute: but by reason of other provisoes added yet unto it, it was not fully completed until the 29th day of April; as will appear in the sequel.

April the 17th, the bishop of Ely was in the house; being now returned home from his embassy abroad with Dr. Wotton. For this day, to him and some other bishops and peers was committed the bill for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction; now having been read the second time.

April the 25th, nine bills were brought from the commons to the lords. Those concerning religion were, first, touching *uniformity of common prayer*, and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments: which passed in the commons' house April the 20th. Secondly, *To make good the leases and grants of offices and copyholds*, made by Nicolas Ridley, late bishop of London. This bill, May the 1st, was rejected after a third reading.

The case was this, (as I have it from an authentic paper:) Boner, bishop of London, was deprived by two several commissions, dated the eighth and

seventeenth days of September, in the third year of Edward VI. The commissions and sentence of deprivation both of record.

From which sentence of deprivation Boner appealed, as appeareth by record.

The privy council examined and rejected the appeal by sentence definitive. Which sentence is of record: but the commission whereby they did it cannot as yet be found,

Upon the rejectment of the appeal, Dr. Ridley was translated to be bishop of London, and made leases of certain lands, parcel of the said bishopric.

Primo Mariae, Boner was restored: who made leases of the same lands unto others; supposing Ridley to be but an usurper.

So that upon the validity or invalidity of their two leases, the question was, whether Ridley were lawfully bishop of London in the reign of king Edward VI. or no.

The inconveniences that might grow thereof were reserved to the considerations of the good and godly: for that many titles did depend thereon.

April the 26th, Wednesday, again the bill for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, &c. with a proviso added thereunto by the lords, read a third time, and concluded; the bishops of York, London, Ely, Wigorn, Landaff, Coventry and Litchfield, Exon, Chester, Carlisle, and the foresaid abbot of Westminster, dissenting, with viscount Mountague only of the lords temporal. It was yet read again the 28th of April, because of a new proviso added by the commons. And April 29 read a third time, and concluded.

This 26th day, the bill for *uniformity* of common prayer, and service in the church, sent the day before from the commons, was read the first time in the lords' house. April the 27th, the same bill was read the second time: April the 28th, read the third time, and concluded; the bishops (as before) of York, London, Ely, Wigorn, Landaff, Coventry and Litchfield, Exon, Chester, Carlisle, dissenting; (the abbot is not mentioned here in the Journal among the dissenters: I suppose he was now absent.) The dissenting temporal lords were nine, viz. the marquis of Winchester, the

earl of Shrewsbury, viscount Mountague, barons Morly, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North.

The 27th day likewise were three bills brought from the lower house; of one I will take notice, having been twice read, though it passed not into an act this session; but in the next parliament it did: by this bill *the use and practice of enchantments, witchcraft, and sorcery*, was made felony. The reason of bringing in this bill was, because conjurers and charmers, and such as invoked evil spirits, were so frequent and busy upon the queen's first coming to the crown, and perhaps before: who meddled in matters of state, and endeavoured by sorcery and the black art to deprive the queen of her kingdom. Besides, that many people nowadays were strangely taken, deprived of their speech, bereft of their senses, pined away, their flesh rotting; which were justly supposed to be the effects of conjurations and enchantments: and so the preamble of that act doth set forth.

Another of these three bills, for the security of the queen's in her proceedings, and to prevent popular tumults, did pass the lords' house April the 29th, confirming all act made in the first of queen Mary, *against unlawful and rebellious assemblies*. Which as it served that queen, so it was like to prove very serviceable now to this, in the present alteration of religion. For by this act were stopped any intents or attempts to alter or change, by force of arms, any laws made or established for religion; if any persons to the number of twelve or above, of their own authority, should meet together for such purpose.

April the 29th, (i.e. the same day,) another proviso annexed by the commons to the bill for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, was read the third time, and concluded.

May the 2d, several bills came from the commons to the lords: whereof one was, that the *queen by commission might examine the causes of deprivation of spiritual persons, and restore them again*. This was in favour of such of king Edward's clergy, (whereof were great numbers,) that in the beginning of queen Mary's reign were thrown out of their ecclesiastical preferments and places, and others clapt in their rooms, (either because they were married, or for that they favoured the gospel,) without, or contrary to law. But this bill, for some political reasons, I suppose, passed not, being not found among the printed acts.

Another of these bills *was, to annex to the crown certain religious houses,* and to reform certain abuses in chantries. These bills were this day read; and read again the next day: and May the 5th, both read the third time, and concluded: but the bishops and abbot dissenting to the bill for annexing to the crown religious houses; to which three provisoes were added. This also is not among the printed acts.

Let me add the mention of one temporal bill, and that was for the subsidy and two fifteens and tenths; to shew in what low circumstances the crown now was, and how sensible the nation was of it. This bill was first read in the house of commons, February the 3d, and brought up to the lords February the 11th. This subsidy was extremely free, and readily granted without any special labour or desire of the queen, but out of most necessary consideration had by the court of parliament for the wealth and public affairs of the realm. For the parliament in their consultations well saw what great debts had been left to the queen's majesty to pay on the other side of the seas, (which yet remained and grew intolerable to the realm,) and what other great charges and debts had been left to her, by reason of the wars as well towards Scotland as in Ireland: a great part whereof, with no small care, pains, and consideration, had been defrayed; together with other charges lying now upon her since the late queen's death, for her funerals, and for her own coronation.

The queen, soon after the parliament's breaking up, sent forth her commissions for the levying this subsidy throughout England: and the lords of the council backed the said *commissions* with their letters for the more effectual and true assessing and collecting of it. In their letter to the lord president of the north, (whence I have taken what is above written,) they write further, "*that* they could not but lamentably report, that the burdens, debts, and charges had been *and* were intolerable, which daily did appear. And they prayed him and the rest of the commissioners in those northern parts, (as they should have occasion offered them in the execution of this commission,) by their earnestness and diligence to further this subsidy, which was so frankly given, as with more good-will and fuller accord never was any granted: and that they would shew themselves to have respect to this time. And so to use the demands and assessment of this subsidy, that it might appear (as true it was) nothing to the particular benefit of her majesty, but only towards the discharge and alleviating of some part of that burden wherewith her majesty found her imperial crown overcharged by

the late queen's great debts." This was written from Westminster, May the 22d. But to return a little back again.

Let me now shew several things transacted in the lower house (as I have hitherto chiefly done in the upper) concerning bishops and spiritual persons, and their deprivations, and the alienations of their lands, or other matters respecting religion.

February the 15th, a bill was brought into the commons' house for the restoring of the patentees of the bishop of Winchester's lands. Of which lands they had been thrown out in queen Mary's reign, and their patents from king Edward evacuated; and the said lands procured back to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and his successors: this bill was, February 18, read again the second time. And again, ten days after, (viz. February 28,) the bill was amended, or rather renewed, and now entitled, *A bill for assurance of lands*, late parcel of the bishopric of Winchester, granted to king Edward VI. and by his letters patents granted to the earl of Pembroke, sir Will. Fitzwilliams, sir Philip Hobby, sir John Mason, sir Henry Seymour, sir Henry Nevil, and sir Richard Sackvile. This bill was now read the first time.

One of these patentees (though not mentioned in the Journal among the rest above named) seems to be the marquis of Northampton, whose authority now might give some speed to the passing this bill. He had, in the year 1552, made an exchange with the king; and had of him the lordship and manor of Southwark, sometime belonging to the bishop of Winchester, for the chief and capital mess of Lambeth, sometimes parcel of the estate of the duke of Norfolk, attain ted with treason; as I find in the book of grants, passed under the bishop of Ely, lord chancellor: unless perhaps the marquis having been attainted under queen Mary, this lordship with the rest of his lands were forfeited to the crown; and so not mentioned among the patentees.

But to see further how this bill proceeded. March the 1st, being Wednesday, White, the bishop of Winton, in proper person came, and required the copy of the bill exhibited here, touching his lands; which was granted: and further, it was allowed him to bring in his answer and counsel on Saturday next at nine of the clock. March the 2d, Mason required that the counsel of the patentees for the bishop of Winchester's lands might be there the next day, to hear what the bishop and his counsel would say: which request was granted by the house.

March the 4th, Saturday, the bishop of Winchester in proper person opened his title to his manors, [taken away by king Edward, and given to his patentees,] saying they had been parcel of the bishopric for a thousand three hundred years, and required justice of this house. The queen's attorney, hearing the talk of the bishop, required that he might be heard for the queen touching these lands. And day was given as well to Mr. Attorney as to the bishop, to be heard on Monday next, at half an hour before nine.

Master chancellor of the duchy, who was sir Ambrose Cave, took this opportunity (the bishop being now in the house of commons) to complain, that Mr. White [so he termed the said bishop] had called him a witness, *not to like the book of service*, [which the bishop, it seems, had said while he was arguing against the said book in the lords' house.] But the bishop answered, in excuse, or for the rectifying the report,

“That Mr. Chancellor said, he wished *the book to be well considered of*. But since the house did take it, that he [the bishop] did misrepresent him, therefore he standing up asked him forgiveness: which Mr. Chancellor again took thankfully from the bishop.”

March the 6th, Monday, the bishop of Winchester brought learned counsel with him; and divers arguments were had about the late bishop's lands. Then the queen's attorney desired, that he and the rest might say their minds, whereby they might fully answer. The bishop now seemed to delay the cause, saying, that his counsel was not yet instructed. Notwithstanding Mr. Attorney answered at large. The effect of his speech was, that the appeal made by bishop Gardiner in the last reign, when he was deprived, [which appeal seemed most to be insisted upon,] was not of effect. For that in the commission at his deprivation was contained, *cum omni appellatione remota*. And so the appeal made to king Edward VI. by that bishop *n'ay point d'effect*. Mr. Noel and Mr. Bell, of counsel with the patentees, declared in effect for the patentees, as Mr. 'Attorney had shewn for the queen.

The next time we hear of this business was March 9. Then the bill to assure lands late of the bishopric of Winton, to the queen and certain patentees of Edward VI. was read the second time.

The bishop of Winchester had, it seems, in this cause took upon him to cancel records; which the house was informed of. And thereupon, March

14, articles were devised for the punishment of the bishop: and it was ordered that a bill should be thereof drawn by Mr. Keilway. And March 21, a new bill was read against cancelling of records by warrant or otherwise.

March 16, the bill for the assurance to king Edward's patentees of the lands late parcel of the bishopric of Winchester was read the second time. And March 18, the third time: and upon the question passed the house.

To the rest this may be worthy noting, that on March the 23d, it was reported to the house by one of the burgesses, that Mr. [or Dr.] Story (who was a very hot papist) had not well used himself, being a member of this house, in going before the lords, and being of counsel with the bishop of Winchester, against the patentees. Which by the house was taken to be a fault, [in so open a disallowance and opposition of that which had passed the house whereof he was a member,] and, it seems, to the breach of some order of the house in such cases. Whereupon Story excused himself by ignorance of any such order: and nevertheless that he had since considered it, and did acknowledge it not to be well done; and therefore required the house to remit it: which accordingly by the house was remitted.

The foresaid bill was, with several other bills, brought up to the house of lords March the 20th, and March the 22d read the third time, and passed; yet the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Winton, Wigorn, Landaft, Coventry, Exon, Chester, and Carlisle, and the abbot of Westminster, and these temporal lords, Winchester, Stafford, Dudley, and North, dissenting.

There were other bishops' lands alienated from the bishoprics under king Edward VI. and given away to particular persons after the deprivation of the said bishops, and the bishoprics being then vacant; which lands were restored again under queen Mary. And in this parliament endeavour was made to recover them back again: as appears by these bills following.

March the 1st, a bill was read the second time in behalf of the lord Wentworth, and others, who had got much of the lands of the bishop of London in king Edward's reign, and now endeavoured to obtain a bill for the holding them. It was entitled, *A bill for the assurance of certain lands, parcel of the bishopric of London*, to the lord Wentworth, the lord Rich, and the lord Darcy. And the next day, another bill was read the first time in the house of commons, (where the former was read,) for confirmation of the bishopric of London to the now bishop of London, [viz. Boner.] Which

seems to be put in, in opposition to the bill read before, craftily framed by the said bishop.

March the 11th, a bill to confirm bishop Ridley's leases and grants was read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed. Two days after, viz. Monday, March the 13th, Boner, bishop of London, in proper person came, and required a copy of a bill put in for confirmation of leases granted by Dr. Ridley, *usurper of the bishopric*, as he stiled him. Which copy was granted him; with addition, that the house did intend to take Ridley's title in the bishopric as it was: and that he should make his answer by words on Wednesday next peremptory at nine of the clock. Accordingly, on Wednesday March 15, the bishop of London in his proper person came, and shewed the untruth of the bill, as, he said, he took it; and concluded, that the king's commissioners for his deprivation did not according to their commission. And yet by his appeal then, and by his letters patents from queen Mary, he affirmed, that he stood still bishop. And therefore finally, that the grants made by Dr. Ridley were void.

But notwithstanding, April the 15th, the bill for confirmation of these leases, grants of offices, and copyholds, made by Ridley, late bishop of London, had its third reading, and passed the house.

This bill set forth, "*How* the said Edmond Boner, bishop of London, was upon good and just causes and considerations, by just sentence, and order of the law of the realm, deprived, deposed, and put from his said bishopric, and all other his spiritual promotions, for his contumacy; and that afterwards the said bishopric was justly collated and giver, to Nicolas Ridley, D.D. by letters patents of King Edward VI. with all the lands and tenements thereunto belonging. And that he being placed and possessed in the said bishopric, did make divers leases of manors, lordships, meses, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, &c. by his several deeds under the seal and confirmation of the dean and chapter of Paul's, for term of years and term of lives: and also divers demises of his lands, tenements, &c. customary by copy of court-roll; and took and received divers fines for the same; and granted also to divers persons divers offices, as stewardships, bailiffwicks, &c. That the said farmers had been at great cost and charges in and about reparations and buildings upon their farms, or otherwise: that afterwards the said Boner was restored in the time of queen Mary, by colour of a certain appeal, and other surmised causes; whereas indeed, by right, he could have had none: since which the said leases, grants,

copyholders and customary tenants had been, and daily were, with great cruelty, expelled, and put out of their said farms, offices, and copy-holds by the said Boner: surmising the same leases, grants, offices, and copies of court-rolls to be void; for that the said Nic. Ridley did not, as he surmised, lawfully possess, occupy, and enjoy the said bishopric of London, by reason of the said appeal, or other causes, by the said Edmond Boner untruly and insufficiently alleged:

“That therefore it might be ordained, published, and enacted, that all leases, demises, and grants, &c. offices, bailiffwicks, and stewardships to any one, lawfully made by the said Ridley, during the time of his possession of the bishopric, should be judged, expounded, deemed, construed, &c. as good and effectual in the law, to. all intents and constructions, against the said Nicolas and Edmond, and the successors of them, &c. as the same should have been, if the said Edmond Boner had been dead at the time of his said deprivation, or had never made any kind of appeal, &c. And that the said leases and demises of any of the said lands, &c. and their executors, administrators, &c should and might have such like benefit, commodity, and advantage by all ways and means, &c. against the bishop of London, or hereafter for the time being, and their successors, and every other person, persons, bodies politic or corporate, to whom the reversion of the same lands, tenements, &c. so demised shall belong, as the said leases or demises, &c. might or should have had against the leasor or leasors.”

But, whatever was the reason, it was rejected in the lords' house, May the 1st, after a third reading that day, as was mentioned before.

Such another bill for the confirmation of lands taken from the bishopric of Worcester, under king Edward, was brought into the lower house, March 4, viz. for the assurance of Hartlebury and Wickenford, late the bishop of Worcester's lands, to sir Francis Jobson and Walter Blount, severally: and March the 7th, read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed. The next day Pate, the present bishop of that see, in proper person came and required the copy of a bill exhibited against the bishopric, (to which it seems those lands were reunited under queen Mary,) and that a day might be appointed him to make answer in writing, or otherwise.

The bishop of Coventry and Litchfield (being belike in the like case) the same day made the same petition. And it was ordered, that the bishop of

Worcester should have the said copy, and make his answer upon Saturday next; and the bishop of Coventry on Monday following: and it was likewise granted, that the other parties should then and there have their counsel, to hear the bishops.

Here D'Ewes, the publisher of the Journals, interposeth this observation, “*That* these and other bishops, notwithstanding their stiff opposition against the reformation of religion moved in this parliament, had free liberty to de *fend* their own cause, either in person or by counsel: which shewed the queen’s incomparable clemency and moderation, who so impartially dealt with them, and so *patiently* suffered their opposition, and gave way to their allegations.”

March the 11th, Saturday, the bishop of Worcester came with his counsel, and declared that Hooper (late bishop of Worcester) was not lawful bishop, by reason of the appeal of bishop Hethe, when he was deprived under king Edward VI. and so his grants not good. And so prayed the house to consider of it.

Upon the appointed day, Bain, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, came also with his counsel, and declared, that, for the fine levied, Mr. Fisher had no cause to complain. To which Mr. Fisher’s counsel alleged, that the fine was made by compulsion.

Now we go on to take notice of some other bills of remark, relating to bishops or spiritual persons.

March the 15th, a bill was brought in to restore bishops and spiritual persons, that had been deprived in the time of queen Mary: which was read again April the 6th. This bill went, it seems, but heavily, considering how long the space was between the first reading and the second: but surely it was a necessary bill, since so many ecclesiastical persons of unblameable life were most injuriously deprived of their livings and livelihoods, most of them for being married, which the law expressly allowed. This bill passed, and went to the upper house, and there failed, (whatever the reason was,) as was said before.

The next day, viz. March 16, a bill was brought in to make lawful the deprivation of bishops and spiritual persons. This bill is somewhat obscure, not mentioning in what reign these deprivations happened. If by it be meant the deprivations under king Edward VI. Boner and other bishops then deprived seemed to give the occasion thereof, who had insisted in the

house, that their deprivations were unlawful; as, the day before, the said Boner had the confidence to urge to them in the house of commons. And so the grants to be void, which were made by Dr. Ridley, as he called him, his immediate predecessor in the see of London, not vouchsafing him the name of bishop. And it appeared by the reading of this bill the next time, viz. March 21, to be meant in the foresaid sense, when the bill ran, *to make lawful the deprivation of the bishops of Loft, Winchester, Worcester, and Chichester.*

March the 17th, a bill was brought in, that no person should be punished for exercising the religion used in King Edward's last year: read the first and second time, and ordered to be engrossed. This bill seems to be grounded upon this good intention, to free all such as were put in prison under queen Mary, for the exercise and profession of the gospel.

March 21, a bill was read now the second time, that the queen shall collate or appoint bishops in bishoprics being vacant, and that without rites and ceremonies, [used, I suppose, in popish ordinations,] and ordered to be engrossed. And the next day the bill was read the third time, and passed the house, and sent to the lords.

March the 24th, Friday, for weighty affairs to be done in this parliament, according to the example of the upper house, the house of commons, according to former precedents, adjourned until Monday the 3d of April next. And in the mean time I find in the minutes of the council, that on the 27th of March, letters were sent from the queen's privy council to the sheriffs of the several counties, to admonish and give warning to the knights and burgesses of their several counties, that were departed from this parliament without licence, that in no wise they fail to be there on Monday next, being the 3d of April, as they would answer for the contrary.

D'Ewes saith, that it did not appear upon what occasion that adjournment was, but he conjectureth it was by reason of a disputation held that day in the forenoon, between the popish bishops and some learned men of the protestant religion, lately returned from exile; (of which, account will be given hereafter.) At which the lords of the upper house, and the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the house of commons, some did desire, and some were desired, as it should seem, to be present.

April the 17th, 1559, a bill that the queen should have divers temporal lands of the archbishops and bishops, in recompence of tenths and

parsonages impropriate, (to be settied upon the bishops instead thereof,) was read in the commons' house the third time, and passed, upon the question and division of the house: with the bill were 104; against the bill 90. We shall hear more also of this bill in the process of this history.

April 18, the bill for uniformity of common prayer in the church was read the first time. April 19, read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed. April 20, read the third time, and passed the house. So current, it seems, this bill went.

This bill was sent up with nine others to the house of lords, and brought by sir Anthony Cook, knt. a man of great learning and abilities, who was, no doubt, a great dealer in this bill.

April 27, a bill was read, that the queen by commission may examine and restore spiritual persons deprived: read the first time. It seems the old bill of the same import, that had been twice read, was thrown by, and this new one brought in, in the place of it. April 29, the said bill to restore such persons to their benefices, as had been unlawfully deprived, was read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed. May the 2d, it was read the third time, and passed the house, and sent up to the lords, being brought by Mr. Sadleir and others, with some other bills. May the 5th, this bill was read a third time in the upper house, and concluded. Yet I do not find it was enacted and passed into a law.

April 29, a bill for abbeys, priories, nunneries, hospitals, and chantries, founded since the reign of queen Mary, to be annexed to the crown, was read the third time, and passed the house upon the question; and was sent up to the lords, who concluded it the 5th of May, the bishops and abbot, and one temporal lord, viz. viscount Mountague, dissenting.

This parliament was dissolved May the 8th, after the queen had given her royal consent to the bills. Immediately before the doing of which, the lord keeper Bacon made a speech to the parliament: the sum of that part of it that concerned religion was,

“that as to the observation of the uniform order in religion, they of the parliament, in their several places, should endeavour, to the best of their *powers*, to further and set forth the same: which by great and deliberate advice in that parliament had been established. That watch should be had of the withdrawers and hinderers thereof; especially of those that subtilly and by indirect means sought to

procure the contrary. Among these he comprehended as well those that were too swift, as those that were too slow; those that went before the law, or behind the law, as those that would not follow. For good government could not be, where obedience failed, and both these alike broke the rule of obedience. That these were they that in all likelihood would be the beginners and maintainers of factions and sects, the very mothers and nurses of all seditions and tumults. Of these therefore great heed would be taken: and upon them being found, sharp and severe corrections should be imposed, according to the order of law: and that in the beginning, without respect of persons, as upon the greatest adversaries that could be to unity and concord; without which no commonwealth, he said, could long endure.”

The public acts passed this first parliament are well known, being printed in the statute book: yet those that settled the *supremacy*, and the *public service* of God, may have some short account given of them, for enlightening the rest of the history. By the act of supremacy, called, *An act for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing foreign power*, no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, spiritual or temporal, should use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of Power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, preeminence, &c. within this realm, or any of her majesty’s dominions: but from henceforth the said Power, jurisdiction, &c. to be clearly abolished out of the realm; and that all jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, preeminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority have been lawfully exercised in the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for the reformation, order, and correction of the same; and of all manner of errors, heresies, abuses, offences, &c. should for ever be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm: and that the queen and her successors should have power by their letters patents under the great seal, to assign, name, and authorize, and as often as they should think meet, and for so long time as they should please, persons, being natural born subjects, to use, occupy, and exercise under her and them all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and preeminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realm of England and Ireland, &c. to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever.

And further by this act, for the better observation and maintenance of it, all archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, and ecclesiastical officers and ministers, and every temporal judge, justice, mayor, and other lay and temporal officer, and other person having the queen's fee or wages, should take a corporal oath upon the evangelists, utterly to testify and declare in their consciences, that *the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes as temporal: and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, &c. within this realm. And therefore utterly to renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, &c. and to promise to bear faith and true allegiance to the queen and her heirs and lawful successors; and to their power to assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, preeminences, and authorities granted or belonging to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, as united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.* The penalty of the refusal to take this oath was the losing, during life, all ecclesiastical promotions, benefices, and offices, and every temporal and lay promotion and office. And the same oath was to be taken of all that should hereafter be preferred to any such spiritual or temporal benefice or office.

Further, this act did restrain all writing, printing, teaching, preaching, express words, deeds, or acts, whereby any did affirm, hold, or stand with, set forth, maintain, or defend the authority or preeminence of any foreign prince, prelate, Person, state, &c. whatsoever, heretofore claimed, used, or usurped within this realm, or the putting in ure or exercise of any thing for the extolling, advancing, setting forth, or defence of any such pretended jurisdiction. They that should so do, as also their abettors and alders, being thereof convicted, to forfeit all their goods and chattels. And if they had not, or were not worth to the value of 20*l.* then, besides the forfeiture of their goods, to suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year. And spiritual persons so offending, to lose also their benefices, prebends, or other ecclesiastical preferments. And for the second offence, every such offender to incur the dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, ordained and provided by the statute of *provision* and *premunire*, made the 16th year of Richard II. And for the third time, such offences to be deemed and adjudged high treason, and the offender being thereof lawfully convicted and attainted, to suffer the pains of death; and other penalties, forfeitures, &c. as in cases of high treason.

One ground of this act was, as is mentioned in the preamble, the great intolerable charges and exactions formerly unlawfully taken and exacted by such foreign power and authority. Of which therefore king Henry VIII. by divers good laws and statutes had disburdened his subjects: but which had been laid oh them again by the late queen Mary.

This act was thought very rigorous by some in those times, especially for some of the penalties. But in answer to this, see what is said in a little book long since set forth and dedicated to Robert earl of Leicester: “Queen Elizabeth following the steps of her father and brother, had it enacted in her first parliament, that the authority of the *bishop* of Rome, and of all other foreign powers and potentates, spiritual and temporal, should be utterly driven away, and removed out of her majesty’s territories and dominions: and that upon such penalties unto all her subjects, that to uphold, maintain, or set forth any such foreign authority within this realm, is in some points and degrees high treason. So, that they lose and forfeit their *lives*, lands, and goods, who are guilty of it. A statute that may seem severe, and perhaps accounted of some over-rigorous. But they who mark it wisely, cannot choose but see how sharp tools were necessary to root out this weed; which many godly princes before king Henry VIII. did endeavour to nip off by sundry good laws; but it budded still again, and brought forth such blossoms, or rather fruits of rebellion, ambition, covetousness, hypocrisy, and wicked superstition, as it was to be feared would have poisoned the whole land, had not our gracious prince used such sharp instruments to root it out utterly.” So that author.

But beside these things aforesaid contained in the said act, there was another notable branch of it, that renewed and revived a great many good laws of king Henry and king Edward, that had been repealed by queen Mary, viz. first, an act that no person shall be cited out of the diocese where he or she dwelleth, except in certain cases. Another act, that appeals in such cases as have been used to be pursued in the see of Rome, shall not be from henceforth had nor used but within the realm. Another, for the restraints of payments of annates and first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics to the see of Rome. Another, concerning the submission of the clergy to the king’s majesty. Another, restraining the payment of annates and first-fruits to the bishop of Rome, and of the electing and consecrating of archbishops and bishops within the realm. Another, concerning the exoneration of the king’s subjects from exactions and impositions, heretofore paid to the see of Rome; and for having licences and

dispensations within this realm. Another, for nomination and consecration of suffragans within the realm. Another, for the release of such as have obtained pretended licences and dispensations from the see of Rome. Also, so much of another act as concerned precontracts of marriage, and touching degrees of consanguinity, as in the time of king Edward VI. by another act or statute was not repealed. Also another, that doctors of the civil law being married, may exercise ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Besides these acts made in king Henry the eighth's reign, was revived an act made in the reign of king Edward VI. (which likewise had been repealed by queen Mary,) viz. against such persons as should irreverently speak against the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; and for the receiving thereof in both kinds. And lastly, as this act for the supremacy revived all the foresaid good acts that had been repealed by queen Mary, so it repealed a severe act made by her, for the reviving of three statutes made for the punishment of heresies: and the three statutes mentioned in the said act, abrogated by the same.

So that by this single act of the supremacy, a great and notable step was made towards the restoring of religion, and bringing it on in effect as far, as with much pain and great opposition it had gotten in many years before under the two kings of most noble memory, viz. king Henry and king Edward.

Especially if we join to this, one other act made this parliament, viz. for *the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments*. By which act king Edward's Book of Common Prayer, that had been abolished in the first of queen Mary, was established again, and enjoined to be used with the order and service, and the administration of the sacraments, and rites and ceremonies; with certain alterations and additions therein added and appointed: and to stand and be, from and after the feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist, in full force and effect. *Those additions* mentioned before were certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year: and two sentences added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants: and the *alterations* were in the form of the litany. In this act are penalties appointed for aleprayers of the said book, and such as should speak in derogation of any thing contained In it.

This for the public acts: the private *ones* were these that follow, as they were taken out of the clerk of the parliament's book.

An act for assuring lands to the lord Wentworth, lord Rich, and others.

An act for assuring lands, parcel of the bishopric of Winchester, to king Edward's patentees. An act giving authority to the queen's majesty, upon the avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric, to take into her hands certain of the temporal *possessions* thereof, recompensing the same with parsonages impropriate and tithes.

An act to annex to the crown several religious houses, &c. those, I suppose, as had been lately refounded by queen Mary.

By the laws made this first parliament of the queen, the ancient supreme authority of the kings of this realm was vindicated from the papal encroachments and usurpations upon it, popery overthrown, true religion, founded upon the word of God, brought in again and established, notwithstanding all the policy, laws, commissions, inquisitions, and rigours made and used in the former reign, to prevent its taking footing for ever after. And all this work done within little more than three months; and that even while all the bishops, zealous creatures of Rome, and many other popish lords, sat in the parliament house, and had free votes there, and bestirred themselves as much as they could. So averse did the universality of the nation stand against popery.

By virtue of one of these acts, viz. that of the supremacy, the bishops and the clergy, as well as others of the laity, that enjoyed places and offices under the queen, were bound to take an oath (as was shewn before) to renounce all foreign jurisdiction and power: which those that obstinately refused to do, did forfeit and lose all their preferments. Whereby the abbot of Westminster, and some other abbots and abbesses, were deprived some time after the end of the parliament. And in the month of July (according to Stow) the bishops, some archdeacons, prebendaries, and others of the clergy, were summoned and required by certain of the council, or other commissioners, to take the said oath; which they wilfully refusing, lost their bishoprics, deaneries, archdeaconries, prebends, or other ecclesiastical benefices. And that was all the penalty they suffered for the said refusal. But if some of them were imprisoned, (as Camden and others write,) it was for another breach of this act, viz. either for teaching, preaching, or by express words or deeds affirming, holding, or defending the authority of the foreign prelate, the pope, or for other misdemeanours, as we shall read afterwards.

This voidance of so many bishoprics happened well for the furthering of the reformation of religion; that their places being vacant, men of other

principles, and such as favoured true religion, might succeed therein: but by a calculation then taken of all the clergy in the land, of 9,400 ecclesiastical persons, settled in their several promotions, but 177 left their livings, rather than to renounce the pope, and change their idolatrous mass for the use of the English liturgy.

In one of the volumes of the Cotton library, (which volume seemeth once to have belonged to Camden,) the whole number of the deprived ecclesiastics is digested in this catalogue.

Bishops — 14

Prebendaries — 50

Deans — 13

Rectors of churches — 80

Archdeacons — 14

Abbots, priors, and abbesses — 6

Heads of colleges — 15

In all — 192

Camden, in his Annals, little varies; only reckoning 12 deans, and as many archdeacons.

The answerer to the English Justice (supposed to be cardinal Allen) mentions the deprived after this reckoning: viz. fourteen bishops; (and in Ireland the archbishop of Armagh, and an uncertain number of other bishops there;) three elects; one abbot; four priors, or superiors of religious convents; a dozen deans; fourteen archdeacons; above threescore canons of cathedral churches; not so few as an hundred priests; fifteen heads or rectors of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge; and above twenty doctors of divers faculties, that fled the realm, or were in the realm imprisoned.

CHAPTER 3

Some bishops and the abbot of Westminster their speeches in the house against the bill for the supremacy, and the English common prayer book. The two religions compared by Harpsfield. Remarks upon some other bills. Dr. Story's impudent speech in parliament. Two private acts. Bill for marriage of priests. The English liturgy of king Edward established.

HAVING shewn before briefly what was brought to pass in the parliament for the regulating of religion, and extinguishing the pope's power in this kingdom; (a thing which no doubt met with great opposition, especially from the bishops and the Romish party;) I shall look back and observe the endeavours of these men to stop these proceedings, and especially what discourses they made in the house to preserve the pope's authority in England, and to hinder the abolishing of the mass.

When, February the 21st, the bill for giving the queen the *supremacy*, and restoring that ancient jurisdiction to the crown of this realm, was read, and the matter agitated in the house, Hethe, archbishop of York, stood up, and made a long solemn speech against it. Which speech the right reverend author of the History of the Reformation saith, he had seen, but did believe it forged, because it spake of the supremacy "as a new and unheard of thing;" so undoubtedly it was in the copy he saw. But there is a copy of it in the Bene't college library; and another among the Foxian papers; wherein there is no such expression: and I, having perused both, do find so much learning, and such strokes therein, that we need not, I think, misdoubt but that it is his under whose name it goes. Herein he speaketh of two points:

"The former, that by this act they must forsake the see of Rome, and the weight and force, danger and inconvenience thereof. And the latter, to consider what this *supremacy*, to be given the queen, was; whether it consisted in spiritual government or temporal. If in spiritual, then to consider in what points that spiritual government consisted: and then, whether the house could grant such a government to the queen; and whether her highness were an apt person to receive it. These things he went over. And as to the first, he said, that, by forsaking and fleeing from the see of Rome, they

must first forsake and flee from all general councils; secondly, all canonical and ecclesiastical laws; thirdly, the judgment of all other Christian princes; fourthly, the unity of Christ's church; and by falling out of Peter's ship hazard themselves to be drowned in the waters of schisms, sects, and divisions. And then, as to the *second* head, wherein the spiritual government consisted, it he made to stand in four things:

1. In binding and loosing;
2. In those words, *pasce, pasce, pasce*, that is, in feeding the flock of Christ;
3. In confirming the brethren, and ratifying them by wholesome doctrine and administration of the sacraments;
4. In excommunication and spiritual punishment: these things, as the scripture allowed them not to a woman, so it was not, he said, in the parliament's power to grant them to the queen."

But I refer the reader to the whole speech, as I have diligently transcribed it into the Repository.

Scot, bishop of Chester, also, after the second reading of this bill, which was February 28, stood up, and pronounced an oration against it at sufficient length, which I have placed also before the reader's eye: wherein that bishop made answer to somebody in the house, that had questioned, whether ever the Greek church had acknowledged the pope of Rome. Whereat, he said, he marvelled, seeing that church remained eight hundred years in obedience to the Roman church; and since her falling off, had fourteen times returned with submission again unto it.

Herein the bishop laboured also to answer other matters, which some lords had urged for abolishing the pope's authority, and restoring the *supremacy* to the imperial *crown* of this realm: as, namely, that this had been done before at a solemn provincial council and assembly of the bishops and clergy of the land. And whereas some of these had afterwards revoked what they had done, it was said by one, that he would never trust those men again which once denied the pope's authority, and now stood in defence of the same. It was urged also, that the spiritual supreme power must be in the prince, otherwise he could not confer authority in spiritual

matters upon others. For no man could give that to another which he had not himself.

By this speech of the bishop of Chester also we gather, that several other speeches were made in the house against this bill: and that the lords, to whom this bill was committed, to be weighed and considered by them, were such as favoured the popish religion. For it appeared they would not suffer the old service of the church and administration of the sacraments to be altered, but to be still retained; as they mitigated the rigour of the punishment mentioned in the bill, as it was, it seems, at first drawn up against such of the clergy as refused to comply with the *supremacy*.

I know not any more that was said in the house in behalf of the *supremacy*, there being no protestant bishops yet made, and so none sitting there; but I meet with the heads of a notable discourse, or rather a treatise, designed to vindicate the queen's right to the *supremacy*, and to display the usurpations of popes; calculated, I suppose, for this matter and purpose. See it in the Repository.

February 15, a bill was brought in for casting away the old service, and bringing in the English liturgy; but this was laid aside; and in April another bill was brought in, *for uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments*. This also the Roman prelates in the house did tooth and nail stickle against. And Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, made a set speech against it in the best manner he could, which I suppose was at the second reading, April 26th. This speech the right reverend the author of the History of the Reformation makes the aforesaid Hethe to be the speaker of, finding in the Bene't college volume, where this speech is, these words, (writ by somebody as his conjecture:) That Dr. Hethe was thought to be the penner of the said speech, and that it was spoken to the queen's council. But it appears that he that wrote this was but an ignorant or heedless conjecturer, in that he makes this to be a discourse exhibited to the queen's council, whereas it is plain it was spoken to the house of lords. But I have met with the same oration in a Cotton volume, where it is expressly entitled thus: *The oration of Dr. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, made in the parliament house, anno 1559*. In this oration he makes a boast in the beginning, "that they and their fathers had been in possession of the old religion for the space of 1400 years. Then he propounded their honours three rules, whereby they should be able to put a difference between the true religion and the *counterfeit*."

The **first** rule was, to see which of the two *had* been most observed in the church, of all men, and at all times.

Secondly, which of them both is the most staid religion, and always agreeable to itself.

Thirdly, which of the two did breed the more humble and obedient subjects unto God and unto the queen.”

In the prosecution of this his speech, he made very unworthy and unbecoming reflections upon the foreign protestants of greatest eminence, as Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Martyr, for their different sentiments about the sacrament; and especially upon two of our own bishops, Cranmer and Ridley. Cranmer he makes to contradict himself in two books, which he set forth in one year, viz. the catechism in the English tongue, dedicated to king Edward, wherein he affirmed the real presence: and another book which he shortly after set forth, “*wherein*” (to use Feckenham’s own expression)” he did shamefully deny the same, falsifying both scriptures and doctors.” This charge he did but take up from others of his persuasion; as bishop Gardiner and Dr. Rich. Smith in their books against archbishop Cranmer’s admirable book of the sacrament. But Feckenham thought fit to take no notice of the answer that the said archbishop in his last excellent book gave to this accusation: which *was*, that he then, when he put out the catechism, and when he put out his other book after that, did hold and teach the same thing; namely, that we receive the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament truly; and he that received it *spiritually* received it *truly*. But he no where writ *really* and *substantially*: which were the papists’ terms to express their carnal presence. So that it was not fairly done of Feckenham, to urge that in such an audience against him, which he had so publicly and sufficiently cleared himself of; and especially to belie a man whom they had cruelly burnt to ashes before. Of bishop Ridley, whom he called *the notablest learned man of that opinion*, he said, that he did in a sermon at Paul’s Cross publicly set forth the *real* presence of Christ’s body in the sacrament; repeating certain words, which, he said, he heard him speak; and that shortly after, at the same Paul’s Cross, he did deny the same. This was also a calumny; and a calumny which before now he had cast upon him, namely, in a sermon which he preached at Paul’s, in the beginning of queen Mary’s reign. And Feckenham had heard Ridley vindicating himself soon after against this slander of his; telling him to his face in the Tower, before the lieutenant, secretary Bourn, Cholmely, late

lord chief justice, and divers others, that speaking in his sermon of the sacrament, he inveighed against them that esteemed it no better than a piece of bread, and bade them depart, as unworthy to hear the mystery: and that then he quoted Cyprian, that he should tell how it was that Christ called it, viz. “*the bread is the body, meat, drink, flesh.* Because unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it bears the name.” And then Ridley added, that he took this place to maintain that the material substance of bread did remain. At this clear vindication which Ridley then made of himself, (which was in the year 1553,) it was observed, that Feckenham, as privy to his false report made of Ridley, was as red as scarlet in the face, and answered him never a word. And yet now again, five years after, did he lay the same thing to his charge in the parliament house, now he was dead; though before, being alive, he had so sufficiently refuted it to his face. This was not fair, to say no worse. But I must remember I am not now writing an apology, but an history: and therefore I forbear to add any thing more on this subject. This speech of Feckenham aforesaid I have placed in the Repository with the rest; that it may be seen what the learnedest men of that persuasion could then say for the retaining of the old religion.

Dr. Scot, bishop of Chester, also made another long speech upon the third reading of the foresaid bill, which was April 28; and according to his hot temper began after this manner:

“That the bill was such as it was much to be lamented, that from so honourable an assembly it should be suffered to be read, or any ear to be given to it of Christians: for it called into doubt such things as ought to be revered without any doubt; [meaning the mass:] and, which was more, made earnest request for alteration, nay, for the abolishing of the same. He proceeded upon these heads: that their religion consisted of certain inward things, faith, hope, and charity; and certain outward, the common prayer and holy sacraments. Now he laboured to shew how this motion did extinguish those outward things, and put in their place he could not tell what. And it shook those inward things, and left them very bare and feeble. That by this bill Christian *charity* was taken away, which consisted in unity. And it was evident, that divers of the articles and mysteries *of faith* were not only called into doubt, but partly openly, and partly obscurely denied. And faith and charity being gone, hope was left alone, or presumptuously set in higher

place: whereupon, for the most part, desperation followed. He dwelt much upon the unlawfulness of calling into doubt the matters of faith which had been decreed. And if Athanasius did think that a man ought not to doubt of matters determined in the council of Nice, where were present but 308 bishops, how much less ought we to doubt of matters determined in the catholic church by 300,000 bishops, and how many more he could not tell. And that if the certainty of faith should hang upon an act of parliament, we had but a weak staff to lean to. For, for matters of religion, he doubted not, that it ought not to meddle with them, because of the certainty which ought to be in faith, and the uncertainty of statutes and acts of parliament. But that the parliament consisted partly of noblemen, and partly of commoners, which were laymen; and so not studied or exercised in scriptures, nor doctors, nor practice of the church, so as to be accounted judges in such matters. And then, the better to convince them that these matters belonged not to them, he enlarged upon these things: the *weightiness* of the matter of this bill; the *darkness* of the cause; and the *difficulty* in trying out the truth; and the *danger*, if they took the wrong way. And under each of these heads occasionally, he shewed the defectiveness of the new book, so much extolled, as he said. He spake of a certain lord, that in a speech the day before did say, that he believed that Christ was received in the communion set out by that book. And being asked, if he did worship him there, he said, *No, nor never would, so long as he lived.* Which, this bishop said, was a strange opinion, that Christ should be any where, and not be worshipped. Some had said, they would worship him in heaven, but not in the sacrament: which the bishop compared to a man that should say, he would honour the emperor in cloth of gold, and under his cloth of state, but not in a frieze-coat in the street.”

His speech went on to a good length; and what it was, from the beginning to the end, is set down in the Repository. But notwithstanding these speeches, the bill for uniformity of common prayer passed April 28, all the prelates dissenting, viz. the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Ely, Wigorn, Landaff, Coventry and Litchfield, Exeter, Chester, Carlisle; as was shewn before.

There was also about this very time some man of learning, (whether it were Harpsfield, or somebody else,) procured to write a discourse, whereby the

two religions should be compared, viz. the Roman catholic, and that now endeavoured to be established. “*Which* discourse, he said, he wrote upon short warning, without meditation or help of books: yet he esteemed it so well grounded, that it could not well be answered: which by God’s grace, he said, should be tried, when he should see a direct answer made.” This paper consisted of several notes of the church, which he accommodated to the Roman church, and made the protestants to fail in. As,

“that the church is one; that it is *apostolic*; that it is *holy*; that it is catholic; that there is but one sheepfold, and one shepherd, John 18: And that one sheepfold is no where, but that which he is head of. But all other churches distinct from that of Rome have so many shepherds as there be divers realms. The cities of Germany each of them one, Geneva another, England another, &c. But all that be now called papists have but one head: and therefore they are so much the nearer to the unity of the church. Again, that church is apostolic that can shew her descent from the apostles: no church can do that so well as the *papists*. We can, saith he, in Canterbury, and in every other see, shew you, how our bishops came from the apostles. Because they could by chronicle go up from William Warham, the *apostolic* last before Cranmer, to the first, who was sent by pope Gregory. And then they could bring Gregory up to St. Peter. But in Canterbury, Cranmer disagreed from all his predecessors; and in Exeter, Miles Coverdale, and so forth. Now it was not enough for these bishops to leap up from these present days unto the apostles’ times, by saying, they agree with them; but they who challenge the see apostolic must bring their pedigree by lineal descent unto the apostles, as we do. He proceeded, that their church was *catholic*; that is, spread abroad through all places, times, and persons. And apostolic, because they shewed the succession from the apostles downward, and could go upward lineally to the apostles. Therefore the church, called *papistical*, having one head, the pope; being *holy*, [that is, as he interpreted it,] having benefits of God by flourishing miracles; *catholic*, that is, spread in all times, in all places, through all persons universally; that is to say, for the most part being able to shew their pedigree, even to the apostles, without any interruption; that church, I say, is only the true church.” This discourse in full is placed in the Appendix, with the rest of the same nature.

And as these hot and earnest speeches before mentioned happened in the upper house, so the house of commons had some popish members as hot, or hotter. Dr. Story was one of these, who had been one of queen Mary's trusty commissioners, for the taking up, imprisoning, and burning the gospellers. This man made a bold and bitter speech in the house, justifying himself in his doings under that queen, when so many by his sentence were burnt.

“He wished, he said, he had done more than he did, and that he and others had been more vehement in executing the laws; and impudently told the house, how he threw a fagot into the face of one, (an *earwig*, as he styled him,) at the stake at Uxbridge, as he was singing a psalm, and set a bush of thorns under his feet: and that it was his counsel to pluck down men of eminency that were heretics, as well as the more ordinary sort; and mentioned two such, brought into trouble by his means; Sir Philip Hoby, and another knight of Kent. And that he saw nothing to be ashamed of, nor sorry for: and that it grieved him, that they laboured only about the young and little twigs, whereas they should have struck at the root.”

By which words it was well enough known he meant the queen herself. This man afterwards left England, and became an officer under the king of Spain at Antwerp. Whence divers years after he was craftily seized on board an English vessel, and brought into England, and being found guilty of treason, died the death of a traitor.

This man, and his impudent speech this parliament concerning the queen, was not soon forgotten. A book was writ in the year 1569, entitled, *A warning, against the dangerous practice of papists, &c.* wherein he and such as he are glanced at: viz.

“Other some are such, as one of them, even openly in her majesty's high court of parliament, made such moan that his counsel was not followed in queen Mary's time, *to hew up the root*, as all men plainly saw and understood his grief, that the queen's majesty was not in her sister's time despatched. And it is said, that some others made grave motions for her disinheritance.”

But that it was not their consciences that led these zealous men (as we related before) thus to stickle against the queen's supremacy and the

English liturgy, but rather some other politic ends, is evident, by what they and other such chief papists did in cool blood declare in king Edward's days: which convinced Bernard Gilpin, a diligent inquirer, and contemporary with them, of the unsoundness of the papal religion. Of which matter we have this notable relation, in his own letter to his brother George Gilpin, 1575:

“That in his desires to search out truth, he repaired to [Tonstal] the bishop of Durham, that he might be further instructed: who told him, that in the matter of transubstantiation, Innocentius, pope the third of that name, had done unadvisedly, in making it an article of faith. And further confessed, that the pope committed a great fault in the business touching *indulgences*, and other things. That in conferring with Dr. Redman, a man of eminent virtues and great scholarship, he affirmed to him, that the Book of Common Prayer, [then newly composed,] was an holy book, and agreeable to the gospel. That afterwards one of the fellows of Queen's college told him, that he heard Dr. Chedsey say among his friends, that it must come to this point, that the protestants must grant unto them [papists] a real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and they likewise give way unto the protestants in the opinion of *transubstantiation*. Dr. Weston [another chief papist in Oxford] made a long oration touching the supper of the Lord, to be administered under both kinds. Mr. Morgan [another great disputant] told him, [Gilpin,] that Dr. Ware, a man most famous for life and learning, affirmed unto him, that the principal sacrifice of the church of God was the sacrifice of thanksgiving. This was his answer, when Gilpin demanded of him, what could be said for *the sacrifice* of the *mass*. And lastly, that the bishops in this kingdom, at that time, confuted the primacy of the pope both in words and writing.”

Among other acts passed this session, there were two private ones; one concerning cardinal Pole, and the other concerning cathedral and collegiate churches; which must have some mention here.

That relating to the late cardinal was, that whereas a parliament in the first and second of king Philip and queen Mary had repealed and taken off his attain, that lay upon him by act of parliament in the 31st of king Henry VIII. and had cleared him of every branch and article of that act, and also

of all indictments and processes of outlawry procured against him, many questions had been moved upon some words in the said act of repeal: as, from what time that act should extend or take effect; it was declared by this present act, that it should take effect, as touching any estate, right, or title, from the time of making the said act. And that the act made under king Henry should be of force and effect, for all the mean acts and things, happening or done before the making of the said act of repeal: which was a prudent act for the stopping or ending many contentious lawsuits that might be, or probably had been commenced, for the recovery of any estates or lands belonging to the said cardinal, and disposed of by king Henry unto others.

The act concerning cathedral and collegiate churches, was to empower the queen to make statutes for divers such ecclesiastical foundations and schools erected either by king Henry VIII. king Edward, queen Mary, or cardinal Pole, in case of some defect of good rules, orders, and constitutions thereunto appointed. And that she might, at her pleasure, alter or change, augment or diminish those statutes and ordinances of the foresaid churches, schools, and corporations. And that all such statutes, which the queen should appoint under her great seal of England, should be kept and observed, notwithstanding any former rule or constitution whatsoever: and that they should remain good and effectual to all intents and purposes. This was an act of great use and service for the intended reformation. Both these private acts I have thought not unworthy a room in my Repository.

But among the good acts made by this parliament, one was wanting, though, as it seems, laboured by the protestant divines to be brought about. It was, to revive king Edward's act for the marriage of priests, which queen Mary had repealed. But the queen would not be brought so far to countenance the conjugal state of her clergy. This troubled not a little the divines, especially such as were married, as was Dr. Sandys, and Dr. Parker, and Mr. Lever now very lately, and divers more. Of this matter Sandys speaks in a letter, dated April ult. to Parker, then in the country; telling him, "*that* no law was made concerning the marriage of priests, but that it was left, as it were, *in medio*; and that the queen would wink at it, but not establish it *by law*: which is nothing else, said he, but to *bastard our* children." The inconvenience hereof was, that the clergy was fain to get their children legitimated So I find did Parker his son Matthew.

But to return to the English liturgy: notwithstanding this opposition of speeches and arguments made by popish bishops and others against this bill for the Book of Common Prayer, it passed, as was said before, into an act of uniformity: and was to begin to take effect at St. John Baptist's day ensuing. This was but the reestablishment of king Edward's book, set forth in the fifth and sixth year of his reign, with these few changes, as they are mentioned in the said act; one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year; the form of the litany altered and corrected; and two sentences added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants. But besides these mentioned in the act, there were some others, as shall be shewn by and by.

CHAPTER 4.

Divines review the Common Prayer Book. Secretary Cecil's influence therein. Guest, a very learned man, his labours about it. Posture of receiving. King Edward's ornaments. An objection of Dr. Boxal against the communion office: wherein the present book varied from king Edward's book. Dr. Haddon's account of the English service. Foreign churches rejoice at it: but some English dislike it.

BUT great pains had been used in reviewing of the old Common Prayer Book, and weighing all things in it; to render it fit to be presented to the parliament, to confirm it by an act. In this business the divines, Dr. Sandys, Dr. Bill, and the rest above mentioned, were diligently employed at sir Thomas Smith's house in Westminster. And in this affair, sir William Cecil, the queen's secretary, was a great dealer and director; and was very earnest about the book. Here let me insert what Dr. Sampson, the great puritan, in the year 1574, wrote to him, being then lord Burghley, when the said doctor urged him to reform the established government in the church, and to alter the episcopacy for Calvin's discipline, which he was too wise and too knowing to do. He called to mind what he did in the beginning of the queen's reign in repairing of religion. "What your authority," said he, "credit, and doing then was, you know, God knows, and there are witnesses of it." And when Edward Dering, another great labourer for the abolishing of episcopal government, had charged him with neglect of religion, and unhandsomely and untruly told him, "that he [the lord Burghley] had for many years looked upon religion *eminus*, and now scarcely loved it;" he, in a concern to be charged so unjustly, answered Dering's letter with another, shewing him therein, "how active he was above others in propagating religion in the beginning of the queen, 'and that he underwent many and great labours in anxieties and disquiets of mind: and that he did *cominus dimicare* in establishing it, enduring great contestation in it.'" And he said true; for there was indeed great opposition now made to the reformation of religion by many men at court. And had it not been for Cecil's wisdom, diligence, and interest with the queen, in all likelihood it had not proceeded with that roundness it did. This I set down here, as a debt of gratitude owing from this church to his memory.

But to go no further in this place in discourse concerning him, than as to his influence in the English liturgy; he appointed Guest, a very learned man, (afterwards archdeacon of Canterbury, the queen's almoner, and bishop of Rochester,) to be joined, with the rest of the revisers of the book; and, as I conjecture, substituted him in the room of Dr. Parker, being absent, at least some part of the time, by reason of sickness. Him the secretary required diligently to compare both king Edward's communion books together; and from them both to frame a book for the use of the church of England, by correcting and amending, altering and adding, or taking away, according to his judgment, and the ancient liturgies: which when he had done, and a new service book being finished by him and the others appointed thereunto, the said Guest conveyed it unto the secretary, together with a letter to him containing his reasons for his own emendations and alterations; and therein particular satisfaction given unto divers things, many whereof seem to have been hints and questions of the secretary's, pursuant to the settlement of the liturgy.

As **first**, Whether such ceremonies as were lately taken away by king Edward's book might not be resumed, not being evil in themselves?

II. Whether the image of the cross were not to be retained?

III. Whether processions should not be used?

IV. Whether in the celebration of the communion, priests should not use a cope beside a surplice?

V. Whether the communion should be divided into two parts? [that is, the office or book of the communion.] And whether a part thereof should be read to all without distinction, and another to the communicants only, the rest being departed?

VI. Whether the creed is rightly placed in the communion office; as though it were to be repeated by the communicants only?

VII. Whether it be not convenient to continue the use of praying for the dead in the communion?

VIII. Whether the prayer of consecration in the first communion book should be left out?

IX. Whether the sacrament were, according to the first book, to be received into the communicant's mouth, or to be delivered into his hand?

X. Whether the sacrament were to be received standing or kneeling?

To all these Guest gave learned answers: and thereby vindicated what alterations were newly made in the book prepared to be laid before the parliament. And by this writing it appears, that the main care of the revisal and preparation of the book lay upon that reverend divine, whom I suppose Parker recommended to the secretary to supply his absence. And for his pains was soon after by him, when archbishop, rewarded with the archdeaconry of Canterbury. But thus Guest having shewed good cause, as he thought, why the service was set forth by him and his company as it was, he concluded his paper, "beseeching God, for his mercy in Christ, to cause the parliament with *one* voice to enact it, and the realm with true heart to use it." This discourse of Guest, shewing him to have been a solid and well-read man, I have transcribed from the original, and put in among the monuments in the end of the book.

What the original draught of the service book was, as it came from the divines' hands, and was presented to the house, would be worth knowing: I suppose very little was altered by the parliament; yet something, it seems, was. For it appears, by Guest's paper, that the posture of receiving the sacrament, either kneeling or standing, was left indifferent in the book by the divines, and that every one might follow the one way or the other: for this reason, to teach men that it was lawful to receive either way. But the parliament, I suppose, made a change here, enjoining the ancient posture of kneeling, as was in the old book.

April was almost spent before the divines had finished this new service book; wherein was a proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the church in the first and second years of king Edward VI. until it pleased the queen to take order for them. "Our gloss upon this text," saith Dr. Sandys in a letter to Dr. Parker, "is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others, in the mean time, shall not convey them away; but that they may remain for the queen." But this must be looked upon as the conjecture of a private man.

The particular exceptions that were made to this book, when it lay before the parliament, I cannot tell; but I find Boxal, who was dean of Windsor,

and had been secretary to queen Mary, and still it seems at court, found much fault with one passage in the communion office; namely, that in the consecration of the elements there was not a thanksgiving: for Christ, said he, *took bread, and gave thanks*; and in the consecration here they give not thanks. This he put into the lord treasurer's head, and endeavoured, according to the interest he had with the queen, to alienate her from passing the act. The divines gave their reasons for what they did; and their particular reason for this may be seen in Guest's paper beforesaid. But by the means of secretary Cecil, and the great esteem the queen had for him and his advice, the divines were in good hope their enemies should not prevail; and their hopes were not deceived.

The book came out with small variation from the second book of king Edward. I will set down a note of the differences *verbatim*, as archbishop Whitgift afterwards, upon some reasons, sent them to the lord treasurer Burghley. Which note was thus endorsed by that lord's own hand: Archbishop of Canterbury; Differences betwixt the Book of Prayers of K. Edward and of Q. Elizabeth."

"**First**, King Edward his second book differeth from her majesty's book in the first rubric, set down in the beginning of the book: for king Edward's second book hath it thus;

"The morning and evening prayer shall be used in such place of the church, chapel, or chancel; and the minister shall turn him, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place. And the, &c.

"Whereas the queen's book hath it thus;

"The morning and evening prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the ordinary of the place. And the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past.

"Again, King Edward's second book hath it thus; "Again, *here is to be noted, that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministrations, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope. But being archbishop or bishop, shall have and wear a rochet; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.*

“The queen’s book hath it;

“And here is to be noted, that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church, as were in use by authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of king Edward the sixth, according to the act of parliament set forth in the beginning of this book.

“**Secondly**, In king Edward’s second book, in the litany there are these words; *From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities*; which are not in her majesty’s book.

“**Thirdly**, In the litany, her majesty’s book hath these words more than are in king Edward’s second book, viz. *Strengthen in the true worshipping of thee in righteousness and true holiness of life, &c.*

“**Fourthly**, In the end of the litany there is no prayer in king Edward’s second book for the king, nor for the state of the clergy. And the last collect set in her majesty’s book next before the first Sunday in Advent, and beginning, *O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy*, is not in king Edward’s second book. Further, there are two collects appointed for the time of dearth and famine, whereas her majesty’s book hath but one. And in king Edward’s second book this note is given of the prayer of St. Chrysostom, *The litany shall ever end with this collect following*; which note is not in her majesty’s book.

“**Fifthly**, King Edward’s second book appointeth only these words to be used, when the bread is delivered at the communion, *Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee; and feed on him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving*. And when the cup is delivered, *Drink this in remembrance that Christs blood was shed for thee, and be thankful*. [Whereas in her majesty’s book, at the delivering of the bread, these words must be said, *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this, &c.* And at the delivery of the cup these words, *The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Drink this,*” &c.]

And thus the pure worship of God was again happily established in this nation. It highly indeed offended papists abroad, as well as at home: and they represented it to the world, as though hereby all religion were

abandoned in England. Thus did Hieronymus Osorius, a Portuguese bishop, (a man famed in those times for eloquence,) in an epistle which he took the confidence to write to queen Elizabeth about the year 1562: that” all rites and sacraments and sacred things were overthrown to the very foundations.” But Dr. Haddon, master of requests to the queen, a grave and wise civilian, and who very well knew what was done in this reformation of the church of England, took occasion hence, in his epistle responsory to this foreigner, (in no less eloquent a style,) briefly to give him and the world this account of our rites of religion now reformed.

“**First**, Because faith,” said he, “cometh by hearing, we send teachers of the holy scriptures to all the coasts and corners of our country, to instruct the people in all the duties of piety, and to inform them in the true worship of God. Then, we have a public form of prayers, collected out of the sacred scriptures, ratified by authority of parliament as we call the assent of the three estates of the commonwealth; from whence we do not suffer any to stray or vary. Providing in both, as much as we can, that the precept of the Holy Ghost be obeyed, that proclaimeth, He that speaketh in the church must use the oracle or word of God in it; and then, that all be of one mind. The sacrament we do, as near as possible, take care to administer according to the prescript of scripture and the example of the ancient church, as our Lord Jesus Christ first instituted it with his disciples. All this is set forth in our mother tongue: inasmuch as it is a great folly to utter that before God which we know not what it is; and it manifestly impugneth the sound doctrine of St. Paul, together with all ancient examples of the apostolical churches. We perform the imposition of hands, the celebration of matrimony, the bringing to church women after childbirth, and the burial of the dead, with solemn and public offices: that all things may be done in the churches conveniently and in order, as we know well we are admonished to do in the New Testament. As for times, places, days, and other circumstances, there is in effect no change made among us: nor in all our religion is any thing new, unless what had either evident absurdity in it, or express impiety.” Thus Haddon.

And indeed concerning our holy service thus settled, to be used in the public worship, it was commonly urged by the friends of the reformation in those times, how agreeable it was to the holy scripture; that some part of it was the very word of God, and the rest was framed according to that word. And as to that part of it that consisted of the catechism, it was also a

great part of it God's express words, (as the ten commandments and the Lord's prayer,) and that it taught young people so much of the knowledge of scripture, that is, God's word, that children hereby knew more of Christian religion, than the oldest before, bred up in the former superstition. For thus did another great divine and bishop (sometime an exile) speak to these offended papists: "Our service hath nothing in it but what is written in God's book, the holy Bible, (where no lie can be found,) saving *Te Deum*, and a few collects and prayers; which, although they be not contained in the scripture, yet, differing in words, they agree in sense and meaning with the articles of the faith, and the whole body of the scripture. None is so ignorant, but he sees the popish service and doctrine to agree little with the scriptures, and ours to contain nothing else but scriptures..... Is that newfangled and schismatical, [as they had charged it,] that containeth nothing but the doctrine of the prophets and apostles?"

And then again, to prove that our faith is right, as well as our worship, he added, "that the faith of a Christian man is generally contained in the creed, and particularly declared in the scripture at large." And then he proceeded, "that we do esteem these articles of the Christian *faith* so much, with the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments of Almighty God, that by common order it is appointed (and good ministers practise it) that children might learn them, not in a tongue they understand not, as the pope would have them, but in their mother tongue; with such a short declaration of it by a catechism, that now a young child of ten years old can tell more of his duty towards God and man, than an old man of their bringing up can do of sixty or eighty years old."

The great and good archbishop Cranmer's judgment of king Edward's Book of Common Prayer may deserve here to have a place. When bishop Gardiner would have fortified his corrupt doctrine of the sacrament out of that book, and asserted that *the receiving of the body and blood of Christ into our mouths* was a teaching set forth there, and there catholicly spoken of, the said archbishop thus answered: "That the Book of Common Prayer neither used any such speech, nor taught any such doctrine; and that he [the archbishop] did not in any point improve [*i.e.* disprove] that godly book, nor vary from it; and that *no man could mislike it, that had any godliness in him, joined with knowledge.*"

To which passages let me add, that, as in the beginning of this settlement of religion by this Book of Common Prayer, the papists were the chief

persons that were disgusted, and opposed it, so afterwards divers protestants among ourselves found great fault with it: the vindication of which Dr. Bancroft (another archbishop of Canterbury afterwards) undertook, in a sermon at St. Paul's, February 1588. Wherein he told his auditory, how glad all the churches of Europe were at this establishment of religion in the beginning of this queen's reign. Then he shewed what pains were taken in reforming the book; and brought divers testimonies of godly learned men, to prove that the book was in a manner void of all reprehension.

Yet it is true, that divers of our English, in the time of their exile, living and conversing in some of the reformed churches abroad, had imbibed a better opinion of the model of their church-worship than this at home now established, and were very desirous to bring it in, and use it instead of our liturgy; and certain eminent members of those foreign churches had applied to the queen, for an indulgence to these her subjects in this matter. But she, resolving firmly to adhere to her laws, would not permit of this variety of public worship; and wrote thus courteously, but steadfastly, in answer to them: "That it was not with her safety, honour, and credit, to permit diversity of opinions in a kingdom where none but she and her council governed; not owning either imperial or papal powers, as several of the princes and states there did, and were glad to compound with them." And thereby she satisfied several of them.

CHAPTER 5.

A disputation at Westminster in parliament time, between some papists and protestants, before a great assembly of the nobility. The questions. The papists decline the dispute. The argument of the protestants. Jewel's wish for a disputation. The popish disputants punished.

DURING this session of parliament, there be two or three other things that must be remembered, relating to religion. The first is concerning a conference between some popish bishops and other learned men of that communion, and certain protestant divines, held in the month of March, by order of the queen's privy council, to be performed in their presence: eight on one side, and eight on the other.

For whereas it is said by the fight reverend the author of the History of the Reformation, that there were nine and nine on a side, according as Holinshed indeed sets it down, it is an error; as appears by a letter of Dr. Richard Cox, one of the disputants on the protestants' side, written to Weidner, a learned man at Wormes, therein giving a relation of this conference, mentioning but eight; as likewise by the account thereof kept in the paper office, and transcribed thence into the Collections of the said History of the Reformation, that speaks of four bishops and four doctors only appointed to dispute. And these were White, Watson, Baine, and Scot, bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Coventry and Litchfield, and Chester; and the doctors Cole, dean of St. Paul's; Langdale, Harpsfield, and Chedsey, archdeacons of Lewes, Canterbury, and Middlesex: and on the protestants' side were these eight only; John Scory, late bishop of Chichester, David Whitehead, John Jewel, John Aelmer, Richard Cox, Edmund Grindal, Robert Horne, and Edmund Guest; as they are set down by Dr. Matthew Parker's own hand, at the end of his MS. paper, conmining the protestants' discourse upon the first proposition. So the bishop of Carlisle on the papists' side, and Sandys on that of the protestants', are misadded to the aforesaid disputants, though probably they were present at the conference: and we find that the bishop of Carlisle was present the second day; and so was Turberville, bishop of Exeter, too, and abbot Fecknam.

But because the bishop of Sarum in his History, and Mr. Fox before him, have set down at large the transactions of this conference, therefore I shall pass it over with more brevity, only relating somewhat perhaps by them omitted, and rectifying somewhat mistaken. Hethe, archbishop of York, did make the motion, that this dispute should be managed especially by writing: which way was most acceptable also to the protestants; and was once propounded by Hoper, and some other divines in prison under queen Mary, after they saw how unfairly the disputation was carded (all by noise and confusion) with Cranmer and Ridley at Oxford. Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh, approved and required such a way of disputing with some papists that he had to do with. Conferences," saith he, "in words do often engender heat, or produce extravagancies and mistakes: writing is a way more calm, more certain, and such as a man cannot depart from:" in his letter to Mrs. Cheubien, in the nunnery. And, according to this motion, the queen ordered it should be managed in writing on both parties, for avoiding of much altercation in words: and she ordered likewise, that the papist bishops should first declare their minds, with their reasons, in writing; and then the others, if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions. And so each of them should deliver their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be disproved therein; and the same to declare in writing at some other convenient day.

All this was fully agreed upon. And hereupon divers of the nobility and estates of the realm, understanding that such a meeting should be, made earnest means to her majesty, that the bishops and divines might put their assertions into English, and read them in that tongue, for their better satisfaction and understanding, and for enabling their own judgments to treat and conclude of such laws as might depend thereupon. And so both parts met at Westminster abbey: the lords and others of the privy council were present, and a great part of the nobility and of the commons. But while all were in expectation to hear these learned men and their arguments, the bishop of Winchester, Dr. White, *said*, they were mistaken, that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of a book: adding, that their book was not then ready written; but that they were ready to argue and dispute: and therefore that they would only at that time repeat in speech what they had to say to the first proposition. This, with some words, was passed off: and then the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's, to be the utterer of

their minds: who, partly by speech, and partly by reading authorities written, and at certain times being informed by the colleagues what to say, made a declaration of their meanings, and their reasons to their first proposition.

Which being ended, they were asked by the privy council, if any of them had any more to say. They said, No. Then the other part was licensed to shew their minds, which they did according to the first order; exhibiting all that they meant to propound, in a book written: which, after a prayer and invocation made to Almighty God, and a protestation to stand to the doctrine of the catholic church built upon scripture, was distinctly read by Dr. Horn (who was the penner of the same) upon the first proposition. And so the assembly was quietly dismissed. This was on Friday, the last day of March. The question then disputed was, *That it was against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer and administration of sacraments.*

When Monday, the second day of conference, came, and all the grave assembly were set, White, bishop of Winchester, and the rest of that side, refused to proceed on the second question, but would by all means insist still upon the first, argued the last day; and, pretending they had more to say of it, were resolved to read upon that argument only: urging much, that they and their cause should suffer prejudice, if they should not treat of the first. And Watson, bishop of Lincoln, striving to have his turn of speaking, hotly said, that they were not used indifferently, that they might not be allowed to declare in writing what they had to say of the first question; and added, that what Dr. Cole spake in the last assembly was extempore, and of himself, and with no forestudied talk, and that it was not prepared to strengthen their cause. These sayings made the nobility and others the auditors frown, knowing that Cole spake out of a paper which he held in his hand, and read in the same: and that according to the instruction of the bishops, who pointed unto several places in his paper with their fingers, for his direction. Watson also complained that their adversaries had longer warning than they: and that they themselves had notice of it but two days before, and were fain to set up the whole last night. But Bacon, the lord keeper, told them, that at the last conference, when Cole had done, he asked them, the bishops, whether what he had spoken was what they would have him say, and they granted it: and whether he should say any more ha the matter, and they answered, No. But for their satisfaction the lord keeper added, that they should at present, according to the order

agreed upon, discourse upon the second question; and at another meeting, when the day came for them both to confirm their first question, they should have liberty to read what they had further to say upon the first. To which all the council there present willingly condescended: but this also the bishops would not be contented with. At last Hethe, archbishop of York, told them they were to blame, for that there was a plain decreed order for them to treat at this time of the second question, and bade them leave their contention. Then the bishops started another matter of quarrel, and said, it was contrary to the order in disputations that they should begin; for that their side had the negative, said the bishop of Chester: and therefore they that were on the affirmative should begin: that they were the defending party: and that it was the school manner, and likewise the manner in Westminster hall, that the plaintiff should speak first, and then the accused party answer. To which the keeper told them, they began willingly on the first question; and the protestants told them, that they had the negative then. Horne wondered that they should so much stand upon it, who should begin. Then the bishops charged the protestants to have been the propounders of the questions. But the keeper told them, that the questions were of neither of their propounding, but offered from the council indifferently to them both. Then Bayne, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, minding to run from the matter, began to question with the protestants, what church they were of? saying, that they must needs try that first: for there were many churches in Germany; and he demanded of Horn, which of those churches he was of? who prudently answered, that he was of Christ's catholic church. The keeper told them, they ought not to run into voluntary talk of their own inventing. The bishop of Litchfield said, that they, on their part, had no doubt, but assuredly stood in the truth. But those other men pretended to be doubtful. Therefore they should first bring what they had to impugn them, the bishops, withal. And the bishop of Chester told the lords plainly, if themselves began first, and the others spake after, then they speaking last should have the advantage to come off with applause of the people, and the verity on their side not be so well marked. And therein indeed he spake out the true cause of all this jangling. And hereupon Winchester in short said, he was resolved, except they began, he would say nothing. When the lord keeper could not persuade them, he spoke of departing. And Winchester, as though this were the issue he desired, presently cried, *Contented*, and offered to go. But the keeper first asked them man by man, to know their resolution, and they all, save one, Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, utterly denied to read, without the

other party began; and some so very disorderly and irreverently as had not been seen in so honourable an assembly of the two estates of the realm, nobility and commons then assembled, besides the presence of the queen's council.

And so, without any more dispute, all was dismissed. But the lord keeper at parting said these words to them; "For that ye would not that we should hear you, perhaps you may shortly hear of us." And so they did; for, for this contempt, the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were committed to the Tower of London; and the rest, saving the abbot of Westminster, were bound to make their personal appearance before the council, and not to depart the cities of London and Westminster till their order. A brief account of this which I have set down is given in a small book, printed long since by Jug and Cawood, by the queen's authority. The original copy whereof is in the Paperoffice; and published from thence by the bishop of Sarum in his History. It is also extant in Holinshed's History of Queen Elizabeth, and at the end of Fox's Acts.

Dr. Cole's paper upon the first question, together with that of Dr. Horn, remains among archbishop Parker's MSS. in the volume entitled *Synodalia*: whence they are both published in the History of the Reformation. But I observe Horn's excellent preface omitted there, as indeed it is in the MS. the author made use of; which I have therefore supplied in the Appendix. And a great part of Horn's discourse, about the middle thereof, is also left out; consisting of authorities out of St. Ambrose, Hierom, Chrysostom, Dionysius, Cyprian, and a Constitution of Justinian: which may be supplied out of Fox's Acts, towards the conclusion, where the same learned discourse is preserved. And let it be marked, that that discourse which the right reverend author of the History of the Reformation sets down, as that which Cole first read, must be mistaken: for it plainly appears not to be read before Horn's discourse, but after it, being a reply to him. For thus Cole begins; "Most honourable, Whereas these men here present have declared openly, it is repugnant and contrary to the word of God to have the common prayer and ministration of sacraments in the Latin tongue; ye shall understand, that, to prove this their assertion, they have brought in as yet only one place of scripture, taken out of St. Paul his first epistle to the Corinthians, chap. 14: with certain other places of holy doctors, whereunto answer is not now to be made; but when the book which they read shall be delivered unto us according to the appointment made in that behalf, God willing, we shall

make answer,” &c. as it follows in Colds paper. By this preface it is undeniably evident, that this cannot be the paper that Cole first began with. And I conclude it was that which the bishops had prepared, and made all that ado to have read at the second meeting, but would not then be permitted.

The second question which was to be disputed, but was not, by reason of the refusal of the popish side, as is above said, was, *That every particular church hath authority to institute, change, and abrogate ceremonies and rites of the church, so that it be to edification.* A learned discourse in writing was prepared by the protestant side for the proof of this; which follows in the said MS. where the other discourses are. And because little account is given of this in the bishop of Sarum’s History, only what we find thereof a page or two after, I will here shew briefly the arguments. The method was, to prove this assertion by God’s word, by ancient writings, and by examples. The proof from the word of God consisted in these six particulars following:

- I.** All ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies are things that appertain to order and decency. But St. Paul committed to the church of Corinth the disposition of all such things: and committing that authority to that particular church, he consequently committed it to all other particular churches.
- II.** That the principal foundation, whereupon may be gathered, that any council or assembly hath authority to change or institute rites and ceremonies, stood upon those words of Christ, *Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name.* But in a particular church, not only two or three, but also great numbers may be met together in the name of Christ.
- III.** The authority of the church, both universal and particular, to institute, abrogate, and change rites and ceremonies, dependeth only upon obedience to Christ and his word, in directing of all things to the edification of faith and charity.
- IV.** Ceremonies, that were profitable at first, may grow by continuance to abuse, and be hurtful. And as for general councils, they come together but seldom; nor can do other, by reason of wars and troubles in the world. So that if particular churches may not remove rites

tending to idolatry, great numbers of souls may perish before general councils can come together.

V. Look what authority the seven several pastors and churches in Asia had to reform the things that were amiss among every of them; the same authority now have the several pastors and churches in all kingdoms and provinces.

VI. If a particular church were bound to retain and exercise, and might not abrogate evil rites and customs instituted by men, then were the same church also bound to obey men more than God; who hath commanded, that all things should be done in the church to edify.

But because their adversaries stayed themselves most upon old councils, and the writings of doctors and fathers, therefore, to match them with their own weapon, the rest of the discourse consisted partly in the proof of their allegations from thence, (which is very large,) and partly in examples in ancient times. Lastly, they proceeded to answer objections, which they promised to consider more at large, when their adversaries' book should be exhibited. This, though long, is an excellent learned discourse, but by whom composed I know not, perhaps by Jewel or Guest, though I make no doubt the whole club was concerned in it, and contributed their assistance. The whole is recommended to the reader's perusal in the Appendix. Therein they said,

“that the old councils thought it a thing commodious for the church to have variety in ceremonies. That such uniformity of rites and ceremonies as was then seen in the popish churches, was not in the church when it was most pure, but was brought in after, when the bishop of Rome had unjustly aspired to the primacy, and was continued in those churches rather for a public recognition of his monarchy, than for any edification. That it was more for the profit of the church to have some variety of ceremonies in divers places, than to have all one; that the liberty of the church might remain, that in indifferent things every church might abound in their own sense; and that ceremonies might not be too much esteemed, and be made equal with God's word. That late experience in this our country shewed, that the abrogation of many ceremonies established by general authority was lawful and profitable. For that in king Henry's time many superstitious observations and idolatrous

rites were abolished; and that by the consent of many of them which now were, or lately had been, adversaries; as pilgrimages, pardons, superstitious opinions of purgatory, holy water, masses for cattle, *scala coeli*, &c. And that even in that late time of queen Mary it appeared that they were ashamed to restore the same again. Then they proceeded to instance in several superstitious fables out of the Festival Book, which in time past were propounded to the people for wholesome doctrines, but indeed were occasions of dissolute life and sin. One whereof was, of a woman which never did good deed, but only that she had continually kept a candle burning before our lady; and of a candle that by our lady's appointment was kept burning before her when she was in hell; which light the devils could not abide: and by reason thereof she was rescued from hell, and restored to life again; and then became a good woman. They demanded whether, when in the late days there was so much preaching against reading the *scriptures* in the vulgar tongue, there was any inveighing against this Festival, or such like superstitious books; and when strait inquisition had been made for English Bibles and Testaments, to have them burned, they left others to judge whether the like diligence had been used for abolishing those books."

They ended this their learned argument with some brief consideration of their adversaries' reasons concerning

"the authority of general councils, the continuance of time, and their possession in the church. As to the two last, they bade their adversaries prove their things true, and then allege time. For against the eternal truth of God's word, no continuance of time can make prescription. And that they should never be able to prove the bishop of Rome head of the universal church by the scriptures, (by which title he claimed his authority,) nor that under his obedience all Christians ought to live, under pain of damnation: this they should never be able to do, as had been often proved in the realm and elsewhere: and that therefore the authority of their church was nothing, and their possession unjust."

Great pity it was this disputation ended so abruptly, and proceeded not as was designed, that this discourse beforementioned might have been read to that grave, honourable, and numerous audience; and that this argument

might have been further pursued, by considering and answering the adversaries' papers, as the protestant side were prepared to do. But the popish disputants thought it their *wisest* course to forbear, lest they might have been too closely pinched in their cause, if they had gone on; and therefore warily declined entering further into this contest, lest the weakness of their arguments might more openly appear to all.

It was Jewel's desire that this disputation had gone on; and his wish that some such public conference might have been appointed, for the full satisfying men's minds in these controversies, and for making the truth more evidently appear to all. Thus in one of his sermons, reflecting upon this last disputation, he hath these words:

“That however it might not become him to set order in these things, yet, if it were lawful, he would wish that once again, as time would serve, there might be had a quiet and a sober disputation; and that each part might be required to shew their grounds, without self-will, and without affection, not to maintain or breed contention; (for he trusted it should be the way to take away all contention;) but only that the truth might be known, many consciences quieted, and the right stone tried by comparison of the counterfeit. For at the last disputation that should have been, every one knew which part gave over, and would not meddle. And whereas some would say, the judge would not be indifferent; alas! said he, what man that doubted his own matter would ever think the judges indifferent? But, he added, [none should be appointed judges; but] let the whole world, let our adversaries themselves be judges here, (affection put apart.) What can we offer more? Let them call for their doctors and councils. If they come, said he, but with one sufficient doctor or council, they may have the field. That he spake not this to boast himself of any learning, but that the goodness of the cause made him the bolder. Neither would he have said so much as he had in this behalf, saving that the matter itself, and very necessity, forced him so to do: since it were great pity that God's truth should be defaced with privy whisperings, that whole houses should be overthrown, men's consciences wounded, the people deceived.”

The resentments of the court, for this sullen and refractory behaviour of the popish disputants, appeared soon after, by these orders of the council against them. April the 3d, the lords sent a letter to the lieutenant of the

Tower, with the bodies of the bishops of Winton and Lincoln, (who had given most offence,) and willed him to keep them in sure and several wards: suffering them nevertheless to have each of them one of their own men to attend upon them, and their own stuff for their bedding, and other necessary furniture; and to appoint them to some convenient lodging meet for persons of their sort: using them also otherwise well, especially the bishop of Lincoln, for that he was sick. For which respects also, and because this was his sick night, the said lieutenant was willed the rather to have regard unto him, and to spare him some of his own lodging and stuff for this night: and also to surlier his chirurgeon, and such other as should be needful for his health, to have access to him from time to time. And the same day the lords of the council did appoint sir Ambrose Cave and sir Richard Sackvile, [two of the council,] to repair to the houses of the foresaid bishops here in London, and both to peruse their studies and writings, and also to take order with their officers for the surety and stay of their goods.

And the next day, being April 4, this order passed upon the rest of these offenders, that Rare, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, Cuthbert, bishop of Chester, and Owin, bishop of Carlisle, Henry Cole, LL. D. John Harpsfield, S. T. P. and William Chedsey, S. T. P. should all (and accordingly did) enter into bonds severally to make their personal appearances before the lords of the council as often as they sat, and not to depart the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs, until they should have licence so to do: and further to stand unto and pay such fines as should be by the lords of the council assessed upon them, for their contempt committed against the queen's majesty's order, as the obligation ran. The first of these bishops was bound in 2000 marks sterling, the second in 1000*l.* the third in 500 mark, Dr. Cole in 1000 mark, Dr. Harpsfield in 500 mark, and Dr. Chedsey in 300*l.*

And so accordingly they all, both bishops and doctors, did from day to day come personally and wait upon the council from the 5th of April till the 12th of May next, desiring daily their appearances to be recorded. The day before, viz. May the 11th, the council came to assess the lines which each of them were bound to stand to for their contempt, and were as follows: the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, 333*l.* 6s. 8d.; the bishop of Carlisle, 250*l.*; the bishop of Chester, 200 mark; Dr. Cole, 500 mark; Dr. Harpsfield, 40*l.*; and Dr. Chedsey, 40 mark. The next day, May the 12th, when they came to make their personal appearances, Dr. Harpsfield paid

his 40*l.* into the hands of William Smith, clerk of the council; and Dr. Chedsey his 40 mark. And so they were discharged, recognisances of their good abesring being first taken of them. How and when the greater fines were paid by the rest, I know not, only I find these favourable orders of council for the two bishops in the Tower.

April 27, letters were sent from the lords to the lieutenant of the Tower, to suffer the bishop of Lincoln, presently remaining in his ward, to come at such times as he by his discretion should think meet to his table, for the better relief of his quartan ague: and also to have the liberty of the house, as prisoners heretofore, having the liberty of the Tower, have used: the ordering whereof was referred to his discretion. And May the 10th, the lords sent to the lieutenant their letters, to suffer the bishop of Winchester's cook from time to time to attend upon him, for the dressing of his meat; so as he spake only with him in his presence, or such as he should appoint. And in like sort to suffer the lady White, his sister, to repair unto him at such times as he should think meet. Thus gently did these bishops and divines feel the displeasure of the lords of the council.

CHAPTER 6.

The queen's marriage motioned. Exchange of bishops' lands. Bishop Cox's letter to the queen. The bishops elect, their secret application to the queen about it. Considerations about bishops' temporalities. Commissions for the exchanges.

THE parliament had a great desire to see the queen well married, that there might be an heir to the crown: nor did she want suitors in the very entrance upon her kingdom. Philip, king of Spain, late husband to her sister queen Mary, was one of the first. And almost as soon as he, did the emperor make a motion for either of his sons, as I find by some papers among the Burghleian MSS. George Van Helfenstein, baron of Gundelfingen, was in England with the queen, soon after her first coming to the crown, in quality of agent or ambassador from the emperor: then there happened communication between him and sir Thomas Chaloner about the queen's marriage, which Chaloner and all good men then had their thoughts much bent upon: they talked together of the emperor's son, the archduke of Austria. And now Van Helfenstein being departed, and at Brussels, wrote March 21, 1558, to Chaloner, and sent him the picture of that duke, which he might shew as he should think most convenient: this representation of him shewed him to be a most comely person, but his mind and inward abilities exceeded his person, as the noble German told Chaloner in his letter; "That if the most excellent virtues and gallant endowments of his soul were known as well to him, as they were to himself and others, he would soon acknowledge they did by many degrees surpass the beauty of his body." But that picture receiving some damage by the wagons in which it was brought, he promised to send Chaloner another of the duke's whole body, and of his brother also; wishing that he might have a sight of them both alive, without the help of paint and colour. He told him all the report at Brussels was, that the king of Spain was to marry the queen; although, as he subjoined, men of great authority, when he was in England, seemed not a little to misdoubt it. But he prayed Chaloner, out of their great friendship, to give some account of that whole matter. For that indeed was the very reason why the emperor, who intended to offer to the queen either of his sons, did forbear at present to do it; because he would not any ways disoblige one so nearly related. But if the king's suit succeeded not, he then requested his friend, the said sir Tho. Chaloner, to give him with all silence

an account of it: and then would the emperor put in strongly for one of his sons. And so he did afterwards. But the queen, though she would sometimes retain suitors, yet was not minded to wed herself, but to her kingdom only. How this affair proceeded, and what hand the papists had in it, hoping to effect some benefit to themselves hereby, we shall see hereafter.

In this parliament was a bill (mentioned before) for exchange of bishops' lands, and it passed into an act, remaining among the private and unprinted acts of parliament. By virtue whereof authority was given to the queen, on the avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric, to take into her hands certain of the temporal possessions thereof, recompensing the same with parsonages impropriate and tenths. And soon after this time, there being an avoidance of all, or almost all, the bishoprics, the queen and her courtiers had a fair opportunity to pick and choose what houses, lands, and revenues they pleased, belonging to the episcopal sees throughout England, that were the fairest and the best, and that had no incumbrances upon them; which, no question, was now done; and in lieu thereof were made over to those sees certain parsonages formerly belonging to the monasteries. To many of which parsonages appertained decayed chancels and ruinous houses, and sometimes pensions to be paid out for the maintaining of vicars and curates. And for the tenths, which were also to go in exchange for the bishops' good lands, these were and would be but ill paid, being to be collected from the clergy, many whereof were indigent, and some obstinate, and so could not or would not pay them without great trouble. And, which was worse than this, the tenths being so peculiarly settled upon the crown, the bishops could not have a fight to receive them, unless some law were made in that case, and provided. These and many other inconveniences arising from this act, and well perceived by the clergy, and especially Parker, and other bishops elect, made them sad.

But to help the matter as well as they could, they put up an address to the queen, suing to her" to stay and remit this exchange, and not to use this liberty which the parliament had given her. And that if they could not obtain that, (to make the best terms they could for themselves,) that the exchanges might be even and equal, and that consideration might be had of the expenses of parsonages, and the ill payment of tenths, and of the advantages and benefits of their lordships and manors. In this address they signified, how much this, if it came to pass, would endanger the decay of hospitality and of learning, and discourage men from serving the church in

the ministry.” And to incline the queen to grant this their suit, and lest they should not appear to consider the queen’s great charges daily sustained, (which, it seems, was one of the pretences for this bill,) Parker and the other four elects, who made the address in the name of the province of Canterbury, did offer to give unto her yearly a thousand marks during their lives and continuance in their bishoprics, for and in consideration of the exoneration of the said exchange.

They took this opportunity also to pray the queen in their own behalf, that they might be discharged of all arrearages of subsidies and tenths past in the days of their predecessors, and in times of vacation; and to be discharged of their own subsidies the first year of their fruits-paying; and that in consideration of their necessary expenses, as in furniture of their houses, and the payment of great fees, to suffer them to enjoy the half year’s rent last past, and that their first-fruits might be abated somewhat, and distributed unto more years, and that she would take their own bonds for payment. In the behalf also of the new bishoprics erected by king Henry, they besought her for their continuance: and that the bishops thereof might nominate and appoint the prebendaries, as other bishops did, for the maintaining of learned men and preachers; and that Cliff might be joined to the see of Rochester; and that from the see of Chester the benefice lately annexed might not be dismembered, in consideration of the smallness of the revenues of those bishoprics. And here let me add, that Cox, bishop of Ely, an ancient and very learned man, and in great esteem both with the queen’s father and brother, and likewise with her, privately on this occasion addressed himself to her, against taking away the bishops’ temporalities by exchanges; in some papers of arguments sent her, shewing the inconvenience and evil, not to say unlawfulness of them.

“Forasmuch” (writeth he in one paper to her) “as I am *fully* persuaded, that God’s Holy Spirit hath adorned your majesty with three excellent graces; first, that you are well instructed in God’s sincere and true religion; secondly, because I have heard you say, that you are not in fear of death, whensoever it shall please our heavenly Father to call you; thirdly, necessarily to follow upon this former, that you work uprightly in conscience and in the fear of God; I am the more bold to become an humble petitioner to your highness, and that alone, without the knowledge or consent of others; to the intent that, if your highness incline to my petition, the grant may come only of your own bountifulness; or if your grace

grant not my petition, it may pass in silence, as though never motion had been made thereof.

“Mine humble request unto your Majesty is, that it might stand with your highness’ pleasure, to command your officers not to proceed any further in the exchange appertaining to your grace’s bishoprics: which will be as noble and as famous an act as the like hath seldom been seen. The causes which move me to sue unto your majesty are these.”

This paper goes no further: but in anther paper of the same bishop, in the name of the rest, there be divers considerations urged to her, all writ with his own hand. But whether it was actually delivered her, or only prepared for her, I cannot tell. It begins with apt arguments, taken from scripture, viz.

I. Genesis 47: Joseph brought all the lands of the kingdom of Egypt unto the possession of king Pharaoh in the extremity of famine; but the lands of the priests remained untouched.

II. 1 Esdras 7: King Artaxerxes, sending great riches in the building of God’s temple in Jerusalem, commanded all the Jews to be contributors to the same; the priests and Levites being excepted from all impositions and contributions. These examples are written by the Holy Ghost not in vain, but to admonish princes liberally to use God’s ministers, and not withdraw things from them.

III. Agg. 1: God threatened sore plagues to his people, because they were negligent in building up of the earthly temple. If now then the builders of Christ’s heavenly church be diminished of their wages, God cannot be well pleased.

IV. Malachi 1: God was mightily angered with his people, because they offered unto God the blind, lame, and worried sacrifice; which therefore was counted Polluted and foul. And God was very angry with his priests, because they would receive such things to be sacrificed. Wherefore, if the best be taken from his ministry, and worse put in the place, God will be displeased, both with the takers away, and with his ministers, which agree to the same.

V. Galatians 3: St. Paul alloweth not that the will of the testator should be altered, by putting to or taking away; especially when the bequests are needfully and godly bestowed. Godly men have bestowed livings and lands upon the ministry of Christ's gospel, and godly and needful functions in Christ's church: with what conscience can their godly wills be broken?

VI. God saith, Malachi 3: that the whole people were cursed with penury, because they defrauded the payment of tithes and first-fruits: and we fear God will not bear it well, that the stipend of his holy ministry should be diminished or impaired.

VII. Esa. 49: Thus God saith to his church, *Erunt reges nutrii tui, et reginae nutrices*, Kings and queens shall be patrons and nurses [not spoilers and stepdames] of his church and people. Therefore great kings and princes have not only submitted themselves to Christ's yoke, but with gifts and Possessions have maintained and conserved the ministry of Christ's church. Kings and queens of this realm having but a dim knowledge of Christ's faith, in comparison of your grace, have shewed themselves in all ages honourably beneficial toward the ministry of Christ's gospel. God forbid that your grace's affection should in this behalf swerve from the godly examples of your noble progenitors, to the rejoicing of the adversaries to God's truth and your highness, and to the dismaying of God's faithful ministers, beside the slanderous talk of the world, which cannot possibly be stayed.

VIII. Your grace's father and brother, of honourable memory, took away the foully abused lands and possessions of monks, friars, nuns, &c. But they touched not the possessions of the ministry of God's holy word and sacraments. Insomuch that when the colleges of the universities were given by act of parliament to your majesty's father, to change their lands and possessions, he would by no means meddle with them. We most humbly beseech your majesty, of your bountiful goodness and Christian affection toward the ministry of Christ our Saviour, now to do the like, the cause being not unlike. And forasmuch as your godly zeal doth so fervently tender God's heavenly and true religion, we trust that your highness will tender and encourage by all means the ministers of the same.

IX. Concerning exchange of lands for impropriations; it will be unto us a grievous burden to take benefices impropred: because we are persuaded in conscience, that the parishes ought to enjoy them, in such sort, and for such godly end, as they were appointed for at the beginning.

X. We do not disallow the zeal of the honourable parliament, which hath travailed to relieve your grace's necessity in this miserable time, (yet God knoweth what relief it will be to your majesty in the end,) but under your majesty's reformation, we put you in remembrance, according to our bounden duty and discharge of our conscience, to weigh this matter by yourself, as God's holy Spirit shall direct your godly heart in his fear and love towards his heavenly word and sacraments, and the ministry of the same. *Finally*, We, bearing your majesty like good heart and zeal as your honourable parliament hath expressed, do offer towards the relief of your majesty's necessity the sums following, yearly to be paid out of the lands of our bishoprics; making therewith humble requests, that your majesty and your successors will graciously hereafter restore them again, when God of his goodness shall enrich and plentifully furnish the crown of this realm.

On the other side of the paper stand the names of certain *sees*, with *sums* annexed, agreed to be paid to the queen annually by the respective bishops; with intent no doubt, as other bishops should be consecrated to the vacant *sees*, to have their subscriptions also added, for competent sums of money to be yielded by them.

Canterbury 200*l.*

Hereford 100 mark.

Ely 200*l.*

Chichester 100 mark.

London100*l.*

This paper was thus concluded:

“God we call to witness in the last and great day, we say thus much, without any corrupt or sinister affection, for the maintenance of learning in this your realm, for the continuance and increase of

true religion, and for the establishing of your majesty's honour and godly report throughout whole Christendom."

There was another paper drawn up by the same bishop's hand, and prepared for the queen, consisting of more arguments, to dissuade her from these exchanges, which bore this title, *Considerations why bishops' temporalities should not be taken away.*

Bishops heretofore have brought up to be learned, a great number of scholars in the universities, which they shall not be able hereafter belike to do. Bishops heretofore have builded colleges in the universities, for the increase of learning; which hereafter they shall not be able to do. Men are men, and have not always a spiritual eye: and when they see the reward of learning decay, they will not set forth their children to that kind of learning. And thus shall learning decay in this realm; and shortly Christ Jesus be utterly forgotten, and darked as much, or more, as in the time of papistry.

To break the will of the testator, when the will is made to a godly use, it may appear against nature and godliness.

King Henry VIII. of noble memory erected new bishoprics and new colleges, and endowed them, and never took any land from any of them: to alter his godly will cannot be good.

Queen Mary restored again to the bishoprics such lands as were taken from them in king Edward's time: because she thought such taking away to be sacrilege. Reason would, that the true ministers of the church should find as much favour at your highness's hand, as the false ministers found at the hand of your grace's predecessor.

Further, the fact will be ill spoken of through Europe. For the like example hath not been seen: for in Germany, though the bishops have been dispossessed of their lands, but princes, who set forth the gospel, have given to those ministers, but not taken from other bishops. This fact will be slanderous to the gospel: for all men will say, that the gospel is set forth to this end, that the bishops should lose their lands.

When the bishops' lands are gone, the kings and queens of this realm shall never have such present relief any where else, as they may have of the bishops, if need should require. Your highness, for the present necessity, may take such sums of them as they may be most able to give; and so likewise at other times.

Your highness's ancestors and noble progenitors, yea, your father and brother of most noble memory, have maintained honourably the ministers of God's holy word; we trust your highness will do the same. The fame of the contrary all true Christians would be sorry to hear. Forasmuch as your majesty doth so fervently tender God's holy word and true religion, we hope assuredly, that your highness will by all means tender and encourage all godly ministers of the same. It is evident what came to king Balthazzer, because he did bring forth the holy plates and vessels, and used them in banqueting; which Nabuchodonozer had taken out of God's temple. He was slain the same day. Whereby it may appear, that God willeth not that things appointed to a godly use should be otherwise ordered.

But notwithstanding all these endeavours of the bishops to the contrary, the queen proceeded roundly in this business. And soon after the parliament was broken up, in order to these exchanges, she appointed commissioners to survey the several vacant bishoprics, (which were now about fourteen, vacant either by death or deprivation,) and to send in their certificates into the exchequer, of the values of all the lands, revenues, &c. pertaining to the respective vacant bishoprics. And besides, she appointed by her letters bearing date in September, other commissioners, viz. the lord treasurer, sir Richard Sackvile, sir Walter Mildmay, and Mr. Keilway, a lawyer, to consider which of these lands she should take into her hands, and what impropriations and tenths it should be convenient to grant instead thereof, The reason of this commission might be, that both the queen might receive congruous benefit and convenience to her royal state hereby, and likewise that the bishoprics might receive no damage, but a just proportion and equal value in the exchanges to be made.

The queen's said letter to the lord treasurer and the other commissioners was to this purport: it mentioned an act passed in her late parliament, which, among other things, granted unto her, that upon vacation of every archbishopric or bishopric within the realm, it should be lawful for her to take into her hands and possession as much, and so many, of any of the honours, castles, manors, lands, and tenements, parcel of the possessions of such archbishoprics and bishoprics, as the clear yearly value of all her parsonages impropriate and yearly tenths, within every such bishopric, should yearly amount unto; and for the trial of the very value of such honours, castles, &c. it should be lawful for her to appoint commissioners to survey the same: and thereupon to certify the very clear yearly value, over all charges, to her court of exchequer by such time as should be to the

same commissioners appointed, with such other matter, as in the said act thereon made more fully was contained.

Forasmuch as sithen she had, according to the said act, addressed forth sundry her commissions for the survey of the lands, tenements, &c. of certain archbishoprics and bishoprics presently vacant, the certificates of which commission were in part already returned into the court of exchequer, and the rest looked for daily; she let them wit, that for the proceeding to the end in the said matters, according to the meaning of the said act, knowing their approved wisdoms, diligences, and dexterities in such cases, she had authorized them, four, three, or two of them, to consider diligently, as well the certificates of such lands of such as were already returned, as such others as should hereafter be returned, and certified in the said court: and likewise to consider what parcel of the said lands, &c. should be meetest for her to take into her hands and possessions; and what impropriations or yearly tenths she should in recompence depart withal again; with such further matter in and about the premises, as their wisdoms should think meet for her knowledge: willing them, after the deliberated and advised consideration of the premises, to certify her of their opinion in writing: to the intent she might resolve her determinate pleasure touching the same, as should be thought good unto her.

CHAPTER 7.

The behaviour of the English professors and exiles; and of the popish clergy towards them. Consultation about admitting the pope's nuncio.

NOW it is time to look a little back upon the professors of the gospel, who had been so harassed in the late reign; and to observe their present condition and circumstances in this juncture: both how they have behaved themselves, and how the papists behaved themselves with respect to them. Some of them who lay close and concealed in the late evil times, and hidden in secret retirements, now crept forth; among these was Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards made archbishop of Canterbury, and sir Thomas Smith: others were exiles abroad, who now basted home, to partake of the blessings they expected under this queen, and to assist in the work of the reformation of religion, which they had, it seems, some secret intimations of. Of these were Cox, Sandys, Grindal, Jewel, Horne, &c.: and many persons of quality and learning, as sir Ant. Cook, Knollys, Wroth, Hales, &c. of the laity. Others chose to stay somewhat longer in their quarters where they were, in Germany, Switzerland, Geneva, or other places; to see first, how things would go in England in this critical time; and to follow and finish works they had in hand.

Those at Geneva were busy in finishing a more correct English translation of the Bible, and of the Psalms in verse and prose: having the assistance of learned men and other helps, they tarried some time in that place. John Fox was at Basil; (where was a good printing press, the master of which was Oporinus, a learned and able man;) here the said laborious Englishman was detailed in printing, or preparing to print, in the same house, the History of the English Martyrs, in Latin. And Grindal and Sampson were just now coining from Strasburgh to him, to bring him informations from England, and to assist him in the work: but were prevented therein, being urged (as Grindal in a letter, dated December 19, 1558, to Fox, wrote) by friends to take their journey into England, upon this happy change of government.

But something was done by the aforesaid English congregation of Geneva, (which seems to have been intended to prepare the minds of all the exiles to peace, against their return home,) moving them for an amicable understanding, before they came into England, in respect of the contentions

about some church matters, which had been among them at Geneva and Frankford, and other places; yet resolving to follow the best reformed churches they had seen abroad. But other churches of the English exiles resolved not to contend about ceremonies when they should return into England, but submit to the decrees of their superiors. To relate this matter more at large.

The English church at Geneva, upon the tidings of queen Mary's death, and the lady Elizabeth's coming to the crown, thinking now of their coming home, consulted among themselves, and concluded, that it was expedient and necessary, that an unfeigned reconciliation should be betwixt all the churches of the exiles, whatever contests there had been among them before about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies: and that they should so join together in matters of religion and ceremonies, that no papist or other enemy should take hold or make advantage by any furtlier dissension, when they came into their own country; which might arise in time to come, if it were not seasonably foreseen and prevented. Whereupon they wrote a circular letter to the English congregations at Arrow, Basil, Strasburgh, Wormes, Frankford, &c. and sent it by the hand of William Kethe, their messenger, and one of their members. The said letter bore date December 15, 1558, and is extant in the book called, *The Troubles of Frankford*. Wherein,

“to cut off all occasions from papists, and other cavillers, they declared a reconcilment; and desired that they might all teach and practise unanimously that knowledge of God's word, which they had learned in this their banishment, and seen in the best reformed churches.”

This letter was signed by Christopher Goodman, Miles Coverdale, John Knox, John Bodleigh, William Williams, Anthony Gilby, William Whittingham, John Pullein, Francis Withers, William Fuller, and William Bevoies, in the name of the whole church.

The effect of the answers of the church of Frankford and of Arrow to the former letter, as the same Kethe brought them back, was as follows. The letter from Frankford was dated January the 3d, which imported,

“That it would not lie in either of their hands to appoint what ceremonies should be, but in such men's wisdoms as should be appointed to the devising of the same; and which should be

received by common consent of parliament: and therefore it would be to small purpose to contend about them. Wherefore as they, [viz. of the church at Frankford,] trusting they should not be burdened with unprofitable ceremonies, purposed to submit themselves to such orders as should be established by authority, (not being of themselves wicked,) so they would wish them [of Geneva] to do the same. And that whereas all reformed churches differed among themselves in divers ceremonies, and yet agreed in the unity of doctrine, they saw no inconvenience, if they used some ceremonies diverse from them; so that they agreed in the chief points of their religion. Notwithstanding, that if any should be intruded that should be offensive, they, [of Frankford,] upon just conference and deliberation upon the same at their meeting with them in England, (which they trusted by God's grace would be shortly,) would brotherly join with them, to be suitors for the reforming and abolishing of the same."

The subscribers to this, in the name of the rest of the church, [many being already departed for England,] were James Pilkington, Francis Wilford, Edmond Isaac, John Gray, Henry Knolles, Henry Carew, Richard Beesley, Christopher Brickbate, John Mullins, Alexander Nowel, John Browne.

The answer from the exiles at Arrow in Switzerland, dated January 13, imported,

"That they of that church desired, that as oft as they might find occasion hereafter to consult or confer by word or writing, that they both might so take and seek the same, as might be most to their unity in minds, and diligence to do good in the Lord's work. And for preaching and professing of sincere doctrine, so as they had seen and learned in the best reformed churches, they did gladly hear the church at Geneva's advice to be so agreeable to their own purpose."

They that subscribed hereunto, being of the ministry, in the name and consent of the whole church, were Thomas Lever, their minister, Robert Pownal, Richard Langhorne, and Thomas Turpin. These things may not be amiss to have specified, concerning those of the exiles that yet remained abroad.

As for the popish clergy, they looked with a very angry and displeasing eye upon them; and of all things dreaded these learned men, lest they should take their places, and occupy room in the churches. And they seemed to make it one point of their policy, to keep the protestant ministers (as much as they could) from officiating there: and for that purpose counselled the priests and curates then in possession of ecclesiastical preferments and benefices, to comply with the constitution of religion that should be set up, that they might retain their parishes and places, and in the mean time, as opportunity served, exhort the people to hold and think well of their old superstitions.

There is a passage sounding to this tenor in the sermon preached at Westminster by White, bishop of Winton, at the funeral of queen Mary.

“If they who by God are placed to keep watch and ward upon the walls, and give warning when the enemy cometh, see the wolf come toward the flock, as at this present, I warn you, the wolves be coming out of Geneva, and other places of Germany, and have sent their books before, full of pestilent doctrines, blasphemy, and heresy, to infect the people; if the bishops, I say, and ministers in this case should not give warning, neither withstand and resist, but, for fear or flattery with the world, forsake their places, and thereby give occasion to the wolves to enter and devour the flock; then *should* the more mighty be more mightily scourged, and the blood of the people be required at their hands.”

The popish bishops and clergy however entertained a conceit now, that the number of learned divines and ministers of the gospel (after so many of them put to death, and such great discouragements to study or profess pure doctrine) was so very small and inconsiderable, that if they themselves held together, and remained in compliance with the steps that were taking, the queen must be forced to keep them in the church, lest otherwise it should be wholly unsupplied: but they were much deceived. This is declared fully in the British Antiquities, set forth by some that lived in those times, and were well acquainted with the affairs thereof.

“They resolved among themselves not to comply to take the oath of *supremacy* to the queen, nor to renounce all foreign jurisdiction: going upon this policy, that the queen could not displace them, there being none else to supply the rooms and places in the church, whether dioceses or parishes. In which crafty counsel, while they

seemed to be wise, and please themselves, they were, as by a judgment and revenge from Heaven, deceived and infatuated. For a great many very learned and godly men, in all that tyranny of the papists, which lasted almost six years, were either abroad in banishment, or skulking so closely here, that these their enemies, searching never so diligently for them, could not find them. And they, as it were by inspiration, in all that dreadful and cruel time of queen Mary, followed close the study of divinity. And being reserved to the prosperous and happy time of queen Elizabeth, did as it were blow away the popish arguments which themselves thought so mighty knotty and unanswerable. Men who coming forth of affliction and exile were looked upon with contempt by the Romanists; simple men without pontifical ornaments to set them out, but eminent for the integrity of their lives, the gravity of their behaviour, and the greatness of their spirits; and finally, for their diligent search and accurate knowledge of scripture, councils, orthodox fathers, and all ecclesiastical antiquity. And the papists could not equal them in strength of reason and written authorities, but were fain to endeavour to overcome them by calumnies.”

The English protestants abroad soon expressed their public joyful congratulation to the queen upon her advancement to the crown. And this they did sundry ways, according to their present abilities: as, in a prosopopceia of the nation of Germany, addressing her speech to England in a very elegant Latin style, done in the name of the rest by John Fox; wherein they take opportunity, in the person of another, to express their own minds at large, and the gladsome sense they had of this happy change. It was entitled, *Germaniae ad Angliam restituta Evangelii luce, Gratulatio*; and was printed at Basil by Oporinus, anno 1559. Beginning thus:

Facit divinae erga te clementiae magnitudo (germana in Christo soror Anglia) atque immensitas, ut merito impia sim, &c. To this tenor in English:

“It might justly be imputed to me as a piece of impiety, (O England! mine own sister in Christ,) if, upon this great and unmeasurable mercy of God towards you, I should not, in your name, render to God, in the first place, (as is fit,) most hearty thanks; from whom alone all must acknowledge all good things to come: and in the next

place, it might in like manner be esteemed a piece of ingratitude in me, should I not, on account of our old friendship and neighbourhood, congratulate you this so great happiness in the Lord, befallen you; who hath granted you strength to struggle out of so many difficulties, and now at last, as it were, out of the grave to breathe again the more joyful air of liberty.”

It goeth on in a very handsome style, expressing, “how she, [Germany,] not in her own name only, but in the name of other nations, that loved Christ, and that had any sense of godliness, did, as well as she, congratulate England her felicity and her queen. By whose most desired influence there was no question but that the British state, if heretofore it had lost something of its former splendour and glory, should recover it again with much advantage, and restore itself to its ancient, yea, and greater, both civil and religious tranquillity. Some surer and more certain hopes whereof did also those noble beginnings give, as some tokens and arguments of vindicating the church of England from a long servitude into greater amplitude and liberty. If therefore the liberty of human nature were so sweet, which was only outward, how much more reason was there to congratulate her this spiritual and Christian freedom, which not only took off from her shoulders the yoke of outward affliction, but freed the soul and conscience from base idolatry, false worship, manifest impiety, and forced dissimulation? And although the divine goodness had at no time been wanting to the afflictions and sufferings of the church, yet never did it more on a sudden, or (certainly) more in season, stretch forth its help; whether we consider the greatness of the evils it endured, or the dreadfulness of them which it expected. For why (as she goes on) should I here mention the gibbets, fires, poison, famine, sword, banishment, or the numbers of those that died, or the sharpness of the punishments? What good man in the whole kingdom was there, whom either the storm of the persecution took not away, or the fear of danger did not shake, or religion dissembled, contrary to his conscience, did not afflict more grievously than any death? in short, whom affliction did *not* render miserable, or dissimulation had rendered (I had almost said) wicked?”

Then Germany comes to shew her own hospitality to her sister England’s natives:

“In what one respect of friendly duty might I help your English people flying to me, but I did it; and out of love to you, with ready embraces, received, cherished, protected, and brought on their way. Nor opened I only my houses, but my churches to them. In a word, I made no other difference in my harbouring of them than I did of mine own Germans. And although I did not adorn you with the same splendour, riches, and plenty you had at home, yet, according to my poverty, I took care that none might justly complain against me of unkindness; that in the mean time I say nothing of the supplies of money, and secret benefits. And I think I may testify this both truly, and for my credit, that however they were with me in a mean condition, yet in safety, and preserved from all danger and fear of their enemies within my walls, while they could not be safe at home. And now, when all is safe at home, and they may return securely, and do so much desire it, I send them back again safe and sound to you, and I hope better, and more improved in learning.”

Then she proceeds to give good counsel to the queen and her court, and excellent advice to the preachers.

And in conclusion she congratulates also Scotland, and the restoration of religion there.

Another tract the exiles set forth at this time was, their thanksgiving to Christ, in like elegant Latin; which I believe was done with the same pen, namely, that of John Fox. It was entitled, *Ad Christum Anglorum exultantium εὐχαριστικόν*. It began,

Postulat privata officii nostri ratio, communis erga patriam charitas, tum in utrosque pariter nostrum cumulatissima tua beneficentia, pietatisque ineffabilis magnitudo, summe ac omnipotens redemptor noster, &c. i.e.

“As well our own private duty, and our common love to our country, as thy abundant kindness, and unspeakably great affection towards us both, O Lord Jesus Christ, our highest and almighty redeemer, require us to set forth perpetual panegyrics of praise and thanks to thee. Who, besides that eternal indulgence of thine towards us, whereby thou hast spent thy sacred blood to redeem us, hast exercised at this time that clemency to us in vouchsafing to restore us again to our country, and our country to us. Oh! that

now that same pity of thine, which joineth us into one body, who have been separated far from one another, would vouchsafe to retain us thus joined. That being all sodered together in mutual peace and good will, we may never cease to trumpet forth the glory of thy name with one voice, one spirit, and one faith. Let thy same pity grant to the French, the Spaniards, the Italians, the Flemings, and the Scots, a return in common with us to their own countries. That as we have all one and the same cause, so the same good success may in like manner by thy favour unite us all together in gladness. We know it is thy gift and goodness, if it be well at any time with thy people; without whose eye not a hair or a sparrow falleth to the ground: and we know again, that it is thy justice, if any thing happening otherwise grieveth us. Whereby we are the more confounded with a secret shame, in the enjoyment of this mercy, that when we have deserved heavier judgments, yet that we now less rejoice for them than for ourselves. But thy dispensing wisdom knoweth what is expedient for every one, and not less wisely disposest all things in their seasons.

“Therefore as our good success teacheth us, that we distrust not the manifestation of thy mercy towards them; so for thy present favours towards us, as it is fit, with most joyful minds, and on most ample accounts, we render all possible thanks to thy benignity: to whom, our sad banishment being at an end, thou hast mercifully opened so glad a return to our own country seats. It was thy great mercy first, that when we might not be safe at home, thou wouldest have some haven of refuge lie open for us among thy German people: but it was greater, that in an unknown tongue, in unknown lands, thou hast so kindly cherished us, and fed us so liberally; since there hath been none of us all that hath not experienced the supplies of thy providence after a singular and wonderful manner. But above all, that is the highest, the chiefest part of our happiness, that, commiserating the condition of our most deplorable country, thy pity hath changed those most sharp flames of persecution, which otherwise no floods could put out: that thy merciful eye knew, saw, and looked upon the unworthy butcheries of God men, and their bitter torments; some whereof were spoiled of all their goods, others of their lives; many afflicted in prisons with hideous cruelties; not a few, wasted miserably with famine, perished; the

faces of some were scratched and torn with the nails of bishops, and their beards half pulled off; some lost their hands, being, at the command of the bishops, roasted; and many, being put alive into the flames, were reduced to ashes.

“These and other torments of thy people, thou, I say, O Lord Jesus, hast sufficiently beheld: nor hast thou beheld only, but hast in a manner suffered the same thyself in thy members. And moreover, how bitter these things are to flesh, thou art not ignorant, who hast partook of our flesh. And indeed our wickedness deserved sharper sufferings than these; but thy pity surpassed our impieties; thy grace overcame thy justice. Therefore thou sawest the torments of thine in thine own cause, and broughtest help. Thou knewest the groans of thy sighing ones; thou sawest their prayers, and heardest them: thou sawest the evil days, and shortenedst them: thou sawest their tears, and wipedst them off. Grant now, most merciful Jesu, in like manner, their tears being wiped off, that they degenerate not into the undecent and mad mirth of this world. Grant to the queen and nobility, that they, ruling rightly and mercifully, may long rule and reign. *Give* to the people, and thy poor sheep, shepherds endued with learning mixed with meekness, and diligent without pride: grant again to the shepherds a flock that may be *ready* to follow, and be obedient; and while they teach them rightly, shewing themselves willing to obey. Grant both to the highest and to the lowest, that, being endued *with* thy Spirit, they may know thee, and the free salvation that is in thee alone.

“Vouchsafe to those that are, whether in a private or public capacity, that, piously governing, and modestly obeying, they may mutually defend peace, and each serve in his vocation in thy fear. Lastly, vouchsafe, most merciful Jesus, even to our enemies, or thine rather, a better mind, without obstinacy, and an humble desire of truth.

“In a word, for our German nurses and harbourers, according to their kindness to us, we pray for a mutual return of kindness from thee upon them: whom, in the *saving* knowledge of thy gospel, let thy almighty goodness confirm more and more, and replenish with all thy blessings. *Amen.*”

John Fox also at this time, on this occasion, writ and printed a pretty large epistle to Thomas duke of Norfolk, a young nobleman of great hopes, whom formerly the said Box had under his care and tuition, and instruction in his learning. The said epistle bears this title, *Nobilitate ac. indole ornatissimo et praepotenti Domino Thomae Norfolkiae duci, &c. Joan. Foxus veram in Christo et aeternam cum salute nobilitatem*. It is full of excellent counsel and advice, with relation to the present hopeful prospect of religion; congratulating him, both on the public account of the flourishing again of religion, and likewise on occasion of his own private good fortune in the late recovery of his ancient style and title.

Another learned exile, and of an eloquent pen, viz. Lawrence Humphreys, (afterward president of Magdalen college, Oxon,) took also this opportunity to write a seasonable tract; which was also printed at Basil, as Fox's writings were, and by the same printer, Oporinus, and in the same year 1559.

The said tract bore this title, *De religionis conservatione et reformatione vera, &c. i.e. Of the true preservation and reformation of religion: and of the supremacy of kings and magistrates; and of the yielding obedience to them, as the highest ministers of Christ here on earth*. Dedicated to the nobility, clergy, and people of England. This little book seemed to be written on purpose to prepare the great work designed in parliament, viz. for the restoring of the supremacy, and reforming of religion from popery.

It begins in this tenor; *In illa superiorum temporum tristitia, honorandi partes, et colendi fratres, neminem bonum civem, tam ab omni humanitatis sensu alienum &c. i.e.*

“In that sad state of the times foregoing, honoured fathers and respected brethren, I suppose, no good citizen is so alienated from all sense of humanity, and so enslaved to irreligion, whom the late common grief of godly men, and the woful disturbance and confusion of all things, have not moved. For all saw the present hand of an angry God, and expected his future hand too. They felt wax, the sword, and many dangers, their thoughts were disturbed with the fears of more. The banishments of many innocent persons, their prisons, and most unworthy deaths, were before all men's eyes. They underwent a slavery laid upon their shoulders and their consciences too; and especially they experienced a famine of God's word, miserably slaying the souls of men. All which things would

force some tears from a man that had not altogether put off humanity; yea, I think, though he had put it off, although he were a stone or a flint.

“But when God and our heavenly Father had pardoned us his children, adopted in grace and mercy by Christ, when now those evils do not any more press nor lie upon us, nor hang over us, in this time, in this your and our *public* joy, I would not be wanting to my duty, not so much to express my affection, who have hitherto been *concealed*, as that I might fully persuade all, and myself too, that the best and greatest cause of congratulation is *now* come: that we may not seem to be without the sense of the benefit of our God in this change of things, and the felicity of this time, which would be great stupidity; *or* not to have regarded it, which would be dissolute negligence; or not to have acknowledged it, which would *be* the part of the highest ingratitude.”

The design of this his discourse was, first, to make all men sensible of this mercy, and to refresh the memory thereof; and then to treat,

1. concerning true and perfect reformation;
2. concerning the reformation of religion; and,
3. of the primacy of kings against the papacy, and of obedience to be yielded to magistrates.

And in the conclusion of his book stands his dedication of it to Francis, earl of Bedford, president of the queen’s privy council, dated from Basil.

After this manner did the exiles in Germany and Switzerland express their joys and congratulations. The English church at Geneva, consisting also of other of her majesty’s exiled subjects, signified to her their welcome of her to her kingdom, by presenting her in February with the book of Psalms in English, printed there in a little volume, with notes in the margin; being a part of the good work which the learned of this church set themselves about, viz. O translate the whole Bible more correctly according to the Hebrew: wherein they had proceeded a good way already; and resolved to tarry still at Geneva, till it was completed.

In the dedication, they seasonably exhorted her now, in her entrance on her government, to go on with resolution in reforming religion from the corruptions of papistry; thus addressing themselves unto her:

“That as the famous queen of Saba obtained most worthy renown, for her great desire to hear the wisdom of Solomon; so queen Elizabeth’s noble fame should remain for ever, not only upon earth, in perpetual memory, but also registered in heaven, among the holy angels of God, if with earnest zeal and hearty affection she sought after and set forth the heavenly wisdom of the true Solomon, (even Christ Jesus:) who had opened and offered the rich treasures of his divine wisdom in such abundance at this present to all nations, but especially to her noble realm of England by her means: which other realms and nations set before their eyes as a pattern of true religion and Christian life, to imitate. That they could look for no greater blessings to come, but only that this king should right shortly appear with his mighty angels, to execute his judgments for the deliverance of his servants, and the punishment of his enemies.

“That in the mean season, they her humble subjects, according to the talents that God had given them, thought it their duty with the most convenient speed to further, even with the utmost of their power, her godly proceedings and most worthy enterprises. And albeit they had begun more than a year ago, for the comfort of the church, then most grievously afflicted by the cruel rage and horrible tyranny of the papists, to peruse the English translation of the sacred Bible, and to bring it to the pure simplicity and true meaning of the Spirit of God, as far as they were able to attain unto the same by the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, the conference of most perfect translations in other languages, and by the judgment of the best learned in those parts; yet when they heard that the almighty and most merciful God had no less miraculously preserved her to that most excellent dignity, than he had, above all men’s expectations, preserved her from the fury of such as sought her blood; with most joyful minds and great diligence they endeavoured themselves to set forth this most excellent book of the Psalms unto her grace, as a special token of their service and good will, till the rest of the Bible, which, they praised God, was in good readiness, should be accomplished, and presented.

“They supposed, in their judgments, that no part of the whole scripture was more necessary for her grace than that little book of Psalms, if it were well weighed and practised. For here she should see painted, as in a most lively table, in the person of king David, such things as she had felt, and should continually feel in herself; that is, the perils and persecutions that he sustained before he came to his royal dignity, and also the assistance of God in the same; and moreover, the sharp storms and rough tempests raised against him, when he was entered into his kingdom, as well by foreign enemies as by the Philistines, Moabites, Edomites, Ammonites, and Amalekites, as by his own subjects; yea, even by them of his own house; as by Achitophel his counsellor, and Absalom his son: and how God never forsook him, but was present with him in his greatest afflictions, and delivered him from all danger; because he put his whole trust in him alone.

“That as he had mercifully preferred her to this high honour, so should she be zealous of his glory, obedient to his will, and diligent to suppress all papistry, vice, and heresy, and to cause the light of God’s holy word speedily to shine through all her dominions. That if she honoured God, and advanced his kingdom, he would honour her, and make her kingdom stable; he would bless her with godly posterity, and maintain her in perfect peace and quietness. If she were apprehensive of any weakness, that she should remember what promise the Lord, in the person of Joshua, maketh to all them that faithfully execute their vocation, saying, *I will not leave thee, nor forsake thee.* If the outward enemy threatened or invaded, she should remember also how God preserved his servant David, and enlarged his kingdom. If the inconstant multitude murmured against her, she should call to her mind God’s appointment, who had set her up to execute his will, and not the fantasies of the ignorant multitude. For though infinite thousands pitched against her, yet she ought not to fear, because God was on her side,” &c. Dated from Geneva the 10th of February, 1559. [*anno ineunte.*]

I omit the Latin poem which Walter Haddon, LL. D. the great orator and poet in those times, made to the queen upon her accession to the crown, (to whom he was after master of the requests) beginning,

*Anglia, tolle caput, saevis jactata procellis,
Exagitata malis, Anglia, tolle caput.
Aurea virgo venit, roseo venerabilis ore,
Plena Deo, princeps Elizabetha venit, &c.*

That the queen stood not much affected to the divines in vogue in the former reign, appeared, that the public preachers, at court or at St. Paul's, were such learned protestants as were newly returned from exile, or that had privately concealed themselves at home. Two of the first public sermons were preached by Dr. Bill (who was the queen's almoner) and Dr. Cox; the former preached at St. Paul's the very next Sunday after the queen was proclaimed; and the latter at Westminster before her first parliament, at the opening of it. All preaching was soon prohibited for some time, (as hath been observed already;) but when it was allowed, I find the preachers appointed to preach before the queen, and at St. Paul's, were generally the learned professors and confessors of the gospel; as hath been partly shewn before.

One important point of policy this first year of the queen was adjusted, tending much to the establishment of religion: which was a consultation held at Greenwich, whether it were for the good of the commonwealth to grant, that the abbot of Martinego, [or Martinengo,] the pope's nuncio, should come into England, who, it seems, was now in election to be sent hither by the pope. This matter, duly deliberated, came to this conclusion, that it was against the ancient and late laws of this realm, that any nuncio from the pope should enter into this realm. That in ancient time the nuncio could never enter but by licence, and by a solemn oath on the other side the sea, not to attempt any thing to the derogation of the king or the liberties of the realm. That he could not come without great peril to the realm, as the time stood, and that his coming would be a preparation to animate discontented minds in the cause of religion.

The next year notwithstanding, viz. 1560, or 1561, the said Martinengo came to Brussels, requesting licence to come into the realm; but it was denied him.

CHAPTER 8.

The protestants' declaration of their doctrine, in vindication of themselves against the slanders of papists. The Dutch strangers return to their church in London. Bishop Grindal their superintendent. Dutch anabaptists.

THE papists at this time spared not to cast reproaches and defamations upon the professors and profession of the gospel with all their might; and that, no doubt, openly in parliament: and many of these accused them to the queen, (before whom some of them had lately preached,) as men that were inconsistent to themselves, and that they had no agreement of doctrines among them; as well as that more common charge, that their doctrine was nothing but heresy, and they a company of sectaries and schismatics, disturbers of commonwealths, and persuaders of rebellion. Therefore Dr. Sandys, and the rest of the divines, concerned now about preparing of the Book of Common Prayer, and in the late conference at Westminster, among themselves, in the month of April, drew up a declaration of their faith, intending to publish it in their own vindication. Of this, Sandys, April ult. wrote to Dr. Parker, not yet come up from London, telling him,

“how they were forced through the vain bruits of the lying papists to give up a confession of their faith, to shew forth the sum of that doctrine which they professed, and to declare, that they dissented not among themselves. That this labour they had then in hand on purpose to publish, as soon as the parliament was ended; wishing they had his hand to it, as it was subscribed by the rest.” Meeting with this declaration among the said Parker’s papers, I shall here set it down.

A DECLARATION OF DOCTRINE, OFFERED AND EXHIBITED BIT THE PROTESTANTS TO THE QUEEN.

“As our ancient enemy Satan hath ever, and at all times, hated and persecuted the truth of God’s word, with the ministers and professors of the same; so in these our evil and latter days, as one let loose for the trial of God’s elect, and subversion of unbelievers, he hath wonderfully raged, labouring by all possible power, like a

subtile serpent, to deceive. And how much in these few years past, God so permitting, and our sins so deserving, he hath prevailed, the world can bear witness. What old heresy hath he not revived? What strange and new doctrine hath he not invented? What idolatry and superstition hath he not planted? What ignorance and blindness hath he not brought in? What truth hath he not obstructed and darkened? Not only abusing the power of princes by all means to persecute Christ in his members, and by unlawful laws to stop the free course and passage of the gospel; but also using practices of his false prophets, in whose mouth he hath ever been a lying spirit, by all subtile persuasions to bring into hatred, and to slander for heresy, the infallible truth of God's written word; falsely defaming, slandering, and misreporting the ministers of the same, as a ready way to deface their doctrine. Of this practice all ages can report, as may easily appear to all such as have travelled in ancient writers and histories.

“Yet at no time hath the subtile serpent been more strong in his wicked members and deceitful workers, to deface the doctrine of the gospel, and to slander the setters forth of the same, than he hath shewed himself at this time; and namely, against us who have of late preached before the queen's majesty, as against our brethren, teachers of the same truth: most untruly reporting of us, that our doctrine is detestable heresy; that we are fallen from the doctrine of Christ's catholic church; that we be subtile sectaries; that we dissent among ourselves; and that every man nourisheth and maintaineth his peculiar opinion; and that we be the teachers of carnal liberty, condemning fasting, praying, alms, and like godly exercises; that we be disordered persons, disturbers of the commonwealth, persuaders of rebellion, and teachers of disobedience, against magistrates, and what not.

“But it is no marvel if [these] children be like unto their father, who hath been a liar from the beginning, and the author thereof. Neither can it be strange to the teachers of God's truth to be untruly reported. Elias the prophet was burdened with false doctrine, and to be a disturber of the commonwealth of Israel. And the Son of God, the author of truth, was not only charged to work by the power of Beelzebub, to seduce the people, and leave them to carnal liberty; but also to be a transgressor of the laws, a glutton, a

drunkard, and a companion with publicans and sinners. The apostles of Christ were reported to be sectaries, and teachers of new doctrine, disordered men, and stirrers up of sedition and tumults. The learned and godly of the primitive church were slandered with horrible incest, and the unnatural eating of man's flesh. The good bishop of Jerusalem, Narcissus, was untruly defamed of incontinency. The learned and godly bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, was most falsely accused, not only of incontinency, but also of murder. And who hath lived so purely, or taught so sincerely, which hath not either been charged with evil life, error, or heresy? And although a clear conscience can easily bear this burden, neither ought the servant to grudge, if he be used like his master: and, as St. Paul saith, we ought to behave ourselves in all things as the ministers of God, so confirmed in true piety and sincere doctrine, that we can patiently bear all manner of reports, and constantly go forward in the oilice of our vocation, whether we be defamed or well spoken of; as hitherto, through the grace of God, (his name be praised,) we have gladly and joyfully done; contemning, for the truth's sake, the slanderous reports of the wicked world.

“Yet notwithstanding, lest we should seem utterly to neglect our good name, and through silence in this behalf not only suffer the truth to be slandered, and our innocency defamed, but also false reports to be credited for true, to the great hinderance of the gospel, and abusing of the simple; we have thought it good and necessary to publish and set forth to the world a brief sum and confession of that our faith and doctrine, which we have heretofore professed and taught; which presently we do profess, and, as time shall serve, intend to teach; purposing, through the grace of God, and assistance of the Holy Spirit, constantly to remain in the selfsame until our life's end: that thereby it may appear how untruly we have been charged, and how falsely we have been slandered.

“And although, in our last protestation made before the honourable auditory at Westminster, we sufficiently set forth in few words the sum of our faith, whereunto we all fully consent, yet, to confound all lying lips, and to stop all such vain rumours as are bruited abroad, we shall more at large set forth the chief and most necessary articles of the doctrine which we believe and teach, as

hereafter shall follow: most humbly beseeching the Almighty God for his mercy sake, and for the merits of his Son Christ, to pardon and forgive our persecutors and evil reporters, to turn the hearts of the wicked, to illuminate the ignorant with the knowledge of his truth, and to give us all the grace, that we may consent together in the unity of the uniform truth, and live in brotherly love and charity, to the praise of his name, and our everlasting comfort in Christ. Amen.”

And then they proceed unto the confession of their faith in divers articles, agreeing much with the articles concluded in convocation under king Edward, anno 1552, but more large, as explanatory of them. And then, having declared their articles, they make this conclusion.

“And thus both to satisfy the godly minded, and also to stop the mouths of evil and slanderous reporters, which have laboured by all means to defame our doctrine and doings; we, for our just purgation in the defence of our innocency, have with one uniform consent set forth this short declaration concerning the principal points of our religion, and chief articles of our faith. Wherein we have neither swerved from the infallible truth of God’s written word, neither yet from the doctrine and confession of Christ’s catholic church; as we by God’s grace shall be able and ready at all times evidently to shew unto all men.

“And although in this our declaration and confession we do not precisely observe the words, sentences, and orders of certain godly articles by authority set forth in the time of king Edward of most famous memory, (for the malice of our adversaries hath occasioned us otherwise, to whose wrongful defamation we must of necessity make answer otherwise,) yet in altering, augmenting, or diminishing, adding, or omitting, we do neither improve, nor yet recede from any of the said articles, but fully consent unto the whole, as to a most true and sound doctrine, grounded upon God’s word, and do refer ourselves unto such articles there as in our confession, for shortness sake, we have omitted.

“And for so much as the sum of this our doctrine is to set forth Christ crucified to be the only Lord and Redeemer, giving all glory unto God, the only worker of our salvation, and removing all merit from man; and that we commend and teach such good works of all

men diligently to be done, as God in his word hath prescribed, only reproving such vain and superstitious works, as man *of* himself hath invented; moving all men to believe and live according to the rules and statutes given forth by a God, and not according to the devices and traditions set by man; (for God will be served as he biddeth, not as man willeth;) and that in all the course of our doctrine and doings, as we call God, who seeth and searcheth the secrets of our hearts, to record, we seek not our own praise, but the increase of Christ's heavenly kingdom; having our chief care, how we may set forth faithfully the office of our vocation; ever considering with ourselves, that Christ is ready to come and call us to account, and that they shall be judged worthy of eternal damnation, which through false doctrine infect and se duce the people of God:

“We trust, the godly, setting these considerations in their sight, cannot so ill conceive of us, that wittingly and will ingly we would either east ourselves headlong into hell, either yet through offence kill our brethren, whom to save, Christ the Son of God hath willingly suffered; and so consequently, to the utter wounding of our conscience, procure God's hot wrath upon this realm, our natural country.

“Seeing therefore that we teach none other doctrine than that which is warranted by God's word, and that *we* seek nothing else but the glory of God, the promoting of his gospel, and the edifying of his church and people, (as we trust, through God's grace, the contrary shall *never* appear in us,) we exhort and beseech the godly, for the merits of Jesus Christ, charitably to judge of us, esteeming us the servants of Christ, and ministers of his word; and that they will with all reverence and humbleness of heart, in one spirit with us, hear the voice of *their* true shepherd Christ, and refuse hereafter to give ear unto a stranger, and thankfully receive and embrace the wholesome doctrine of salvation: that we all together bringing forth the fruit of faith, may testify ourselves to *be* the children of God, to the eternal praise of his name, and our everlasting salvation in Christ. *Amen.*”

On the backside of this paper are writ these words by Grindal's hand, as it seems, *Articuli subscripti anno primo reginae nunc, i.e.* “Articles subscribed the first year of the present queen.”

Though I have omitted, for brevity sake, transcribing all the articles of this confession, yet, to satisfy curious readers for a taste of them, I will hereunder set down somewhat said under two of them.

I. Under the article of predestination, they have these words. “And although there are many godly men in these our days will think, that in this our corrupt age, in the which men are given to all rashness of judgment and dissoluteness of life, and do not weigh the mysteries of faith with such Christian humility as they ought to do, it were best that such articles should be passed over in silence: indeed we do think that discreet ministers will speak sparingly and circumspectly of them, and that upon the consideration before rehearsed: yet notwithstanding, seeing some men of late are risen, which do gainsay and oppugn this truth, we cannot utterly pass over this matter with silence, both for that the Holy Ghost doth so often make mention of it in the scriptures, especially in St. Paul’s epistles: which argueth it to be a thing both fruitful and profitable to be known. And also being occasioned by the same reason which moved St. Austin to write of this matter *of predestination, &c.* Notwithstanding we do not despair, but that such as are curable, through free and open preaching of the gospel, will be brought to see and understand the truth better than hitherto they have done: for true it is, that these and other most grievous errors have increased in these realms, in these late years, for want of true preaching.”

II. Under the title of the *Civil Magistrate*, here they took occasion to shew their loyalty to government, and their utter disallowance of Christopher Goodman’s and Knox’s books against the regiment of woman. “Some are born to be kings or queens, and so by inheritance come to kingdoms, &c. The word of God doth not condemn the governance or regiment of women, but that such women as by succession, inheritance, or other just title, according to the orders and policies of the realm, are placed in such esteem, are lawful magistrates, and are no less in any respect to be obeyed and honoured in all lawful things, than if they were men, kings, princes, &c.

“A tyrant, or evil magistrate, which by succession or election attaineth to a princely state or government, is a power ordained of

God; and is also to be honoured and obeyed of the people in all things, not contrary to God, as their magistrate and governor.

“It is not lawful for any private person or persons to kill, or by any means to procure the death of a tyrant or evil person, being their ordinary magistrate.

“All conspiracies, seditions, and rebellions of private men against their magistrates, men or women, good governors or evil, are unlawful, and against the will and word of God.”

This new face of things, and the countenance given to pure religion under queen Elizabeth, rejoiced the poor persecuted protestants abroad, especially in Flanders, and those that had under king Edward quiet and safe harbour here, and the liberty of religion. Many of these were already come into England; and one Adrian Hamstedius, a learned preacher, and one that had clone and suffered much under the cross, came from Zealand hither, and gathered a congregation of his countrymen. He was chosen their minister, and got liberty to perform his function of preaching God’s word to them: which he did sometimes in Christ Church, and sometimes at St. Margaret’s, and sometimes in other places. These strangers, who consisted chiefly of Low Dutch and Germans, had once the west part of the church of the Augustine friars in Broadstreet granted to them by king Edward VI. and his royal letters patents, directing and confirming the constitution of this congregation; whereof Joannes a Lasco, a noble Polonian, was their minister, with the title of *superintendent*. But under queen Mary they were dissolved, and glad to flee into foreign parts. And the members of this church settled themselves, some in Poland, others in Friezeland. But upon this happy change, these strangers bent their minds fully to return again into England, and take possession of their former church and liberty. Shortly after, Johannes Utenhovius, a person of learning and quality, and who had been a chief member of this congregation under king Edward, arrived at Frankford, Aug. 24, 1559. Here he received letters of commendation from Henry Bullinger, chief minister of Zurick, (under whom the English exiles had received great favour,) to the queen’s majesty. And with these letters he proceeded in his voyage to Friezeland; and thence to England, taking with him Peter de Loene, a minister, son of Walter: who being arrived here, was admitted to serve the church of strangers aforesaid with Hamstedius. It must be known, that these worthy men, Utenhovius and De Loene, brought over with them king Edward’s

charter to this church; and soon took their occasion humbly to petition the queen to establish it, and to grant them their church in St. Augustine's, and the privileges, as they had before under her royal brother of blessed memory. But the matter being referred to her most honourable council and the bishops, it was refused at first for certain reasons. As, because the queen thought it not convenient in her kingdom to have another to be superintendent over a church, and that a stranger, besides the bishop of the diocese.

But to take off this objection, this church soon after chose Grindal, bishop of London, their superintendent: who did shew himself on all occasions a true patron to them, and concerned himself tenderly in their affairs. But after him, I think they had no other superintendent.

Further, the queen did not like that clause in the patent, of their being called *corpus incorporatum politicum*. And lastly, it was thought worthy some further consideration, before all the ground whereon the church and churchyard, and the ministers' houses stood, (which king Edward gave them,) should be granted away. This seemed to be the counsel of the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, who had obtained from that king all the situation of St. Augustine friars, except this church and premises, and had his house upon part of it; and so laboured, that as little of that monastery as might be should escape his hands: for of religion he had little or none.

But yet thus far the queen readily gratified them, and yielded to their petition; that she gave them a letter, for her purveyor to empty the said church or temple of all casks and vessels, and other stuff wherewith it was filled in queen Mary's days, (laying up there her naval stores and such like things,) and to restore the said strangers to the possession of the said temple. The next year, on the 29th of January, the same congregation did again renew their petition to the queen for the confirmation of king Edward's grant. But what success they then had, I cannot tell; but ever since, throughout all the succeeding kings' reigns, they have quietly enjoyed their temple and original constitution.

The French protestants at this time did not concern themselves in this matter with the Dutch; though they were formerly included as members of this church of strangers; but contented themselves now with another church in Threadneedle-street, which they had either borrowed or hired,

belonging to the dean and chapter of Windsor, and which they have to this day; being part of St. Anthony's hospital dissolved.

But the registers of this Dutch church do shew (and gratefully confess it) that their main assistance now was from bishop Grindal aforesaid; and whom therefore they submitted unto as their superintendent. I find a case or two wherein he exercised his superintendency and authority in this church. In the year 1560, one of their ministers, namely Hamstedius, was convened before the said bishop judicially, for favouring some Dutch anabaptists, that desired to be received into this church, and had supplicated the bishop to be admitted. He had asserted in their behalf concerning that heresy of theirs, (*viz.* that Christ took not his flesh of the virgin Mary, but brought it from heaven,) that the doctrine of the incarnation of Christ, and his partaking of our nature, was not a foundation, [*i.e.* a fundamental doctrine,] but a circumstance only of the foundation: and that children and distracted persons were saved without faith. But the bishop required him to renounce these and other like errors; which he refused to do, and continuing obstinately in them, was excommunicated by the bishop. And so was declared the next Sunday in the said Dutch church. Soon after, Hamstedius retired beyond the sea. And in the year 1564 there happened again an earnest contention in that church concerning baptizing infants: which was finally referred to the bishop of London, as their superintendent, to decide.

CHAPTER 9.

The reformation in Scotland. Knox's book against women's government: answered by an English divine. Christopher Goodman's book of that argument. Some account of that book. His recantation thereof. Knox's letter to John Fox concerning his book. The principles of these books entertained. The French king's funerals solemnized at St. Paul's.

THE reformation was now carrying on in the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, as well as here: and May the 2d, John Knox the Scotchman, being fifty-four years of age, arrived at Edinburgh from France. From whence, anno 1557, he had earnestly wrote to the Scotch nobility, who had taken upon them the public reformation: telling them, that "he had the judgment of the most godly and learned in Europe," (meaning, no doubt, the ministers of Geneva where he sojourned,) "to warrant his and their consciences, for their present enterprise." The position maintained by them was this, That if kings and princes refuse to reform religion, the inferior magistrates and people, being directed and instructed in the truth before by their preachers, might lawfully reform within their own bounds themselves: and if all, or the far greater part be enlightened, they might make a public reformation.

In 1559, while he tarried at Dieppe, he wrote thus to one Mrs. Anne Lock, an English woman, from a mind sufficiently embittered against the English reformation:

"A portion of his [the beast's] mark are these dregs of papistry, which are left in your great book of England; crossing in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's table, mumbling or singing of the Litany, A *fulgure et tempestate*, &c. any jot of which diabolical invention will I never counsel any man to use. The whole order of their book appeareth rather to be devised for the upholding of massing priests, than for any good instruction which the simple people can receive thereof. Their sacraments were ministered for the most part without the soul, and by these who to Christ Jesus are no true ministers; and God grant that so they be not yet. *Without the soul*, I say, they were ministered, because they were ministered without the word truly and openly preached. And your ministers before, for the most

part, were none of Christ's ministers, but massmonging priests." And therefore towards the end of his letter he dissuaded this gentlewoman from countenancing of such superstitious priests in their corrupt, lifeless, liturgical services; and affirming with great fervency, that all things should be judged abominable, yea, execrable and accursed, which God by his word hath not sanctified in his religion."

This is enough to shew the hot spirit of this man, and the prejudice he had, for some cause or other, conceived against this church and kingdom; where he had once been kindly harboured.

About this time were two books dispersed abroad, and in the hands of people, set forth by certain protestant authors, and found many approvers: which did the protestants very ill service, in making the court jealous of a reformation. In one of these books was asserted, that a woman could not by the law of God be queen, nor sway the sceptre, and govern over men; to whom they ought to be in subjection, by the scripture. The other allowed a private subject in some cases to rebel against, nay, to do to death the sovereign, supposing him a tyrant. Dr. Parker, and many other of the learned and sober divines of the church, were extremely nettled and offended with these books, and declared publicly against them.

But to inquire into the authors of these books, and the particular arguments of them. Whosoever was the author of the latter, the former was composed by John Knox, the famous Scotch divine above mentioned, and printed at Geneva about the year 1556 or 1557, and entitled, *The first Blast against the monstrous regiment and empire of women*. Wherein he endeavoured to prove, that it was altogether unlawful for women to reign. This book was exceedingly ill taken, and ill-timed, being now fresh in the hands of the English people; many whereof began to doubt whether they should obey the queen, and when at this time she had France a powerful enemy. This treatise therefore by all the sober protestants of the church of England was much cried out against, and styled, *a treasonous book*; and the queen was most highly disgusted with Knox for writing it; though indeed he wrote it in spite to queen Mary, rather than levelled it at her. And when by certain messengers he desired leave of the queen to pass from France through England into his country, and to visit in the way the north parts of England, where he had formerly preached, there would no licence be granted him; nay, and the messengers he sent had like to have been taken up nay further,

the English exiles that were newly returned from Geneva (to whom Knox had been preacher there) felt the effects of it here at home, being frowned upon, and having no favour shewn them. However this book Knox stoutly stood to in a letter to secretary Cecyl, saying, “*he did no more doubt of the truth of the proposition, than he doubted this was the voice of God, which first did pronounce this penalty against women, In dolour shalt thou bear thy children.*” And threatened to reply to whomsoever should answer his book, as there was then much talk that it was to be answered. But notwithstanding his book, Knox was willing, by the help of a distinction, to own heartily queen Elizabeth and her government, though it were a woman’s government: “because, as he said, he reckoned her to be set up by God’s extraordinary providence in the behalf of religion. Her he acknowledged God had promoted for his miraculous work; comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel. He acknowledged and would obey his power, and his most potent hand in raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy, to suppress such as fight against his gospel; albeit that nature and God’s most perfect ordinance repugn to such regiment.” And by this way only he would allow the queen to be obeyed, and not by virtue of her right by succession or the laws of the land. For so he told the secretary, and charged him, *in the name of the eternal God*, to acquaint the queen therewith, [in these words;]

“That if queen Elizabeth would confess, that the extraordinary dispensation of God’s great mercy made that lawful unto her, which both nature and God’s laws did deny unto all other women besides, then should none in England be more willing to maintain her authority than he. But if, God’s wondrous work set aside, she grounded the justness of her title upon consuetude laws and ordinances of men, then, as he was assured that such foolish presumption did highly offend God’s supreme majesty, so he greatly feared, that her ingratitude should not long lack punishment.”

And to the queen also he wrote a letter to the same purpose, in the month of July, 1559, telling her, “that it was God’s peculiar and extraordinary providence that brought her to the kingdom, and that she was not to plead her right by descent or law; and plainly said, that if she began to brag of her birth, and to build her authority and regiment upon her own law, her felicity would be short, flatter her whoso listed.” This was written from

Edinburgh. Thus he took upon him to play the prophet, to uphold his own conceit.

The truth is, the main reason of Knox's writing this book, that made such a stir in these days, was the anger he conceived against two zealous popish queens that reigned at that very time he wrote it; Mary of Lorain, queen regent of Scotland, and Mary queen of England. And so he hinted politicly in one of his letters to Cecyl:

“We ought rather to bring to pass Christ's reign over us, than vainly to travail for the maintenance of that whereof already we have seen the danger and feel the smart. If the most part of women be wicked, and such as willingly we would not should reign over us, and if the most godly, and such as have rare graces, be yet mortal, we ought to take heed, lest, in establishing one godly and profitable to her country, we make an interest and title to many, by whom not only will the truth be impugned, but also will the country be brought into bondage.”

Therein meaning the Scotch queen regent, who at that time oppressed the gossellers.

Two more blasts of Knox's trumpet were designed to have been blown by him, but queen Mary ending her days so soon, he blew his trumpet no more. Yet the second blast was almost ready; and that would have been a terrible one indeed, as Anth. Gilby, at the end of his *Admonition to England and Scotland*, sets it down; viz.

I. That it was not birth only, nor propinquity of blood, that made a king lawfully to reign over a people professing Christ Jesus and his eternal verity, but in his election, the ordinance which God had established in the election of inferior judges must be observed.

II. That no manifest idolater, nor notorious transgressor of God's holy precepts, ought to be promoted to any public regiment, honour, or dignity, in any realm, province, or city, that had subjected themselves to Jesus Christ and his blessed evangile.

III. That neither promise nor oath could bind any such people to obey and maintain tyrants against God and against his truth known.

IV. That if they had rashly promoted a manifestly wicked person, or yet ignorantly had chosen such an one, as after declared himself unworthy of regiment over the people of God, (and such were all idolaters and cruel persecutors,) most justly might the same men depose and punish him, that unadvisedly before they had nominated, appointed, and elected.

Papists took occasion hence (and not without cause) to slander the protestants in general as false to their princes. So Dorman to Alex. Noel in the name of all English protestants; “When it served your turn, you defended stoutly, *with* tooth and nail, that a woman might not govern a realm lawfully descended to her, no, not in civil and politic matters. Within how few years, yea months after, taught ye, that a woman may rule, not only a realm in *temporal* things, but the church too in spiritual?” But this was all popish calumny, Knox’s doctrine being absolutely disowned by the church and chief churchmen of England; as shall appear by what follows.

As Knox had heard, so it was true: for a notable and full answer in April 1559 came out against his book: which answer was printed at Strasburgh; the author (a witty as well as learned man) was John Aelmer, an exile, formerly archdeacon of Stow, who gave his book this title: *A Harbourough for faithful and true subjects against the late blown Blast concerning the government of women: wherein were confuted all such reasons as a stranger of late made in that behalf: with a brief exhortation to obedience: and printed an. Dom. 1559 at Strasburgh.* Dedicated to Francis earl of Bedford, and the lord Rob. Duddely, master of the queen’s horses. And all little enough to reconcile the queen to the exiles.

It was not long after Knox’s book, that Christopher Goodman, or Gudman, (formerly a public reader of divinity at Oxford,) one of the exiles at Geneva, printed a book to the like tenor with that of Knox’s, while queen Mary was alive; instigating her subjects to rise up against her, and to take away her authority from her, because of her idolatry, cruelty, overthrowing the good laws of the land, misgovernment, and betraying the nation by the Spanish match. But to give some more particular account of this so remarkable a book, and the rather, it being now so rarely to be seen. It was a little tract in *decimo sexto*, and bare this title; *How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, and wherein they may lawfully be disobeyed and rejected. Wherein also is declared the cause of all this present misery in England, and the only way to remedy the same.* By Chr. Goodman.

Printed at Geneva, by John Crispin, MDLVIII. A preface commendatory of the man and his work was wrote by Will. Whittingham; beginning thus, *W. Whittingham, to all them that love and know the truth, and follow it; grace and peace.* In this preface he speaks of the occasion of Goodman's writing the book, in these words:

“When Mr. Chr. Goodman, one of our ministers, according to the course of the text, expounded both faithfully and comfortably this place of the Acts of the Apostles, *Judge, whether it be just before God, to obey you rather than God,* Acts 4:19, certain learned and godly men most instantly and at sundry times required him to dilate more at large that his sermon, and to suffer it to be printed, that not only we here present but our brethren in England and other places, might be persuaded in the truth of that doctrine concerning obedience to the magistrate, and so glorify God with it. Which request he admitted not easily; till at length, well weighing how many perished in their ignorance for lack of means to attain to the knowledge of the truth; and also conferring the articles and chief propositions with the best learned in these parts, who approved them; he consented to enlarge the same, and so to print it, as a token of his duty and affection towards the church of God; and then, if it were thought good to the judgment of the godly, to translate the same into other languages, that the profit thereof might be more universals” &c. Dated from Geneva, Jan. 1558.

Then follows Goodman's own preface; wherein are these expressions, which shew the design of his ensuing book:

“And yet these men, in the middle of their fury, without all obedience and order, subverting the laws of God and of nature, will be called, notwithstanding, defenders of the faith, maintainers of true religion, authors of peace, teachers of obedience, and most discreet governors of commonwealths and policies. To the intent therefore that these disguised persons, which abuse the whole world, may appear in their own lively shapes, and be known as they are indeed, I have thought it good, having occasion by this worthy answer of Peter and John, and being hereto of divers godly persons provoked, somewhat to write of *true obedience*, to wit, what God himself requires of us, and what he commands to be given also to men; whereby, God willing, the disguised cloaks and crafty

pretences of obedience, used and practised by the ungodly worldlings, shall be discovered; who have sought always, and yet do seek, under the pleasant name *of obedience*, only to maintain their ambition, pride, and liberty. Whereby we shall learn also, how in times past we have been shamefully abused in yielding to the wilful will of man, in obeying his ungodly commandments, and fearing man more than God,” &c.

In his book he bitterly inveighs against those protestants, clergy, and counsellors, that set up queen Mary; and that upon many reasons: as first, because she was a woman; *the* anointing of whom, if Moses and his ceremonies were in full authority, would not have been lawful for *him* to do: it being never appointed to be ministered to any but only priests, kings, and prophets. Again, because the government of a woman the law forbade, and nature abhorred; and whose reign was never counted lawful by the word of God, but was an express sign of his wrath and notable plague for the sins of the people; as was the reign of cruel Jezebel and ungodly Athaliah, special instruments of Satan, and whips to the people of Israel. Thirdly, she was an idolatress, and a wicked woman. Nay, fourthly, he calls her a woman begot in adultery, a bastard by birth: it being contrary to the word of God, and the English laws, that such should reign. And that she was adjudged as a bastard by all the universities in England, France, and Italy, as well of civilians as divines. And all bastards are deprived of all honour: insomuch as by the law of Moses they were prohibited to have entrance into the congregation of the Lord *to* the tenth generation. Deuteronomy 23: And therefore he reproved those that set her up, preferring her to the lawfully begotten daughter.”

To instigate the people further, he added, “That if without fear princes transgressed God’s *laws* themselves, and commanded others to do the like, *then* they had lost that honour and obedience which otherwise their subjects did owe unto them; and ought no *more* to be taken for magistrates, but punished as private transgressors.” Much more might be added; but this is enough to shew the man and his dangerous doctrines. If you would see more, you may have recourse to Tho. Rogers’s *Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England*, where he hath preserved another taste of Goodman’s book.

Dr. Sutcliff, in his *Brief Reply to a certain odious and scandalous libel by N. D.* [that is, Robert Parsons,] who therein had laid to the charge of

protestants their rebellion against their princes, and mentioned Goodman's book; Dr. Sutcliff, I say, answered, "That Goodman did not like rebellion, but disliked women's government: and that this opinion he himself had since retracted." Which remarkable retraction I have met with among certain MSS. made, as it seems, before the lords of the council, with Goodman's name subscribed by himself; and these are the very words:

"For so much as the extremity of the time, wherein I did write my book, brought forth alteration of religion, setting up of idolatry, banishment of good men, murdering of saints, and violation of all promises made to the godly; I was, upon consideration of the present grief, moved to write many things therein, which may be, and be, offensively taken, and which also I do dislike, and would wish had not been writtell. And notwithstanding the which book so by me written, I do protest and confess, that good and godly women may lawfully govern whole realms and nations: and do from the bottom of my heart allow the queen's majesty's most lawful government, and daily pray for the long continuance of the same. Neither did I ever mean to affirm, that any person or persons of their own private authority ought or might lawfully have punished queen Mary with death: nor that the people of their own authority may lawfully punish their magistrates, transgressing the Lord's precepts: nor that ordinarily God is become head of the people, and giveth the sword into their hands, though they do seek the accomplishment of his laws.

"*Wherefore*, as many of these assertions as may be rightly collected out of my said book, them I do utterly renounce and revoke, as none of mine; promising never to write, teach, nor preach any such offensive doctrine: humbly desiring, that it may please your lordships to give me your good and favourable allowance; whereby I shall, by God's grace, endeavour to labour in furthering the true service of God, and obedience to her majesty, to the utmost of my power, during my whole life; to the satisfaction of all good men, and to the contentation of her majesty and your good lordships.

Christopher Goodman."

This recantation was made either before the queen's privy council, or her bishops of the ecclesiastical commission: who in all probability had summoned Goodman before them for his book, that contained such

principles as they could not but take notice of; and gave Dr. Matthew Parker no small offence, as also many others.

Though some of the English at Geneva allowed of these books of Knox and Goodman, yet generally the English exiles in all places utterly disliked them: neither did Beza himself approve of either; being published, though in Geneva, yet without his knowledge. But as to the English exiles, John Fox, one of them, then at Basil, expostulated with Knox in a letter about this his principle. To which Knox, in a letter dated in May 1558, from Geneva, thus justified his book:

“That in the writing of it he neither sought himself, nor yet the vain praise of men: that his rude *vehemency* and *inconsiderate affirmations*, (as he rightly styled them,) which might appear rather to proceed from choler, than of zeal and reason, he did not excuse; that it was enough for him to say, that black was not white, and man’s tyranny and foolishness was not God’s perfect ordinance. That he writ not so much to corrupt commonwealths, as to deliver his own conscience, and to instruct the conscience of some simple.”

But this whole letter I have put in the Repository, to be read by those that please.

These books seem to have been studiously conveyed into England under queen Mary, to disaffect the people from her government: but with whomsoever they were taken, they incurred treason *ipso facto*. One Lithal, of South-wark, was taken up for religion in the year 1558, by Avales the promoter, and Cluny the keeper; who brought him to Dr. Darbishire, bishop Boner’s chancellor. Avales had seized upon Lithal’s books in his house; where, among the rest, was one of these books against the regiment of women: which when Darbishire saw, he told Lithal’s friends, that he had in his keeping a book by which he could make him guilty of treason, and have him hanged, drawn, and quartered. But the queen’s sickness at that time saved him, and the chancellor took bonds for his appearance, and so dismissed him.

These principles against women’s government seemed not to be buried many years after, but to be secretly entertained, and that by papists as well as protestants: as may well be conjectured from some passages in those sermons in the homily book, framed by occasion of the popish rebellion,

ann. Dom. 1569. Where, in the first part, having quoted the two places for subjection to government, Romans 13:and 1 Peter 2:immediately it follows,

“By these two places of holy scriptures it is most evident, that kings, QUEENS, and other princes (for he speaks of authority and power, be it in men or women) are ordained of God, are to be obeyed and honoured of their subjects.” And, again, “*Rebels* are ever ready to rebel against princes, especially if they be young, [having herein respect to king Edward,] women in sex.”

And so throughout these sermons, whensoever there is occasion to mention kings, *queens* are commonly joined.

“It comes neither of chance nor fortune, nor of ambition, that there be kings, QUEENS, princes.... But all kings, QUEENS, and other governors are specially appointed by the ordinance of God.”

If we desire to know what became of Goodman afterwards; in the year 1560 (after the wars and troubles in Scotland were over, and religion established there)he was appointed to be preacher at St. Andrew’s, when John Knox was appointed at Edinburgh, having returned during these commotions to Ayre. For so we read in the History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, of one Christopher Goodman; who, I suppose, was the same with Christopher Goodman whom we have been speaking of. He afterwards was in England: and when sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, went against the popish rebels there, Goodman was his chaplain. He lived long in the city of Chester; where, in the year 1602, being very ancient, Dr. Usher, afterwards archbishop of Armagh, saw him, and had discourse with him, as he related in one of his own letters lately printed.

Henry II. of France departed this life at Paris in the month of July; and the queen, according to the custom of princes, in shewing honour to each other even at their deaths, appointed his obsequies to be solemnly observed in the chief church of her realm, the cathedral of St. Paul’s, London: which was done the 8th and 9th days of September; beginning the funeral pomp, according to the usage of those times, on the eve of one day, and continuing and finishing it on the morning of the day ensuing.

The attendants on these obsequies were, sir William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, and lord treasurer, chief mourner, who walked alone; then the lord Will. Howard, baron of Effingham, lord chamberlain, and Henry lord of Burgavenny; then the lord Dacres of the south, and Henry Cary, baron

of Hunsdon; next, Will. Brook, lord Cobham, and Henry lord Scrope; then the lord Darcy, lord Chiche, and sir Rich. Sackville; after them, Charles son and heir to the lord Will. Howard, and sir Edward Warner, lieutenant of the Tower, two and two: four bishops, all elects, namely, Dr. Matthew Parker, archbishop elect of Canterbury; Grindal, bishop elect of London; (but he by reason of sickness was absent;) Scory, of Hereford; and Barlow, of Chichester; [the bishops had black gowns given them, and eight black coats apiece for their servants:] then the French ambassador; two gentlemen ushers; the kings of arms, heralds and pursuivants; officers of the household, of the wardrobe, and others.

The garnishment of the hearse came to.	80	13	3
The majesty	97	18	1
The helmet, mantlets, sword, &c..	14	0	6
The carpet of velvet for the communion table	16	13	4
Banners and pensils	168	8	2
Hangings, covering the ground in the chancel	48	4	4
Duties of St. Paul's church	13	6	8
The charge of black cloth for all the mourners and other officers	251	13	8
Charges of dinner.	38	3	11
Hire of the hearse	6	0	0
Reward to the clerk of the wardrobe..	5	0	0
Offerings	0	17	4
The dole	10	0	0

The whole expense was the queen's; which in all, with some other charges not here set down, cost her 789*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* But to give some account of the funeral ceremonies; and the rather, because now they were not such as were lately used under popery, (the religion being now reformed,) but altered, and the grosser superstitions, customarily observed before, were

now omitted. On Friday, Sept. 8, when the hearse was solemnly brought into the church, and every man placed, whereas the ancient custom was for one of the heralds to bid aloud the prayer for the soul of the party departed, saying, "Pray for the soul of," &c. now there was an alteration in the words: for York herald, standing at the upper choir door, bade the prayer, (as it used to be called, but now more properly the praise,) first in English, and after in French, *Benoist soit eternel*, &c. "Blessed be the King of eternal glory, who through his divine mercy hath translated the most high, puissant, and victorious prince Henry II. late the French king, from this earthly to his heavenly kingdom." Which words he used again at the end of *Benedictus*, and at the end of the service: and again on the morrow, at the times accustomed. The archbishop of Canterbury, in his surplice and doctor's hood on his shoulders, who did execute, began the service, assisted by the bishops of Chichester and Hereford, appareled as the archbishop, and by two of the prebendaries in their grey amices. And first, certain psalms of praise were sung for the departure of the dead in the faith of Christ, instead, I suppose, of the *Dirige*: after that, one chapter of the book of Job, (perhaps taken out of the *Dirige*,) and then certain like psalms: after that was read the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: which ended, *Magnificat* was sung: and lastly, the latter part of the evening prayer.

All things ended, they returned in like order as they came, (except the banner left in the church,) to the great chamber within the bishop's palace, where they had a void of wine and spices and other things: and after they had taken order to meet there again by eight of the clock in the morning, they shifted them, and departed.

Saturday the 9th of September, about the hour assigned, they met together at the said bishop's palace. And about nine of the clock they proceeded up to the hearse, as the day before; and all being placed as before, the three bishops elect in copes, and the two prebendaries in grey amices, came forth of the vestry unto the table of administration, and then York herald bade the prayer as before. Then the communion-office began, and proceeded forward until the offering; when the chief mourner proceeded, the officer of arms and gentleman usher before him, with his train borne, the rest of the mourners following him; but he alone offered, being a piece of gold for the headpenny; and he and others returned to the end of the service. Then the said chief mourner, with Clarencieux before him, again proceeded up without any state, and offered for himself, and returned to his place. Then

the lord chamberlain and the lord of Burgaveny, with two heralds before them, proceeded up, and offered, and returned and took their places: in which like order offered all the other eight mourners, two after two; the money for them to offer had been before delivered to them by Tanner, gentleman usher. Then offered the ambassador of the french king. Then the lord mayor, with his brethren, followed him, but offered not. Then sir William St. Low, with Rouge Dragon before him, offered the banner to Clarencieux, &c.

The offering finished, the sermon began by the elect of Hereford; (the elect of London, who should have preached, being sick;) his anthem, [that is, his text,] being *Veniet hora, et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei, &c. The hour shall come, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.* Whereupon he declared and proved the last day not to be far off: and therefore persuaded amendment of life, and to live well. And further he endeavoured to pacify both parties of the people; that it seems now freely uttered their minds according as they stood affected to religion: the one party thinking and saying, how the ceremonies used for burial were too many; yea, rather, that none at all ought to be used for the dead: the other thinking them to be too few. Hence he took occasion to shew out of divers ancient authors the order of the burial of the dead in the primitive church, and how the service at the same was to give praise to God for taking away their brother in the faith of Christ: which selfsame order they had now observed, and were about to fulfil and observe. As for the rest of the ceremonies there used, which were but few, seeing they were not contrary to the faith of Christ, nor yet contrary to brotherly and Christian charity, but for the maintenance thereof, the rather to continue amity betwixt both princes, which charity Christ especially doth command; therefore ought to be observed, and not gainsaid. But for the other ceremonies, for that they were neither beneficial to those which were alive, nor yet to the parties deceased, nor yet according to the order of the old fathers and primitive church, they were therefore now taken away and abolished. After this, commending the royal person departed, for his worthy and noble chivalry and valiant heart, as well in prosperity as adversity, together with great commendation of his chaste life, keeping himself only to his own wife, (being a rare thing, he said, in princes,) he made an end.

After the sermon concluded, they went forward to the communion. At the time of the reception thereof, the lord chamberlain, the lord Dacres, and sir

Edward Warner rose up and went to the table, where, kneeling together with the three bishops, they all six received the communion; the rest, it seems, of the nobility here present were not yet so well reconciled to the new way of receiving the sacrament, as to partake at this time of it. All which ended with the other service: which finished, York again bade the prayer, as before. This done, the mourners and others returned to the bishop's palace in order: where the said lords and ambassadors, and all other which had attended these exequies, were treated with a goodly dinner, and so departed at pleasure.

CHAPTER 10.

The poor neglected condition of the protestants, being returned home: and the state of religion. Jewel's and Cox's letters thereof to Bullinger and Weigher.

BUT now to make a few notes how religion stood at this time. As for the exiles returned from Germany, Helvetia, and other countries, whither they had fled for their consciences, and preserving of their lives, in the last hard reign, they were much discouraged, having little notice or regard taken of them, nor any orders given for the restoration of them to their former preferments and benefices. And though they came threadbare home, yet they brought back along with them from the foreign churches and universities much experience, as well as learning. John Jewel, upon his return home into England, was harboured about three months with Nicolas Culverwel, a citizen, living (unless I mistake) in Thames-street: then the lord Williams, of Thame, being sick, sent for him; and with him he abode some time. Another of these was Tho. Lever, a very grave man, and formerly master of St. John's college in Cambridge; who had taken this opportunity of his exile to travel into all the chief protestant towns and cities; as Argentine, *alias* Strasburgh, Basil, Zuric, Berne, Lausane, and Geneva; noted the doctrines and discipline in those places, and talked with their learned men. And thence had experience of their sincere doctrine, and godly order, and great learning: and especially of much virtuous learning, diligence, and charity, in Bullinger at Zuric, and Calvin at Geneva, as did greatly advance God's glory, unto the edifying of Christ's church with the same religion for the which you be now in prison," as the said Lever wrote to John Bradford, the holy martyr.

But this learned divine, with the rest of his fellows, at their first coming over, lay by, not much regarded, as was said before, the state then being so full of other employment. About October, 1559, John Box, the laborious compiler of the church's history, chiefly as to her persecution, was in London, but very poor; and had sent a letter to the duke of Norfolk, to whom he had been tutor, and of whom he was dearly loved, to afford him relief, and supply his want, being newly come over. In the close of which letter he had these expressions:

“That as to religion, he needed not to admonish him where the truth stood, but prayed God that he would manfully stand on truth’s side; and [fearing his interest for religion was not great enough] he advised him, that he should above all take heed, that if he could not help Christ at this juncture, at least that no mortal creature should ever prevail so far with him, as to be an adversary against him in any thing: for, saith he, Christ will overcome, in spite of all men. And for a conclusion, exhorted him to bestow that time in reading the holy scriptures, which other nobles did in the pomps and pastimes of the court.”

But as to Fox’s own present condition, it appears by his letter that this was not the first petition he had made to the duke, his great patron; and that not having answer, and yet knowing the forwardness of the duke’s nature, and his great propensity towards him, he attributed the cause of this seenling neglect to the present time, wherein it seemed not safe for him to take notice or shew compassion to Fox, or that sort of men. As for himself, his nature was such as the duke knew, and so averse from importunate craving, that he should first almost perish with hunger before he could do it. In this letter he also excused himself, that he had not of late dedicated any thing by him written to his most illustrious name, and that it was out of a care of his grace’s safety, well knowing what danger might ensue to him in the late reign, if it should have been known that he had any favour for such a man as Fox was; and that this was the true reason thereof he should soon know: he meant he should know it by his Latin Martyrology, which he had dedicated to him, newly finished, and printed beyond sea, and now brought over with him. This was the substance of Fox’s letter, in an elegant Latin style, to his noble pupil. To which he, on the 30th of October, gave him as elegant an answer in the same language, full of kindness, and expressive of his care for him, and of the order he had given his servants to provide for him all things that he needed upon his first coming over. In which letter, as he calls Fox *optime praeceptor*, so Fox, in his, had called him *mi Thoma*. All this may be seen more fully in their letters, which I cannot forbear placing in the Appendix.

This their neglected condition the learned exiles took not a little to heart. Dr. Edwin Sandys, one of them, being then at Westminster, in a letter to Dr. Parker in the country, spake of this with some concern; as,

“That they never asked them in what state they stood, nor considered what they wanted: so that, as he protested, in the time of their exile they were not so bare as they were now brought.”

These words of Sandys were occasioned by a kind letter of Dr. Parker to him, together with some gratuity sent at the same time, as it seems: which moved him to what he wrote before, and to add, “That he rightly considered, that these times were given to taking, and not to giving; and that he had stretched forth his hand [in liberality] further *than* all the rest.”

Yet the exiles of the most eminency and learning were sometimes about the queen’s person, and preached often before her. Lever had so much of her ear, as to dissuade her from taking the title of *supreme head*; which Sandys, in his forementioned letter to Parker, blamed him for; and for *wisely* [as he seemed ironically to speak] putting such a scruple into the queen’s head.

But to represent yet further how it fared now with our English refugees, and withal what the state of religion now was, I shall take it from the pen of two others of the same rank, Jewel and Cox, in their letters to their friends abroad.

Bullinger, the great divine and superintendent of Zurich, had lately sent a letter to Jewel and Parkhurst, exhorting them in this juncture to carry themselves stoutly and boldly in the cause of religion, which was now upon its critical point. Which Jewel, in a letter dated in May, said,

“was an admonition almost absolutely necessary. And that *because* they were to oppose, not only their old popish adversaries, but even their late friends, who had now revolted from them, and were turned against them, and sided with the adversaries, and did much more stubbornly resist them than any of their enemies. And, which was most troublesome of all, they were to wrestle with the relics of the Spaniards, [that is, what they left behind them,] their most filthy vices, pride, luxury, and lust. They did as much as they could, but at that present they lived after that sort, as though they scarce were returned from their banishment. For, to say no worse, their livings and preferments were not yet restored to them. But they were in good hope their expectations should not be frustrate, having a queen both wise and godly, and favourable to them. That religion was restored on that foot on which it stood in king Edward’s time.

To which, he told *Bullinger*, his letter to the queen much contributed: but that the queen would not be styled *head* of the church of England, giving this grave reason thereof, that that was a title due to Christ only, and to no mortal creature besides; and that those titles had been so foully stained by *Antichrist*, that they might no more be piously used by any." Then he spake of the present state of the university of Oxford: "That whatsoever had been planted there by Peter *Martyr* was, by the means of one friar Soto, and another Spanish monk, so wholly rooted out, that the Lord's vineyard was turned into a wilderness: so that there were scarce two to be found in that university of their judgment. And therefore, he told Bullinger, he could not advise any of their youths yet to be sent to Oxford, unless they would have them sent back thence wicked and barbarous. That the lord Russel did what lay in him to forward the religion, and used the best skill and art he had to bring it about: and that he was so sensible of the *kindness* of those of Zurick to the poor English there, that he had seriously inquired of Jewel what might be acceptable to them to send them, as a grateful acknowledgment. Jewel told him, he was sure nothing would be more acceptable to them, than for his lordship studiously to propagate Christ's religion. Which he promised he would do." This was the substance of Jewel's letter.

Cox, in his letter this year to Weidnerus, the chief pastor of the church at Wormes, gave this account of the present state of religion here:

"That the papists were so hardened in popery under queen Mary's five years' government, that it was exceeding difficult for the queen, and those that stood for the truth, to get room for the sincere religion of Christ; and in the parliament, the bishops, the scribes and *pharisees*, as he called them, opposed it. And they seemed to have the victory on their side; and that none did then scarce speak to the contrary, because of the great place and authority they bare. That the exiles in the mean time (which was all they could do) preached before the queen, and in their sermons shewed the Roman bishop to be *Antichrist*, and his traditions for the most part to be mere blasphemy. And that at length many of the nobility, and multitudes of the common people, fell off from popery: but of the clergy none at all; standing as stiff as a rock.

“Then he informed his correspondent of the disputation that was lately held at Westminster, eight against eight. *That* the popish eight were the chief of their bishops and other learned men. The protestant eight were some of the poor exiles, [whereof himself was one.] That it was agreed to manage the dispute by writing, for avoiding many words. That the queen’s council and almost all the nobility were present. That the disputants on the popish *side* looked and spake big, and applauded themselves as victors. One on the other side answered, depending on the truth, not with great words, but in the fear of God. But having ended, the auditory declared their great satisfaction by the applause they gave the cause, to the great perturbation and confusion of the adverse party. How that another day they came prepared for another dispute. Then they were required to begin as they had done before, and the protestant side should follow. But that they refused to do it, being, as it seems, sensible of the last day’s ill success: they cried out, that it was unjust that they should begin, who had so many years continued in the possession of the catholic faith; and that if they [the protestants] had any thing against them, they should propose it, that they by their authority might confute it, and silence them as degenerate children, that had departed from the unity of the church. But while they thus stood out, further disputation was stopped, and they lost their cause.”

He added, “That soon after this, Christ’s sincere religion was planted every where, and that after the same manner it was professed under king Edward.” This letter was writ May the 20th: at which time, as he wrote, “they were breaking down the popish hedge, and restoring the Lord’s vineyard. And that they were then in the work, but the harvest was great, and the labourers few.” This letter of Cox’s, together with the former of Jewel’s, worth gold to a lover of these antiquities, I have put into the Appendix: having been transcribed out of the originals, kept yet in the great church at Zurich, by the hand of John *Daille*, late minister of the church at Charenton, but then a refugee at Zurich: which were kindly communicated to me by Mr. Roger Morice, lately deceased; whose name I here mention in gratitude.

CHAPTER 11.

Preachers at St. Paul's Cross. The beginning of the use of common prayer. The deprivation of the old bishops. Their practices. Their condition afterwards ; and other popish churchmen. Their letter to the queen; and her answer. The emperor's letter to the queen..A match propounded with the archduke of Austria. The vacant churches supplied. Articles to be declared; and a protestation to be subscribed by the clergy. Subscription for readers.

Now, after the dissolution of the parliament, which was on the 8th day of May, let us see how the summer and the remaining part of the year was spent. Great care was taken, while this important work of the change of religion and rejection of the papal power was in hand, to have good preaching at St. Paul's; and that none but men of good wisdom and learning should come up at the Cross, the better to reconcile the people to the work that was doing. And such preachers were put up as were afterwards made bishops, and advanced to eminent places in the church.

April the 9th, Dr. Bil, the queen's almoner, then or soon after dean of Westminster, preached at the Cross: where he declared wherefore the bishops were sent to the Tower; namely, those who carried themselves so frowardly in the intended disputation at Westminster, disappointing such an august assembly as came to hear and to be satisfied in the controverted matters of religion.

May the 15th, Grindal (afterwards bishop of London) preached at Paul's: where were present the queen's council, and the great men of the court and kingdom; as the duke of Norfolk, the lord keeper of the great seal, the lord high treasurer, the earl of Arundel, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord admiral, the earls of Sussex, Westmorland, Rutland, Bedford, and many more lords and knights, together with the lord mayor and aldermen. After sermon they went to dine with the lord mayor.

The 22d, preached Mr. Horn, (afterwards bishop of Winchester,) present the judges and sergeants at law.

The 28th, Barlow, late bishop of St. David's, and soon after of Chichester, preached.

June the 11th, Sandys (soon after bishop of Worcester) preached. That day being St. Barnabas feast, the apostles' mass ceased to be said any more: and no mass said that day. Then the new dean took possession of his church. And the same night was no evensong at St. Paul's.

The 18th, Jewel (soon after bishop of Sarum) preached: now was sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the queen's household, and other noblemen, present.

The 25th, Bentham (afterwards bishop of Litchfield) preached. These were all exiles in the late reign; and this year appointed the queen's visitors, and soon after preferred to bishoprics.

But to go on with the preachers, as I can collect them from the foresaid MS. diary, though somewhat imperfect.

Aug. the 18th, Skory, new bishop of Hereford, preached at St. Paul's, while the visitation of that church was in hand. Two days after, the rood there, with the altar, was pulled down.

Let me insert here, that on the 30th of August one Mr. Edmund Allen, who in the said manuscript is said to be elect bishop of Rochester, was buried in the body of the church of St. Thomas Apostle's, London; a few clerks attending; and his funeral sermon preached by Mr. Huntington the preacher. This Allen, the diary writer notes to have a wife and eight children. And Guest was consecrated bishop of that see. This Allen was an ancient, eminent protestant divine.

Sept. the 3d, Mr. Makebray, a Scot, and an eminent exile, preached at St. Paul's.

The 10th, preached Dr. Turner, [William Turner, I suppose, who was formerly the duke of Somerset's chaplain, and dean of Wells ;] his audience was very great, (perhaps increased by his fame,) consisting both of court, city, and country.

Sept, the 17th, Mr. Veron, a Frenchman by birth, a new preacher, (as they termed the favourers of the reformation,) preached at the Cross. He was soon after minister of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and St. Sepulchre's. In his sermon he had these words, "Where are the bishops, and the old "preachers? Now they hide their heads." Spoken in some joy and triumph,

being now laid aside, and deposed; who had made themselves odious to the people for late rigours and cruel persecution of them and their relations.

My diary observes, that on the day of this month of September, began the new morning prayer at St. Antholin's, London, the bell beginning to ring at five; when a psalm was sung after the Geneva fashion; all the congregation, men, women, and boys, singing together. Sept. the 24th, Huntington the preacher officiated at Paul's Cross before a great audience, together with the mayor and aldermen.

October the 8th, Veron the abovementioned preached before the queen at Whitehall. He was a bold as well as eloquent man. In this his sermon he advised, that the new bishops should have lands and fair incomes, as the old bishops had: and that otherwise they would not be able to maintain hospitality, and keep such good houses as they ought, and was expected at their hands.

The 15th of October Mr. Crowley preached at Paul's Cross. He was once a printer, then an exile, but a learned and zealous man, and a writer.

I insert here a sermon preached November the 4th, at St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, at the wedding of a priest to a priest's widow of Ware, by one West, a new doctor: who took occasion to speak freely and earnestly against the roodlofts; and that those godly ministers that fled for the word of God were to be helped, and to be presented to livings for their subsistence. Which it seems hitherto was more sparingly done.

November the 12th, old Miles Coverdale preached at the Cross.

The 19th, Mr. Bentham (ere long to be bishop of Coventry and Litchfield) preached there. And so did,

The 26th, Jewel, bishop of Salisbury. Where, upon the fame of that learned man, was a very great confluence of auditors as had been ever seen at the Cross; and where, besides the mayor and aldermen, were many of the court. But now to look a little back into the transactions of this summer.

The 24th day of June, being the festival of St. John Baptist, made a great alteration; that being the day appointed by the late parliament, from which the new service-book was to be only used in all the churches throughout England. Hitherto the Latin mass-book remained, and the priests celebrated service, for the most part, as they did before; that is, from November 1558

to this month of June 1559. During which time were great and earnest disputes and arguments held among the clergy, both protestants and papists, concerning the English book for public prayers. But when that day came, the protestants generally received the book with great joy, finding it to consist of the same divine service with that in godly king Edward's days. Let me set down the words of one Earl, a curate in London in these days, in a diary he kept. Against the 24th day of June he wrote, *O blessed day!* And again,

*Saint John Baptist's day,
Put the pope away.*

Then was king, Edward's book restored to all men's comfort. And verily the people were most willing to receive the book of divine service thus brought to us. Yet he makes a note of exception to a few of Calvin's church; that is, such as lately came from Geneva, and perhaps from some other places where his platform was followed, and where it was their lot to reside, who fled abroad in the Marian days. But yet of these he observed withal, that many complied and obeyed.

But the popish priests, that is, the majority of them, utterly refused. Whose peevish obstinacy, he writes, was patiently suffered seven months, in conferences and open disputations.

They objected against the legality of the use of the communion-book; and clamoured against the law that established it, as defective: as they declared in a paper of questions, that was a little after privately dispersed. Which Pilkinton, bishop of Durham, printed and answered. Herein they say, that this manner of ministering of the sacrament, set forth in the book of common prayer, was never allowed nor agreed upon by the universal church of Christ in a general council; no, not by the clergy of England at the last parliament. But that it was only agreed upon by the laity, who had nothing to do in spiritual matters; meaning, in respect of the bishops then in parliament disagreeing to the act of *uniformity*; and that nothing could be concluded as a law in parliament, but by consent of the clergy there present. To which the said answerer replied,

“That this was done but just as queen Mary had done before; who by her statute took away one religion, and brought in another. And no more was done now. Nor was all the clergy of the realm comprehended in a few popish bishops. Was there (replied he) no

clergy in the universities, nor other parts of the realm, besides these few bishops that consented not? Many in the universities, and abroad in the realm, had used this service openly and commonly in their churches afore it was received or enacted by parliament: which was an evidence that many of the clergy approved it. Nor did the parliament (said he) set forth a new religion, but restored that which was before defaced; restored that which was godly begun under good king Edward, confirmed by his parliament and clergy then; but suddenly by violence trodden under feet by bloody papists a little after.”

He further shewed,

“That it was not to be granted as true, that no laws at all could be made without consent of the bishops. For that the old statutes of parliament, when bishops were highest, afore king Edward III. we read, passed by consent of the lords temporal and commons, without any mention of the lords spiritual; which statutes, many of them, stood in force at that day. And that it was as necessary to have abbots in the parliament; for *they* were present of old time; and their consent was required as well as the bishops.”

Further,

“That the practice of the lawyers, judges, and justices evinced this and the rest to be good laws; for they all executed them: and that their doings might be a sufficient reason to lead the unlearned in their opinion of these laws for religion; that they would not have executed them, had they not the strength and nature of laws.” Thus Pilkinton.

Soon after St. John Baptist’s day, commissioners were sent forth to visit the universities, the dioceses of bishops, cathedral churches, head cities and boroughs, to administer to them the oath of *supremacy*, and to see the order of parliament for uniformity in the use of the book set on foot, and observed.

Now also, since many churches were left destitute, the ministers that remained, and that were put into the places of the popish priests, especially in London, were fain to serve three or four churches on Sundays and holydays, in reading the prayers, and administering the sacraments to the people. And yet they sufficed not. So that in this year, and some years

following, until the year 1564 inclusive, many of the laity, who were competently learned, and of sobriety and good religion, were appointed to read the service in the churches, by letters of toleration from the bishops, some as deacons, some as helpers of the ministers in the word and sacraments: and divers having been made deacons, after long and good trial of their doctrine and conversation, were admitted into priest's orders, and beneficed. As we shall hear more of these matters hereafter.

By the way, I cannot but here bring to mind, that in this course of procuring readers, the present bishops seemed to follow the direction of some great divines that suffered under queen Mary, and foresaw the havoc and destruction would be made of the ministers of the church of England reformed. John Rogers, the first that suffered under queen Mary, in a prophetic spirit told Day the printer, (who was then a prisoner in Newgate with him for religion,) that he would live to see the alteration of religion, and the gospel to be freely professed and preached again; and bade him recommend him to his brethren, as well in exile as others; and that when they came in place, they should be circumspect in displacing the papists, and putting good ministers into the churches. And because there would be a lack of such at the first restoration of religion, his advice to them was, (and bishop Hooper also agreed to the same,) that for every ten churches some one good and learned *superintendent* should be appointed; who should have under him faithful readers, such as might well be got: and the bishops once a year to oversee the profiting of the parishes. And if these reading ministers did not their duty, as well in profiting themselves in their books, as the parishioners in good instruction, so that they might be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they did profit, then to be expelled, and others put in their rooms: and the bishops to do the like with the superintendents. But to pursue our history.

Fourteen of queen Mary's bishops, now alive, were all deprived. These, besides their carriage in the parliament-house, had doubly disobliged the queen. I. In that they had conspired among themselves, that none of them would set the crown upon her head: which all refused to do, till it came to one of the last of them, namely, Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle. II. When some heads of religion were to be handled between them and the protestant party, for the satisfaction of the noblemen, the counsellors, and the members of the parliament, they declined it, nor would be concerned in it: as appeared plain enough by their manner of coming to the dispute; and having heard what their adversaries urged, altogether refused, in the face of

the honourable company assembled, to engage in further dissertation with them; as hath been told before.

But seeing the obstinate refusal of the bishops to acknowledge the queen's supremacy, and how they scarcely owned her government, they were to be deprived, and others, that would comply, to be placed in their rooms. For the effecting this, was that ecclesiastical commission intended, (as we learn from a wise and knowing man of the law that lived near those times,) enacted in the first of queen Elizabeth, (in the act entitled, *An Act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction, &c.*) For herein was a power granted for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons. This branch was enacted of necessity: for that all the bishops and state of the clergy of England being then popish, it was necessary to raise a commission to deprive them that would not deprive themselves.

This first commission upon the statute aforesaid, whereby the popish bishops were deprived, and many other of the clergy, is said to be lost: and enrolled it is not, saith my lord Coke, as it ought to have been. But there were some, he added, that had seen it, and affirmed, that it passed not above twenty sheets of paper copy wise: whereas afterwards the high commission contained usually three hundred sheets of paper. It was affirmed likewise, that never any high commissions were enrolled, as they ought to have been, until the lord chancellor Egerton's time. The papists themselves, in former times, did acknowledge the popish bishops were deprived, though the instruments thereof are lost. So Champney; "The bishoprics now vacant, either by death, as was that of Canterbury only; [yes, besides Canterbury, Salisbury, Chichester, Rochester, Bangor, and Norwich;] or, *per injustam depositionem*; i.e. by unjust deprivation, as were all the rest." And the papists did not so much as dispute of that deprivation, viz. whether there was a deprivation of the popish bishops, as whether it were justly done. Which Mason, in his learned book of the English Ministry, hath a chapter to prove. And Saunders, in his book of the English Schism, writing of this deprivation, saith thus; *Praeter unum omnes [episcopi reginae Mariae] paulo post de gradu et dignitate sua depositi, ac carceribus variisque custodiis commisi, &c.* That is, "All queen Mary's bishops but one, a little after, [that is, after *Midsummer-day*, 1559,] were deposed from their degree and dignity, and committed to prisons and various custodies."

Bishop Boner was sent for before the council May the 30th, (and so, I suppose, were some other bishops with him, and the rest at times,) and there tendered the oath of supremacy: which he refused to take, and thereby lost his bishopric. This remaineth under his own hand writ, *in rei memoriam*, in his own Eusebius, (which fell into the hands of the late antiquarian Anthony a Wood,) in these precise words; *Litera dominicali A. an. Dom. MDLIX. die Maii 30: vocatus ad concilium recusavi praestare juramentum: et omnino deprivatus*. Yet the sentence of deprivation was not pronounced till next month by the queen's commissioners.

So then he and all the rest of the bishops (excepting the bishop of Landaft, who took the oath) were deprived, or rather deprived themselves, for refusing to swear the supremacy. But that they were also committed to prisons, (as our historians commonly write, perhaps taking up upon credit what popish authors write,) I doubt much; since that act of supremacy maketh their punishment that refuse the oath, to be only forfeiture of their spiritual promotions and benefices. And Boner himself, in his memorandum before specified, with his own pen, mentions only his deprivation, and no imprisonment. And Stow, who lived in those times, and was a careful observer of matters that passed, relateth only, how they were deprived after they were called and examined by certain of the queen's council: adding, so were other spiritual persons deprived also; and some indeed committed to prison. But that was for another transgression of the same act, viz. by some word or deed extolling a foreign jurisdiction superior to the queen, or within her dominions. Which to do was forfeiture of goods and chattels. And if such person were not worth 20*l.* then, besides the said forfeiture, it was imprisonment for a year. Whereby it seems several, both of the bishops as well as of others of the popish clergy, were committed to the Fleet, Marshalsea, or Tower of London.

But to represent this business more certainly and exactly, out of a valuable memorial of sir Henry Sidney, transcribed among the MSS. of archbishop Usher, we learn more particularly, that these fourteen bishops, (which were all that were alive, excepting the bishop of Landaft,) viz. Hethe, archbishop of York, Boner, bishop of London, Thirleby of Ely, Watson of Lincoln, White of Winchester, Bourne of Bath and Wells, Turbervil of Exon, Bayne of Litchfield and Coventry, Pool of Peterborough, Gouldwell of St. Asaph, Pate of Worcester, Scot of Chester, Tunstal of Durham, Oglethorp of Carlisle, on the 15th of May, (the parliament being that day sevensnight dissolved,) were by the queen called together, with other clergy: (perhaps

it was the body of the convocation then assembled:) and she told them, that in pursuance of the laws lately made for religion, and restoring the ancient right of the supremacy to the crown, they would take into their serious consideration the affairs of the church, and expulse out of it all schisms, and the superstitious worship of the church of Rome.

Whereupon the archbishop of York, in the name of the rest, made this incomplicant and peremptory declaration to the queen;

“That in the behalf of the catholic church here *planted* within her grace’s dominions, he was entreated by several of the reverend fathers of the mother church, the bishops of several dioceses within the realm, to move her *majesty*, that she would seriously recollect to memory her *gracious* sister’s zeal unto the holy see of St. Peter at *Rome*, as also the covenants between her and that holy see made soon after her coronation: wherein she had promised to depress heresies and all heretical tenets; binding both her gracious majesty, her successors, and this realm, under perpetual ignominy and curse, if not perfected by them. And that upon these conditions that holy see would be pleased once more to take her and the realm into her bosom, after so long a heresy increasing within this isle.”

The queen hearing this, and regarding well how these bishops stood affected, (notwithstanding they had been thus fairly and candidly dealt withal, nor were arbitrarily thrust out of their bishoprics and livelihoods, as king Edward’s bishops and clergy were under queen Mary, but might have remained in their places, had they owned the queen’s supremacy, and the act for uniformity, whatever their former miscarriages were, and the constant opposition they made in parliament to the good bills brought in about religion,) she made this resolute and brave reply to Hethe and the rest.

“That as Joshua declared, saying, *I and my house will serve the Lord*; so she and her realm were resolved to serve him. For which cause she had there assemble her clergy; and was resolved to imitate Josiah; who assembled the ancients of Judea and Jerusalem purposely to make a covenant with the Lord. Thus had she assembled her parliament together, with them of the clergy, for the same intent, to contract with God, and not with the bishop of Rome. And that it lay not in her sister’s *power* to bind her, her successors, or her realms, unto the authority which was usurped.

That therefore she, with *her* predecessors, who had (as our records justified) ejected *that* usurped and pretended power, (which for future *times* would be precedents for her heirs and successors to *imitate* and to dive into,) did absolutely renounce all *foreign* jurisdiction: as her crown was no way either *subject* to, or to be drawn under any power whatsoever, saving under Christ, the King of kings. That the bishop of Rome's *usurpation* over monarchy shewed his desire of primacy over the whole earth: which to him and his successors would prove confusion. And that, finally, she should therefore esteem all those her subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, as enemies to God, to her, and her heirs and successors, who should henceforth own his usurped, or any foreign power whatsoever."

This noble declaration of the queen, as it somewhat quelled the Romish zeal of these popish fathers, so it much encouraged the hearts of those who were affected to the reformation.

The queen's council were displeased at this stubborn and disloyal behaviour of the bishops. And hereupon some of their former intrigues and unlawful practices under king Edward were brought to light; concerning some private transactions with Rome, in laying plots against some of that king's best friends: of which matters queen Mary, when princess, was privy. And of these things divers letters and papers remained in her closet at her death. Which closet, upon her decease, (as is customary,) was sealed up by order of her privy council, for the use of her present majesty, her successor. Here were several bundles of letters from cardinal Pole, and from this archbishop Hethe, (who then, being bishop of Worcester, was disaffected to the said king Edward and his proceedings,) and likewise from most of the foresaid popish bishops, written unto queen Mary, both before and during her reign. The earl of Sussex was the person that sealed up the said closet, and took this occasion to acquaint the queen therewith: whose words caused her to send him to search for them. And being found, they were brought to the council, and therein much was discovered of these secret practices in those times: as, how to order affairs to strengthen the interest of the bishop of Rome, and the Romish religion, in case king Edward should miscarry: also, all the intrigues that were carried on by the bishops of London and Winchester; and letters thereupon sent from them to Rome, and from Rome hither. The sum of which was, how to lay plots to cut off the protector, and most of the wisest of the king's council:

hoping hereby to procure the settlement of the Romish religion, and to weaken the interest of the crown.

Had these projects been but discovered during king Edward's days, it was thought it would have hindered queen Mary's reign. For when they were read at council, those privy counsellors who were instrumental for her coming to the crown before the lady Jane Grey, were much amazed, having never heard of these things till now.

May the 18th, the council met the second time upon the bishops' business; and having taken these doings of theirs aforesaid into further consideration, it was generally declared, that these acts, being committed partly in king Edward's reign and partly in queen Mary's, and nothing since laid to their charge, saving their zeal to the see of Rome, her majesty's sister's pardon, and her own at her entrance to the crown, would clear them. Yet the council advised the queen to tender them the oath of supremacy and allegiance. Which was accordingly now, or some time afterwards, tendered them: and they refusing, were all expelled their bishoprics within a short time after, as was shewn before. These bishops, in this round dealing with them, as well as others of the popish clergy, seemed to be much mistaken; deeming that the present state of the church was such, as there would be a necessity of continuing them in their places, for want of ministers to supply their rooms. And afterwards, finding that good shift was made without them, they repented themselves for their incomppliance. Thus one that lived in these times tells them:

“That a great many of them by this time, he believed, beshrewed their own heads, that they so at once gave over their bishoprics and livings, upon a false hope of leaving the realm utterly destitute of ecclesiastical ministry: and so, by troubling all, trusting that themselves should shortly with more honour be called again. Which not coming to pass according to their expectation, a great many of them took penance enough upon them, that they gave not place in some points colourable, as they did in king Henry and king Edward's days; and so to have retained their livings and authorities still: whereby they might have pinched the hearty protestants somewhat more shrewdly than now they could do.”

Take this more particular account of these popish bishops, together with the conclusion of some monasteries lately erected, as I have collected it out

of a certain diary in the Cotton library, kept by some diligent observers of matters in those times, especially in and about London.

June the 12th, 1559, the friars of Greenwich were discharged, and went away.

June the 21st, the bishops of Litchfield and Coventry, of Carlisle, Westchester, and two bishops more, were deprived, [by the queen's commissioners that came now into the city to tender the oath.]

The 25th, the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester were brought to Mr. Haws the sheriff's house in Mincing-lane, [where some commissioners assembled,] and there were deprived. Winchester went to the Tower again; Lincoln was delivered, that is, set at liberty.

The 29th, bishop Boner was deprived finally [by the commissioners.] July the 5th, archbishop Hethe and bishop Thirlby were deposed at the lord treasurer's place in St. Augustine's; that is, in Broadstreet, where he had a house situate upon part of the Augustine friars, [and where the queen's commissioners or visitors seem now to have met.]

July the 7th, (being St. Thomas of Canterbury's day,) White, bishop of Winchester, was brought from the Tower by sir Edward Warner, lieutenant, by six in the morning, unto the lord keeper's; from whom he was dismissed to Mr. John [Thomas] White, alderman, living near Bartholomew-lane, to sojourn with him, [for he was not well.]

The 12th, the Black friars in Smithfield went away; as the 4th day, the priests and nuns of Sion did, as also the monks of the Charter-house; and the abbot of Westminster and his monks were deprived.

The 20th, the bishop of Durham came riding on horseback to London, with about threescore horse; and so to Southwark, unto one Dolman's house, where he remained.

The 25th, being St. James's day, the warden of Winchester, and other doctors and priests, were delivered out of the Tower, Marshalsea, and other prisons, in honour of king Philip, on this Spanish saint's day.

September 29, the bishop of Durham was deprived.

If we desire to know what became of these bishops afterwards, they, or some of them, were under some confinement for some time in the year

following, viz. 1560; for then I find six of them, together with an abbot and a dean, in the Tower: who had been committed thither by the archbishop of Canterbury, and others, I suppose, of the ecclesiastical commission. These were now permitted to come together at their meals, by virtue of a letter of the council to the archbishop, if he approved of it: namely, Dr. Hethe, Dr. Boxal, Dr. Pate, and Dr. Feckenham, to be admitted to one company for one of the tables: and for the other table, Dr. Thirleby, Dr. Bourne, Dr. Watson, and Dr. Turberville. But after a little time they were all committed to easier restraints, and some restored to their perfect liberty.

Yet they did not escape all spiritual censures; for I find excommunication inflicted upon some of them: as upon Boner, July 28, 1560, denounced at Paul's Cross by the preacher. In the month of February, 1560, Hethe, while he remained in the Tower, was excommunicated: and the 25th of the same month, Thirleby also being there, underwent the same censure, declared at Bow church. And this was the utmost severity from the church they endured: which was far short of what they had used when they were in power.

Hethe, late archbishop of York, having been lord chancellor of England, and having in parliament declared the death of queen Mary, and the just title of the lady Elizabeth, her sister, to succeed; for this duty towards his prince, he lived (after a little trouble) quietly and nobly in his own lordship of Chobham, situate in Surrey; yet giving security not to interrupt the laws of church or state, or meddle with the affairs of the realm. And, being old and full of days, he made his last will, and gave away his said estate to his kinsman and heir. He was always honourably esteemed by the queen, and sometimes had the honour to be visited by her majesty. And differing manifestly in religion, yet was he not restrained of his liberty, nor deprived of his proper lands and goods, but enjoyed all his purchases, living discreetly in his own house, during his natural life, until by very age he departed this life; and then left his house and livings to his friends, as he thought good. An example of gentleness never matched in queen Mary's days.

Tunstal was committed to the gentle custody of the archbishop elect at Lambeth, where he was treated with much respect, and lived contentedly; and it was said (but that he thought it some disgrace, and that his bishopric was like to be elsewhere disposed) he would have complied with the

queen's laws. For the archbishop assured the queen, that he complied during his life in several points of the reformation.

“Bishop Tunstal's judgment in the point of *transubstantiation*, and his dislike of pope Innocent's making it an article of faith, shewed him a wise man. The bishop [*meaning* bishop Tunstal] was of the mind (said Bernard Gilpin) that we ought to speak reverently of the holy supper, as did the ancient fathers; but that the opinion of transubstantiation might well be let alone. This thing also the same bishop was wont to affirm, both in words and writings; that Innocent III. knew not what he did, when he put transubstantiation among the articles of faith; and said, that Innocent wanted learned men about him. And indeed, added the bishop, if I had been of his council, I make no doubt but I might have been able to have dissuaded him from that resolution.”

But Tunstal soon died, [viz. November 18,] having lived to the age of eighty-five or eighty-six years; and was buried in the chancel of the parish church of Lambeth, with a funeral decency becoming his rank and quality, and the offices he had borne in church and state; and had a fair stone, with an honourable inscription laid over him.

Thirlby (a person of nature affable) was also committed to the care of the same archbishop. He at first had his liberty, till he began to preach against the reformation: but being pardoned, afterwards was in custody of the archbishop, and living in much ease and credit with him for ten years, was buried in the same church with the like decency, and a stone laid over him.

White died in liberty, saith bishop Andrews: he, although he had the liberty to walk abroad, would not be quiet, but would needs preach; which he did seditiously in his Romish pontifical vestments. For which he was committed to prison; but upon his acknowledgment of his misdemeanours he was set free. This bishop, with bishop Watson, had the presumption to threaten to excommunicate the queen. He died of an ague, January 12, 1559, at Sir Thomas White's place in Hampshire; and the 15th, was carried and buried at Winchester.

Bourne was harboured chiefly with Dr. Carew, dean of Exeter, his old friend: and after eleven years died, and was buried at Silverton, in Devon. Turberville, an honest gentleman, but a simple bishop,

lived many years a private life, and in full liberty deceased. David Poole, an ancient grave person, and quiet subject, was used with all kindness by his prince, and living in his own house, died in a mature age, and left his estate to his friends.

Oglethorp, who had the honour to consecrate and crown the queen, died of an apoplexy the year after, and was buried the 4th of January, 1559; to whom the queen, had he lived, would have shewn some particular kindness. He was privately buried, with half a dozen escutcheons of arms, at St. Dunstan's in the West. And Bayne soon after him, the same month, (having lived with the bishop of London,) died of the stone, and was buried near the beginning of January in the same church of St. Dunstan's.

Watson, altogether a sour and morose man, lived twenty-four years after his deprivation, some time with the bishop of Rochester, and some time with the bishop of Ely. But afterwards, when certain Roman emissaries came into the realm, and began to disturb the church, he (being too conversant with them) was committed to Wisbich castle a close prisoner.

As for Boner, I find he was committed to the Marshalsea, in April, 1560, and seems to have been at liberty till then. It is true he was kept in the prison of the Marshalsea: and that turned to his own safety; being so hated by the people, that it would not have been safe for him to have walked in public, lest he should have been stoned or knocked on the head by some of the enraged friends and acquaintance of those whom he had but a little before so barbarously beaten or butchered. He grew old in prison, and died a natural death in the year 1569, not suffering any want, or hunger, or cold. For he lived daintily, had the use of the garden and orchards when he was minded to walk abroad, and take the air: suffering nothing like imprisonment, unless that he was circumscribed within certain bounds. Nay, he had his liberty to go abroad, but dared not venture: for the people retained in their hearts his late bloody actions.

Scot, a rigid man, detained in the Fleet for some time; and Goldwell: these went privately away beyond sea. And so did Pate, after some confinement in the Tower.

Gold well lived afterwards at Rome twenty-six years, and there died. Pate, I find afterwards a prisoner in the Tower, anno 1563, perhaps for presuming to sit in the council of Trent.

Of some of these, more a great deal might be said, if need were; some things shall be read of them in the process of this history.

So little cause had Saunders to write, (and such little truth was in it,)

“that all the bishops but one were deposed from their degree and dignity, and committed to prisons and divers restraints. And so hereby at this day all of them, by long and tedious misery, are come to their ends.”

Other dignified men suffered also some favourable restraints: as Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, first in the Tower, and then with the bishop of London, and the bishop of Winchester; being a man of quiet and courteous behaviour for a great while, though afterwards not so: behaving himself so ill towards his host bishop Horn, that he was fain to vindicate himself against the said Feckenham, in a book printed, as we shall hear further in its place. Dr. Boxal, dean of Windsor, a person of great modesty, learning, and knowledge; Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's, a person more earnest than wise; Dr. Reynolds, dean of Exeter, not unlearned, and many others; having borne offices and dignities in the church, and who had made profession against the pope, which profession they begun in queen Mary's time to change, yet were they never burdened with any capital pains, nor yet deprived of any of their goods or proper livelihoods, but only removed from their ecclesiastical offices, which they would not exercise according to the laws. And most of them, and many others of their sort, for a great time were retained in bishops' houses, in very civil and courteous manner, without charge to themselves or their friends, until the time that the pope began by his bulls and messages to offer trouble to the realm by stirring of rebellion. About which time only, some of these aforementioned, being found buffer in matters of state, tending to stir troubles, than was meet for the common quiet of the realm, were removed to other more private places, where such other wanderers, as were men known to move sedition, might be restrained from common resorting to them to increase trouble, as the pope's bulls gave manifest occasions to doubt. And yet without charging them in their consciences, or otherwise, by any inquisition, to bring them into danger of any capital law. So as no one was called to any capital or bloody question upon matter of religion, but all enjoyed their lives as the course of nature would: as a person of honour wrote who lived in those times, and had occasion to know perfectly all that was then done.

But it is here to be remarked, that all or most of these, both bishops and other dignified men of the clergy, (however they were now zealous for the pope, even to the parting with their preferments for his sake,) had in the time of king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI. either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemn, yea, to abhor the authority of the pope. For which purpose they had many times given their oath publicly against the pope's authority: and had also yielded to both the said kings the title of *supreme head of the church of England, next under Christ*. And many of their books and sermons against the pope's authority remained, printed in English and Latin, to be seen long after, to their great shame and reproof, to change so often, but especially in persecuting such as themselves had taught and established to hold the contrary.

But these bishops, thus discharged from their public ministration in the church, ceased not to solicit the queen in the behalf of the old religion. For the change among the clergy being effected by her, several of them in the beginning of December sent this message to her majesty, with their names subscribed.

“Most royal queen, we entreat your gracious majesty to listen unto us of the catholic clergy within your realm, as well as unto others, lest that your gracious majesty and subjects be led astray through the inventions of those evil counsellors, who are persuading your ladyship to embrace schisms and heresies in lieu of the ancient catholic faith, which hath been long since planted within this realm, by the motherly care of the church of Rome. Which your ancestors duly and reverently observed and confessed, until by heretical and schismatical advisers your father was withdrawn; and after him your brother prince Edward. After whose decease, your virtuous sister queen Mary of happy memory succeeded. Who, being troubled in conscience with what her father's and her brother's advisers had caused them to do, most piously restored the catholic faith, by establishing the same again in this realm: as also by extinguishing the schisms and heresies which at that time began to flame over her territories. For which God poured out his wrath upon most of the malefactors and misleaders of the nation.

“We further entreat your ladyship to consider the *supremacy* of the church of Rome. And histories yet make mention, that Athanasius was expelled by her and her council in Liberius his time; the

emperor also speaking against him for withstanding the head of the church. These ancient things we lay before your majesty, hoping God will turn your heart; and, in fine, make your majesty's evil advisers ashamed; and to repent their heresies. God preserve your majesty. Which be the prayers of

Nicolas Hethe,
James Turberville,
Edmond Boner,
David Poole."
Gilbert Bourne,

At this letter, so boldly charging king Henry and king Edward, monarchs of noble memory, and both so nearly related unto the queen, and likewise so rudely reflecting upon her and their counsellors, whom they called their advisers, she was angry, and so were several of her council. And she returned them this answer before she rose from the council.

"E. R. Sirs, As to your entreaty, for us to listen to you, we wave it: yet do return you this our answer. Our realm and subjects have been long wanderers, walking astray, whilst they were under the tuition of Romish pastors, who advised them to own a wolf for their head, (in lieu of a careful shepherd,) whose inventions, heresies, and schisms be so numerous, that the flock of Christ have fed on poisonous shrubs for want of wholesome pastures. And whereas you hit us and our subjects in the teeth, that the Romish church first planted the catholic faith within our realms, the records and chronicles of our realms testify the contrary; and your own Romish idolatry maketh you liars: witness the ancient monument of Gildas; unto which both foreign and domestic have gone *in* pilgrimage there to offer. This author testifieth *Joseph* of Arimathea to be the first preacher of the word of *God* within our realms. Long after that, when Austin came from Rome, this our realm had bishops and priests therein, as is well known to the wise and learned of our realm by woful experience, how your church entered therein by blood; they being martyrs for Christ, and put to death, because they denied Rome's usurped authority.

"As for our father being withdrawn from the *supremacy* of Rome by schismatical and heretical counsels and advisers; who, we pray, advised him more, or flattered him, *than* you, good Mr. Hethe,

when you were bishop of *Rochester*? And than you, Mr. Boner, when you were *archdeacon*? And you, Mr. Turberville? Nay further, who was more an adviser of our father, than your great Stephen Gardiner, when he lived? Are not ye then those schismatics and heretics? If so, suspend, your evil censures. Recollect, was it our sisters conscience made her so averse to our father's and brother's actions, as to undo *what* they had perfected? Or was it not you, or such like advisers, that dissuaded her, and stirred her up against us and other of the subjects?

“*And* whereas you would frighten us, by telling how emperors, kings, and princes have owned the bishop of Rome's authority; it was contrary in the beginning. For our Saviour Christ paid his tribute unto Caesar, as the chief superior; which shews your Romish *supremacy* is usurped.

“As touching the excommunication of St. Athanasius by Liberius and that council, and how the emperor consented thereunto; consider the heresies that at that time had crept into the church of Rome, and how courageously Athanasius withstood them, and how he got the victory. Do ye not acknowledge his creed to this day? Dare any of you say, he is a schismatic? Surely ye be not so audacious. Therefore as ye acknowledge his creed, it shews he was no schismatic. If Athanasius withstood Rome for her then heresies, then others may safely separate themselves from your church, and not be schismatics.

“We give you warning, that for the future we hear no more of this kind, lest you provoke us to execute those penalties enacted for the punishing of our resisters: which out of our clemency we have forborne.

From Greenwich, December 6, *anno secundo regn.*”

This was the mild way of this protestant princess, to argue thus at large with her dissenting subjects, and to convince them by authorities, and evidence of reason; though several of her council moved her to punish these men for their insolency; and especially Boner, since he had been so inveterate against the protestants in the late reign. But she with much clemency and Christianity replied, “Let us not follow our sister's example, but rather shew that our *reformation* tendeth to peace, and not to cruelty.”

Yet she took her council's advice at the same time, which they gave her at least to secure these bishops from sowing future seditions or factions among the people, since divers flocked after them, and visited them: and sometimes they would take their opportunity of preaching. Thus White preached sedition, and that in his Romish pontifical vestments. For which he was committed to prison; but upon acknowledgment of his misdemeanours, he was set at liberty, as we heard before. And Thirleby had his liberty too, till he began to preach against the *reformation*. But being pardoned, he was afterwards appointed to sojourn with the archbishop of Canterbury.

It is certain the papists were now very bold and stirring; as may appear from the preamble of an act made the next parliament for the further establishment of the queen's *supremacy*: where it is set forth, "that the favourers of the pope's usurped power were grown to marvellous outrage and licentious boldness, and required more sharp restraints and correction of laws." This may suggest the reasons of the commitments following.

April 20, 1560, Boner, late bishop of London, was carried to the Marshalsea. May the 20th, the same year, Feckenham, late abbot of Westminster, Watson, late bishop of Lincoln, Cole, late dean of St. Paul's, Chedsey, late archdeacon of Middlesex, at liberty, as it seems, before, were all sent to the Tower. And the same day, at eight o'clock at night, Dr. Story, the civilian, was sent to the Fleet. June the 3d following, Thirleby, late bishop of Ely, was sent also to the Tower. June the 10th, Hethe, late archbishop of York, was sent to the Tower; and Cole (who had been in the Tower) to the Fleet.

June the 18th, Boxal, late dean of Windsor, (if I mistake not,) and secretary to queen Mary; and Bourne, late bishop of Bath and Wells, and Troublefield, (as he is sometimes writ,) or Turberville, late bishop of Exeter, were sent to the Tower.

The next endeavour of the bishops deprived and others of the popish clergy, was to get the free exercise of their religion, contrary to the law established. And for this, in this second year of the queen's reign, the emperor Ferdinand, and several other of the Romish catholic princes, wrote to her majesty, making earnest suit, that those Romish bishops, and other of that clergy who were displaced for refusing the oath of *supremacy*, might be mercifully dealt withal; and that churches might be allowed to the papists in all the cities and chief towns of the realm.

The answer the queen made to these desires of the emperor and princes was to this purpose:

“That although the *popish* bishops had insolently and openly opposed the laws and the peace of the realm, and did still wilfully reject that doctrine which many of them had publicly *owned* and declared in their sermons, during king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI. their reigns; yet she would, for so great princes’ sakes, deal favourably with them, though not without some offence to her subjects; because they had been so cruel to the poor reformed protestants in her sister’s reign. But to grant them churches, wherein they might celebrate mass, and have congregations and public assemblies, she could not with the safety of her realm, and without wrong to her own honour and conscience: neither did she see cause, why she should grant it, seeing England embraced not new or strange doctrine, but the same which Christ commanded, and what the primitive and catholic church had received, and was approved by the ancient fathers, as might be testified by their writings. Therefore for her to allow churches which contradicted the truth and the gospel, were not only to repeal the laws established by act of parliament, but to sow religion out of religion, to distract good people’s minds, to cherish factions, to disturb religion and the commonwealth, and to mingle divine and human things: a thing evil in itself, but in example worst of all: to her own good subjects hurtful, and unto them to whom it is granted neither greatly commodious nor safe. That therefore, in fine, she determined, out of her natural clemency, and especially at their requests she was willing, to bear the private insolency of a few by much connivance; yet so as she might not encourage their obstinate minds by her indulgence.”

The papistical religion was in danger of getting footing again by another endeavour of papists, namely, by the match that was in hand between the queen and the archduke of Austria, which the emperor earnestly promoted; of which we heard something before. The earl of Sussex was then the queen’s ambassador at that court, and managed this business on the queen’s part. The matter came to certain propositions offered on the emperor’s part. That about religion was, *that a public church might be allowed, wherein mass might be celebrated to him and his*. But this was denied at the English court. Then it was proposed, that the archduke might

peaceably hear mass in some private place in the court, as was permitted to catholic princes' ambassadors in their houses. And that with these conditions: that no Englishman should be admitted thereunto; and that neither he nor his servants should speak against the protestant reformation revived in England, or favour those that should speak against it. That if any displeasure should arise in respect of religion, he should be present with the queen at divine service to be celebrated after the church of England. Thus far the emperor and archduke Charles went; straining a point, out of great hopes conceived by himself and the papists, that the Romish religion should by this means be celebrated for the present, and within some space of time perhaps be thereby established again. But the queen dashed all, by returning this answer, That in case she should adhere to these proposals, and grant them, she should offend her conscience, and openly break the public laws of her realm, not without great peril both of her dignity and safety.

So that by all these tokens already shewn, sufficient assurance was given by her, that, however wavering some might think the queen before, she was well confirmed against popery. And that she was thus, one of her first bishops, viz. Sandys, in a great audience, afterwards gave this account of her:

“She is the very patroness of true religion, rightly termed *the defender of his faith*; one that before all other things seeketh the kingdom of God. If the threatenings of men could have terrified her, or their allurements enticed her, or any crafty persuasions have prevailed with her, she had revolted long ere this, so fiercely by great potentates her constancy hath been assaulted. But God hath strengthened his royal handmaid: the fear of God hath put to flight the fear of man. Her religious heart is accepted of the Lord, and glorious it is also in the eyes of the world. A princess zealous for God's house; so firmly settled in his truth, that she hath constantly determined and oftentimes vowed, rather to suffer all torments, than one jot to relent in matter of religion.”

And this, that most reverend man said, he spake not of flattery, but in an upright conscience; not of guess, but of knowledge.

Thus from the queen's first entrance to the crown, she feared not all the potentates of the world, nor the backwardness of her own subjects, nor the combining almost of all her own clergy; but that in the name of God, (I

repeat the words of a great observer of those times,) and in undaunted confidence of his maintaining of his own truth, she did spread the banner of the gospel. And [so she continued steady all along her government] without discouragement, persisting in that resolution till the day of her death; the English fugitives and the Irish malecontents, yea the pope and Spaniard, contriving to the utmost to impeach it.

Now care was taken by those in commission for religion to supply vacant churches, and that fit men might be provided to officiate in them.

And for that purpose those that were admitted to curacies were bound to subscribe certain articles of doctrine, and other articles for their behaviour and obedience in the discharge of their ministry.

The former articles were printed by Richard Jug, the queen's printer; and reprinted by the right reverend author of the History of the Reformation, and remain among archbishop Parker's MSS. in Bene't college library. They bore a title very expressive of what was required, in regard of those articles, from all that had curacies; and likewise of the reason of urging them at that time. Namely, "for unity of doctrine to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates; and to testify their common consent in the said doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that went about to slander the ministers of the church for diversity of judgment." And the said parsons, vicars, and curates were to read this declaration at their possession-taking, or first entry into their cures: and also, after that, yearly, at two several times; that is to say, the Sundays next following Easter-day and St. Michael the archangel, or on some other Sunday, within one month after those feasts, immediately after the gospel. This declaration will be found in chap. xvii.

The articles of the latter sort were as follow:

A PROTESTATION TO BE SUBSCRIBED UNTO BY THE MINISTERS.

"I promise in mine own person to use and exercise the ministry, and my Christian office in my rank and place, chiefly and before all things, unto the honour of Almighty God, and our only Saviour Jesus Christ; with loyal obedience to our sovereign the queen's majesty, for the salvation and best quiet of her highness' subjects

within my charge: and thus teaching and living in true concord and unity.

“*Again*, I protest to observe, keep, and maintain all such orders with *uniformity* in all extern policy, rites, and ceremonies of the church, as by the law, good usages, and orders are already established and provided.

“*I shall not preach without special licence of the bishop under his seal. I shall read or sing divine service audibly, plainly, and distinctly, that all the people may hear and understand.*

“*I shall use sobriety in my apparel, both in the church, and in my going abroad. I shall faithfully keep the Register Book and the Queen’s Injunctions. I shall read every day one chapter of the bible at least.*

“*I shall not covetously use open mechanical labour or occupation, if my living be twenty nobles a year.*

“*I shall move and keep the parochians to peace; and labour to make peace to the uttermost of my power, in doctrine and conversation.*”

To which I will subjoin the subscription of readers, the lowest sort of ministers in the church, yet very needful now to be made use of, for supply of the churches, that would otherwise have been shut up upon this turn of religion: for many livings, now become vacant, were sequestered; and a portion thereof allowed to the respective readers. And by observing these articles, to be by them subscribed, we may the better understand what their office was.

INJUNCTIONS, TO BE CONFESSED AND SUBSCRIBED BY THEM THAT SHALL BE ADMITTED READERS.

“*I shall not preach or interpret, but only read that which is appointed by public authority.*

“*I shall read the service appointed plainly, distinctly, and audibly, that all the place may hear and understand.*

“*I shall not minister the sacraments, nor other rites of the church, but bury the dead, and purify women after their childbirth.*

“I shall keep the Register Book according to the Injunctions.

“I shall use sobriety in apparel, and especially in the church at common prayer.

“I shall move men to quiet and concord, and not give *them* cause of offence.

“I shall bring in to mine ordinary a testimony of my behaviour from the honest men of the parish where I dwell, within one half year next following.

“I shall give place upon convenient warning to me by *the* ordinary, if any learned minister shall be placed there at the suit of the prime of the parish.

“I shall claim no more of the fruits sequestered of such cure where I shall serve, but as it shall be thought meet to the wisdom of the ordinary.

“I shall daily at the least read one chapter of the Old Testament, and another of the New, with good advisement, to the increase of my knowledge.

“*I* shall not appoint in my room, by reason of mine absence or sickness, any other man, but shall leave it to the suit of the parish or the ordinary, for assigning some able man.

“I shall not read but in poorer parishes destitute of incumbents, except in time of sickness, or for some other good considerations to be allowed by the ordinary.

“I shall not intermeddle with any artificers’ occupations, as covetously to seek gain thereby, having in ecclesiastical living the sum of twenty nobles or above by the year.

CHAPTER 12

Bishoprics and dignities in the church void. Persons designed for preferments. Dr. Parker made archbishop of Canterbury. Consecrations and ordinations. The vacant sees filled. A table thereof. The queen's Injunctions. Holy table and bread. Altars. Book of Articles of Inquiry. A royal visitation. The visitors. The effect of this visitation.

THE popish bishops being deprived, as before was shewn, and put out of their respective churches, and other bishops dead, and many dignities and preferments besides void by death or deprivation; one main care of the state was for the filling up those sees and the chief places in the church with able and honest men. An eye was cast upon Matthew Parker, D. D. and divers other learned and godly men for that purpose; who for the most part had been exiles or great sufferers in the last reign: and so had given sufficient proof of their abhorrence of popery.

And that both the places vacant and the persons to be preferred might lie in view to be considered, I find among secretary Cecil's papers certain rough lists of both: which it may not be amiss here to lay before the reader. And first of the bishoprics, wherein, when this list was made, (which was soon after the parliament was up,) are shewn, who were (dead, who deprived, and who were yet alive and undeprived; together with the current reputed values of each bishopric at that time.

BISHOPRICS, WHOSE PASTORS WERE DEAD; EIGHT IN NUMBER, VIZ.

Canterbury, — 2900*l.*

Salisbury, — 1000*l.*

Norwich, — 600*l.*

Rochester, — 207*l.*

Chichester, — 590*l.*

Gloucester, — 300*l.*

Hereford, — 500*l.*

Bangor, — 66*l.*

To which may be added the bishoprics of Oxon and Bristol, now void also.

WHOSE PASTORS WERE DEPRIVED; SIX IN NUMBER, VIZ.

Winton, — 3700*l*.
Carlisle, — 268*l*.
Lincoln,
Chester,
Litchf. and Cov. — 600*l*.
Worcester, — 920*l*.

The popish bishops that held these sees were first deprived: displeasure (as it seems) being taken against the five first, for breaking off the public disputation at Westminster, mentioned before: and Worcester being a very obnoxious man.

**WHOSE PASTORS WERE ALIVE, AND NOT YET DEPRIVED;
IN NUMBER TEN, VIZ.**

London, — 1000*l*.
St. Davids, — 300*l*.
St. Asaph, — 10*l*.
Landaft, — 126*l*. 177*l*. spiritual.
Peterburgh, — 300*l*.
Ely, — 2000*l*.
York, — 1000*l*.
Bath and Wells, — 500*l*.
Durham, — 2700*l*.
Exeter,

PLACES AND PREFERMENTS VOID.

The deanery of Chest.	100	0	0
Three prebends in Windsor, each in value,	51	1	10
A prebend in Norwich,			
A prebend in Canterbury,			
A prebend in			

Rochester,			
Ruscomb preb. in Sarum,	6	13	4
Burrow preb. in Chiches	13	6	8
Two preb. in Hereford,			

A commissary's place to the archbishop of Canterbury, for granting of faculties. Dr. Cook had it.

A clerkship to the same. Dr. Lyel had it.

Another clerkship for the faculties; which Vaughan had.

BENEFICES VOID.

Benefice.	County.	<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	d
Cliff rectory,	Kent,	51	0	0
NorthCreak,	Norw.	34	6	8
Sutton,	Warw.	33	9	0
Stokesly,	York,	30	6	8
SouthHill,	Cornub.	38	0	0
Beer vicar.	Dors.	25	5	0
Felfham with a vicar.		19	15	7
StokeBrewen,	Nor.	30	0	0
St. Christ. Lond.		14	0	0
Passenham in Prest.		14	0	0

Then was a list of the names of persons fit to be preferred, bearing this title, viz.

SPIRITUAL MEN WITHOUT PROMOTION AT THIS PRESENT.

Mr. Barlow, — Sampson, — Latymer, — Scory, — Ghest, — Banks, — Coverdale, — Horn, — Stokes, Col. — Dr. Cox, — Wilshaw, — Regin. — Parker, — Parry, — Thoulwel, — Mey, — Peddar, — Newman, — Sandys, — Herman, — Nowel, — Mr. Cheney, — Hide, — Waites, — Whitehead, — Blake, — Hewet.

There was yet another list of names of persons of eminent character, out of which some were already pitched upon for the chief preferments, viz. such as had (*) prefixed before their names; as follow:

*Parker, — *Jewel, — Wisdom, — *Bill, — *Bentham, — Ghest, — *Whitehead, — *Nowel, — Peddar, — *Pilkinton, — *Becon, — Lever, — *Sandys, — Pullan, — *Allen — *Horne, — *Davis, — *Sampson, — Aylmer,

As several in these catalogues were afterwards preferred to bishoprics, deaneries, or other chief dignities in the church, so several others were preferred, whose names are not here specified, who were not yet, though afterwards, better known: and several others here set down, yet attained not the chief preferments, choosing rather perhaps to serve God and his church in some privater capacity.

But now let us proceed to take notice how the vacant sees were all filled, (which was the work of two years before the church was completely full,) and who they were on whom this weighty charge was laid.

Their names, dioceses, countries, ages, degrees of school, universities, orders, and dates of their respective consecrations and confirmations, this ensuing table will shew, taken out of the Antiquities of Canterbury. For more particular characters of these reverend fathers, and for relation of their preferments and appointment to their sees, I refer the reader to a book that may ere long see the light, concerning the life and acts of Matthew Parker, queen Elizabeth's first archbishop of Canterbury.

IN THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY

*Diocese.— Name. — Country. — Age. — Degree of School. —
University. — Order. — Date of consecration*

- Canterbury** — Matth. Parker — Norwich — L.V. — Dr. of divinity —
Cambridge — Secular priest — Decemb. 17, 1559.
- Chichester** — William Barlowe — Essex — LX. — Dr. of divinity —
Oxon — Regular priest — Confirm. Dec. 20, 1559.
- Hereford** — John Scory — Norfolk — XLVII — Bach. in divinity —
Cambridge — Regular priest — Confirm. Dec. 20, 1559.
- London** — Edmund Grindal — Cumberland — XL. — Bach. in divinity
— Cambridge — Secular priest — Decemb. 21, 1559.
- Ely** — Richard Cox — Bucks — LX. — Dr. of divinity — Cambridge
and Oxon — Secular priest — Decemb. 21, 1559.
- Worcester** — Edwin Sandys — Lancaster — XLIII. — Dr. of divinity
— Cambridge — Secular priest — Decemb. 21, 1559.
- Bangor** — Rowland Merick — Wales — LIV. — Dr. of laws — Oxon
— Secular priest — Decemb. 21, 1559.
- St. David's** — Thomas Younge — Wales — LII. — Dr. of laws —
Oxon — Secular priest — Jan. 21, 1559.
- Lincoln** — Nicolas Bolingham Worcester — XLVIII — Dr. of laws —
Oxon and Cambridge — Secular minist. — Jan. 21, 1559.
- Sarum** — John Jewel — Devon XL — L — Bach. in divinity — Oxon
— Secular priest — Jan. 21, 1559.
- St. Asaph** — Richard Davis — Wales — — Master of arts — Oxon —
Secular priest — Jan. 21, 1559.
- Rochester** — Edmund Guest — Yorkshire — LI. — Bach. in divinity —
Cambridge — Secular priest — Jan. 21, 1559.
- Bath and Wells** — Gilbert Berkley — Lincolnshire — LII. — Bach. in
divinity — Cambridge — Secular priest — March 24, 1559.
- Litchfield and Cov.** — John Bentham — Yorkshire — XLVI. —
Master of arts — Oxon — Secular priest — March 24, 1559.

- Exon** — William Alley — Barkshire — L. — Master of arts — Cambridge — Regular priest — July 14, 1560.
- Norwich** — John Parkhurst — Somerset L. — — Master of arts — Oxon — Secular priest — Sept. 1, 1560.
- Peterborough** — Edmund Scambler — Lancaster — XLII. — Dr. in divinity — Cambridge — Secular priest — Febr. 16, 1560.
- Winton** — Robert Horne — Cumberland — XLVI. — Dr. in divinity — Cambridge — Secular priest — Febr. 16, 1560.
- Gloucester** — Richard Cheiney — London — XLIX. — Bach. in divinity — Cambridge — Secular priest — April 19, 1562.
- Bristol** — The same, holding it *in commendam*.

IN THE PROVINCE OF YORK.

- York** — William May, elect Thomas Young translated from St. David's — Suffolk — LIII. — Dr. of laws — Cambridge — Secular priest — Died before consecrat. Confirm. Feb. 25, 1561.
- Durham** — James Pilkington — Lancashire — XLV. — Bach in divinity — Cambridge — Secular minist. — March 2, 1560.
- Carlisle** — John Best — Yorkshire — XLVIII. — Oxon — Secular priest — March 2, 1560.
- Chester** — Wilham Downham — Hereford — L. — Oxon — Priest regular — May 4, 1561.

And now, after the sight of this scheme, one would wonder at the liberty some disaffected people took in king Charles I. his time, in the books they published, and the stories they set abroad. In one pamphlet, (which I have,) printed anno 1642, it is expressly said, that at the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, the better half of the protestant bishops were those that but a little before had been popish prelates in queen Mary's time: and so were very indifferent men for their religion.

Of all the divines in the kingdom, for his learning, wisdom, gravity, and piety, the foresaid Dr. Parker was pitched upon by the queen, to fill the metropolitical see of Canterbury. He had been chaplain first to queen Anne Bolen, then to king Henry VIII. master of Bene't college, Cambridge, and

in king Edward's reign dean of Lincoln; but lost all his preferments under queen Mary, for his marriage, and for the gospel: and during those times lived obscurely and in great danger. He was elected by the dean and chapter of Christ's Church Canterbury, August the 1st. His election confirmed in the church of St. Mary le Bow, London, December the 9th. And consecrated in the chapel of the palace at Lambhith, December the 17th, by the reverend fathers, Barlow, late bishop of Bath and Wells, Scory, late bishop of Chichester, Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter, and Hodgeskin, suffragan bishop of Bedford. All things were rightly and canonically performed; as may be seen at large in the register of Canterbury yet extant; and in certain transcripts exactly taken thence, and out of the archives of Bene't college, Cambridge, and published at the end of archbishop Bramhal's works, printed at Dublin 1677, and in the collection of records in the second volume of the History of the Reformation, by Dr. Burnet, late lord bishop of Sarum. Which abundantly confutes that idle story of the archbishop's ordination at the Nag's Head Tavern in Cheapside: which some papists had impudently invented, and spread abroad.

After the archbishop's consecration was despatched and finished, and he seated by the queen in the care and government of the church, many other bishops were consecrated by him; that the sees might be furnished with sound and able divines. As Grindal bishop of London, Cox bishop of Ely, Sandys bishop of Worcester, and Merick of Bangor: who were all consecrated together by the archbishop at Lambhith, in the month of December, a few days after his own consecration. In January following he consecrated five bishops more; Young to the see of St. David's, Bolingham to Lincoln, Jewel to Sarum, Davis to St. Asaph, and Ghest to Rochester. The next month were two bishops more consecrated by him, viz. Barkley bishop of Bath and Wells, and Bentham of Litchfield and Coventry. And the consecration of other bishops followed soon after in the next year.

But though the church was replenished with gospel bishops, yet none had any cause to envy their wealth or greatness. For the revenues and incomes of the bishoprics had been so stript by their immediate popish predecessors, that the present bishops were in want even of convenience and necessaries for housekeeping; especially some of them. Their lands, houses, and parks were so few, and so reduced, that they had scarce enough to keep them out of debt, and to maintain that hospitality that was looked for at their hands. It is true, some of their lands and parks were against their wills exchanged,

by virtue of a late law, mentioned before, but, for the most part, the malicious popish prelates that were their predecessors, (I have this from one that was a bishop himself, and well acquainted with the transactions of this time,) seeing their kingdom decay, and that professors of God's gospel should fill their places, would rather give them to women, children, housekeepers, (to say no worse,) by lease, patents, annuities, than that any that loved God should enjoy them. Many bishoprics of the realm had they impoverished by these means. So that they who now succeeded were not able to relieve themselves, nor the poor as they would and should. The multitude indeed cried out of the protestants, that they kept not houses like the papists, nor entertained such a number of idle servants; but they considered not how barely they came to their livings; what pensions they paid, and annuities, which they that held the sees before them had granted away; and how all commodities were leased away from them: what charges they were at for first-fruits, and subsidies, and tenths, and how they lacked all householdstuff and furniture at their entrance: so that for three years' space they were not able, as he said, to live out of debt, and get themselves necessaries.

Whereas the popish prelates under queen Mary, after they became bishops, had divers fat benefices and prebends: they were stored of necessaries of household. After they entered, they had no first-fruits: so that they might do on the first day more than the others could do in seven years. So did the foresaid writer set forth this matter. Nay, he said further, concerning these Marian prelates, that they had so leased out their houses, lands, and parks, that some of the new bishops had scarce a corner of an house to lie in; and divers not so much ground as to graze a goose or a sheep, so that some were compelled to tether their horses in their orchard. And yet had these fathers provided, that if they should have been restored (which they looked for, as many thought) they should have had all their commodities again. But to come again to our matter.

After the church was thus furnished with some protestant bishops, it was necessary to supply it with inferior clergy, for the filling of many parishes that were already and would be vacant; and for providing honest and conscientious men to officiate and preach to the people. Therefore the day next after the ordination of the four first consecrated bishops, was an ordination of priests and deacons, viz. December the 22d. Then Scory, now bishop of Hereford, by order and authority from the archbishop of Canterbury, ordained in the chapel at Lambith eleven deacons, and ten

priests and deacons together, conferring both orders upon the said ten; and one who was deacon before was made priest. These were of several dioceses. And among the rest I observe one whose name was John Hooper, of the diocese of Gloucester; who perhaps might be the late bishop Hooper's son.

January the 7th following, Roland bishop of Bangor, by order and authority from the said archbishop, ordained in Bow church, London, five, giving them deacon's and priest's orders together; and five readers. For the church standing in need now of sober persons to serve in it, the bishops were fain to take many laymen that had little more learning than ability of reading well, and of good lives and conversations; and to ordain them only to read the service and the homilies to the people in the church, till others could be procured. And what order was taken about them by the archbishop, we shall hear by and by.

February the 11th the archbishop commissioned Nicolas bishop of Lincoln, to ordain ten deacons and four priests: which was performed in a certain low chamber within the archbishop's manor at Lambhith.

March the 3d following was another ordination at Lambrith by the archbishop himself.

Then a notification was published of orders to be celebrated, to this tenor:

“Be it known to all Christian people by these presents, that upon Sunday, being the 3d day of March next ensuing, the most reverend father in God, Matthew, by God's sufferance archbishop of Canterbury, in his chapel within his manor of Lambeth, by the grace and help of Almighty God, intendeth to celebrate holy orders of deacon and priesthood generally, to all such as shall be found thereunto apt and meet for their learning and godly conversation; bringing with them sufficient letters testimonial, as well of their virtuous living and honest demeanour in those places where they now dwell, and have dwelled by the space of three years last past; as also other things by the laws in this behalf requisite to be had and shewed. And likewise be it known, that the Thursday and Friday next before the said Sunday, being the 3d of March ensuing, at Lambhith aforesaid, the aforesaid most reverend father in God, and his officers, intend also to set upon the appositions and

examinations of them that shall come to be admitted in the said orders.”

Again, March the 10th, in a certain inner chamber within the manor of the archbishop at Lambhith, called *the chamber of presence*, the archbishop committed to Nicolas bishop of Lincoln the ordination of such as were approved by his examiners. Then were ordained one hundred and twenty deacons, thirty-seven priests, and seven took deacon’s and priest’s orders together.

Again, March the 17th, the same bishop of Lincoln ordained in the chapel at Lambhith seven priests of such as had been ordained March the 10th last past. And more of these ordinations will follow the next year. In this plenty did well-disposed people come and offer themselves to labour in God’s harvest in this newly reformed church; many of whom, I suppose, were such students as remained abroad, and followed their studies in foreign universities, while queen Mary reigned.

Now also injunctions for the ordering of matters of the church and religion were framed and set forth, to the number of fifty-three, called *the queen’s injunctions*, by virtue of her supremacy in causes ecclesiastical as well as civil: which were to be ministered unto her subjects. Which injunctions, printed this year 1559, had this preface.

“That her majesty, by the advice of her honourable council, intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of superstition throughout all her highness’s realms and dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all heresy, enormities, and abuses, as to her duty appertained, did minister to her loving subjects these godly injunctions. All which her *highness* willed and commanded her loving subjects obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep, every man in their offices, degrees, and states, as they would *avoid* her highness’s displeasure, and the pains of the *same* hereafter expressed.” These injunctions may be read in bishop Sparrow’s Collection.

Who the compiler or compilers were, I cannot say assuredly, but I make little doubt they were that select company of divines at Westminster, who had been employed in Sir Thomas Smith’s house in Chanonrow about king Edward’s book, and other church-matters; as Cox, Sandys, Grindal, &c. and most probably Parker among the rest, after his coming up to London.

And to this business of the injunctions I am apt to think Cox had respect in that passage of his letter to the divine at Wormes, “That they were then breaking down the popish hedge, and restoring the lord’s vineyard: and that they were then in the work; but the harvest was great, and the labourers few.” To be sure in these injunctions Sir William Cecyl the secretary had a great hand; who, as his office was, after the copy of them was brought to his hand, reviewed, considered, and worded them according to his discretion; as appeareth by a passage in a letter of archbishop Parker to him, April 11, 1575. “Whatsoever the [queen’s] ecclesiastical prerogative is, I fear it is not so great as your pen hath given it in the injunctions.”

At the end of these injunctions there was an admonition to any such of the clergy as scrupled the form of the oath, which by the late act of parliament was required to be taken by divers persons for the recognition of their allegiance to the queen. For some of the papists, to withdraw and dissuade the inferior ministers from taking that oath, gave out that the kings and queens of the realm, by virtue of the words of the said oath, might challenge authority and power of ministering divine service in the church. Which by this admonition the queen declared the falsehood of:

“That it was never meant, nor by any equity of words or good sense could be thereof gathered. And that she would have all her loving subjects to understand, that nothing was by that oath intended, but only to have the duty and allegiance, that was acknowledged to be due to the noble kings, king Henry and king Edward, and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms, either ecclesiastical or temporal, whatsoever they be. So as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them.”

There was also at the conclusion of these injunctions an order for the tables in the churches, and another for the sacramental bread. And here, before we relate the order for the table, let me first shew what labour was used by the divines aforesaid, (as I suppose,) that assembled and sat for reformation, to persuade the queen to suffer the popish altars to be taken away, and tables to be placed in the room of them: which altars, in many places taken away, the queen had some inclination to have set up again. I have seen their reasons drawn up to be offered to the queen’s majesty’s consideration, *why*

it was not convenient that the communion should be ministered at an altar. Take them *verbatim*, as I found them in an authentic manuscript.

“**First**, The form of a table is most agreeable to Christ’s example, who instituted the sacrament of his body and blood at a table, and not at an altar.

“**Secondly**, The form of an altar was convenient for the Old Testament, to be a figure of Christ’s bloody sacrifice upon the cross: but in the time of the New Testament, *Christ* is not to be sacrificed, but his body and blood *spiritually* to be eaten and drunken in the ministration of the holy supper. For representation whereof, the form of a table is more convenient than an altar.

“**Thirdly**, The Holy Ghost in the New Testament, speaking of the Lord’s supper, doth make mention of a table, I Cor. 10, *mensa Domini*, *i.e.* the table of the Lord: but in no place nameth it an altar.

“**Fourthly**, The old writers do use also the name of a table: for Augustine oftentimes calleth it *mensam Domini*, *i.e.* the Lord’s table. And in the canons of the Nicene council it is divers times called *divina mensa*. And Chrysostom saith, *Baptismus unus est, et mensa una, i.e.* There is one baptism, and one table. And although the same writers do sometimes term it an altar, yet are they *to* be expounded to speak *abusive et improprie*. For like as they expound themselves, when they term the Lord’s supper a sacrifice, that they mean by this word *sacrificium*, *i.e.* a sacrifice, *recordationem sacrificii*, *i.e.* the remembrance of a sacrifice; or *similitudinem sacrificii*, *i.e.* the likeness of a sacrifice, and not properly a sacrifice: so the same reason enforceth us to think, that when they term it an altar, they mean a representation or remembrance of the altar of the cross; and not of the form of a material altar of stone. And when they name it a table, they express the form then commonly in the church used according to Christ’s example.

“**Fifthly**, Furthermore, an altar hath relation to a sacrifice: for they be *correlativa*. So that of necessity, if we allow an altar, we must grant a sacrifice: like as if there be a father, there is also a son; and if there be a master, there is also a servant. Whereupon divers of the learned adversaries themselves have spoken of late, that there is no reason to take away the sacrifice of the mass, and to leave the altar standing; seeing the one was ordained for the other.

“**Sixthly**, Moreover, if the communion be ministered at an altar, the godly prayers, &c. spoken by the minister cannot be heard of the people; especially in great churches. And so the people should receive no fruit of this part of English service. For it was all one to be in Latin and to be in English, not heard nor understood of the people.

“And admitting that it were a thing which in some time might be tolerated, yet at this time the continuance of altars would bring marvellous inconveniences.

“**First**, The adversaries will object unto us (as they have accustomed) inconstancy, in that the order established by king Edward of famous memory, with the assent of so many learned men, is now again reversed and altered.

“**Secondly**, Moreover, the most part, or almost all the preachers of this realm, which do heartily favour this your majesty’s reformation in religion, have oftentimes in their several sermons (and that upon the ground of God’s word before rehearsed, and other) spoken and preached against *altars*, both in king Edward’s days and sithence; and therefore cannot with good conscience, and without confession of a fault committed before, speak now in defence of them. For, as St. Paul saith, *Si quae destruxi ea rursum aedifico, transgressorem meipsum constituo*; i.e. If I build up again those things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.

“**Thirdly**, Furthermore, whereas your majesty’s principal purpose is utterly to abolish all the errors and abuses used about the Lord’s supper, especially to root out the popish mass, and all superstitious opinions concerning the same, the altar is a means to work the contrary, as appeareth manifestly by experience. For in all places the mass-priests (which declare by evident signs that they conform themselves to the order received, not for conscience, but for their bellies’ sake) are most glad of the hope of retaining the altar, &c.: meaning thereby to make the communion as like a mass as they can, and so to continue the simple in their former errors.

“**Fourthly**, And on the other side, the consciences of many thousands, which from their hearts embrace the gospel, and do most earnestly pray to God for your grace, shall be wounded, by continuance of altars; and great numbers will abstain from receiving the communion at an altar:

which in the end may grow to occasion of great schism and division among the people. And the rather, because that in a great number of places altars are removed, and a table set up already, according to the rites of the book now published.

“**Fifthly**, And whereas her majesty hath hitherto declared herself very loath to break ecclesiastical laws established by parliament, till they were repealed by like authority, it will be much mused at, if any commandment should come forth now for the reedification of altars, seeing there be special words in the Book of Service allowed by parliament, and having force of a law, for the placing and using of a table at the ministration of the communion. Which special words cannot be taken away by general terms.

“**Sixthly**, Moreover, the altars are none of those things which were established by act of parliament in the second year of king Edward, of famous memory. For Dr. Ridley, late bishop of London, procured taking down of altars in his diocese about the third year of the said king; and defendeth his doings by the king’s first book, set forth anno 2d Edw. VI. And immediately after, the king’s majesty and his council gave a general command throughout the whole realm to do the like before the second book was made. And Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, was committed to prison, because he would not obey the said order. Which thing they would not have done, if altars had been established by authority of the said parliament.

“**Seventhly**, It may please your grace also to call to remembrance, that the greatest learned men of the world, as Bucer, OEcolampadius, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Calvin, Martyr, Joannes a Laseo, Hedio, Capito, and many more, have in their reformed churches in Sabandia, Helvetia, Basil, Geneva, Argentine, Wormes, Frankford, and other places, always taken away the altars; only Luther and his churches have retained them. In the which churches be some other more imperfections; as gilding of images, the service of the church half Latin, half Dutch, and elevation of the sacrament of the altar. All which things Melancthon, when he is called to counsel for a *reformation* to be had in other places, doth utterly remove. And in Saxony they are tolerated hitherto only because of Luther’s fame; but are thought that they will not long continue, being so much misliked of the best learned.

“**Eighthly**, It may also please your majesty to join hereunto the judgment of the learned and godly martyrs of this realm, who of late have given their lives for the testimony of the truth; as of Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who protested in writing, (whereupon he was *first* apprehended,) that the order appointed by the last book of king Edward was most agreeable to the scriptures, and the use of the primitive church. And also of Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, who travailed especially in this matter of altars; and put certain reasons of his doing in print; which remain to this day: of Mr. Latimer, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Bradford, and all the rest, who to the end *did* stand in defence of that book. So that by reedifying of altars, we shall also seem to join with the adversaries that burnt those good men, in condemning some part of their doctrine.

“*And* last of all, it may please your majesty to tender the consent of your preachers and learned men, as now do remain alive, and do earnestly, and of conscience, and not for livings’ sake, desire a godly *reformation*: which if they were required to utter their minds, or thought it necessary *to* make petition to your grace, would with one mind and *one* mouth (as may be reasonably gathered) be most humble suitors to your majesty; that they might not be enforced to return unto such ordinances and devices of men, not commanded in God’s word: being also once abrogated, and known by experience to be things hurtful, and only serving either to nourish the superstitious *opinion* of the propitiatory mass in the minds of the simple, or else to minister an occasion of offence and division among the godly minded.”

From this notable paper of address to the queen, she yielded to the taking away the altars, as by the effect it appeared. For the order for the table in the aforesaid Injunctions was added upon occasion of the removal of the altars in many churches, and tables placed in their rooms; though in other places they were not yet removed, upon opinion of some order to be taken therein by the visitors. The order therefore was,

“That no altar should be taken down but by the oversight of the curate and churchwardens, or one of them at the least, and without any Hot or disorder. And that the table be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood; and so to stand, but when the communion should be celebrated. And then it should be so placed

within the chancel, as the minister might more conveniently be heard of the communicants, and the communicants in more conveniency and number communicate with the minister." Thus much for the holy table.

The order for the bread was,

"That whereas the sacramental bread in the time of king Edward used to be common fine bread, now, for the giving the more reverence to the holy mysteries, this bread was to be made and formed plain, without any figure impressed on it," [as the popish wafer had the figure of the crucifix,] "and to be of the same fineness and round fashion, but somewhat bigger, as was the usual bread or wafer, heretofore named singing-cakes, which served for the use of the private mass."

This order for the table and the bread was occasioned from the variety used in both, for some time, until these Injunctions came forth. For indeed in the beginning of the queens reign the protestants were much divided in their opinion and practice about them; which was the cause of some disturbance. And the papists made their advantage of it; laying to the charge of the protestants their mutability and inconstancy. Thus did Thomas Dorman, in his book called *Proof*. "This day your table is placed in the midst of the quire; the next day removed into the body of the church; at the third time placed in the chancel again after *the* manner of an altar," [that *is*, upon the coming forth of this beforementioned order,] "but yet removable as there is a communion to be had. Then, your minister's face one while to be turned toward the south, and another while toward the north; that the weathercock in the steeple was noted not to have turned so often in a quarter of a year, as your minister in the church in less than one month. And at your communion, one while decreeing, that it be ministered in common and leavened bread; by and by revoking that, and bringing it to unleavened."

There was also now, beside these Injunctions, a book of Articles prepared, to the number of fifty-six, to be inquired of in the queen's visitation, which was held this year, pursuant to her Injunctions. These Articles were reprinted anno 1600; and again in Sparrow's Collections, 1671; and in Rogers's *Catholic Doctrine*. From them we may learn somewhat of the state of the church and the churchmen in these days: as, that the religious service now commonly performed in the church, (before June 24, when the

new book commenced,) was, the singing of the old popish prayers, and the litany or general supplication, and repeating the epistle and gospel in English. And besides these, on holydays the curate went up into the pulpit, and recited openly the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English; and sermons preached rarely. That there were many of the parsons, vicars, and curates carelessly absented themselves from their cures, and left them supplied by rude and unlearned persons. That many of them discouraged their parishioners from reading the Bible either in Latin or English. They haunted taverns and alehouses, and gave themselves to drinking, rioting, and playing at unlawful games. They would extol vain and superstitious religion; as pilgrimages, relics and images, lighting of candles, kissing and kneeling to, and decking the same. They would counsel their parishioners to pray in a tongue unknown, rather than in English, and to trust in a certain number of prayers, and in saying over a number of beads. Many of them bought their benefices, and came into them by fraud and deceit. And as to the laity, many of them were open adulterers, and some had two wives living within the same parish. Many were letters or hinderers of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, and in the time of litany, or of sermon or homily, or while the scriptures were reading in English, would depart out of the church, and sometimes disturb the ministers, and sometimes contemn and abuse them; and sometimes jangle and talk in the church in the time of prayer, or reading and declaring of the scriptures: and sometimes, to avoid the hearing of God's word read by their own minister, they would resort to other churches. And some procured minstrels, to sing or say songs in derision of godly order set forth; some kept in their houses images, tables, pictures, and paintings, and other monuments of feigned and false miracles, (many of which had been set up in churches, and taken thence,) and did adore them. Many did use enchantments, invocations, circles, witchcraft, soothsaying; and especially in the time of women's travails.

Besides, by some of these articles of inquiry it appeared what diligence was used to get a true understanding of the late persecution under queen Mary; what wrongs were done, what blood was shed, and who were the persecutors. To this purpose tended the 46th, 47th, 48th, and 49th articles; the substance whereof was,

“What books of the scriptures were delivered to be burnt, or otherwise destroyed, and to whom they were delivered. What bribes the accusers, promoters, persecutors, and ecclesiastical

judges, and other *the* commissioners appointed within the several dioceses of the realm, received by themselves or others, from such persons as were in trouble, apprehended or imprisoned for religion. Also what goods, lands, fees, offices, or promotions, were wrongfully taken away, in those times of queen Mary, from any person which favoured the religion. How many persons for religion had died by fire, famine, or otherwise, or had been imprisoned for the same." And there was an injunction among the queen's Injunctions to this import, viz. Injunct. 45," That the ordinaries should exhibit to the visitors their books, for a true copy to be taken of the same, containing the causes why any person was imprisoned, famished, or put to death for religion."

This book of Articles, when first printed, was entitled, *Articles to be enquired in the visitation, in the fyrste yeare of the raygne of our moost drad soveraygne lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, quene, defender of the fayth, &c. anno 1559.* At the end of the Articles it is said to be *imprinted at London in Poules Churchyarde, by Rich. Jugge and John Cawoode, printers to the quene's majestie. Anno M.D. LIX.*

Joined to this book of Articles was another little book, entitled *Interrogatories.* At the end is set the printer's name, viz. *Imprynted at London in Foster-lane by Jhon Waley.* These were inquiries of some ordinary at his visitation, instituted soon after the year the Articles aforegoing were set forth. And what they were, see in the Appendix.

The Injunctions and book of Articles being thus finished, the queen set on foot her royal visitation throughout England, touched before; and divers commissions were issued out from her unto divers persons: some to visit some dioceses, and some to visit others. And all these were to deliver the Injunctions, and to make inquisition upon the Articles abovesaid, and to minister the oath of recognition, and to enjoin the use of the new book of service, which was to commence and come in force at the festival of John the Baptist, i.e. June 24. One of these commissions the bishop of Sarum met with, and published in his History; which was for the visitation of the cathedral churches, cities, and dioceses of York, Durham, Chester, and Carlisle, and bore, date at Westminster June 24. And among the rest of the matters committed to them to do, one was to examine such as were imprisoned and in bonds for religion, though they had been condemned

before; and the causes of their imprisonment and condemnation first known, and fully discussed, to deliver such out of prison, and set them at liberty, justice requiring it so to be done. Other business incumbent on these commissioners to do, was to examine the causes of deprivations of ministers from their livings, and to restore such as were deprived contrary to the statutes and ordinances of this realm, or the order of the ecclesiastical law: which, I suppose, was in favour of such who were deprived of their preferments and benefices for being married, or favouring the gospel. These commissioners were Francis earl of Shrewsbury, president of the council in the north, Edward earl of Darby, Thomas earl of Northumberland, lord warden of the east and middle marches, Thomas lord Evers, Henry Percy, Thomas Gargrave, James Crofts, Henry Gates, knts. Edwin Sandys, D.D. Henry Harvey, LL. D. Richard Bowes, George Brown, Christopher Escot, and Richard Kingsmel, esqrs. This commission I saw in the queens Paperhouse, bound up in a volume in folio, containing all the inquisitions and matters done and found in this large northern visitation. It began at St. Mary, Nottingham, August the 22d, 1559, *die Martis*. The visitors took the complaints of many clergymen that had been turned out of their livings under queen Mary, for being married, whom they restored. And among the rest was one remarkable known learned man, and an exile, namely, Robert Wisdom; who brought a complaint against one Thorneton, for coming into his benefice, viz. the church of Settington, in the county of York. The presentments were most frequent (almost in every parish) about fornication, and keeping other women besides their wives, and for having bastard children.

These visitors of the northern parts came to Aukland; where they sent for the clergy of that diocese to appear before them; and among other things gave them a declaration to subscribe. Dr. Sandys, one of the visitors, preached. They sent to Bernard Gilpin, of the bishopric of Durham, and required him to preach at Durham; and gave him his subject, which was against the *primacy* [of the pope.] Because the oath of supremacy being to be required of all the clergy, they might be the better prepared to take it. Sandys himself had preached the day before; and his subject was a suitable subject too, viz. against the *real presence* in the sacrament. But he so handled this argument, that he seemed to deny utterly any real presence: which so offended Gilpin, and many others, no doubt, (who were used to the contrary doctrine,) that he could not sleep all the next night, as he declared himself.

The next day after Gilpin had preached, all the ministers of that diocese were met to subscribe; and he, as a leading man, was called first. But there was a point or two of the Articles, wherein his conscience was not so well resolved; which made him willing to have forborne. But he straightway thus thought with himself, that his greatest confidence was reposed in this religion; because it gave glory to God, and authority to the word of God, for rooting out of superstition and human doctrine: and his heart only doubting in certain points of smaller consequence, which God, he hoped, in time would reveal unto him. He considered further, that if he should refuse, he should be a means to make many others refuse; and so consequently hinder the course of the word of God. Therefore on these Christian and prudential rules he came to a resolution, and subscribed. But the night following, he sent to Dr. Sandys his protestation touching those two points that troubled him; and the doctor being nothing offended, took his protestation very courteously. And then his curate also, who had made some stop too, subscribed.

But it happened that the day after, the curate fell sick; and while Gilpin went along with the visitors to Kendal and Lancaster, he died before his return, having not been sick a whole week. This gave occasion to some disaffected, to suppose that his subscription had killed him. But others said, that his sickness proceeded from excessive drinking. In process of time Gilpin grew more and more strengthened and resolved.

I find also the visitations were commonly committed to the lords lieutenants of the divers shires within the said dioceses, and certain other gentlemen of quality known in those parts; and also to some divines, and other professors of the civil and common laws.

The commissioners appointed by the queen to visit the dioceses of Oxford, Lincoln, Peterborough, Coventry and Litchfield, were William marquis of Northampton, the earl of Rutland, the earl of Huntington, besides divers other nobles; sir Will. Cecyl, sir Ambrose Cave, and divers other knights and esquires; Tho. Bentham, Alex. Nowel, S. Theol. PP. William Fleetwood, a lawyer, and Stephen Nevynson, LL. D. Their commission was dated July the 22d, 1559.

The commissioners appointed to visit the dioceses of Landaff, St. David's, Bangor, St. Asaph, Hereford, Wigorn, were John lord Williams, president of the council within the principality of Wales, and divers others of the laity; of the clergy were Richard Davids, S. Th. P. Tho. Yong, Roland

Meyrick, LL. PP. and Rich. Pates, lawyer. The commission dated July the 18th, 1559.

The commissioners for visiting Sarum, Bristol, Exon, Bath and Wells, and Gloucester dioceses, were William earl of Pembroke, &c. John Jewel, S. Th. P. Henry Parry, licentiate in laws, and Will. Lovelace, lawyer. The commission dated July 19, 1559.

The commissioners for the dioceses of Norwich and Ely, were Nic. lord Bacon, lord keeper, Thomas duke of Norfolk, &c. Rafe Sadleir, Anthony Cook, Thomas Wroth, Thomas Smith, &c. knts. Robert Horne, S. Th. P. Thomas Huick, LL. D. and John Salvyn, lawyer, not Savage, as is erroneously writ in Holinshed. The commission dated Aug. 21, 1559.

There were commissioners appointed likewise to visit Eaton college, and the university of Cambridge, and to take their oath of allegiance to the queen, and of her supremacy. These were sir Will. Cecyl, chancellor of the said university, Matthew Parker, S. Th. P. Will. Bill, S. Th. P. and the queen's great almoner, Walter Haddoll, esq. master of the requests, Will. May, LL. D. and dean of St. Paul's, Tho. Wendy, esq. physician to the queen, Rob. Horne, S. Th. P. and James Pilkinton, S. Th. P. This commission bore date at Westminster the 20th of June, in the first year of the queen.

To rehearse a few things concerning the visitation in London. The visitors sat at several times, and adjourned themselves according to their discretion. Here the popish bishops and clergy in the prisons and parts in and about London and Southwark were summoned before them; and received, as it seems, their sentences of deprivation from them; as was in part related before. The first time I meet with the queen's visitors in London was June the 18th, when they sat at the bishop of London's palace; and Dr. Boxal, bishop Bourne; and some others were sent to the Tower. Other days of their sessions were June the 21st; and the 25th at sheriff Hawes in Mincinglane; and the 29th; and July the 5th at Winchester-place; and August the 11th, at St. Paul's, when Dr. Horne and the other visitors sat upon Dr. Harspfield, archdeacon of London, and divers other members of that church, to tender them the oath. August 21, they sat at St. Bride's, where two churchwardens and two more were sworn to bring in an inventory of that church. The 22d, they sat at St. Lawrence, Jury. The 23d, at St. Michael's, Cornhill. October 23d, they sat again at St. Paul's; when

Harfsfield and divers other prebendaries and vicars of that church were deposed.

But a true copy at large, taken from the original register of this visitation at St. Paul's, follows: *Visitatio illustrissimae in Christo principis et dominae nostrae dominae Elizabethae Dei gra. Angliae, &c. Pervenerabiles viros, magistros Robertum Horne, sacrae theologiae professorem, Tho. Huyche, legum doctorem, et Johannem Salvyn, juris peritum, commissarios, &c.* Commissaries general of the same most illustrious. To visit, as well *in capite* as *in membris*, the cathedral churches of the cities and dioceses of London, Norwich, and Ely; and the clergy and people dwelling or abiding therein; by the supreme authority lawfully constituted and confirmed. Begun and celebrated in the chapter-house of the cathedral church of St. Paul's, London, the 11th day of August, and in the first year of the said queen.

Aug. 11, these three visitors came into the church of St. Paul in order to visit. And first, the prayer, that is, the English litany, was said. Then Mr. Horne then and there preached, sincerely and learnedly, the word of God, a great multitude gathered together, and expounded; taking it for his subject, *Who is then that faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath set over his household, to give them their meat in due season?* Matth. 24: This sermon done, the venerable commissaries went to the chapter-house of the said cathedral, and there sat judicially. The queen's letters commissional, signed by her own hand and seal, were read by Peter Lylly, principal register of the queen in that behalf. And the said commissioners, for the honour and reverence of so illustrious a queen, took on them the burden of the execution of the same. John Incent, notary public on the part of the dean and chapter of the said church, produced an original mandate, together with certain names and surnames of all and singular of the said church cited; and they were called: but very few appeared. The absent were pronounced to incur the pain of *contumacy*.

Then the articles of inquisition were publicly read: and then the commissaries nominated and deputed the masters, Saxy, Whitebroke, Sebastian, Westcote, Wakelyn, Robert Saye, for inquisitors; for declaring and relating all and singular matters as well upon the said articles, as other matters worthy reformation in the said church. And they delivered them the Articles, and gave them a corporal oath to speak and declare the truth,

touching the holy gospels: and admonishing the inquisitors to exhibit in writing the next day a full and faithful answer to those articles.

Then, that is to say the next day, in the same place, Mr. John Harpsfield exhibited a certain book of statutes, and of divers ordinances of the church, and a certain final instrument sealed, viz. of agreement betwixt the dean and chapter: which the said commissioners received, and committed to the register; and ifsigned him a further term to exhibit before them the original foundation of the said church tomorrow in this place, and also a full and faithful inventory of all and singular the jewels, ornaments, and whatsoever books, belonging to the said church, in the parochial church of Cornhill, of the city of London; to be held there in the eve of St. Bartholomew next.

And offering to them, viz. John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and Nic. Harpsfield, prebendary, and John Wilierton, as well the book of the queen's Injunctions, with admonition inviolably to observe them, and to take care they were observed by other ministers of the said church; as also the book of religion received, to subscribe the same. The same John and Nic. Harpsfield and J. Willerton did altogether refuse those Injunctions, or to subscribe to the said religion; protesting nevertheless, that they refused them *animis non maliciosis aut obstinatis, sed ex ea tantum causa, quod conscientiiis non salvis ad hunc [adhuc] in ea parte non plene instructis in receptionem Injunctionum, aut subscriptionem religionis, &c. consentire non potuerunt*: i.e. not with malicious or obstinate minds; but for this cause only, that they could not consent, their consciences not safe, nor as yet fully instructed for the receiving the injunctions, or for subscribing to the religion, &c.

The visitors also enjoined them, that they should take care, that the cathedral church should be purged and freed from all and singular their images, idols, and altars: *et in loco ipsorum altarium ad providend, mensam decentem in ecclesia pro celebratione caenae Domini ordinaria*; i.e. and in the place of those altars, to provide a decent table in the church, for the ordinary celebration of the Lord's supper. And present this notice as soon as possibly might be. The said Harpsfield, Harpsfield, and Wilierton refused, under the protestation before mentioned.

Whereupon the commissaries delivered the queen's Injunctions to Mr. Saxy and Mr. Whitebroke, firmly enjoining them, (who humbly received them;) and gave them in commandment, with other ministers of the said church, to abolish all the images, idols, &c. as above: which they took

upon them to perform speedily, and to do other things, &c. And finally, offering them the book of religion received, to subscribe, the said Saxy, Whitebroke, together with John Watson, with others, subscribed the said book of religion. One Sebastian Westcote, master of the choristers, being required thereunto, refused; making the same protestation as Harpsfield, &c. before.

Lastly, the commissaries, by reason of the manifest contumacies of Harpsfield, Harpsfield, and Wilierton, (refusing to receive the Injunctions, and to subscribe to the religion,) bound them in penalty of 200*l.* to the queen in their respective recognisances, as in their recognisances more fully appears.

Then they continued their visitation to the next day, in the same place, between the hours of one and three after *Sabbati*, 12 Aug. in the chapter-house aforesaid, Mr. Will. Saxy, with others, appeared; and exhibited the original foundation of the said cathedral church of St. Paul: which, ere they looked over, they decreed to be delivered back again; and saving to themselves a power of examining again those instruments, if it were found needful.

Then Saxy and the others that were sworn brought in their answers to the articles of inquiry; and the commissioners received them. Then they ministered their Injunctions in writing, and delivered them to Saxy, humbly receiving them, as well in his own name, as in the name of the dean and chapter, and the rest of the ministers of the church: commanding and firmly enjoining him to observe those Injunctions as much as in him lay; and that he should procure them to be observed, as was fit. And they further enjoined and gave in command, that none in the said cathedral church henceforth use *aliquibus coronis rasis, amisiis ant vestibus, vocat. le coopes*; i.e. any shaven crowns, amices, or clothes, called copes; under penalty. And then those that had been summoned in this visitation, and not appearing, they pronounced *contumacious*, and incurring penalties: and for penalty of their contumacies they decreed their fruits, rents, incomes, &c. of their promotions ecclesiastical, to be respectively sequestered, until they thought fit to release them, or otherwise.

And lastly, they required all and singular that had been cited, to appear before them in that place the 12th day of October next; to do and receive further such things, as to the visitors should be thought good to exact and require. And the contumacious then to give reasonable and lawful cause,

(the contumacy increasing more,) why the commissioners should not proceed *ad graviora*, i.e. to some heavier courses against them and every of them; and to *deprive* them respectively of their canonical dignities, &c. And so the commissioners continued their royal visitation to the 12th of October.

November the 3d, the commissioners sat at St. Paul's again. [For I find nothing in this instrument of their meeting October 12, so I suppose it was adjourned.] Then they decreed to proceed further concerning the matters formerly done.

Then preconization being made of all and singular persons cited, Mr. Thomas Darbishire personally appeared: and being required by the judges [meaning the commissioners] to subscribe the articles of religion received, (to which hitherto he had refused to subscribe,) he desired a further time to be appointed him, for better information of his soul in that behalf. Whereupon *domini*, i.e. the lords, [meaning the commissioners,] assigned to him to appear before the commissioners residing at London on Wednesday next; and then to hear their wills upon the same.

Then further cry being made, Tho. Millet appeared, and exhibited a proxy in writing for one John Standish, archdeacon of Colchester; and alleged that the same, his master, personally had appeared before that honourable man, the commissary of the queen in the parts of Yorkshire, and had subscribed to the articles of religion received, as by the acts under the hand of the register in those parts appeared. Yet because he satisfied not in other things to be objected to him, according as was required by the tenor of the monitions, they decreed him *contumacious*; reserving his punishment to a certain day.

Then Richard Marshal, prebendary de Medston, Will. Murmere, John Murren, John Stopes, not appearing, and not satisfying the royal visitation, they pronounced them *contumacious*, and deprived them of their prebends by sentence definitive.

Upon a further preconization made of Edmund Stubbes, Christopher Hawks, and Tho. Wynyver, minor canons, being cited to appear on this day, and long expected, and not appearing, they were pronounced *contumacious*: and for punishment of their contumacy deprived by sentence definitive.

Sebastian Westcote personally appeared; and being required to subscribe to the religion received, as he had been otherwise required by the commissioners, desired a further delay or deliberation to be appointed him; and they of their abundant graces granted him to the next sitting.

Another cry made for those that were cited, and appeared not, nor duly satisfied the visitation: them they pronounced *contumacious*, and to incur the penalty; referring it to their next meeting, next Monday.

The same day, viz. the 3d of November, 1559, a preconization was made of all and singular rectors, vicars, and curates or chaplains, not duly appearing in the royal visitation, exercised and celebrated within the city and diocese of London, nor undergoing the said visitation; the punishment of whose contumacy respectively was reserved to that day, and none of them appearing to undergo it, nor to satisfy the said visitation, the commissioners pronounced them and all of them *contumacious*; the punishment reserved to Monday next, *ad quindenam*: and then, if they appeared not, them and every one of them to be declared [*deprived*.]

That which was further done in this visitation in London was the pulling down and demolishing the roods, and taking away other things used for superstition in the churches. August the 15th, the roods in St. Paul's were pulled down, and the high altar, and other things pertaining, spoiled. The 24th day, being St. Bartholomew's day, in Cheapside, against Ironmonger-lane and St. Thomas of Acres, as the lord mayor came home from Smithfield that fair-day, and from the accustomed sports and wrestlings in Clerkenwell, were two great fires made of roods and images of Mary and John and other saints, where they were burnt with great wonder of the people. The 25th day, at St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, the rood and the images of Mary and John, and of the patron of that church, were burnt, with books of superstition: where at the same time a preacher standing within the church wall made a sermon; and while he was preaching, the books were thrown into the fire. They then also took away a cross of wood that stood in the churchyard. Sept. 16, at St. Magnus, at the corner of Fish-street, the rood, and Mary, and John were burnt, and several other things of superstition belonging to that church. This visitation did much good, and brought forward the religion very considerably throughout the nation. And of the clergy, (i.e. bishops, abbots, heads of colleges, prebendaries, and rectors,) the commissioners brought in but one hundred and eighty-nine, throughout the whole nation, that refused compliance. In this visitation it

was, that all the beneficed clergymen were required to make a subscription with their hands to what the parliament, anno 1558, had enacted, concerning restoring the supremacy to the queen, and the book of divine service, to be according to the word of God: and that was done in this form, as I found it in the MS. library at the palace in Lambhith.

“We do confess and acknowledge, the restoration again of the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and temporal of this realm of England, and abolishing of all foreign power repugnant to the same, according to an act thereof made in the last parliament, begun at Westminster, January the 23d, in the first year of our sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, and there continuing and kept to the 8th day of May then next ensuing; the administration of the sacraments, the use and order of the divine service, in manner and form as it is set forth in a book commonly called *The Book of Common Prayer*, &c. established by the same act; and the orders and rules contained in the Injunctions given by the queen’s majesty, and exhibited in this present visitation, to be according to the true word of God, and agreeable with the doctrine and use of the primitive and apostolic church. In witness whereof hereunto we have subscribed our names.”

This was writ at the top of a long scroll of parchment, with the names of the subscribing clergy, and their respective livings underwritten by themselves.

Several learned and dignified papists relenting, made their submissions and acknowledgments by their subscriptions before these visitors. Among which I met with this of Robert Raynolds, who before had been an opposer of the queen’s proceedings; which ran in these words:

“I, Robert Raynolds, clerk, do in my most humble ways desire the queen’s most excellent majesty to take these my *former* doings not to be of disobedience or contempt, but of the persuading and leading of my poor and simple conscience: and yet do I in the like humble manner require and ask her most gracious pardon and remission for the same. And I shall be most willing to embrace, advance, and set forth all such good and godly laws and ordinances as be made and provided by her high court of parliament. And will from henceforth be ready, with all obedience, to take and receive the oath of me required; and will use the service of the church,

which is by the said laws provided, as to me shall appertain. For the testimony whereof I have made this my humble submission, and thereunto set my hand the 16th of August, 1559.

“Robert Raynold.”

This Robert, it is like, was a brother or relation of Thomas, head of Merton college and dean of Exon, or of Hierom, William, and John Raynolds, eminent men of Oxford about this time, and several of them zealous of popery.

CHAPTER 13.

Ecclesiastical habits and other matters scrupled. P. Martyr applied to for his judgment thereof. The roods and crucifixes in churches. A crucifix in the queen's chapel. The bishop of Ely excuseth his ministering in the chapel by reason thereof. Ceremonies established. Complying popish priests. Readers. Some hinderers of the reformation. A slackness in discipline. Preaching useful.

NOW let us take up some other matters before we pass to the next year. One of the new made bishops, whose name occurs not, (but one of the exiles, I make no doubt,) being nominated and elected, scrupled the habits and the cap so far, that he was in doubt of accepting the preferment: but for the better satisfying of himself, he wrote a letter, dated Aug. 27, to Peter Martyr, then at Zurick, for his advice and judgment what he should do. To whom also the same divine wrote two other letters, in the months of October and December, upon the same inquiry. The sum of Martyr's reply to his first letter was,

*"That indeed when himself was at Oxon, and a canon of Christ-church there, he never wore the surplice in the choir: but his reason for it was, not that it was unlawful in itself, but because, if he had done it, he should, being such a public professor, seem to have confirmed that which his conscience approved not of. But as to the round cap and garments, to be worn *extra sacra*, he thought there ought not to be much contention: for superstition seemed not properly to have any place there. But of garments, as holy, to be used in the ministry, when they carry the resemblance of the mass, and are mere relics of popery, of these, he said, it was Bullinger's opinion that they were not to be used, lest by his example that should wear them, things that were scandalous might be confirmed."*

But P. Martyr himself told this English divine that writ to him,

"that his judgment was something differing from that of Bullinger; namely, that though he was always averse to the use of these ornaments, yet because he saw the present danger, lest they that

refused them might be deprived of the liberty of preaching; and because haply, as altars and images were taken away, so these appurtenances of the mass might in time be taken away also, if he [whom he now wrote to] and others that had taken bishoprics would be intent upon it; (which matter perhaps might not so well proceed, if another should succeed in his place, who would not only not care that those relics might be abolished, but rather would defend and cherish them;) therefore, to keep out papists and Lutherans, as he said, he was not so forward to persuade him rather to forego the bishopric than to use the garments. But because he saw scandals of that sort were by all means to be avoided, therefore he easily gave his consent to that opinion.”

In another letter he tells the same divine,

“That he thought it not worth much disputing of the square cap, and the external garments of bishops, when it was without superstition, and might have a civil reason for it, in this kingdom especially. He wished all things might be most simply performed: but that if peace might be obtained between the Saxon churches and theirs, [of Helvetia,] there should be no separation for such kind of garments: for *although we should not at all approve them, yet we would bear them*. Therefore you may,” said he, “use those garments either in preaching or administering the Lord’s supper; yet so as to speak and teach against the superstitious use of them. And finally, he advised him not to withdraw himself from the ministerial function, because of the great need of ministers: whence if he, and such as he, who were, as it were, pillars, should decline to take ecclesiastical offices on them, they would give way to wolves and antichrists.”

But beside the habits, this divine (whether it were Grindal, or Parkhurst, or some one else) had made his observation of other things which he disliked in that degree, as to doubt the taking of the episcopal office upon him, lest in so doing he might seem to approve, and uphold, and countenance those things. And they were these:

I. The spoils of the church, and impropriations. And he and others apprehended, that the queen intended to take away the whole revenue of bishoprics and parish ministers, and settle what livelihood and stipend she thought convenient upon them.

II. The immunity of those that were papistical persecutors, or such as had turned from protestants to be papists. The good man did judge, that such ought not to have an indemnity granted them, but to be imprisoned, or enjoined penance, or the like.

III. The enjoining unleavened bread to be used in the sacrament.

IV. The processions in Rogation-week; which seemed to have been derived from the processions of the heathen, and the superstitions attending thereon.

V. The image of the crucifix on the communion-table in the administration of the supper.

VI. There were thoughts now of receiving the Augastan Confession; the better to join in league with the German protestants.

Of these two last scruples I have something further to observe. As to the Augastan Confession, and how willing many were here to entertain it, Bullinger wrote thus to Utenhovius, a learned man, that had lived in England in king Edward's reign, an assistant to John a Lasco in the German church in London, but now with him in Poland:

“I see,” said he, “no small disturbances like to rise in England also, if the Augastan Confession be received, which some would have; a thing very unworthy in many regards. This gives vexation to all the purer churches, and would infect them all with its leaven. I pray God restrain men otherwise pious, but sufficiently troublesome to godly men and the purer religion. And you know what was done in Poland. Beware, and lay to your helping hand, that it be not received. King Edward's reformation satisfieth the godly.”

Concerning the use of the crucifix to be still retained in the churches, the divine before mentioned was so offended at it, (and such offence was taken at it by many more,) that in his letter to Dr. Martyr, he desired him and Bullinger and Bernardin [Ochin] to write to the queen against it. But Martyr excused himself by reason of his great business. Yet, as he said, he had wrote already certain public letters into England. But his own judgment was, that he could never approve of having the image of the crucifix upon the table in preaching or administration of the sacrament.

The queen indeed being used to these things, that *is*, crosses and saints' images in churches, where she and her nobles that resorted thither used to give honour to them, had them at first in her own chapel. But she seemed to have laid them aside, and that upon the earnest addresses that were made to her by her bishops, that in her Injunctions it might be enjoined, that all images should be removed out of the churches; wherein they did prevail. But it seems not long after the queen resumed burning lights and the image of the crucifix again upon the altar in her oratory. For March 24, Barlow, formerly bishop of St. David's, in Lent time preached at court, in his chimer and rochet: *when* the cross stood on the altar, and two candlesticks and two tapers burning." Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury performed his part, by applying himself honestly to the queen, for divers reasons to remove them. And so much these furnitures of her chapel disgusted some good men, that one of her chief bishops, (*viz.* Cox, bishop of Ely,) being appointed to minister the sacrament before her there, made it a matter of conscience to do it in a place which he thought so dishonoured by images; and could scarce be brought to officiate there, denying it a great while; and when he did it, it was with a trembling conscience, as he said. And to plead for himself, and to give his humble advice to the queen, he wrote her a letter in a most submissive manner; acquainting her both with his conscience, that would not a great while permit him to minister in her chapel, namely, because the lights and cross remained; though he believed she meant not the use to any evil end; and likewise shewing the reasons moving him herein: which letter and reasons I cast into the Appendix.

I add here, that not long from the beginning of the queen's entrance upon her government, crucifixes were so distasteful to the people, that they brought many of them into Smithfield, and there broke them to pieces and burnt them; as it were to make atonement for the many holy men and women that were not long before roasted to death there. By Which it did plainly appear, that however queen Mary by a strong hand had brought in the Roman religion again, yet the people's minds were generally prejudiced against it, and the superstitions thereof: and they shewed it openly, as soon as they might safely do so. And this was no more than was ordered to be done by the queen's visitors and by her injunctions: which was executed about Bartholomew tide, when, in Paul's churchyard and Cheapside, as well as Smithfield, the roods (as they called the crosses) were burnt to ashes, and, together with them, in some places, copes also, vestments,

altar-cloths, books, banners, sepulchres, and such like occasions of superstition in churches, as was mentioned before.

But this violence, especially exercised towards crosses and crucifixes, gave great disgust to zealous papists. And for this very thing some of that sort, that were then abroad in foreign parts about their business, chose rather to tarry abroad than to return home. Sir Rich. Shelly, who was now titular lord prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, (and superior of that new priory founded by queen Mary, near St. John's-street, London,) being at Antwerp, to recover a debt, and so to return home, because he had promised all obedience and allegiance to queen Elizabeth, altered his purpose, and resolved to stay abroad; hearing what work was made with the crosses in England. And of this occasion of his not coming home, he remembered the lord Burghley many years after in a letter he wrote to him, in these words:

“*There* came news, that the crucifix, being honoured (as the abridgment of all Christian faith) in the *queen's* chapel and closet by her most excellent majesty, and by your lordships of her most honourable council, was nevertheless in Smithfield broken to pieces and burned in bonfires: which made me call to remembrance that which *I* had heard your lordship say to the old lord Paget, (that God forgive,) to whom, pretending that queen Mary, of famous memory, had returned the realm wholly catholic, your lordship answered, ‘My lord, you are therein so far deceived, that I fear rather an inundation of the contrary part, so universal a boiling and bubbling I see of stomachs that cannot yet digest the crudity of that time.’ That saying of your lordship, upon the news of burning the crucifix, I called to remembrance. And albeit I was encouraged to come home with the remembrance of my service done to her majesty in the time of her adversity, whereof the king of Spain is witness, and with her most gracious accepting of me at my coming out of Flanders; and with the favour, that you, my good lord, both then and always had ever shewed me; yet finally, I was feared with that fury of the people; and then saw, that your lordship foresaw the wind and tide so strong that way, that I determined never to leave her majesty's service, but *secedere aliquo, dum illae silescerent turbae*; and to keep my service in store, till a more seasonable time.”

And thus ill affected stood the people at this time to crucifixes.

It is certain, however these crucifixes and roods were taken down by authority in all the churches, yet the crucifix remained in the queen's chapel afterwards. For about the year 1564, one John Marshal, an English papist in Lovain, wrote a treatise of the Cross, and had the confidence to dedicate his book to her: and that on this account, (as he expressed it in his epistle dedicatory,) that her good affection to the cross moved him to adventure to recommend his treatise to her highness. But this book was learnedly answered anno 1565, by Mr. Calfhil; and the queen defended; as we shall see in due place. But it is true, this gave offence to many of her subjects, as we have heard, and may hear hereafter.

And as for the other ceremonies used in the Roman church, these our divines could have been contented at this juncture to have been without, observing what jealousies were taken at them; and that there might not be the least compliance with the popish devotions. Bishop Jewel, in a letter dated in February 1559, to Bullinger, said,

“The surplice moved weak minds, and that for his part he wished that the very slightest footsteps of popery might be taken away, both out of the church and out of the minds of men. But the queen, he said, could at that time bear no change in religion, [other than what was already done and established.”]

But the pacific purpose of the exiled professors of the gospel, concerning their observation of the ceremonies that should be established, is worthy marking. Those that had in queen Mary's reign placed themselves in Frankford, and were yet there, wrote to those exiles their countrymen, that were at Geneva, a letter dated Jan. 3, 1559. By which it appears, that they were now in much fear of ceremonies; yet knew not what particularly would be established. But they said, the better to prepare themselves and their brethren in Geneva, for taking the ministry upon them, when they came into England, or conforming, if they were of the laity,

“that it would not lie in either of their hands to establish the ceremonies, but in certain men's who were appointed thereunto. And then they would be received by common consent of parliament. They trusted that both true religion would be restored, and that they should not be burdened with unprofitable ceremonies. And that they purposed to submit to such orders as should be

established by authority, being not of themselves wicked. Because the reformed churches differed among themselves in divers ceremonies, and yet agreed in the unity of doctrine. They saw no inconvenience, if they observed some ceremonies, so they agreed in the chief points of religion. But that if any should be intruded that were offensive, they, upon conference and deliberation with their brethren then at Geneva, whom they should soon meet in England, would brotherly join with them to be suitors for the reformation and abolishing of the same.”

They who signed this peaceable letter were these, in the name of the rest of the church of Frankford.

James Pilkington,
Richard Beesly,
Francis Wilford,
Christopher Brickbate,
Edmond Isaac,
John Mullins,
John Grey,
Alexander Nowel,
Henry Knolles,
John Browne.
Henry Carew,

And the first bishops that were made, and who were but newly returned out of their exiles, as Cox, Grindal, Horne, Sandys, Jewel, Parkhurst, Bentham, upon their first returns, before they entered upon their ministry, laboured all they could against receiving into the church the papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside. But they could not obtain it from the queen and parliament. And the habits were enacted. Then they consulted together what to do, being in some doubt whether to enter into their functions. But they concluded unanimously not to desert their ministry, for some rites, that, as they considered, were but a few, and not evil in themselves, especially since the doctrine of the gospel remained pure and entire. And in this counsel which they had at first taken, they continued still well satisfied; and also upon the considerations, that by filling these rooms in the church, they might keep out Lutherans, and such as were suspected papists: which was an argument the learned foreigners, their friends, suggested to them.

The church now being so slenderly provided of curates, and persons to officiate in the parishes, the bishops were forced to allow of many who had been popish priests, but now complying with the present proceedings: which indeed gave great distaste to many who considered not the necessity of the thing. So one of those that were brought before the commissioners ecclesiastical in the year 1567, to answer for their not going to the parish churches, said, the minister of his parish was a very papist. Whereat the bishop of London told him, he might then go to another place, and mentioned particularly St. Laurence. And another of them said, he knew one that persecuted God's saints in queen Mary's time, and brought them before Boner; and now he was a minister allowed of, and never made recantation. Indeed a great sort of these were men of little conscience, and though they outwardly complied with the present ecclesiastical orders, and read the common prayer, and subscribed to the doctrine now professed; yet inwardly they favoured popery, and, as much as they durst, would encourage their parishioners to do the same. Therefore Augustin Beruher, once old father Latymer's trusty friend and servant, declaimed against them, for their complying in all the times; but that when they complied under queen Elizabeth, a great many of them privately set the people against the queen and the religion.

“Whereas before,” said he, “in the time of antichrist, boldly and openly you did deceive the people of their salvation by Christ, now in the light of the gospel secretly you whisper in the ears of the simple, and dissuade them from embracing the truth. The spirit of the Lord is departed from you. This is more evident in your manifold and manifest perjuries in king Henry's time, in king Edward's time, in queen Mary's time. And what may be said of you at this time, but that you be false, perjured hypocrites, bearing two faces under one hood, being ready like weathercocks to turn at all seasons as the wind doth carry you?”

Another inconvenience the want of clergymen now brought, was the ordination of illiterate men to be readers: which likewise many were offended at. These readers had been tradesmen, or other honest, well-disposed men; and they were admitted into inferior orders, to serve the church in the present necessity, by reading the common prayer and the homilies, and orders unto the people: whereof something hath been said before.

This was cast upon the present governors of the church as a reproach, both by papists and by some protestants themselves. The former had nothing so rife in their mouths whereby to burden the present ministry in England, as their heaping together the mention of a great many base occupations; and then to shew how such craftsmen were become our preachers [or readers rather.] Which Calphil, in his book against Marshal, thus apologizeth for:

“Grant,” saith he, “that the inferior sort of our ministers were such indeed as these men in spite imagine; such as came from the shop, from the forge, from the wherry, from the loom; should ye not think you find more sincerity and learning in them, than in all the rabble of popish chaplains, their mass-mongers, and their soul-priests? I lament that there are not so many good preachers as parishes. I am sorry that some so unskilful be preferred; but I never saw the simple reader admitted into our church, but in the time *of* popery ye should have found in every diocese forty sir Johns in every respect worse.”

Another of this tribe of writers, viz. Dorman, had most despitefully, not only laid the same charge upon this church, of ordaining tradesmen, but hinted them to be of the very meanest and most contemptible trades and occupations of all others: saying,

“*Of* late, tinkers, cobblers, cowherds, fiddlers, broommen, and such like, were created divines; and disputed upon the ale-bench for their degree.” To which calumination Nowel, dean of St. Paul’s, made this discreet and home answer: “That indeed the papists’ cruel murdering of so many learned men had forced them of mere *necessity* to supply some small cures with honest artificers, exercised in the scriptures: not in place of divines, bachelors, or doctors, but instead of popish sir Johns Lack-Latin, learning, and all honesty; instead of Dr. Dicer, bachelor Bench-Whistler, and Mr. Card-player, the usual sciences of their popish priests; who were the true disputers *pro et contra* for their forms upon the ale-bench; *where* you should not *miss* of them in all towns and villages. Instead of such chaplains of trust, more meet to be tinkers, cobblers, cowherds, yea, bearwards and swineherds than ministers in Christ’s church, that some honest artificers, who (instead of such popish books as dice and cards) have travelled in the scriptures, and have succeeded, is more against Mr. Dorman’s stomach, than St.

Paul's or St. Peter's either doctrine or example; who being artificers themselves, and in the highest place of Christ's church, using sometime their art, would not disdain other honest artificers to be in the meanest places."

A great many of another sort quarrelled with them, as no ministers, because they could not preach: and extraordinarily displeased they were with the bishops for ordaining such. But they did not consider exigences, nor the advice of John Rogers, that learned and wise man, and first martyr under queen Mary; when Day, the famous printer, was fellow prisoner with him, and afterwards fled over sea. To him Rogers had said, that he should live to see the alteration of, religion, and the gospel freely preached again; and bade him recommend him to his brethren in exile and others, and that they should be circumspect in displacing the papists, when that time should come. And for lack of good ministers then to furnish the churches, he advised, (and so did bishop Hooper at the same time,) that for every ten churches one good and learned *superintendent* should be appointed, which should have under him faithful *readers*, such as might be got; so that the popish priests should be clean put out. And the bishop once a year should oversee the profiting of his parishes; and if the minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, as his parishioners in good instructions, and so to be trained by little and little, then he to be turned out, and another put in his place; and the bishop to do the like with the superintendents. This advice in part was now followed by the guides of the church, by appointing readers for the churches; but the method they thought too violent to turn out all the former priests, especially being willing to conform themselves. For this would make too great a devastation in the church. And they hoped by time, and better information, even these priests might come to be hearty embracers of the reformation, and serviceable to it. And as for the readers whom they ordained, they were only tolerated, and to serve for the present necessity: hoping in time that the universities might produce men of learning to occupy places in the church.

Yet these whom the bishop appointed to be readers were often men of some tolerable learning in Latin, bred up in their youth in schools; and some of them designed for the universities, had not the discouragement of the times interposed. And so these scholars were put to trades and callings. And even then studious in the scripture and good books, and sometimes sufferers for religion. Such an one was Tho. Earl, a reader in London in

these times; and afterwards raised to a higher degree in the church, and obtained a parish church. This man (as I find in a journal of his own writing) was the son of a citizen and draper of London, and put to school there in Henry VIII. his reign, with one friar Appleyard, belonging to the college of St. Thomas of Acars, and afterwards to the college of Corpus Christi. From this Appleyard he was removed to St. Anthony's school: his masters there were Archer and one Field, a martyr; who, it is like, infused good principles into him. Twice he writes, *he was hindered*, as it seems, from going to Oxford. And then he was forced to become an apprentice for ten years to William Gardiner, painter stainer of London, in the time of king Edward and his sister queen Mary. His master and mistress were both very great Romanists. Who laid many labours and hardships, and many beatings too upon him, for reading of books, and for denying to consent to them to be a papist. And many were the complaints and clamours they put up against him. "But O! Jesus Christ," saith he, "thou wert always my helper." One Robert Asky, his schoolfellow, was his true friend in these his troubles. But he went afterwards to Lisbon and Spain, (whither he would have had Earl also to have gone with him,) and there he was suspected and imprisoned: but God's wonderful grace delivered him, and he returned into England in 1558, when queen Mary died and queen Elizabeth received the crown, and the grief of the godly was turned into the greatest joy. Soon after, he assisted at divine services in some places: afterwards he was ordained deacon; and anno 1564 got Mildred, Breadstreet, having been curate there the year before, as he writes in his journal.

But concerning these popishly affected priests, and some of these tolerated *readers*, and others newly ordained, for their untoward way of reading, and the scandalous behaviour of some of them, there was much complaint, as we said before. Thus we find in a book printed not long after these times: The church, said the author, did most consist then of popish priests and tolerated readers, and many new made ministers, who read so, that the people could not be edified thereby; and one of these tolerated to serve two or three churches. And when they read, they turned their backs to the people, [that they might stand after the old way, with their faces to the altar.] In many places, preachings they had none. Some were commissioned to preach therefore, who went about as *itineraries*: but even many of these were ruffianly rakehells, nay common cozeners: by whose preaching the word of truth was become odious in the eyes of the people. Nay, and even in the city of London, the preachers there, being

many of them such as had been in exile, wanted discretion and learning, either in overvaluing the foreign churches' discipline, or betraying too much heat, or in making too severe reflections, or in discoursing weakly and inconsistently. Which the pruder sort did then observe with no little discontent: of whom Mr. Whitehead was one, a very grave man, and whom archbishop Cranmer had once recommended to a bishopric.

“That learned and ancient father,” said Dr. Whitgift, “hath sundry times lamented in my hearing (and other of his friends he thought had heard the same) the loose, frivolous, and unprofitable preaching of divers ministers in London.”

Many other things were now complained of and lamented in the beginning of the queen's reign. As the delay for some time of reforming the superstitions and disorders in the church. Many there were that fain would have continued the old papal religion, and hindered the *reformation* that was now on foot; who pretended, upon politic accounts, that it was not yet a season to do it, and that it would be dangerous at present to go about it, for fear of some rebellion among the people; especially in some parts of the nation, which were much addicted to the old religion. Which made an eminent man, soon after bishop of Durham, speak after this manner, in a book about this time published:

“Are not we guilty of the like fault as they in Haggai, that said, *It is not time yet to build the temple?* When God stirred up our kings as chief in the realm, and Tho. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, with others, for matters in religion, to drive the buyers and sellers of masses, pardons, trentals, &c. out of God's house, which they had made a den of thieves; was not this in all our mouths, It is not yet time to build God's house, the people cannot bear it; we fear strange princes and rebellions? As though God were content to suffer idolatry for a time, and would not or could not promote his own matters without our politic devices.”

And again elsewhere the same pious man hath these words;

“Let us think, that God speaks thus by his prophets, saying, This people of England, to whom I have given so plentiful a land, delivered them so often, and sent them my preachers, and whom, when they forgot me and their duty, I punished; sometimes sharply of fatherly love, and sometimes gently, that they might turn to me:

yet they say, It is not time to build God's house, for fear of their own shadows. They would lie loitering. still. Be waked out of this sleep. Let us consider what benefits we have received daily of our good God, and see what a grief it is to be unthankful, and have our unkindness thus cast in our teeth. Poor cities in Germany, compassed about with their enemies, reform religion thoroughly without any fear, and God prospereth them. And yet this noble realm, which all princes have feared, dare not. We will do it by our own politics, and not by committing the success to God; and so we shall overthrow all."

Others there were, that, being magistrates and officers both in church and state, however well affected they were to a reformation, pretended they saw so much out of order, that they began to despair to attempt it; and so left the reins of discipline loose, and the people might come to church, or go to mass, or the alehouse, without restraint. And of this the same writer thus;

"Worldly wise men see so many things out of order, and so little hope of redress, that they cannot tell which to correct or amend first; and therefore let the whip lie still, [alluding unto the whip that Christ used, to whip the buyers and sellers out of the temple,] and every one to do what him list, and sin to be unpunished. The world is come to such a dissolute liberty and negligent forgetfulness of God, that men sleeping in sin need not so much a whip to drive any out of the church, so few come there, but they need a great sort of whips to drive some few thitherward. For come into a church the sabbath-day, and ye shall see but few, though there be a sermon; but the alehouse is ever full. Well worth the papists therefore in this kingdom; for they be earnest, zealous, and painful in their doings: they will build their kingdom more in one year with fire and fagot, than the old gospellers will do in seven. A popish summoner, spy, or promoter, will drive more to the church with a word, to hear a Latin mass, than seven preachers will bring in a week's preaching to hear a godly sermon. Oh! what a condemnation shall this be? To see the wicked so diligent and earnest in their doings to set up antichrist, and Christian rulers and officers of all sorts, having the whip of correction in their hands, by God's law and the prince's, have so coldly behaved themselves in setting up the kingdom of Christ, that neither they give good examples themselves, in diligent

praying and resorting to the church, nor by the whip of discipline drive others thitherward.”

This made the sober and earnest bishops and divines press preaching. And as they preached much themselves for the instruction of the people, so they did what they could to promote it every where.

“Hence we learn,” saith Pilkington,” the necessity of preaching, and what inconvenience followeth, where it is not used. Where preaching fails, saith Solomon, the people perish. Therefore let every man keep himself in God’s school-house, and learn his lesson diligently. For as the body is nourished with meat, so is the soul with the word of God: as St. Matthew saith, *A man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that cometh from the mouth of God.* This is then the ordinary way to keep us in the fear of God and continual remembrance of the last day; often diligently to read, and hear God’s word preached unto us: for that is it which doth and will kill sin in us. Faith is kept and increased by the same means that it is given. What is the cause that the papists lie so sound on sleep in their abominations, *but* that they care not for preaching, nor think it so necessary; and because that they would not be told of their faults, that they might amend them.”

In these words this reverend divine had his eye upon several people, instructed secretly by papists to despise preaching, and to absent themselves as much as they could from sermons. For it was commonly said even in these times, but chiefly by the enemies of the gospel,

“What should I do at a sermon? I know as much before I go as I shall learn there. I can read the scripture at home, and comfort myself sufficiently.” These are better than hey that will neither hear nor read, but say, “I know there is no more but *Do well and have well.* I know that this is all that can be said, *Love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself.* I can say my Pater noster *and* my Creed, as well as he: and further I know, that in the one is contained all things necessary to be asked at God’s hand, and in the other all that is to be believed; and what can or should a man have more than this? These sayings, albeit they be true, yet are they most brutish, and nothing else in very deed but naughty expositions to cloak our slothful wickedness withal: and that we would not in any wise have preaching, because we would not have our faults

rebuked, nor yet our minds exercised in meditation of God and his goodness, and of our own sin and misery.”

Moreover, concerning this preaching, thus would the papists also say,

“that it is not necessary to preach often, by the example of Pambo, which when he had heard one lesson, would hear no more till he had in many years learned to practise that one. Which example proveth rather,” said my foresaid author,” that we should diligently learn, than seldom preach.” They were desperately afraid the people should have too much knowledge. “It was never a good world, they say, since every shoemaker could teach the priest his duty. They were ashamed of their faults,” said my author, “and therefore would have the people in blindness still, that they should see neither their own faults, nor tell them of theirs. For that especially they could not abide.” And be sure those that were under these priests should have learning little enough. “For how can they be learned,” said he, “having none to teach them but sir John Mumblematins?”

And here I cannot but insert the mention of a popish archdeacon, that never preached; and the witty reason which he gave why he did not; as we have it related by a good author that lived in those times.

“An archdeacon, asked a young scholar once in discourse, whether he [the archdeacon] had a good wit, or no? Yes, sir, said he, your wit is good enough, if you keep it still, and use it not: for every thing, as you know, is the worse for wearing. Thou sayest even truth, said the archdeacon, for that is the matter that I never use preaching: for it is nothing but the wasting of wit, and a spending of wind. And yet if I would preach, I think I could do it as well as the best of them. Yea, sir, said the other, I would not you should prove it, for fear of straining yourself too much. Why dost thou fear that? replied the archdeacon. Nay, thou mayest be assured I will never preach so long as I live, God being my good Lord. There are over-many heresies for good-meaning men to speak any thing nowadays.” [Meaning preaching to be the cause of heresy.]

And as these men would in these days speak their mind against preaching, so would they do also against the common use of the holy scriptures. “It was never good world, would they say, since the word of God came abroad: and that it was not meet for the people to have it or read it, but

they must receive it at the priest's mouth. For they were, they said, the nurses that must chew the meat afore the children eat it." But the said learned man sharply replied, "It is so poisoned in their filthy mouths and stinking breaths, that it poisoneth, but feedeth not the hearer."

CHAPTER 14.

The progress of the reformation. Orders for cures vacant. The foreigners' joy in behalf of England. A proclamation for preserving monuments, &c. in churches. Another for apparel.

YET did the reformation silently and surely go on, though slowly, and with great opposition, as the walls of Jerusalem were built: and, by the diligence of some about the queen, many abuses were already despatched and laid aside. And if we went now into the churches, you might see all the former superstitions, that used to appear there, removed and gone; purged of images and relics: which exceedingly grieved the papists.

“The papists weep to see our churches so bare, saying, they were like barns; and that there was nothing in them to make courtesy unto; neither saints, nor yet their little old god, [meaning the pix hanging over the altar.”] And a little before, “The pope’s church hath all things pleasantly in it to delight the people withal: as for their eyes, their god hangs in a rope: images gilded, painted, carved most finely: copes, chalices, crosses of gold and silver, with relics and altars. For the ear, singing, ringing, and organs piping. For the nose, frankincense, sweet perfumes. To wash away sin, as they say, holy water of their own hallowing and making. Priests an infinite sort, masses, trentals, dirges, pardons, &c. But where the gospel is preached, they, knowing that God is not pleased but with a pure heart, are content with an honest place appointed to resort together in, &c. with bare walls, or else written with scriptures.”

But as for the archbishop, he was not idle in doing his service at this time to the church. For the performing of God’s service purely and profitably in the many vacant churches, he drew up and gave out rules, orders, and directions, for *servicing of the cures now destitute*: as there were not a few; some priests going away, and departing from their benefices, and others non-resident, and many livings of so mean income, that none would take them up. This order was as followeth:

First, That the bishop of the diocese take special care to foresee such men to be presented to their benefices of their collations, or of others, which will promise to be resident upon their cures, and which also will take to

their care and oversight some other vicarages and parsonages next adjoining to their principal place of residence, more in number or fewer, as the bishop by his discretion shall think meet for the worthiness of the person, and for the convenient union of the said cures.

Item, Order to be taken for faculty of pluralities, &c. *Item*, At the receiving of his principal benefice he shall also compound for the rest, as they shall fall vacant, having favourable days of payment of those said united benefices, which few men will be induced singularly to take upon them, and answer other charges ordinary and extraordinary depending upon the same, until such time as some one able clerk or minister will offer to take upon him to serve any of the said united benefices. In which case the said principal incumbent to be discharged, or to be otherwise appointed as the ordinary and patron shall conveniently agree thereunto, with convenient contentation of the ministers between themselves.

Item, That the lay patrons of such benefices may be advertised by authority of parliament, or otherwise, to suffer the cures of their presentations and collations so to be united for the time in this case of necessity, without hurt of their rights, as may be conveniently agreed on by the ordinary and the said patrons. Provided that this uniting of benefices of the patronage of any ecclesiastical or lay person, with any promotion of the queen's majesty's gift and collation, shall not be prejudicial to the right, interest, and title of the said subjects' patronage, ecclesiastical or lay, as afore, except for lack of presentation within six months by the lay patron, the benefice falling into the lapse. The bishop then for that turn to dispose it agreeably to such device as here is *Item*, That the said principal incumbent shall depute in every such parish committed to his care, one able minister within orders of deacon, if it may be, or else some honest, sober, and grave layman, who, as a lector or reader, shall give his attendance to read the order of service appointed; except, that he shall not, being only a reader, intermeddle with christening, marrying, or ministering the holy communion, or with any voluntary preaching or prophesying; but read the service of the day with the litany and homily, agreeable as shall be prescribed in the absence of the principal pastor, or some one pastor chanceable coming to that parish for the time.

Item, That the said principal incumbent and pastor shall in course resort in circuit to every his peculiars, as well to preach the word of God, as to minister the holy communion to them that shall be thereto disposed, as to

marry and baptize the childer, born sithence the day of his last being with them. Provided, that the people be taught by an homily made therefore, that they need not to stand in any scrupulosity for the delay of baptism, if they depart before they be presented to the minister in the church; considering that in the primitive church, the fathers used but two principal feasts, Easter and Pentecost, to admit the childer to the holy font of regeneration. Not forbidding yet the minister and pastor aforesaid, if he may conveniently minister the said sacrament of baptism on the week day, being required thereunto, without pact or covenant of reward, but of charity and zeal which he ought to bear to the reasonable requests of his people; and as they again of their charitable considerations may request the same in respect of the time, weather, or distance of place, not to molest the said pastor more than need.

Item, That the said pastor shall have special care at his repair to such of his circuits, to know how the youth do profit in the catechism taught them by the lector or minister, weekly attending upon them: and to see that the elder and ancient folk do prepare themselves three times of the year at the least, to receive the holy communion in love and charity. Which pastor shall refer all causes of great importance to the bishop, or his chancel.or, as the case shall require, and as is provided by injunction.

Item, That the pastor being presented to such churches compatible, over and above his principal cure, shall not, before some receipt of his possession, pay to the ordinaries for his institution and induction more than for the fees of the register only, for all such benefices as shall be thought to be of an exile portion of living, and chargeable to the first-fruits.

Item, That the lectors or readers shall not be appointed but with the oversight of the bishop, or his chancellor, to have his convenient instruction and advertisement, with some letters testimonial of his admission, how to order themselves in the said charge. Which said lectors shall be always removable upon certificate and proof of their disability and disorder.

Item, That there be a convenient rate made by the bishop and his counsel, with the consent of the patron of such benefices to be united, what portion shall be appointed in stipend to the principal pastor, what to the reader, what to the bearing of ordinary and extraordinary payments, what to the

reparation of the chancel and mansion houses, and what may remain to be distributed to the poor in such parish united.

Item, That the principal pastor shall not let to ferme over one year, and ever at Annunciation of our Lady, any one such benefice united, but with the consent of the ordinary and patrons of the same. To whom above three years it shall not be lawful to let them forth to ferme.

Item, That those fermors shall be aided and assisted as well by the laws and diligence of the ordinary, as by the aid of the divers justices next dwelling to such benefices: that the rights, tithes, and all other ecclesiastical emoluments be duly contented and paid: whereby the charges and persons aforesaid may have their due relief and stipend according to law, equity, and good conscience. This was the prudent course taken in the present distress to supply the church with ministers.

In fine, there was great joy abroad among the eminent heads of the reformers, for the good progress of religion in England; and likewise in Scotland too, and in Poland, and other places. For thus Peter Martyr writ to Utenhoven in Poland, January 7, signifying his great joy conceived for the good successes of religion in Poland.

“If there was joy among the angels of God for one poor sheep lost and *found* again, what pleasure is it fit we should take for so many provinces, and so great a kingdom as Poland is, if, *as* you give hope to believe, it be converted to the true religion of Christ. God seems, at this time especially, to have a mind to reveal his kingdom. Concerning England, Martyr said, he had writ before to Masco: and for the good news thereof, he knew they would both rejoice and congratulate Christ these accessions to his kingdom, because both of them so greatly favoured it.”

Then he descended to mention the work he was upon, of giving an answer to bishop Gardiner’s book, in vindication of his great patron archbishop Cranmer.

“*That* he had *sent* a part of it to Alasco and him, praying him that he would deal with the booksellers in Poland to take off some of the copies the next Frankford mart, and to *disperse* them in that realm, for the better increase of religion there. And the book, when finished, he intended to dedicate to the present queen of England.”

Of the realm of Scotland he wrote, “That the people there had the gospel also, and that public sermons were preached there, *and* that there was a just ministry of the sacrament. But *that* these were not favours given them by the public laws, or the will of the queen, but that the people by a great consent usurped them to themselves. And that *when* on the first of September there had been a solemn procession in Edinburgh of the chief idol of the city, one Giles, and the queen herself accompanied, and some noblemen, the people rose, and dissolved the shew, and threw the idol into the public sink of the city. The queen and nobles withdrew themselves into the castle. *And* the people caused it to be writ to the French king, exhorting him to follow the pure religion; and that if he *would* grant it them, they would be quiet, otherwise they would join themselves to the English.”

For the conclusion of this year, I will take notice of two proclamations the queen issued out. The one, bearing date September 19, from Windsor, was against defacing monuments in churches, and taking away bells and lead. In which I do guess the archbishop had a great hand, being so great a lover of antiquity, and so sore an enemy against the spoil of the monuments of our forefathers and of the churches; and the proclamation itself being so excellently and fully expressed, as though it were done by his pen or direction: it was entitled, *A proclamation against breaking or defacing of monuments of antiquity; being set up in churches or other public places for memory, and not for superstition.* It set forth,

“How the ancient monuments of metal and stone in churches and other public places had been lately spoiled and broken: which were set up only for the memory of persons there buried, or that had been benefactors to the buildings or dotations of the churches. The mischief of demolishing these monuments are reckoned to be,

1. That those churches and places were spoiled, broken, and minated.
2. The honourable and good memory of virtuous and noble persons extinguished.
3. The true understanding of divers families in the realm, who have descended of the blood of the same persons, darkened.
4. The true course of their inheritance hereby might hereafter be interrupted, contrary to justice.

5. Such as gave or had charge in times past only to deface monuments of idolatry, and reigned images in churches and abbeys, slandered.

The queen therefore commanded all such breaking of monuments hereafter to be forborne and forbad, without consent of the ordinary, to break an image of kings, princes, or noble states of the realm, or any other in times past set up for the only remembrance of them to posterity, and not for any religious honour; nor to break and deface any image in any glass windows: and that upon pain to be committed to the next gaol: and at the next coming of the justices to be further punished by fine or imprisonment, besides the restitution and reedification of what was broken; using therein the advice of the ordinary.

“And for the restoration of such as be already spoiled, she charged all archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, to inquire by presentments of the curates and churchwardens, what manner of spoils have been made since the beginning of her reign, and by whom: and to enjoin them, under pain of excommunication, to repair the same by a convenient day; or to notify the same to her majesty’s council in the star-chamber: and if they were not able to repair the same, then to be enjoined open penance in the church two or three times, according to the quality of the crime. ‘And if the party offending be dead, then the ordinary was to enjoin the executors of the deceased to repair and reedify. And when the offender could not be presented, if it were in any cathedral or collegiate church, which had revenues belonging to it, remaining in the discretion of the governors thereof to bestow, the queen required them to employ such parcels of the said sums of money as might be spared, upon the speedy repair of such defaced monuments, as agreeable to the original as might be.

“And whereas some patrons or impropiators, upon pretence of their being owners of the parsonages impropriate, did persuade with the parson and parishioners to throw down the bells of the churches and chapels, and the lead of the same, converting the same to their private gain, and thereby sought a slanderous desolation of the places of prayer; the queen, to whom in the right of the crown the defence and protection of the church belonged, expressly forbade any person to take away the bells or lead, under pain of imprisonment during her pleasure, and further fine for the

contempt. And she commanded all bishops and ordinaries to inquire of such contempts done from the beginning of her majesty's reign; and to enjoin the persons offending to repair the same within a convenient time. And to certify her majesty's privy council, or the council in the star-chamber, that order might be taken therein."

He that is minded to see this proclamation at length, may find it preserved in Fuller's Church History. Another proclamation, dated from Westminster, October 21, was against the excess of apparel, which grew on apace, and gave great offence to pious people: who thought it consisted not with the gravity and seriousness of a nation professing true religion, to lash out so excessively that way; and many spending upon their backs more than they could well spare, to the impoverishing of themselves and family, and to the decay of charity. Therefore the queen in this proclamation made a declaration of her purpose;

"To take the penalty of sundry former laws for wearing excessive and inordinate apparel. As particularly that act in the first and second of Philip and Mary; and certain branches of another statute, made the 24th of Henry VIII. against excessive apparel. The mulcts were, by order of council, to be put in execution in the queen's court and in their own houses. And in the countries, the mayors and governors of cities and towns corporate, sheriffs, and justices of the peace, noblemen, heads of societies, either ecclesiastical or temporal, within twelve days were to take order for the execution of the foresaid statutes. And she charged and commanded, that there should be no toleration or excuse after the goth of December next, touching the contents of the statute in the first and second of Philip and Mary; nor after the last of January, touching the branches of the other statute. Yet allowance was given for the wearing of certain costly furs, and rich embroideries, bought and made by sundry gentlemen before this proclamation, to their great costs, with which the queen dispensed."

What these vanities in apparel now were, may be the better understood, if we observe what one of the prelates about this time writ, reproving them.

"These finefingured rufflers with their sables about their necks, corked slippers, trimmed buskins, and warm mittens, furred stomachers, long gowns. These tender pannels must have one gown for the day, another for the night: one long, another short: one for

winter, another for summer: one furred through, and another but faced: one for the workday, another for the holyday: one of this colour, another of that: one of cloth, another of silk or damask. Change of apparel; one afore dinner, another at after: one of Spanish fashion, another of Turkey. And to be brief, never content with enough, but always devising new fashions and strange. Yea, a ruffian will have more in his ruff and his hose, than he should spend in a year. He which ought to go in a russet coat, spends as much on apparel for him and his wife, as his father would have kept a good house with.”

CHAPTER 15

*A collection of various historical matters falling,
out within this year, 1559.*

Now, lest I should let slip many other historical matters, both religious and secular, private as well as public, that fell out within the compass of this year, 1559, being miscellaneous, and not so easy to be brought into a due method; I shall here set them down by way of diary as I have met with them in manuscript letters or memorials.

April the 7th, a gentlewoman was buried at St. Thomas of Acre: whose funeral being performed after a different way from the then common superstitious and ceremonial custom, my journalist sets it down as a matter worthy his noting; and writes, that she was brought from St. Bartholomew's besides Lothbury, with a great company of people, walking two and two, and neither priests nor clerks present, [who used ever to be present (and that in considerable numbers) at the burials of persons of any note, going before, and singing for the soul of the departed.] But instead of them went the new preachers in their gowns; and they neither singing nor saying, till they came to the church. And then, before the corpse was put into the grave, a collect was said in English, [whereas beforetime all was said in Latin.] And the body being laid in the grave, one took earth and cast it on the corpse, and read something that belonged to the same; and incontinently they covered it with the earth. And then was read the epistle out of St. Paul to the Thessalonians for the occasion. [Perhaps that place where it begins,

But I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning, them
which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others, which have no
hope, &c. 1 Thessalonians 4:13.

Unless here be a mistake, and the Thessalonians put for the Corinthians; the epistle that is appointed in our Common Prayer Book to be read at funerals.] And after this they sung the Paternoster in English, as well preachers as all the company, women not excepted, after a new fashion. And after all, one went into the pulpit and made a sermon. This was accounted strange at this time: but it seems to be partly the office of burial

used in king Edward's time, and some other additions to it. And this was somewhat boldly done, when as yet the old religion was in force.

April the 8th, peace was proclaimed between the queen and Henry the French king, the dolphin of France, and Scotland, for ever; and all hostilities to cease both by land and sea. It was proclaimed with six trumpeters, five heralds of arms, Garter, Clarenceux, Lancaster, Rouge-Cross, and Blewmantle, and the lord mayor and aldermen in their scarlet.

A proclamation was also made the same day against players, that they should play no more till a certain time, to whomsoever they belonged. And if they did, the mayor, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, or other officers were to apprehend them, and carry them to prison.

April the 12th, the corpse of sir Rice Mansfield, knight, was brought from Clerkenwell unto the Blackfriars, with two heralds, and the rest of the ceremonies usual: twenty-four priests and clerks singing before him, all in Latin. The friars' church was hung with black and coats of arms. The *dirige* was sung both in the parish where he died, and likewise where he was buried. There were carried along with him four banners of saints, and many other banners. The morrow masses were said in both churches. Afterward was his standard, coat, helmet, target, offered up at the high altar. And all this being performed, the company retired to his place to dinner. This was the common way of funerals of persons of quality in the popish times.

The day of April, the queen's ambassadors, viz. the lord chamberlain, the lord bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wootton, dean of Canterbury, returned from France.

The 22d day of the said month the lord Wentworth, the late and last lord deputy of Calais was brought from the Tower to Westminster, to be arraigned for losing of that place. Several were his accusers; but he acquitted himself, and was cleared by his peers: and went thence unto Whittington college, where he afterwards lived.

April the 23d, being St. George's day, the queen went about the hall, and all the knights of the garter, and about the court, singing in procession. The same day in the afternoon were four knights elected, viz. the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Rutland, and the lord Robert Dudley, master of the queen's horse.

The 25th, St. Mark's day, was a procession in divers parishes of London, and the citizens went with their banners abroad in their respective parishes, singing in Latin the *Kyrie deeson* after the old fashion.

The same day the queen in the afternoon went to Bainard's castle, the earl of Pembroke's place, and supped with him, and after supper she took a boat, and was rowed up and down in the river Thames; hundreds of boats and barges rowing about her; and thousands of people thronging at the water side to look upon her majesty; rejoicing to see her, and partaking of the music and sights on the Thames: for the trumpets blew, drums beat, flutes played, guns were discharged, squibs hurled up into the air, as the queen moved from place to place. And this continued till ten of the crock at night, when the queen departed home. By these means shewing herself so freely and condescendingly unto her people, she made herself dear and acceptable unto them.

May the 12th, Sunday, the English service began at the queen's chapel: which was but four days after the use of it was enacted, and before it was enjoined to take place in the nation by the act of parliament: which was at St. John Baptist's day.

May the 22d, the bishop of London's palace, and the dean of Paul's house, with several other houses of the canons and prebendaries of the said church, were taken up for the French ambassadors, monsieur Montmorency, &c. and their retinue.

The 23d, they came and landed at Tower wharf, where many lords and nobles came to meet them, and conducted them to their said lodgings.

The 24th, they were brought from the bishop's palace through Fleet-street by the greatest nobles about the court, to the queen's palace to supper. The hall and the great chamber of presence was hung with very rich cloth of arras, and cloth of state. There was extraordinary cheer at supper, and after that, as goodly a banquet as had been seen; with all manner of music and entertainment till midnight.

The 25th, they were brought to court with music to dinner. And after a splendid dinner, they were entertained with the baiting of bears and bulls with English dogs. The queen's grace herself and the ambassadors stood in the gallery looking on the pastime till six at night. After that, they went by water unto Paul's wharf, and landed there, to go to their lodgings at the

bishop's palace to supper. It was observed of these ambassadors, that they were most gorgeously appavelled.

The 26th day they took barge at Paul's wharf, and so to Paris Garden; where was to be another baiting of bulls and bears. And the captain with an hundred of the guard kept room for them against they came, that they might have place to see the sport.

The same day was proclamation made of five acts of parliament lately passed and made: which I conclude to be the five first acts in the statute book *primo Eliz. viz.*

- I.** For restoring to the queen the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, and for abolishing all foreign power.
- II.** For the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments.
- III.** For recognition of the queen's title to the imperial crown of this realm.
- IV.** For restitution of first-fruits and tenths, &c. and parsonages impropriate to the crown.
- V.** An act whereby certain offences are made treason: all which were so necessary to be proclaimed and known, for the universal concern and import of them to all the queen's subjects.

The 28th, the French ambassadors went away, taking their barge towards Gravesend; and carried with them many mastiffs, given them for hunting their wolves.

June the 2d, was buried in Little St. Bartholomew's, the lady Barnes, late wife of sir George Barnes, knight, sometime lord mayor of London. She gave to many poor men and women good russet gowns; and to the poor men and women of Calais, [who now, being driven out thence from their habitations, trades, and estates, into England, and that in great numbers, were no doubt in great straits,] she gave so much apiece in money, and an hundred black gowns and coats. There attended the funeral Mr. Clarenceux, and twenty clerks singing afore her to the church, all in English. All the place, [i.e. her house,] and the streets through which they passed, and the church, all hung in black and coats of arms. Being come to

the church, and the English procession sung, Mr. Horne made a sermon. After that, the clerks sung *Te Deum* in English. Then the corpse was buried with something sung. I suppose it was the versicles, beginning, *Man that is born of a woman, &c.*

June the 6th, St. George's feast was kept at Windsor. The earl of Pembroke was the queen's substitute. There were stalled at that time the four noblemen that were lately elected into the order. There was great feasting. And that day the communion and English service began to be celebrated there.

June the 11th, being St. Barnabas-day, the apostle's mass ceased, and no mass was said any more at St. Paul's: and on that day Dr. Sandys preached, the lord mayor and aldermen, the earl of Bedford and many of the court present. And now Dr. May, sometime dean of St. Paul's, but deposed, took possession of his place in the church as dean. And that afternoon was none of the old evensong there, and so abolished.

The same day, about eight of the clock at night, the queen took her barge at Whitehall, and many more barges attended her; rowing for her pleasure along the bank-side, by the bishop of Winchester's: and so crossing over to London side; with drums beating and trumpets sounding. And so to Whitehall again.

July the 2d, the city of London entertained the queen at Greenwich with a muster; each company sending out a certain number of men at arms; [1400 in all, saith Stow;] to her great delight and satisfaction: whose satisfaction satisfied the citizens as much; and this created mutual love and affection.

On the first of July they marched out of London in coats of velvet and chains of gold, with guns, morris-pikes, halberds, and flags: and so over London-bridge unto the duke of Suffolk's park in Southwark; where they all mustered before the lord mayor, and lay abroad in St. George's fields all that night. The next morning they removed towards Greenwich, to the court there; and thence into Greenwich park: here they tarried till eight of the clock: then they marched clown into the lawn, and mustered in their arms: all the gunners in shirts of mail. At five of the clock at night the queen came into the gallery over the park gate, with the ambassadors, lords, and ladies, to a great number. The lord marquis, lord admiral, lord Dudley, and divers other lords and knights, rode to and fro, to view them; and to set the two battles in array to skirmish before the queen. Then came

the trumpets to blow on each part, the drums beating and the flutes playing. There were given three onsets in every battle. The guns discharged on one another; the morris-pikes encountered together with great alarm. Each ran to their weapons again, and then they fell together as fast as they could, in imitation of close fight. All this while the queen, with the rest of the nobles about her, beheld the skirmishings; and after, they recluded back again. After all this, Mr. Chamberlain, and divers of the commons of the city, and the whifflers, came before her grace; who thanked them heartily and all the city. Whereupon immediately was given the greatest shout as ever was heard, with hurling up of caps. And the queen shewed herself very merry. After this was a running at tilt. And lastly, all departed home to London.

The next day, being July the 3d, the queen went to Woolwich, to the launching of a fine ship newly built, and called by her own name Elizabeth.

The 10th of the same month, the queen, being still at Greenwich, well knew how pomps and shews, especially military, with her own presence thereat, delighted her subjects, and perhaps herself too: now therefore was set up in Greenwich park a goodly banquetinghouse for her grace, made with fir-poles, and decked with birch-branches, and all manner of flowers both of the field and garden, as roses, July-flowers, lavender, marigolds, and all manner of strewing herbs and rushes. There were also set up tents for the kitchen, and for the officers, against tomorrow, with provisions laid in of wine, ale, and beer. There was also made up a place for the queen's pensioners, who were to run with spears. The challengers were three, the earl of Ormond, sir John Perrot, and Mr. North: and there were likewise defendants of equal valour with lances and swords. About five in the afternoon came the queen with the ambassadors and divers lords and ladies, and stood over the park gate to see the exercise. And after, the combatants ran, chasing one the other. After this the queen came down into the park, and took her horse, and rode up to the banqueting-house, and the three ambassadors; and so to supper. After was a mask; and then a great banquet. And then followed great casting of fire and shooting of guns till twelve at night. This was undoubtedly the queen's policy, to accustom her nobles and subjects to arms, and to give all countenance to the exercise of warfare, having such a prospect of enemies round about her, as well as to entertain the ambassadors.

July the 17th, the queen removed from Greenwich in her *progress*, and goes to Dartford in Kent. And the next day she came to Cobham, the lord Cobham's place: and there her grace was welcomed with great cheer.

July the 20th, king Philip of Spain was married unto the French king's daughter Elizabeth. And great justs were made: the French king himself justing; but fatally: for one of his eyes were struck out in this exercise by a piece of the spear; whereof he died. Whose funerals were honourably kept at St. Paul's, as was shewn before. But no great loss for England.

The same day the old bishop of Durham came riding to London out of the north, with threescore horse, and so to Southwark, unto the house of one Dolman a tallowchandler, where he laid: [having seen two houses at least belonging to him, viz. Durham-place and Cold-harbour, taken from his bishopric.]

The 26th, tidings came to London, that the young' French king had proclaimed himself king of France, Scotland, and England.

August the 5th, the queen being now at Eltham in Kent, one of the ancient houses of the kings, removed thence unto Nonsuch, another of her houses; of which the noble earl of Arundel seems to be now housekeeper. There the queen had great entertainment with banquets, especially on Sunday night, made by the said earl; together with a mask; and the warlike sounds of drums and flutes and all kinds of music, till midnight. On Monday was a great supper made for her: but before night she stood at her standing in the further park; and there she saw a course. At night was a play of the children of Paul's, and there [music] master Sebastian. After that, a costly banquet, accompanied with drums and flutes. The dishes were extraordinary rich, gilt.

This entertainment lasted till three in the morning. And the earl presented her majesty a cupboard of plate.

The 10th of August, being St. Laurence day, she removed from Nonsuch to Hampton-court.

And the same day was brought to the Tower Strangways, the great sea-rover, and others. And the 14th day there landed at the bridge-house fourscore rovers and mariners taken with Strangways; and were sent unto the Marshalsea, and King's Bench, and their trumpeters; and immediately fettered.

The 17th, the queen removed from Hampton-court to the lord admiral's place: and there she had great cheer. The said lord had built a goodly banqueting-house for her grace: it was richly gilded and painted; that lord having for that end kept a great many painters for a good while there in the country.

The 20th, died at Nonsuch, sir Tho. Chardin, deviser of all the banquets and banqueting-houses, master of the revels, and sergeant of the tents. He was buried September 5, at Bletchingly.

The 24h, being St. Bartholomew's day, and the day before and after, were burnt all the roods of St. Mary and St. John, and many other church goods, with copes, crosses, censers, altar-cloths, rood-cloths, books, banners, banner-staves, wainscot, with much other such gear, in London.

September the 5th, at Alhallows, Breadstreet, betwixt twelve and one at noon, was a dreadful thunderclap. It killed a water-spaniel at the church-wall side; felled one of the beadmen of the Salters' company, and the sexton of the said church; cracked the steeple above the battlements, which was all of stone, that some of it flew out in divers pieces: so that the month after, October the 5th, they began to take down the top of the steeple.

The same day, viz. September 5, was a frame set up in St. Paul's quire of nine stories for the late French king deceased, with valance of sarcenet and black fine fringe, and pensils: and round about the hearse a piece of velvet. All the eight pillars and all the quire hung with black and arms. His hearse garnished with thirty dozen of pensils and fifteen dozen of arms.

The 8th day began the obsequies; which was performed very honourably, as hath been already described.

The 15th, the hearse was taken down by the heralds; who, as their fees, had all that was about it; both cloth, velvet, sarcenet, banners, escutcheons of arms, banner-staves, rails, &c.

The 22d, Strangways and his crew, being above eighty persons in number, were arraigned at Southwark; and all cast to suffer death. Strangways and five more, October 2, were brought from the Tower to the Marshalsea. And the day after, two new pair of gallows set up, one at St. Thomas of Waterings, the other at low water mark at Wapping. The 4th of October was the day that Strangways and all his men should have suffered death:

but there came tidings, that they should stay till it pleased the queen and her council.

The 27th of September, tidings came to London that the prince of Swethen was landed at Harwich.

October the 5th, the prince of Swethen, (whose title was duke of Finland,) having been conducted from Colchester by the earl of Oxford and the lord Robert Dudley, master of the queen's horse, came to London, entering at Aldgate, and so to Leadenhall, and down to Gracechurch-street corner, where he was received by the lord marquis of Northampton, and the lord Ambrose Dudley, and other gentlemen and ladies. The trumpets blew, and a great number of gentlemen with gold chains rode before and after them, and about two hundred yeomen riding also: and so over the bridge unto the bishop of Winchester's place; which was hung with rich cloth of arras, wrought with gold and silver and silks: and there he remained.

The 12th, the said prince went by water to the court with his guard. He was honourably received by many noble personages at the hall door; where the guard stood in their rich coats, reaching unto the queen's chamber. The queen's grace received him there: and after, he was welcomed with great cheer.

The 19th, he went to court again, and was treated at a great banquet by the lord Robert.

The 27th, he and the lord Robert, and the lady marchioness Northampton, stood sureties at the christening of sir Tho. Chamberlayne's son: who was baptized at St. Bene't church at Paul's-wharf. The church was hung with cloth of arras. And after the christening were brought wafers, comfits, and divers banqueting dishes, and hypocras and muscadine wine, to entertain the guests.

November the 5th were great justs at the queen's palace. The lord Robert and the lord Hunsdon were the challengers; who wore scarfs of white and black: and they had their heralds and trumpets attending on them. The defendants were the lord Ambrose Dudley and others. They and their footmen in scarfs of red and yellow sarcenet. And had also their heralds and trumpeters.

November the 8th, sir Robert Southwel, knt. master of the rolls, and one of queen Mary's privy counsellors, was buried in Kent.

The 15th, the lord Williams of Thame was buried at Thame.

December the 5th, the duchess of Suffolk, Frances, sometime wife of Henry, late duke of Suffolk, was buried in Westminster-abbey. Mr. Jewel (who was afterwards bishop of Satum) was called to the honourable office to preach at her funerals, being a very great and illustrious princess of the blood; whose father was Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and her mother Mary, sometime wife of the French king, and sister to king Henry VIII. She, the said Frances, departed this life November the 20th, in the second year of the reign of queen Elizabeth; not in the sixth of her reign, as Mr. Camden hath put it; led into that mistake, I suppose, by the date on her monument; which indeed shewed not the year of her death, but of the erection of that monument to her memory, by her last husband Mr. Stokes. She was buried in a chapel on the south side of the choir, where Valens, one of the earls of Pembroke, was buried. The corpse being brought and set under the hearse, and the mourners placed, the chief at the head, and the rest on each side, Clarenceux king of arms with a loud voice said these words; "Laud and praise be given to Almighty God, that it hath pleased him to call out of this transitory life unto his eternal glory the most noble and excellent princess the lady Frances, late duchess of Suffolk, daughter to the right high and mighty prince Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and of the most noble and excellent princess Mary, the French queen, daughter to the most illustrious prince king Henry VII." This said, the dean began the service in English for the communion, reciting the ten commandments, and answered by the choir in prick song. After that and other prayers said, the epistle and gospel was read by the two assistants of the dean. After the gospel, the offering began after this manner: first, the mourners that were kneeling stood up: then a cushion was laid and a carpet for the chief mourners to kneel on before the altar: then the two assistants came to the hearse, and took the chief mourner, and led her by the arm, her train being borne and assisted by other mourners following. And after the offering finished, Mr. Jewel began his sermon; which was very much commended by them that heard it. After sermon, the dean proceeded to the communion; at which were participant, with the said dean, the lady Catharine and the lady Mary, her daughters, among others. When all was over, they came to the Charter-house in their chariot.

December the 9th, proclamation was made for settling the prices of fowls, capons, conies, geese, and all manner of flesh, eggs, and other things.
December the 20th, Hodelston, or Hurlston, late keeper of Ricebank, a

hold of Calais, who had been committed to the Tower the 13th day of May last, and Mr. Chamberlain, keeper of Calais castle, were both brought to Guildhall, London, where they were arraigned, and cast to suffer death for their negligence.

Ult. December was a play at the court before the queen: but they acted something so distasteful, that they were commanded to leave off. And immediately the mask came in, and dancing.

January the 1st, the prince of Swethen rode to court gorgeously and rich attired; and his guard in velvet jerkins, carrying halberds in their hands, accompanied with many gentlemen with chains of gold.

The 6th, being Twelfth-day, in the afternoon, the lord mayor and aldermen, and all the crafts of London, and the bachelors of the mayor's company, went in procession to St. Paul's, after the old custom, and there did hear a sermon. The same day was a scaffold set up in the hall for a play. And after the play was over, was a fine mask; and after, a great banquet, that lasted till midnight.

January the 30th, viscount Montacute and sir Tho. Chamberlain, knt. took their journey towards the king of Spain.

The design of this embassy was to keep all fair with that king; which so much concerned the queen to do, being at this time in no good understanding neither with Scotland nor France. Therefore she sent that viscount, named sir Anthony Brown, one of the former queen's privy council, and a zealous Romanist, that he might have the better countenance with the king. And by the instructions given him he was to acquaint the king with her particular circumstances at that time, both as to her dealing in Scottish matters, as concerning her matching herself in marriage. The instructions were to this import:

“That the queen of Scotland was sickly, married to a sickly stranger, a second person to the crown: that his life was sought in Scotland, and his son's in France. The purpose driving on was, to knit the crown of Scotland to France, and not to that queen. That the proceedings of the lords of Scotland was no rebellion, but a dutiful preservation of their kingdom for their queen and her lawful successors. That the matters of faith in the land were consonant to the fathers. That the superiority of Scotland belonged to the crown of England: and the right of her majesty was touched by the

practice of the French in Scotland. That notwithstanding divers motions of marriage had been made to her, as well in her late dear sister's time, as some also lately, whereof none was more honourable than the metion late made for the emperor's majesty's son Don Carole, the archduke, [related to king Philip;] yet hitherto, as she found no manner of disposition in her own nature towards marriage, so she would not presume to make a peremptory answer, utterly to refuse marriage for ever; but as God should please to direct her mind and affections hereafter, so she trusted his goodness would govern her to the best: to whom she referred herself and all her doings: beseeching the king to continue his good affection towards her, notwithstanding her answer at this present. That the Scots had requested her to take the realm into her protection, and to preserve the same from conquest: offering on that condition not to invade England by the procurement of France: and offering twelve hostages for performance."

February the 2d, being Candlemas-day, at the dean of St. Paul's house, where now was lodged the French ambassador, were taken at mass divers men and women, who were brought to the lord mayor's, and by him sent to the counter.

The same day in the afternoon, according to old custom, the mayor and aldermen, and all the crafts, went to St. Paul's, and there heard a sermon, [instead of going in procession about Paul's, and visiting the tomb of bishop William, and such like superstitions, used beforetime.]

March the 8th, eleven persons, malefactors, rode to hanging; seven men and four women. One of these men was a priest; his crime was for cutting a purse, wherein was three shillings. But he was burnt in the hand before, or else the book would have saved him. He was observed to be fifty-four years old. [Such loose persons were some of the sir Johns in those popish times.]

March the 14th, one Duncomb, gent. and his company had committed a great robbery down in Bedfordshire. They were examined before the council. After, being found guilty, they were carried down thither by the sheriff of the county, and were hanged in a place where the said Duncomb might see two or three lordships that should have been his, had he behaved himself as he ought. [Which stirred him, no doubt, to repentance, but, alas! too late.]

March the 28th, 1560, the duke of Holstein, who was lately come into England, went by water in the afternoon to Somerset-place, appointed for his residence. He was nephew to the king of Denmark, who sent him to be a suitor to the queen, to obtain her for his wife. And this the rather to intercept the Sweed his neighbour, endeavouring the same at this time. This duke came also (as did the other prince before mentioned) blown up with great hopes to marry queen Elizabeth. But she went no further with him than to oblige him by her honourable recepuon of him, and giving him the honour of the garter, and a yearly pension.

CHAPTER 16

Lent sermons at St. Paul's and at court. Bishop Jewel's public challenge there. The church and kingdom happily restored. More bishops and in, riot clergy ordained. Dr. May, dean of St. Paul's, elect of York, dies. Succeeded in the deanery by Nowel. John Fox at Norwich, promoting religion there. His character.

THIS Lent divers of the most eminent protestant clergy, confessors and sufferers for religion under queen Mary, were put up to preach at the court and at Paul's Cross; where, no question, they took their opportunity to recommend the religion newly established. It may not be amiss to record their names.

I shall begin with those that preached a little before Lent came on, and so go on with them; (though but imperfectly;) and withal take in some other proper notices, as they fall in my way.

January the 8th, Grindal, now bishop of London, preached at the Cross.

February the 10th, Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, preached there. Then one did penance for marrying another wife, having one before.

March the 1st. Now against Lent a proclamation was set forth by the queen and council, that no manner of person, nor any keepers of tables or eating-houses, should eat, or set forth flesh to be eaten, in Lent, nor other times in the year, commanded by the church to forbear eating it. And that no butcher should kill flesh, upon pain of a great fine, or to stand six hours on the pillory, and imprisonment ten days.

March the 3d, Grindal, the new bishop of London, preached at St. Paul's Cross in his rochet and chimere, the mayor and aldermen present, and a great auditory. And after sermon a psalm was sung, (which was the common practice of the reformed churches abroad,) wherein the people also joined their voices.

The same day, in the afternoon, Scory, one of king Edward's bishops, and an exile, now bishop of Hereford, preached at court in his rochet and chimere, before a great and noble audience.

March the 6th, Dr. Bill, dean of Westminster, preached in the queen's chapel: where on the table, standing altar-wise, was placed a cross and two candlesticks, with two tapers in them burning.

Ditto the 8th, in the afternoon, Dr. Pilkington, bishop elect of Durham, preached at court. And as he was master of St. John's in Cambridge, his discourse tended much to the maintenance of the scholars of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford; and that the clergy might have better livelihoods.

Ditto the 10th, bishop Story preached at St. Paul's Cross in his rochet and chimere, the lord mayor and aldermen present, with a great audience: for the people now flocked to sermons, and to hear the exiles.

And the same day Dr. Sandys, bishop of Worcester, an eloquent man, preached at court.

The 13th and 15th were also sermons at court preached by eminent men, whose names are not mentioned: [perhaps Cox and Parkhurst, men of as great fame as any of the rest.] To one of these the queen herself gave thanks for his pains: however some were offended at him. What his subject was, it appears not; it may be, the *supremacy*.

Ditto the 17th, Mr. Veron, a Frenchman by birth, but a learned protestant, and parson of St. Martin's, Ludgate, preached at St. Paul's Cross before the mayor and aldermen. And after sermon done, they sung all in common a psalm in metre, as it seems now was frequently done, the custom being brought in from abroad by the exiles.

At court the same day, in the afternoon, Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, preached in his habit.

The 20th, Bentham of London-bridge, (so styled in my MS.) where at St. Magnus he seems to have been preacher, now bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, preached at St. Paul's.

The 22d, the same preached at court.

The 24th, being Midlent Sunday, Dr. Sandys, bishop of Worcester, preached at St. Paul's Cross in his habit; the mayor and aldermen present, with the earl of Bedford, and divers other persons of quality: as was customary in these times for the nobility and court to resort to these sermons.

The same day, in the afternoon, bishop Barlow, one of king Edward's bishops, now bishop of Chichester, preached in his habit before the queen. His sermon ended at five of the clock: and presently after her chapel went to evening song: the cross, as before standing on the altar, and two candlesticks, and two tapers burning in them: and, service concluded, a good anthem was sung.

The 27th, Mr. Wisdom, (now the year 1560 entering,) an ancient learned preacher in king Henry and king Edward's reigns, and an exile afterwards, preached at court.

The same day peace with France and Scotland was proclaimed at the Cross in Cheap, and divers other places, (trumpets blowing,) by Clarenceux king at arms, in his rich coat, and a sergeant at arms with his mace attending, and the two sheriffs on horseback.

The 31st, Mr. Crowley, another exile, and a learned writer, afterwards minister of St. Giles, Cripplegate, preached at St. Paul's Cross.

April the 2d, Alley, bishop elect of Exeter, (and late reader at St. Paul's,) preached at court. His discourse was levelled against immorality; as blasphemy, playing at dice, converse with lewd women, drunkenness, &c.

Friday before Palm Sunday, Mr. Cheney, sometime archdeacon of Hereford, afterwards bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, preached at court.

Palm Sunday Mr. Wisdom preached at Paul's Cross.

The same day Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, preached at court with great commendation.

Maundy-Thursday, the queen kept her maundy in her hall at the court in the afternoon: and then gave unto twenty women so many gowns; and one woman had her best gown. And her grace washed their feet: and in a new white cup she drank unto every woman, and then they had the cup. The same afternoon she gave unto poor men, women, and children, whole and laine, in St. James's park, being two thousand people and upwards, 2d. apiece.

Let me add the Spiral sermons, and the preachers of them. Easter Monday, preached Bentham; Easter Tuesday, Cole, another exile; Easter Wednesday, Jewel. The rehearsal sermon was preached at Paul's Cross by Tho. Sampson, an exile also, and soon after made dean of Christ-church,

Oxon; who abridged the said three sermons, before a very numerous auditory. April the 28th, father Coverdale [the ancient confessor, and translator of the Bible] preached at Paul's Cross.

May the 5th, Mullins, another exile, now archdeacon of London, preached at the Cross.

The 19th, at the same place preached Cox, bishop of Ely.

The 26th, Skamler, the archbishop's chaplain, sometime after bishop of Peterburgh, preached there.

And June 2, bishop Grindal took his course, and preached above in St. Paul's.

These sermons, so well and learnedly performed, at which assembled such vast confluences of auditors, countenanced also by the presence of the queen and nobility, reconciled great respect to the new religion, (as it was called,) and to the persons of this clergy, newly appearing out of their banishment and recesses, shining with clear consciences, and holy zeal for the truth and gospel.

As bishop Jewel had preached at court this Lent, so he had his day at the Cross, which was the second Sunday before Easter. In both places he preached that famous sermon wherein he openly challenged the papists. And Dr. Cole, late dean of St. Paul's, for saving the credit of popery, took him up, as we shall hear. The challenge the bishop made was, as it appears in his sermon printed in his works,

“That it could not appear by any authority, either of scripture, or of the old doctors, or of the ancient councils, that there was any private mass in the whole church of Christ at that time; or, that there was then any communion ministered in the church to the people under one kind only; or, that the common prayers were then pronounced in a strange tongue, that the people understood not; or, that the bishop of Rome was then called *universalis episcopus*, or *caput universalis ecclesiae*; universal bishop of the whole world, or else, the head of the universal church; or, that the people were then taught to believe, that in the sacrament after the consecration the substance of bread and wine departed away, and that there remained nothing else but only the accidents of bread and wine; or, that then it was thought lawful to say ten, twenty, or thirty masses

in one church in one day; or, that then the people were forbidden to pray or read the scripture in their mother tongue ;” together with many other articles of doctrine and practice in the present Roman church, which he then reckoned up. The bishop’s open offer then was, “That if any one of all these things he then had rehearsed could be proved on the popish side by any sufficient authority, either of the scripture, or of the old doctors, or of the ancient councils, or by any one allowed example of the primitive church, and as they had borne the people in hand they could prove them by, he would be contented to yield to them, and to subscribe.”

The sermon of Jewel, wherein he made that challenge to the papists at Paul’s Cross, was preached before he was bishop. For so it is asserted in the book of the Antiquities of the British Church: viz.

Johannes Juell ante susceptum episcopatum pro publica frequentis populi conclone Londini in coeriterio Paulino, pontifici ex principalibus suis dogmatibus in apertum discrimen et aciem postulavit, eaque asseruit, neque scripturarum, nec patrum orthodoxorum, neque conciliorum, quingentis post Domini ascensionem annis celebratorum, autoritate, stare posse.

Dr. Cole, aforesaid, upon this wrote a letter to him, March the 18th, offering to dispute the matter with him by letters. And some letters passed between him and Jewel: wherein it is evident how Cole shuffled and shifted off the main business, and nibbled at other by-matters. But at length he privately, among his own party, scattered several copies of an answer, (as he called it,) by way of letter to the said bishop. To which the bishop made and printed his reply.

But Dr. Harding of Lovain afterwards undertook the bishop’s challenge more briskly, giving his answer, as well as he could, to the twenty-seven articles distinctly, of which the challenge consisted. The bishop made answer again to Harding in the year 1565. And Harding wrote a rejoinder. And the bishop again made a most learned reply thereunto in the year 1567, shewing abundantly how good he made his challenge: which may be read in his works, an impregnable bulwark of the church of England.

A learned writer in those days observed how Harding shuffled in his writing against the bishop: that he in his reply printed fairly Harding’s whole book, [that the reader might see and judge the strength of each

writer's reason, having both under his eye.] But Harding, when he put forth his rejoinder to the bishop's reply, (besides, that it meddled only with one of the twenty-seven articles in controversy,) he laid not that one article wholly before the reader: but after he had at the first related little more than one half leaf of the beginning of the bishop's book, as it lay, (which he might seem to have done to blear the reader's eye with a false shew of sincere dealing,) continually after interrupted the process of the said treatise, and snatched here and there at certain parcels of the book, being discontinued and dismembered from the rest.

Besides Harding and Cole, several others zealously rose up against the bishop's book: as Dormer, Harding's scholar, wrote a Proof of some of the popish articles, denied in the bishop's challenge. Rastal also snatched at certain parcels of the book, and thereby patched up two new books.

Dr. Saunders discoursed likewise upon some fragments of the same book, and a few lines of Nowel's book: and thence published an huge volume. Lastly, Stapleton wrote another great volume upon the bishop of Salisbury's marginal notes. By violent plucking of the which, from the continuance of the process whereupon they depended, and whereby they were made plain, he both blinded the reader, and depraved and corrupted the notes, contrary to the true sense and meaning of them; as Nowel above mentioned related and observed.

Let me add, that there was not long after an Apology set forth, (mentioned hereafter,) writ by the said Jewel, bishop of Sarum, for the church now reformed and estabshed, and for the departing thereof from the Roman communion; wherein it is at large justified. Therein are these words:

“We have departed from that church, wherein neither the word of God could be heard purely, nor the sacraments rightly administered, nor the name of God, as it ought to be, called upon. And which they themselves confess to be corrupted in many things: and wherein, to say the truth, there was nothing that could stay any man that was wise, and that had any consideration of his own salvation. To conclude, we have departed from that church that was in time past: and we have departed in such sort as Daniel did out of the den of lions, and as the three children out of the fire. Yea, rather cast out by them with their cursings and bannings, than departed of ourselves.

“Again; we have adjoined ourselves unto that church, wherein they themselves, in case they will speak truly, and according to their own consciences, cannot deny, but all things are soberly and reverently handled, and so far forth as we were able to attain, most nearly unto the order of the old time. For let them compare their churches and ours together, they shall see, that both they most shamefastly have departed from the apostles, and we most justly have forsaken them. For we, after the example of Christ, of the apostles, and of the holy fathers, do give the whole sacrament to the people. These men, contrary to all the fathers, contrary to all the apostles, contrary to Christ himself, nor without (as Gelasius spake) high sacrilege, do divide the sacrament, and pluck the one part away from the people. We have restored the Lord’s supper according to the institution of Christ; and desire to have it, as much as may be, and to as many as may be, most common; and as it is called, so to be in very deed, a *corareunion*. These men have changed all things from the institution of Christ; and of the holy communion they have made a *private mass*. So that we present unto the people a holy supper, they a vain pageant to gaze upon. We do affirm with the most ancient fathers, that the body of Christ is eaten of none but of godly and faithful men, and such as are endued with the spirit of Christ. These fellows do teach, that the very body of Christ may in very deed, and, as they term it, *really* and *substantially*, be eaten, not only of wicked and unfaithful men, but also (it is horrible to speak it) of mice and dogs. We do pray in our churches after such sort, that, according as St. Paul doth admonish us, the people may know what we do pray, and with one mind answer, *Amen*. These men pour out in the churches unknown and strange words, like unto the noise of sounding brass, without any understanding, without sense, without judgment. And this is their only endeavour, that the people should not be able to understand at all.

“And because we will not rehearse all the differences between us and them, (for they are in a manner infinite,) we translate the scriptures into all languages; these men will scarce suffer them to be abroad in any tongue. We do exhort the people to hear and read the word of God; these men drive them from it. We would have our cause heard before all the world; these men fly all judgment and

trial. We lean unto knowledge; they unto ignorance. We trust unto the light; they unto darkness. We have in reverence, as reason is, the words of the apostles and of the prophets; these men do burn them. To conclude, we in God's cause will stand to the judgment of God only; these men will stand to their own. But if they will consider all these things with a quiet mind, and a prepared purpose to hear and to learn, then shall they not only allow our doings, which, leaving all errors, have followed Christ and his apostles, also they themselves shall fall away of themselves, and of their own accord incline themselves to join with our fellowship," &c. And whereas their party would say, "That it was an unlawful attempt to go about such matters without a holy general council: for therein was the whole power of the church; and there Christ had promised he would be always ready at hand; yet, as it was answered, they themselves had broken the commandments of God and the decrees of the apostles, &c. and that without tarrying for any general council, &c. We surely do not despise councils or assemblies, and conferences of bishops and learned men: neither have we done those things, that be done, altogether without bishops, or without a council. The matters we handled in full parliament with long deliberation, and a great assembly."

And now at length, after this change of government, and establishment upon better laws, in how easy and happy a condition did both the church and state of England feel themselves! The people were abundantly sensible of it, and many of the best and wisest sort could not but acknowledge it openly. Thus one very intelligent person, and not long after the queen's ambassador to Spain, writ to the archbishop of Canterbury,

"how gravely, learnedly, and christianly, he and the other bishops, by their godly travail, with the good help of her grace's laws, in that behalf provided, had reformed the state of corrupted religion, restored to God his due honour in public service, planted true obedierice to her majesty in the hearts and consciences of her subjects, delivered the minds of true Christians from their heavy bondage and oppression, drawn deceived souls out of the most dangerous errors, and to all their eternal comforts published the most glorious light of God's holy truth; both her majesty to her great contentation joyfully beheld, and they, the flock committed to

her charge, and under her to them, the archbishops and bishops, did feel.”

And the blessing of these bishops did appear the greater, being compared with queen Mary’s late bishops;

“when the souls and consciences of Christian people within this land, as they were most dangerously and damnably blinded, by withdrawing the free course of God’s most holy gospel, so most miserably and sorrowfully thrall’d and oppress’d, by the ungodly and uncharitable dealing of those that in profession bore the most godly and charitable title of bishops and fathers.”

And again, in regard of this queen’s countenance of true religion, and the former queen’s oppression of it, the same person makes this observation,

“That by her God had so *refreshed* and strengthened the state of the commonweal, *that* in few years [he wrote this in the year 1563] England now saw herself of the weakest made one of the *mightiest*; of a poor one made one of the richest; of the most disorder’d made one of the most justly ruled realms in Christendom.” But to proceed with our relation.

About May or June, in the year 1560, William Honning (who was clerk of the council to king Edward, and, I suppose, tarried in his office under queen Mary) writ to the earl of Sussex the news of certain other persons that were determin’d for the sees yet vacant. “Dr. *May*, dean of *St. Paul’s*,” as he wrote, “is now resolutely appointed to *the* see of York. Mr. Alley, a jolly preacher, hath Exeter; and with the same, for the tenuity of that living, a promotion or two for five years: like as Mr. Parkhurst, *elect* of Norwich, hath alike for three years, to enable him the better for the payment of first-fruits.”

William May, LL. D. aforesaid, a very wise man, and made much use of in king Edward’s time for the reformation, was elected archbishop of York; but dying, Aug. 8, before he was consecrated, was buried in *St. Paul’s* church, August the 12th, the bishop of London preaching at his funeral. This May was a counsellor to king Edward, one of his visitors, and one of those that sat in the court of requests in his reign. So that archiepiscopal see remained void till the next year. I find a daughter of this May, named Elizabeth, was married to John Tedcastel, a gentleman, dwelling in the

parish of Barkin in Essex, by whom he had a numerous offspring, even nine sons and seven daughters. She deceased October 27, 1596, in the forty-third year of her age, and was buried in the chancel of the said church, where she hath a monument.

This eminently pious and learned dean was succeeded by another eminently pious and learned man, Alex. Nowel, D. D. He was under king Edward schoolmaster of Westminster, and prebendary of that church, and an allowed preacher by licence from that king: under queen Mary an exile: and of the ancient family of the Nowels of Lancashire: who, according to the inscription on his monument in St. Paul's, for thirty years preached the first and last Lenten sermon before the queen, and that with a great freedom, becoming one that was delivering God's message. He was patron of Middleton school, gave two hundred pounds a year to Brazen-Nose college, Oxon, and appointed thirteen students there, where himself was admitted at thirteen years old, and studied there thirteen years. He was an exciter to piety by his frequent sermons and his threefold catechism. He was forty-two years dean, and died at ninety, when neither the eyes of his mind nor of his body were yet grown dim: dying anno 1601, February 13.

It may not be amiss to leave upon record some further account of this reverend man's life, taken from his own writings. When he was twenty years old, anno 1541 or 1542, he was public reader of logic in his university. And the logic he read was Rodolph's. When he was master of Westminster school, he brought in the reading of Terence, for the better learning the pure Roman style. As it was said of Dr. Barnes, that he brought in that author and Tully into his college of Augustin's in Cambridge, instead of barbarous Duns and Dorbel. And one day every week Terence gave way to St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles; which he read in Greek to such of his scholars as were almost at man's estate; whereof he had a good number: whereby he also prepared himself some way to the teaching of God's people in his church: whereunto he had directed his intent since he was sixteen years old. When queen Mary came in, and brought in popery with her, he travelled abroad, and underwent much pains and loss for the religion of Christ; which he kept with a good conscience. For sundry years, both at home in his own country, and in this exile, he read over the whole body of the holy scriptures, and whole volumes of the best ancient doctors. He was a preacher in king Edward's days, 1551; and had preached in some of the notablest places and auditories in the realm, before he went out of England. This he said, in

answer to Dorman's scoffing slander, "That he had read some scattered scraps of John Calvin's old, cast, overworn, heretical divinity: and that he returned home from his exile, and became suddenly of a mean school master a valiant preacher."

He made his entrance into the choir of St. Paul's, November 27, *Te Deum* being then sung, and the organs playing, with the consort of the choir. Of this man we shall, have occasion to speak more hereafter.

This year were these bishops consecrated, for the further supply of the church. As, for the church of Exeter, William Alley aforesaid, M.A. born in Barkshire, aged 50; was consecrated July 14. For the see of Norwich, John Parkhurst, A.M. of Guildford in Surrey, aged 50; consecrated September 1. Robert Horne, D.D. a man of Cumberland, aged 47, for the diocese of Winchester; and Edmund Scarebier, D. D. of Lancashire, aged 47, for Peterburgh: these two last being consecrated January 16. And in the province of York, James Pilkington, B.D. a Cambridge man by education, a Lancashire man by birth,

and an exile, (but of great piety and learning,) was consecrated bishop of Durham, March 2, aged 45. And on the same day was John Best, B. D. consecrated bishop of Carlisle. This man was educated in Oxon: at first a grammarian; and in the science of grammar he took a degree: he was a native of Yorkshire, and aged 48 at his consecration. Herein, I acknowledge, I leave the scheme of queen Elizabeth's first bishops as it is set down in the Antiquities of Canterbury; which placeth the consecration of these two last mentioned under the year following. But I am persuaded so to do from the credit of Mr. Anthony Wood, who saw the patents of the restoration of their temporalities; the one dated March 13, 1560; the other April 18, 1561.

Besides above sixty priests and deacons ordained in St. Paul's in January last by the new bishop of London, there were also this year these ordinations of inferior clergy. April 9, Nicolas bishop of Lincoln, by the archbishop's order and allowance, ordained seven deacons and nineteen priests. Again, June 23, Gilbert bishop of Bath and Wells, by licence from the archbishop, ordained six deacons in the church of St. Pancrace, [Soperlane,] belonging to the deanery of the church of the arches. And July 20, the same bishop ordained two deacons and four priests. Another ordination without date, but next following in the register, performed by William bishop of Exon, by the order of the archbishop, in the church of

All-Saints, Breadstreet; wherein were ordained nineteen deacons and thirteen priests, and five both deacons and priests.

John Fox, the learned preacher and martyrologist, about the latter end of the year, went down with his wife and family to Norwich, and was with the bishop there: whom, I suppose, the bishop took down with him, not only for his company, but to preach the gospel, being of excellent eloquence, and to instruct the people of those quarters in good religion; not over forward in it, having been leavened with popery by the late bishop Hopton. While Fox was here, Richard Prat, a London minister, and Fox's old friend, wrote to him, lamenting his absence: "What comfort we had in your presence, and what loss we received by your absence, it is best known to us who have tasted of both. Notwithstanding we must be contented to lose you for a time, considering that you are daily travelling to win others that be not so forward as we [in London] are. I beseech God prosper your doings." Another pious friend of his, named William Wintrop, writ to him, November 18, from London, also "praying God to bless him and his labours in the church; and recommending unto him several sober, learned young men, to be put into preferments and places in this diocese of Norwich," I suppose where Fox now was. His letter run to this effect: "Wishing his prosperous success in the Lord's harvest, and that many labourers might by his means be set forth in that good work, to call the younglings to the great supper of the Lamb *that was slain from the beginning of the world*. And for his memento he noted a few names, which had not bowed their knees to Baal, which he committed to his remembrance; viz. Mr. Bull, James Young, Mr. Playfer, William Faucet, minister of Linsey, and the bearer, Peter Forman; who were all virtuous men, fearing God. And thus he prayed the eternal Spirit to govern him in all his affairs, to God's glory, and his eternal comfort. He *prayed* him likewise to procure some living of 50*l.* a year, *or* upward, for Robert Cole, being minded to give up where he was, and Richard Berd, a good minister." Some of these, I suppose, had been exiles, and students abroad in the former reign.

Of this reverend man, Dr. Whitgift (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) gave this honourable testimony; calling him "that worthy man, who had so well deserved of "this church of England." And for his judgment of the ecclesiastical government of it, (that none may take up a mistake of Mr. Fox,) I shall add what the same author saith of him, where he had occasion to speak of the orders of ecclesiastical persons in this

church. “In the ecclesiastical state,” saith Fox, “we take not away distinction of ordinary degrees, such as by the scripture be appointed, or by the primitive church be allowed; as patriarchs, or *archbishops*, bishops, ministers, and deacons: for of these four we specially read, as chiefest. In which four degrees, as we grant diversity of office, so we admit also in the same diversity of dignity; neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any *single* person: for as we give to the minister [or priest] place above the deacon, to the bishop above the minister, *to* the archbishop above the bishop, so we see no cause of inequality, why one minister should be above another minister, one bishop in his degree above another bishop *to* deal in his diocese, or one archbishop above another *archbishop*. And this to keep an order duly and truly in the church, according to the true nature and definition of order, by the authority of Augustin, *Ordo est parlum dispariumque rerum sua cuique loco tribuens dispositio.*” Thus Fox: which Dr. Whitgift brings to answer that confident assertion of the Admonition, that these offices of archbishops, bishops, &c. were unheard of in the church of Christ.” But this by way of digression.

The queen’s visitors sat at Lambeth this summer, in the months of June and July. Hither, among others, was summoned Dr. Henry Cole, (of whom before.) This man had framed an answer (as was shewn above) to the bishop of Sarum’s sermon, requiting and challenging the Romanists to shew the grounds of their religion, if they had any. This answer was by way of letter to the bishop, though he never sent this letter to him, but had divers copies of it dispersed abroad among his own party: which made the bishop use these words to him in the reply he made to Cole:

“That he thought a man of his credit and age would not have been ashamed of his own writings, or would have concealed them from him to whom he had directed them.”

And when Dr. Cole appeared before the visitors, among other demands, they demanded of him, Whether that letter, that went abroad under his name, in answer to Jewel elect of Sarum, was his, and whether he would acknowledge it so, or no: and the rather, because it had gone abroad in all places, even to the bishop’s own diocese, to discredit him in corners at his first coming. Cole answered, that it was his own: but that it was much abridged, and that the original was twice as much. Hereupon the bishop blamed him afterwards, in his letter to him, “that he would so unadvisedly

bestow his writings to others, that had curtailed them; and because many honourable and worshipful persons would gladly see what both said in print." The bishop therefore had desired him, for the bettering of his own cause, to send him his own copy fully and largely, as he said he gave it out at the first; that he might have no cause to think himself injured, if he answered one parcel of his letter, and not the whole. This the bishop wrote to him from Shirborn, July 22, 1560. Cole never sent his copy, nor made answer one way or other; and so the bishop was fain to answer that paper that went about.

The visitors at Lambeth, mentioned above, called there before them, besides Cole, many other popish divines, to swear to the supremacy: who refusing it, they took of them bonds for their good behavior.

CHAPTER 17.

Advice concerning' ministers. Orders for the clergy; and regulation of the church. Interpretation of the Injunctions. Divers ecclesiastical ordinances to be prescribed ministers. A declaration of faith to be read by them. Resolutions for uniformity. All drawn up by the bishops.

I SHALL here insert a paper in order to the reformation of religion, containing proposals for ministers, and such as should officiate in the church. Though I can neither as.. sign the author, nor yet the exact time of the writing thereof, yet I suppose I am not much wide from the time; and it seems to have been the advice of some one of the exiles. His judgment was, that in the ordination of ministers, there should be the consent of the congregations over whom they were to be set, together with the presentation of the respective patrons; and that the old oft-revolted priests, that complied under all the late revolutions of religion, should not be suffered to officiate any longer, but to be deposed. But behold the paper.

“Notes for some reformation of the ministry and minis ters in this corrupt time and state of the church of England, to be observed until better reformation may be devised and executed.

“First, That none be admitted into the ministry of the word and sacraments, but such as be able to minister the same according to God’s word, and such as shall be at the same time admitted to a certain place and congregation.

“So may the congregation of every parish give their consent and election, with the patron, unto him that is to be presented: or if they have any just cause against him, allege it. So as then for the same he may not be admitted a minister, when as he is presented of the patron, unto the bishop, and is also then nominated and shewed to the parishioners. And this may be done by the archdeacon, or such as for him do present any to the bishop for to be admitted into the ministry. For he that doth present any to be admitted into the ministry, must examine, and be sure in what parish he should be minister, and what those parishioners will justly say with him or

against him, afore he can well present him to be admitted a minister to serve in that parish.

“*And* upon such election and admission into the ministry, and institution unto the benefice, then may well follow induction, with a sermon unto the minister inducted, and parishioners assembled, for better instruction, admonition, and exhortation unto them of their duties. And for not admitting any such as cannot or will not thus orderly be admitted into the ministry, the bishop can be in no danger; neither can the patrons look in any wise to have him instituted to the benefice, which cannot or will not be orderly and well admitted into the ministry.

“And secondarily, for such as be already admitted into the ministry, when as they be presented by the patron to have institution to a benefice; yet then may they be caused orderly and well to proceed, as is aforesaid, by the consent of the parishioners. Or if sufficient cause be, thereby tried and known, why they should not be instituted, then may they justly be rejected.

“And if any be admitted into the ministry, and also into a benefice, which doth not the duty of the same according to God’s word; then by the authority of God’s word he may, and should for a season, be suspended from the function of the ministry, if there be hope that he can and will amend, to do according to God’s word. And when as there is no hope that ever he can be able and meet to do the duty of a minister according to God’s word, that then he be utterly deposed from the ministry; excepting only the case of bodily infirmity:.....

“And in case of the aforesaid infirmity, suspension, or any other want of a lawful minister to serve in any parish, that then no sacraments be ministered, except a lawful minister be procured to minister unto them of that parish, either in their church, or else in his church.

“And that none for reading only be permitted to take any part of the stipend, or living, due to the ministry. “So may all such as have no vocation, but seek to have some portion and profit of the ministry by reading only, be excluded. And any that liveth honestly upon any vocation, and, in the absence of a minister, can and will read any thing appointed to be read, only of good will to serve the

parishioners, may be permitted. And so shall not the parishioners lack that which may be done of honest men unto them of good will; neither the ministry, nor any thing thereto belonging, be abused in this case, by such as seek to serve themselves of covetousness.

“That no minister serve mo than one parish in one day.

“So they which cannot or will not serve any parish at any time, according to God’s word, shall not be allowed or permitted to serve, yea, to delude and abuse many parishes at divers times on one day, according to the fashion of this ungodly world.

“That baptism be ministered only on Sundays and holy-days in the church.

“So that no liberty or occasion be offered unto women to baptize. And at a most convenient time and place in the congregation, by a lawful minister, the true doctrine and use of baptism may be declared and exercised, unto the abolishing of errors and abuses yet remaining concerning baptism.

“That at every communion there be a sermon.

“So may such as have quarter sermons have at every :sermon a communion. And such as cannot or will not have preaching of the word in season and out of season, according to God’s word, nor quarter sermons, according to man’s ordinance, shall not be allowed to abuse the seals of sacraments, according to their own affections and corrupt customs. But they, by deferring of this sacrament to be ministered until doctrine be preached and received, may be thereby caused and occasioned more to desire and frequent preaching of the word: by the which God hath ordained that men should be saved; and by the which men learning and using well to examine themselves, may eat of this bread, and drink of this cup worthily, unto their own salvation. For this sacrament, as a seal annexed to good doctrine received, may be well used; but being by ignorance or negligence separated from sound doctrine, cannot be well used, but evil abused. Therefore when and whereas preaching wanteth, the people perish in their own sin, and their blood shall be required at the hands of those that have charge over them. Yea, in such place and case, to such persons the communion used doth increase the danger and damnation. And being omitted and

deferred, is a great occasion to breed more desire and diligence in all persons to have preaching afore and with the communion, well restored, and used unto edification.

“That all priests made to say mass afore it was abolished in king Edward’s days, which then first had said mass; and secondarily, after it was then abolished, renouncing the mass and papistry, did profess and practise the Christian ministry; and thirdly, in queen Mary’s time, revolted again unto papistry; and fourthly, now in queen Elizabeth’s time, be returned again into the ministry; that therefore now they cease from any ministry of the word and sacraments, until further examination and order be taken with them and others according to God’s word.

“For they be all in offensive and notorious infamy, by reason of inconstancy, ever turning with the time; by reason of manifold apostasy, in oft renouncing their profession and religion; by reason of hypocrisy, in pretending the service of God according to his word, and practising the serving of themselves according to the fashion of this world; by reason of perjury, joined with treason, against the princely majesty, in breaking of the oath in queen Mary’s reign, which they had sworn in the reign of king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI. By these reasons it is evident, that they be in notorious and offensive infamy. And also because that in queen Mary’s time, as hogs to their wallow, and dogs to their vomit, worse in the end than at the beginning, they returned to their idolatrous and blasphemous mass, resuming and renewing their old former abusing of bread and wine, to be honoured and sacrificed as Christ. And also in this queen’s time they have so framed themselves to the fashion of this world, in turning, as afore, from the mass of papistry by force of the law and ordinance of man, that it is evident, how they have not at any time repented, neither been persuaded nor reformed by the word of God. And it is manifest in Ezekiel, that if any keep such corruptions in their hearts with evident offences, and tokens of the same before their faces in their deeds, and yet demand, and be answered and accepted, to be allowed, as men meet to serve God; then is the sin and danger very great, as of such demanders, so of such answerers: for that they answer and accept such with ignorance and error through negligence, as may and should be known and rejected, as manifest

and presumptuous hypocrites, by diligent examination, good triM, and experience. Therefore, as in Josiah's time, after long time and diligence of reformation, yet upon better searching and regarding God's word in holy scriptures, and according thereto, in further proceeding to better reformation, such priests as had served idolatrously in the high places, albeit they were suffered to eat unleavened bread, to have their living among their brethren, yet were they not suffered to come to the altar at Jerusalem, nor suffered to exercise the function and office of priests. And so now in England, after long time of reformation: yet by better considering and proceeding according to God's word in holy scriptures, it will well appear, that albeit old oft-revolting priests, afore noted, be not deprived, but suffered to have and keep their livings; yet should they be suspended or deposed from the function and exercise of the ministry of God's word. And as in Ezekiel it is taught and commanded, that of those Levites which went with Israel from God to idolatry, none might return and ascend to the dignity of priests; but those priests of the Levites which kept the charge of the sanctuary, not turning from God to idolatry, they were allowed to serve as priests in the ministry: so in England, of such as once only renounced the papistical priesthood, and since have entered and continued in the Christian ministry, without any revolting unto papistry, many may be well allowed to have continuance, as ministers, in the ministry. But of such as revolted both to and from the ministry of Christ unto Antichrist, with notorious, offensive infamy, as is aforesaid, none should be allowed or suffered, as ministers, in the ministry well reformed, or well proceeding in reformation.

“Now if bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers will not use these nor other means to reform, then must they needs not only suffer, but also maintain great abuses and enormities in the ministry and ministers to continue. For such must be suffered and maintained, as have been put forth of cloisters into pensions, and from pensions into parishes; yea, from papistical priesthood into the Christian ministry, and from the Christian ministry into the papistical priesthood again; and from the papistical priesthood again into the Christian ministry again; alway for filthy lucre,

seeking so to serve and please men, as that therefore they cannot be the servants and ministers of Christ.

“And many also be now in the ministry, which cannot or will not do any thing to serve God and the parishioners according to God’s word; but be suffered and maintained to serve themselves and others, according to the fashion of the world: which do not serve and feed the parishioners with doctrine and hospitality, according to God’s word; but, with the spoil of all provision made for doctrine and hospitality, do feed themselves, and serve others that be all takers of that spoil, according to the fashion of this world. And this spoiling of the parishes of provision for doctrine and hospitality did begin by impropriations given from the parish, to maintain the traditions and ordinances, doctrines and doings of men in religious houses.”

Another thing also was now drawn up in writing by the archbishop and bishops, for the further regulation of the inferior clergy. This paper consisted of *interpretations and further considerations* of certain of the queen’s *injunctions*, for the better direction of the clergy, and for keeping good order in the church. It was framed, as it seems to me, by the pen of Cox, bishop of Ely, and revised by the archbishop, and was as followeth.

To the third injunction the interpretation is,

“That if the person be able, he shall preach in his own person *every* month; or else shall preach by another, so that his absence be approved by the ordinary of the diocese, in *respect* of sickness, service, or study at the universities. *Nevertheless*, for want of able preachers and parsons, to tolerate them without penalty, so they preach in their own *persons*, or by a learned substitute, once in every three months of the year.”

Item, To the eighth, “That no visitors’ licences to preach be continued in force.”

Item, That to the sixteenth article be added, “That at the archdeacon’s visitation, the archdeacons shall appoint the curates to certain texts of the New Testament to be conned without book; and at their next synod to exact a rehearsal of them.”

To the nineteenth, “That in the procession [in Rogation week] they sing or say the two psalms beginning *Benedic, anima mea, Domino*, with the litany and suffrages thereto, with some sermon, or a homily of thanksgiving to God; and moving to temperancy in their drinkings.”

To the twentieth, **Item**, “*That* on Sundays there be no shops open, nor artificers going about their affairs worldly: and that all fairs and common marts falling upon the Sunday, there be no shewing of any wares before the service be done.”

Item, “*That* there be some long a catechism devised and. printed, for the erudition of simple curates: homilies to be made of those arguments which be shewed in the book of homilies; or others of some convenient arguments, as of the sacrifice of the mass, of the common prayer to be in English: that every particular church may alter and change the public rites and ceremonies of their church, keeping the substance of the faith inviolably, with such like. And that these be divided to be made by the bishops; every bishop two, and the bishop of London to have four.”

Item, “That all bishops and others, having any living ecclesiastical, shall go in apparel agreeable, or else, within two monitions given by the ordinary, to be deposed or sequestered from his fruits, according to the discretion of his said ordinary, or his lawful deputy.”

Item, “That such as be for their wilfulness deprived in this necessity of ministers, shall be called by the discretion of the ordinary to minister some cure upon reasonable wages; else to be ordered according to the laws.”

Item, “That incorrigible Arians, Pelagians, or Free-will-men, be sent into some one castle in North Wales, or Wallingford; and there to live of their own labour and exercise: and none other be suffered to resort unto them but their keepers, until they be found to repent their errors.”

Item, “That public teachers of grammar be neither officers in cities or towns; or farmers, or otherwise encumbered worldly, to the let of their labours.”

Item, “That young priests or ministers made or to be made, be so instructed, that they be able to make answers according to the form of

some catechism to be prescribed: and that readers neither serve in any cure, nor where is any incumbent.”

Item, “That the churchwardens once in the month declare by their curates, in bills subscribed with their hands, to the ordinary, or to the next officer under him, who they be which will not readily pay their penalties for not coming to God’s divine service according to the statutes.”

CONCERNING THE BOOK OF SERVICE.

First, “That there be used only but one apparel; as the cope in the ministration of the Lord’s supper, and the surplice in all other ministrations: and that there be no other manner and form of ministering the sacraments, but as the service book doth precisely prescribe, with the declaration of the Injunctions; as for example, the common bread.”

Item, “That the table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church, before the chancel door; where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great feasts of receivings. And at the end of the communion to be set up again, according to the Injunctions.”

Item, “That there be no other holydays observed besides the Sundays, but only such as be set out *a in the act of king Edward, an. 5 et 6, cap. 3.*”

Item, “*That* the ministers receiving the communion at the hands of the executor be placed kneeling next to the table.”

Item, “That the communion bread be thicker and broader than it is now commonly used.”

Item, “That private baptism in necessity, as in peril of death, be ministered either by the curate, deacon, or reader, or some other grave and sober man, if the time will suffer.”

Item, “That children be not admitted to the communion before the age of twelve or thirteen years, of good discretion, and well instructed before.”

CONCERNING BURIALS, CHRISTENING'S, ADMISSION OF MINISTERS, &C.

Item, “That when any Christen body is passing, the bell be tolled; and the curate be especially called for, to comfort the sick person. And after the time of his passing, to ring no more but one short peal; and one before the burial, and allover short peal after the burial.”

Item, “To avoid contention, let the curate have the value: of the chrisom; not under the value of four pence, and above as they can agree, and as the state of the parents may require.”

Item, “That ministers being not learned in the Latin tongue, if they be well exercised in the scriptures, and well testified of for their lives and conversations, and of their wives, to be tolerated in the office of deacons; and after a good time of experience to admit them to the order of priesthood. And of such as be skilled in the Latin tongue, to have good examination of their competent knowledge in the principal articles of the faith, and of some competent matter to comfort the sick and weak in conscience, [ere they be admitted to higher orders.”]

Item, “Against the day of ordering appointed, to give open recognitions to all men, to except against such whom they know to be not worthy, either for hfe or conversation. And there to give notice, that none shall sue for orders but within their own diocese, where they were born, or had there long time of dwelling: and that by the testimony of their ordinaries; except of such as be degreed in the universities.”

Item, “*That* canonical impediments be still observed to respect them which sue to be ordered, except they have decency agreeable to the same.”

Item, “*That* ministers or readers of service remove not from the diocese or cure where they first began, and were admitted by the ordinary; except they bring letters testimonial of their removing, allowed by the ordinary.”

Item, “Suit to be made to the queen’s majesty for reformation of pensions imposed.”

Item, “That the order of the articles prescribed to ministers be inserted in this form, *ut infra*.”

Item, “That one brief form of declaration be made, setting out the principal articles of our religion; the rather, for the unity of doctrine in the whole realm: especially to be spoken by the parsons, curates, or both, at their first entry; and after, twice in the year, for avoiding all doubt and suspicion of varying from the doctrine determined in the realm.”

Item, “That the bishops do call home once in the year any prebendary in their church which studieth in the universities, to know how he profiteth in learning; and that he be not suffered to be a serving or waiting-man dissolutely; or else to sequester the fruits of his living.”

MATRIMONY.

“For the banns asking, forasmuch as the statute of faculties doth not define the cause, whether the canon or the custom hitherto in use may be followed without danger or no, it is left to every man’s prudence.

“Whether a bishop may dispense in times prohibited: in which matter deliberation is thought best.”

COLLATION OF BENEFICES.

First, Agreed, “That no bishop shall grant in writing any advowson of his patronage, until the benefice be void; except that, in a synod or convocation, the more part of the bishops do think it reasonable to be released in some special case.”

Item, “That from this day forth no confirmation [perhaps it should be *dispensation*] be given by any bishop for term of years upon benefice with cure.”

Item, “That no bishop hereafter shall ever grant any appropriation to be newly made without the like consent as in the first article.”

Item, “That the ordinaries do use all good, diligent examination, to foresee all simoniacal pacts or covenants with their presenters, for the spoil of their glebe and tithes.”

Item, “That the ordinary shew to the curates, in their suits for their tithes, &c. reasonable favour with expedition: so that their causes be determinate within three weeks, if the case doth not evidently require more leisure.”

And much was done not long after, according to this reformatory platform. For there was a larger catechism composed in Latin, and published by Alex. Nowel, dean of St. Paul’s, having been first revised and approved by both houses of convocation, anno 1562. A second book of homilies was also compiled and set forth, as we have them at this day in our homily book. And articles of faith to be subscribed to by ministers, and the form of declaration to be by them openly spoken and professed, were likewise framed.

The articles of the principal heads of religion prescribed to ministers, as was mentioned before, now follow:

S. scriptura in se continet oranem doctrinam pietatis: ex qua sufficienter et error omnis convinci possit, et veritas stabiliri.

Symbolum Nicehum, Athanasii, et quod communiter Apostolorum dicitur, continet brevissime articulos fidel nosfrye sparsim in scripturis ostensos. Qui istis non crediderint inter veros catholicos non sunt recipiendi.

Ecclesia Christi est, in qua putum Dei verbum praedicatur, et sacraments juxta Christi ordinationem administrantur: et in qua clavium authoritas retinetur.

Quaevis ecclesia particularis authoritatem instituendi, mutandi, et abrogandi ceremonias et ritus ecclesiasticos habet; modo ad decorem, ordinem, et aedificationem fiat.

Christus tantum duo sacramenta expresse nobis commendat, baptisms et eucharistism: quibus confertur gratia rite sumentibus, etiamsi malus sit minister. Et non prosunt indigne susipientibus quantumvis bonus sit minister.

Laudandus est ecclesiae mos baptizandi parvulos, et retinendus est.

Caena Dominica non est tantum symbolum mutuae benevolentiae Christianorum inter se; sed magis symbolum est nostrae

redemptionis per Christi mortem, et nostrae conjunctionis cum Christo. Ubi fidelibus vere datur et exhibetur communio corporis et sanguinis Domini.

Sacramentum eucharistiae [neque ex praecepto] neque ex usu primaevae ecclesiae aut servabatur, aut circumferebatur, vel elevabatur, ut adoraretur. Missa, ut consuevit a sacerdotibus dici, non est a Christo instituta, sed a multis Romanis pontificibus consarcinata. Nec est sacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis et defunctis.

Scholastica transubstantiatio panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Christi probari non potest ex sacris literis. Non omne peccatum mortale, seu voluntarie perpetratum post baptismum, est irremissibile, et peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum. Post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum potest homo peccare, ac denuo etiam resipiscere. Nemoque sine peccato vivit, quam vis regeneratis in Christo non imputatur. Justificatio ex sola fide est certissima doctrina Christianorum. Elisabetha regina Angliae est unicus et supremus gubernator hujus regni et omnium dominiorum et regionum suarum quarumcunque, tam in rebus et causis ecclesiasticis quam temporalibus. Verbum Dei non prohibet foeminarum regimen; cui obediendum est juxta ordinationem Dei. Romanus pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc regno, nec alia quaecunque potestas extranea. Leges civiles possunt Christianos propter flagitia morte punire. Christianis licet ex jussu principis bella gerere, et ex justa causa jurare, et propria possidere. Doctrina scholasticorum de purgatorio, et invocatione divorum, nullum habet fundamentum ex verbo Dei. Praeceptum Dei est, ut quae leguntur in ecclesia illa lingua proferantur quae ab ecclesia intelligatur. Absque externa et legitima vocatione non licet cuiquam sese ingerere in aliquod ministerium ecclesiasticum vel saeculare. Matrimonium inter christianos legitime juxta verbum Dei initum et contractum, est indissolubile, nec per traditiones hominum unquam convellendum. Coelibatus nulli hominum statui praecipitur, neque injungitur ministris ecclesiae ex verbo Dei. Haec omnia vera esse et publice docenda profiteamur, eaque juxta datam nobis facultatem et eruditionem tuebimur et docebimus. Hancque nostram confessionem manuum nostrarum

subscriptionibus testificamur, contrariamque doctrinam abolendam esse judicamus, et detestamur.

Now next for the form that all ministers were to read and declare publicly upon their first coming into their benefices, being a confession of their faith and belief, contained in eleven articles: this was put in print the next year by Rich. Jugg, the queen's printer, and was entitled,

A Declaration of certain principal articles of religion, set out by order of both archbishops metropolitans, and the rest of the bishops; for the unity of doctrine to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates; as well in testification of their common consent in the said doctrines, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the ministry of the church for diversity of judgment, as necessary for the instruction of their people. To be read by the said parsons, vicars, and curates at their possession-taking, or first entry into their cures; as also after that, yearly at two several times; that is to say, the Sundays next following Easter-day and St. Michael the archangel.

The Declaration was as followeth:

“Forasmuch as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the ministers and pastors of the church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith, when they shall be thereunto required, I for my part, now appointed your minister, vicar, or curate, having before my eyes the fear of God and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to assent to the same;

“**First**, That there is but one living and true God, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, maker and preserver of all things. And that in unity of this godhead there be three persons, of one substance, of equal power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

“**Secondly**, I believe also whatsoever is contained in the holy canonical scriptures. In the which scriptures are contained all things necessary to salvation. By the which also all errors and heresies may sufficiently be reprov'd and convicted, and all doctrines and articles necessary to salvation established. I do also most firmly believe and confess all the articles contained in the three creeds, the Nicene creed, Athanasian creed, and our common creed, called *the Apostles' creed*. For these do

briefly contain the principal articles of our faith, which are at large set forth in the holy scriptures.

“**Thirdly**, I acknowledge also that church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ’s institution, and the authority of the keys duly used. And that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change, to alter, clean to put away ceremonies and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused; and to constitute others, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

“**Fourthly**, Moreover I confess, that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by the high authority, according to the ordinances of this realm.

“**Fifthly**, Furthermore I do acknowledge the queen’s majesty’s prerogative and superiority of government of all states, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm and other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God’s word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort as is in the late act of parliament expressed, and sithence by her majesty’s Injunctions declared and expounded.

“**Sixthly**, Moreover touching the bishop of Rome, I do acknowledge and confess, that by the scriptures and word of God he hath no more authority than other bishops have in their provinces and diceses. And therefore the power which he now challengeth, that is, to be supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and so to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church. And therefore is for most just causes taken away, and abolished within this realm.

“**Seventhly**, Furthermore I do grant and confess, that the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the holy Sacraments, set forth by authority of parliament, is agreeable to the scriptures. That it is catholic, apostolic, and most for the advancing of God’s glory, and the edifying of God’s people; both for that it is in a tongue that may be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of ministrations contained in the same.

“**Eighthly**, And although in the ministration of baptism there is neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water now used; and for that they were of late years abused and esteemed necessary, where they pertain not to the substance and necessity of the sacrament, they be reasonably abolished; and yet the sacrament is full and perfectly ministered to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

“**Ninthly**, Moreover I do not only acknowledge that private masses were never used among the fathers of the primitive church; I mean, public ministration, and receiving of the sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants, according to Christ’s saying, *Take ye, and eat ye, &c.* but also that the doctrine which maintaineth the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and a means to deliver souls out of purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ’s ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolic; but contrariwise, most ungodly and most injurious to the precious redemption of our Saviour Christ, and his only sufficient sacrifice, offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross.

“**Tenthly**, I am of that mind also, that the holy communion and sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, (for the due obedience to Christ’s institution, and to express the virtue of the same,) ought to be ministered unto his people under both kinds: and that it is avouched by certain fathers of the church to be a plain sacrilege, to rob them of the mystical cup, for whom Christ hath shed his most precious blood; seeing he himself hath said, *Drink ye all of this*: considering also, that in the time of the ancient doctors of the church, as Cyprian, Jerom, Augustin, Gelasius, and others, six hundred years after and more, both the parts of the sacrament were ministered to the people.

“**Last of all**, As I do utterly disallow the extolling of images, relics, and feigned miracles; also all kinds of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man; or the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove; and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by man’s fantasy, besides or contrary to the scriptures; *as*, wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such like superstitions; which kind of works have no promise of reward in scripture, but contrariwise threatenings and maledictions: so I do exhort all men to the obedience of God’s law, and to works of faith; as charity, mercy, pity, alms, devout and fervent

prayer, with the affection of the heart, and not with the mouth only, godly abstinence and fasting, chastity, obedience to the rulers and superior powers, with such works and godliness of life, commanded by God in his word, which, as St. Paul saith, hath promises both of this life and of the life to come, and are works only acceptable in God's sight.

“These things above rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet do I without all compulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience from the bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledge to be true, and agreeable to God's word. And therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same: that we, all joining together in unity of spirit, faith, and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God; and that through the merits and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ. *To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and empire now and for ever.* Amen.”

Such was the pastoral care of archbishop Parker, by whom, I believe, this Declaration was chiefly framed, that so all that came into livings, and served in the church, might be purged of popish doctrines and superstitions, and to make the best security he could of admitting none to officiate but such as consented to the gospel, and took the profession thereof upon them.

Near about this time also (unless it were the year before) another thing was drawn up by the archbishop for the *practice* of the clergy, as the former was for them to *declare*, entitled, *Resolutions and Orders taken by common consent of the bishops for this present time, until a synod may be had, for preservation and maintenance of uniformity in matters ecclesiastical throughout all dioceses in both provinces.*

“First, That the licences given for preaching by the late visitors general be no longer in force. And that such as hereafter shall be admitted to preach shall be diligently examined, as well in unity of doctrine established by public authority, as admonished to use sobriety and discretion in teaching the people; abstaining from busy meddling with matters of controversy; and to consider the gravity of their office, and to foresee with diligence the matter which they will speak, to utter them to the edification of the audience.

“**Item**, That they set out in their preaching the reverend estimation of the holy sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s supper; exciting the people to the often and devout receiving of the holy communion of the body and blood of Christ, in such form as is already prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and as shall be further declared in an homily concerning the *virtue and efficacy* of the said sacrament. “**Item**, That they move the people to all obedience, as well in observation of the orders appointed in the Book of Common Service, as in the queen’s majesty’s Injunctions, as also of all other civil duties for subjects to do.

“**Item**, That they use not to exact or receive unreasonable rewards or stipends of the poor curates, coming to their cures to preach. Whereby they might be noted as followers of filthy lucre, rather than use the office of preaching of charity and good zeal, to the salvation of men’s souls.

“**Item**, That public baptism be ministered in the font commonly used; not in basins, or in any other like thing: and that the said font be not removed by any private advice.

“**Item**, Private baptism in necessity, as in peril of death, to be ministered, either by the curate, deacon, or reader, or some other grave and sober person, if the time will suffer.”

CHAPTER 18.

The bishops address to the queen against images. Table of marriages. Latin prayers for the colleges. Latin office for funerals; and commendation of benefactors deceased. A new calendar of lessons. Order for churches and chancels decayed, and kept unclean: and for places where the Latin prayers were said.

THUS industrious were these careful bishops in settling the affairs of the church, and regulating the ministers thereof. But the great business of retaining of images in the churches, or removing them, yet stuck; the queen hitherto not satisfied in that matter: which therefore these godly reformers had been and still were extraordinary solicitous about. Addresses had been several times made to her before, for the taking them away totally out of the churches; now this year they made another humble application to her for the removing *that offensive evil*, as they called it, out of the church of England.

“They urged to her the necessity of it, which had, they said, compelled them to renew their former suit, not in any respect of self-will, stoutness, or striving against her. majesty, but for that fear and reverence which they bore to the majesty of Almighty God; and lest, in giving offence to the little ones, in setting a trap of error for the ignorant, and digging a pit for the blind to fall into, they should not only be guilty of the blood of their brethren, but procure to their reclaiming consciences the biting worm that never dies, for their endless confusion. And they doubted not, but that God would happily finish in her majesty that good work which he had most graciously begun: that she, following the example of the godly princes that went before her, might clearly purge the polluted church, and remove all occasions of evil.

“And as they had heretofore at sundry times made petition to her concerning the matter of images, but had not exhibited any reasons for the removing the same; lest they might seem to allege conscience without the warrant of God’s word, and unreasonably to require that for which they could give no reason; they had now put in writing their authorities of scripture, reason, and pithy persuasions, which they exhibited to her gracious consideration.”

These are large, but are contracted by the bishop of Satum in his History of the Reformation. They are taken from the word of God, from sentences out of the ancient fathers, and from other weighty considerations.

They added,

“That these reasons had moved all their brethren, that now bore the office of bishops, to think and affirm images not expedient for the church of Christ; and were of such weight with them [who made this address to her majesty] that they would not suffer them to consent to the erecting and retaining of images in the places of religious worship, without great offending of God, and grievous wounding of their own consciences. And for these causes they beseeched her most humbly not to strain them any further; but to consider that God’s word did threaten a terrible judgment unto them, if they, being pastors and ministers of his church, should assent unto the thing which in their learning and conscience they were persuaded tended to the confirmation of error, superstition, and idolatry; and finally, to the ruin of the souls committed to their charge. And they prayed her majesty not to be offended with this their plainness and liberty: which all good and Christian princes had ever taken in good part at the hands of godly bishops: alleging, as a proof of this, a saying of St. Ambrose to Theodosius the emperor; *Sed neque imperiale est, &c. ie.* That it was neither the part of an emperor to deny freedom of speech, nor the part of a priest not to say what his judgment was.

“They entreated her further to consider, that besides weighty causes in policy, the establishing of images by her authority would not only utterly discredit their ministries, as builders of things which they had destroyed; but also blemish the fame of her most godly brother; and also such notable fathers as had given their lives for the restimoiily of God’s truth: who by public laws removed all images.

“And in fine, they beseeched her, that these and such like controversies of religion might be referred to be discussed and decided in a synod of the bishops and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantine the Great and other Christian emperors. That the reasons of both parties being examined by them, judgment might be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.”

And to these grave and weighty persuasions the queen at length condescended.

Another useful thing done this year by the same venerable company of reformers was, to prevent incestuous and unlawful marriages, too common in those times. And a table of marriages was framed, instructing what matrimony was lawful and agreeable to the word of God, and what was not. This, archbishop Parker had the main hand in. It was put into print for the more common use, and entitled, *A admonition for the necessity of the present time, till some further consultation, to all such as shall intend hereafter to enter into the state of matrimony, godly and agreeable to law.*

Though the public prayers were by the late act of parliament to be said only in the vulgar tongue, that all the people might understand; yet upon the petition of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and the two colleges of Winchester and Eaton, that for the further improvements of their members in Latin they might use the same form of public prayer in Latin; the queen, by her letters patents, dated at Westminster, the 6th of April, in the second year of her reign, granted the same: and being minded to consult (as her patents ran) for all the members of her commonwealth, as much as in her lay, did constitute, that it should be lawful and permitted by her authority and privilege royal, as well to the dean and fellowship of Christ-church in her university of Oxford, as to the presidents, keepers, rectors, masters, and societies of all and singular the colleges of Cambridge, Oxford, Winton, and Eaton, to use this form of common prayers in Latin publicly in their churches and chapels; declaring how she had also taken care that her printer should print the same in Latin, agreeing with the English book of public prayers: but still providing, that in those colleges, to which parishes of the laity were annexed, and also in the rest, to which the lay-servants, and ministers of their colleges, or any others ignorant of the Latin tongue, necessarily must resort; that for these should be assigned some seasonable hours and places in the said churches and chapels; in which, at least on festival days, morning and evening prayer should be read and recited, and the administration of the sacraments celebrated in their seasons in English, to the edification of the laity.

And further, she exhorted all other ministers of the, church of England to use the same Latin form of prayer privately, of what degree soever they were, on those days on which either they were not wont or not obliged to say the public prayers to their parishioners in the English tongue, according

to the form of the said statute. To this edition of the Latin prayers which came forth this year, she also appointed to be joined certain peculiar forms in Latin, to be used at the funerals and exequies of Christians deceased, when the friends and neighbours were minded to celebrate the Lord's supper; a custom then, but now wholly disused: it was entitled, *Celebratio Coenae Domini in funebribus, si amici et vicini defuncti communicate velint*. It consisted of a collect, and an epistle and gospel. The collect began, *Misericors Deus, &c.* which is the same in English with the second prayer in the burial office, to be used at the grave after the interment of the corpse; only with these variations.

ENGLISH OFFICE.

We may rest in him.

That at the general resurrection in the last day we may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and, through our fear thee, saying, Come ye blessed, &c.

LATIN OFFICE

We may sleep with Christ.

And in the resurrection at the last day, we, together with our brother, being raised again, and receiving our bodies, may reign together with thee in life eternal, *through our Lord*

Then the epistle, being the 1 Thessalonians 4:

I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning, those that sleep, &c. Wherefore comfort one another with these words.

The gospel was John 6:

Jesus saith to his disciples and the multitude of the Jews, All that the Father giveth me shall come to me, &c. That every one that seeth the Son and believeth in him, may have eternal life; and I will raise him up in the last day.

Or this, John 5:

Jesus saith to his disciples and the multitude of the Jews, Verily,

verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my words, and believeth &c
And they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.

And this office our reformers brought in, in the room of the popish superstitious office at the burials and exequies of their dead; and was nothing else but the correction and reformation thereof.

There was also in the popish times an office used in the colleges at certain times of the year, for the commendations of their benefactors: so called for their *commending* their souls to God on account of the merit of their good works. But now in the same book of Latin Common Prayer was added a reformed Latin commendation of them, which was to this import: That at the end of every term should be commendations of the founders and other famous men, by whose beneficence the colleges had been enriched. Whereof this was to be the form. First, to begin with the Paternoster. Then the recitation of these Psalms, 144, 145, 146. Then the lesson, which was the 44th chapter of Ecclesiasticus. These read and ended, followed a sermon, in which the preacher was to set forth the most ample munificence of their founder; the great usefulness of learning: with what praises they deserved to be extolled, who by their liberality promoted the good study of learning: how great an ornament it was to a kingdom to have learned men, who of matters controverted in the world might give the true judgment: how much the holy scripture excelled human authority: how profitable the doctrine of it was to the common people, and how wide it extended itself: and how excellent and truly royal it was for them to whose care God had committed the whole people, to provide them many ministers of the word, and to take care that these ministers should be honest and learned men.

The sermon ended, the *Benedictus* was to be sung. Then certain versicles, thus sounding in English: Minister, *The just shall be had in everlasting remembrance.* Response, *He shall not be affraid of evil tidings.* Min. *The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God.* Resp. *Neither doth any torment touch them.* Which were instead of these versicles in the popish office. Versus. *Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine.* Resp. *Et lux perpetua luceat eis, &c.* That is, Versicle, *Grant them eternal rest, O Lord.* Answ. *And let perpetual light shine upon them.* Vers. *From the gates of hell.* Answ. *Lord, deliver their souls.* Vers. *I trust to see the goodness of the Lord.* Answ. *In the land of the living.*

Then followed a prayer, *Domine Dens, &c.* Thus Englished:

“O Lord God, the resurrection and the life of those that believe, who art ever to be praised, as well in the living as in the dead; we give thee thanks for our founder N. and the rest of our benefactors; by whose benefits we are here maintained unto godliness and the studies of learning: beseeching thee, that we, rightly using these gifts to thy glory, may be brought together with them to the immortal glory of the resurrection, through Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen.*”

Which was instead of this prayer in the popish office of commendations, viz. *Tibi, Domine, commendamus animam famuli tui N. et animas famulorum famula-rumque tuarum, ut defuncti saeculo tibi vivant: et quae per fragilitatem mundanae conversationis peccata admiserunt, tu venia misericordissimae tuae pietatis absterge per Christum, &c.* That is,

“To thee, O Lord, we commend the soul of thy servant N. and the souls of thy servants, both men and women; that they, being dead to this world, may live to thee; and what sins they have committed by the frailty of a conversation in this world, do away by the pardon of thy most merciful pity, through Christ our Lord, *Amen.* And let them rest in peace.”

Thus were all the old superstitious forms every where purged and reformed. These offices in Latin may be read in Bishop Sparrow’s Collections.

Care was now also taken for certain chapters and lessons in the Common Prayer Book, as they stood in king Edward’s book, to be altered for other portions of scripture, of more edification, to be read to the unlearned and lay people. For which purpose the queen had written to four persons of her ecclesiastical commission, viz. the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, Dr. Bill, her almoner, and Dr. Haddon, one of the masters of her requests; that it was her will, that they, or two of them, should be joined with the rest of her said commissioners, to provide an order of the lessons throughout the whole year; and to cause some calendars to be printed, whereby such chapters or parcels of less edification might be removed, and other more profitable be appointed to supply their rooms. This order and calendar, with an order for the setting up the Ten Commandments, was finished and dispersed to all the bishops to see observed, in the month of February. Yet a liberty seems to be left notwithstanding to the discretion of ministers to alter the lessons of the Old Testament. For this instruction was

given to ecclesiastical ministers in the admonition before the second tome of the Homilies, (which came out two or three years after:)

“That where some or other chapter of the Old Testament, to follow in order to be read upon the Sundays or holy-days, were better to be changed with some other of the new, of more edification; it should be well done of them to spend their time to consider well of such chapters beforehand; whereby their prudence and diligence in their office might appear.”

In the same letter of the queen, the same four commissioners were authorized to consider the great disorder in the decays of churches, and the unseemly keeping and ordering, of chancels; which were kept unclean, and let run into great ruin, with the roofs, walls, and windows: and what unmeet and unseemly tables, with foul cloths, were appointed for the holy communion; and how desolate of all cleanliness and meet ornaments the places of prayer were left. And that they should determine for some good and speedy means of reformation of these things. And further, to order the tables of the Commandments to be decently set up in the east part of the chancels: and that such ornaments be appointed in the churches, that they might appear to be places of religion and prayer.

Further, she commanded them to take care, that this order and reformation should be every where of one sort and fashion, and especially in all collegiate and cathedral churches, where cost might more probably be allowed.

And whereas the queen had caused a Book of Common Prayer to be translated into Latin, for the use and exercise of such students and others as were learned in the Latin tongue; it was her will, that they the said commissioners should prescribe some order to the collegiate churches, to which she had permitted the use of the divine service in the Latin tongue, in such sort as they should judge meet to be used, in respect of their companies, or of resort of her lay-subjects to the said churches. So that her good purpose in the said translation might not be frustrated, nor yet corruptly abused, contrary to the effect of her meaning. And for the publication of what should be so ordered, she required the archbishop of Canterbury to see the same put in execution throughout his province. And that he and the rest of the commissioners should prescribe the same to the archbishop nominated for York, for his province.

And lastly, that every alteration so by them to be made should be done quietly, without shew of any innovation in the church. This letter was dated from Westminster in January, the third of her reign.

What the archbishop, the bishop of London, and the rest did, according to the queen's command aforesaid, in prescribing orders for the places where the Latin prayers were allowed; namely, that provision might be made likewise for those of the unlearned laity that resorted thither for devotion; may be seen in the conclusion of the queen's letters patents, where she indulged the colleges that liberty, as was shewn before.

CHAPTER 19.

A writing of an expulsed bishop. Pope Pius IV. his practices about England. His plot to sow divisions. Mason a convert, his report. Bible of Geneva. Bishop Pilkington's Exposition of Aggee. Dr. Wylson's books of Logic and Rhetoric. Gerard Haenrich, a German, his offer of services to England. Melancthon dies. Merited well of the English church. Nowel s and Calfield's sermons at St. Paul's Cross. Horarium. A Spanish church in London.

AS the archbishop and the rest of the pious bishops and divines were thus commendably industrious in shaking off the pope's fetters, and recovering religion from his superinduced tyranny and superstitions; so the adverse party was as subtle and unwearied to undermine these good enterprises.

They threw abroad pamphlets and writings to amuse the people, and to bring them into a good opinion of the abandoned religion. One of the expulsed bishops this year wrote a little scroll for the authority of the church, which he sent about privily to his friends, to comfort and confirm them in their popery: and the argument was that of *succession*; asserting,

“That in every see in England there had been a succession of bishops derived from Rome; and took that of Canterbury for example. We can reckon, said he, all the bishops there, since St. Austin, who was the first; and from him go to Gregory, bishop of Rome, who sent Austin hither; and from Gregory up to Peter.”

And thence he would prove that all our religion came from Rome by succession from the apostles; and that therefore we must hang on Rome still. And added, that the like might be shewn in every see besides. But this book was soon taken notice of, and answered by Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham, in a book he wrote concerning the burning of St. Paul's church, London, offering to stand with him in the trial of this. But we have greater things to tell concerning the practices to restore popery.

And here we shall first relate what courses Pius IV. the present pope, took. He was, as is said, solicited earnestly by some of the court of Spain to proceed roundly with the queen by excommunicating of her; but he chose to take another method first. In the month of May this year he writeth her a

letter dated from St. Peter's in Rome, composed in a gentle and loving style, which is translated into English in Camden's English history of this queen, and also in the third part of Foxes and Firebrands; and therefore it needs not here to be repeated. The pope professed therein how he tendered and desired her salvation and honour. He bade her reject evil counsellors, obeying his fatherly admonitions. He promised her all the assistance she could desire, not only for the comfort of her soul, but for the establishment of her royal dignity, according to the authority, place, and charge committed unto him by God. And that if she returned to the bosom of the church, he would receive her with like affectionate love as the father in the gospel received his son, when he returned. But that Vincentio Parpalio, his nuncio, whom he sent with this letter, should more amply certify her of his fatherly affection; desiring her highness to receive him courteously and graciously, and to give credit to what he should declare to her, as she would unto himself.

The nuncio's offers from the pope were said to be these: to confirm the English liturgy; to allow the partaking of the sacrament in both kinds, as it was in Bohemia; nay, and that he would disannul the sentence against the queen's mother's marriage, in case she would rank herself and subjects under the pope of Rome, and own that see. But she bravely refused, and slighted all these specious offers.

The same pope Pius left not off yet his dealing with the queen, but sent another nuncio the next year, named abbot Martinegues, with other letters full of assurance of love. But he was stayed in Flanders, and was not so much as admitted to set foot in the realm.

When these methods would not take effect, the French king and other princes, Romanists, were laboured with by Martinegues and the bishop of Viterbo, the nuncio in France. So that they were prevailed upon to write to the queen, that she would send over ambassadors to the council of Trent, to treat there about matters of religion. But she quickly and prudently answered them,

“That she desired with all her heart an oecumenical council, but that she should not send any ambassadors from hence, as that council was of the pope, with whom she had nothing to do, and as she disowned and rejected that authority. Neither was that council lawful, it being the emperor's property to appoint a council, and not the pope's, he having no more authority than another bishop.”

But besides these courses, the same crafty bishop of Rome hath other irons in the fire. There was one Samuel Mason, an Englishman, bred a Jesuit in Paris, a man of learning, who being in Ireland, was converted to the gospel in the year 1566. Him Sir Henry Sydney, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, made his chaplain. This man made a speech of recantation in Christ-church, Dublin; and in a narrative presented to the said sir Henry, shewed pope Plus IV. his contrivance against the protestant religion newly stablished in England; with what policy and craft you may easily perceive, but you will not so easily discover the piety thereof. It was thus. In this year 1560, this pope dispensed with several of the most active and learned Franciscans and Dominicans, and of the society of Jesus, to preach among the protestants in England wild doctrines, on purpose to sow divisions; and allowed some of them to marry; saying, that the marriage established by the queen and her clergy was no marriage. And these so dispensed with, were to give monthly intelligence hence what progress they made in these practices. And for fear any of these their missionaries might themselves be seduced from their orders, others were sent to discover them, if they found their inclinations so bending, before they came to be fully resolved.

One of these emissaries was John Giles, who being at Gloucester, recanted. Directions were brought from the council of Trent to the Jesuits at Paris by another of them, one Lodowicka Freak, an Englishman. Among these directions this was one; "That they were not to preach all after one manner, but to observe the places wherein they came. If Lutheranism were prevalent, then to preach Calvinism; if Calvinism, then Lutheranism. If they came into England, then either of these, or John Husse's opinions, anabaptism, or any that were contrary to the holy see of St. Peter; by which their function would not be suspected. And yet they might still drive on the interest of the mother church; there being, as the council was agreed on, no better way to demolish this church's heresy, than by mixtures of doctrines, and by adding of ceremonies more than were at present permitted." But thanks be to God, though these plots of popes and popish councils have so long and so earnestly been carrying on, they have not been able yet to root out the gospel, since it was in these early days replanted in the kingdom.

That which gave the first ground and occasion of this vile project of the pope was this. That Calvin, the great minister of Geneva, had written to archbishop Parker, in the year 1560, for a good understanding and union to be had among protestants: which pope Pius having knowledge of, he laboured to obstruct the good motion from taking effect by this way, with

the advice of his cardinals, viz. as was said before, to grant indulgences to several orders of Rome, to set up new tenents and principles of religion, and such as seemingly should be against the church of Rome; hereby to confound the protestant religion, and to hinder for the future all general assemblies, [of protestants, moved by the said Calvin to unite all protestants together in one doctrine and worship,] lest there should be a general union and concurrence among them, wheresoever dispersed. Upon these indulgences several of the English popish clergy, lately fled from England upon the change of religion, joined with other foreign clergy, and came into England to distract the common people's heads with new-found opinions and fancies in religion, and all against the liturgy established. Some of these were, Dr. Thomas Lacy; Tho. Tonal, a Franciscan friar, cousin german to bishop Tonal; James Scot, cousin to Scot, late bishop of Chester; Faithful Cumin, a Dominican friar, who, some years after, for his religious hypocrisy, narrowly escaped hanging; and William Blagrove, of the same order, who was caught and hanged at York, May the 10th, an. 1566. He being suspected to be an impostor was seized, and divers treasonable papers were found in his closet. He was so hardened, that when he went up the ladder he laughed in the archbishop of York's face, telling him, that those converts that he had drawn unto him would hate the church's liturgy as much as his grace did Rome. And when the archbishop desired him to tell who they were, he refused, but said, "he hoped they would be ashamed of their folly; [that is, in retaining the unsound doctrines he had taught them on purpose to divide them from other protestants,] and that they would turn back again to their mother principles, and not to heresy."

Now was first printed at Geneva, in 4to. the Bible, commonly called, *The Geneva Bible*; being the English translation, revised and corrected by the English exiles, sojourning at Geneva, (who stayed there after queen Mary's death to finish it,) with an epistle to the queen, and another to the reader: which are left out in the after editions of this Bible. These epistles, dated April 10, touched somewhat severely upon certain things still remaining in the church, which they excited the queen to remove, as though they looked with a popish aspect; and this might be the reason these epistles were afterwards left out. The parties concerned in the translation were Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson, William Cole of C. C. C. Oxon, and William Whittingham. But before the greater part was finished, queen Mary died. And then the protestant divines

there returned home. But Whittingham and one or two more stayed behind at Geneva a year and an half after queen Elizabeth took possession of the crown, being resolved to go thorough with the work.

But this Bible would not be permitted to be printed in England for the use of the public; which the favourers of the church at Geneva took ill. For which an author in those times makes this complaint:

“If the Bible be such as no enemy of God could justly find fault with, then may men marvel, that such a work, being so profitable, should find so small favour as not to be printed again. If it be not faithfully translated, then let it still find as little favour as it doth.”

An exposition of the prophecy of Haggee was printed and set forth this year, 1560; the author whereof was James Pilkington, then master of St. John’s college, Cambridge, and not long after bishop of Durham. It came forth seasonably, and on purpose to stir up well-minded people to go forward with the reformation of religion vigorously. For it was perceived there was too much coldness in the matter among those that were chiefly employed about it. As this prophecy was intended to excite the Jews, now after their return from their captivity, to set earnestly upon building of the Lord’s house at Jerusalem, so did this divine effectually explain it, and apply it to the present state and time; blaming the negligence of such as pretended to favour the gospel, and to quicken them in this great work; as he declared this to be his end, toward the conclusion of his preface to the reader, viz. “That he, a poor workman in God’s house, had said these things to encourage other workmen, and especially those that should be the chief builders and pillars of his church.” And in the beginning of the same preface, he shewed how agreeable his present undertaking was to the prophet Aggee’s message to the Jews:

“That as that prophet was sent from God to the prince, the high priest, and the people; so he spake to the rulers, the ministers, and commonalty: and that, as the chief intent of the prophecy was to stir up all to the speedy building of God’s house, which they had so long neglected; so his labour was to bring some of every sort (for all was not possible) to an earnest furthering of God’s truth, of late most mercifully restored to them, which not long ago most cruelly was persecuted, of many yet hated, and of every man almost too coldly followed and practised. That the state of religion in those miserable days of theirs was like to the troublesome times that this

prophet lived in. And he prayed God to grant, that after many grievous storms, it might take like root in us as it did in them: that as, after the long captivity of God's people in Babylon, God gave them gracious king Cyrus, which set them at liberty, and sent them home to build God's house; so, after our long Romish slavery, God raised us up good kings, which restored us God's book, that long had been buried, and loosed us from the bondage of strange gods, foreign powers, cruel hypocrites, and wicked idols. And as after that short freedom under good Cyrus ensued the cruelty of Haman, for negligently handling God's building; and not long after mild Esther came bloody Antiochus, for their falling from God: so for our present talking of the gospel, and not worthily walking after and following it under our late gracious Josias, crept out a swarm of Romish wasps, stinging to death all that would not worship their gods nor believe their doctrine. And he prayed God for his mercy sake to grant, that now, for their unthankful coldness in God's cause under their mild Esther, brast not out again bloody Antiochus with his whelps, justly to avenge their slackness in God's religion, and insensible dulness."

The same divine made an exposition upon Nehemiah, tending, as it seems, to the same effect; but not published till the year 1585, by John Fox, with his preface to it; speaking honourably of the said author, and shewing a reverence to that bishop's memory.

This year Tho. Wylson, LL. D. (a very learned man, afterwards master of St. Katharine's near the Tower, and principal secretary of state,) set forth two books of the two sciences, the one of logic, and the other of rhetoric, in English: which was the first time those arts ever appeared in our tongue; wherein the terms of art were so difficult to be expressed.

The former was entitled, *The Rule of Reason, containing the Art of Logic: set forth in English*. This was a second edition. The first edition was by the author dedicated to king Edward VI. Here he shews the reason of his work in publishing this piece of learning in our own language; and occasionally extolling that young prince's learning and studies. The former he described after this manner:

"That this fruit was of a strange kind, such as no English ground had before this time, and in this time, by any tillage brought forth. And it might perhaps in the first tasting seem somewhat tough and

harsh in the mouth, because of the strangeness. But a little use and familiarity accustoming thereunto, he doubted not but the same would wax every day more pleasant than other. That he had assayed through his diligence to make logic as familiar to the Englishman, as by divers men's industry the most part of other the liberal sciences were.

“And that considering the forwardness of that present age, wherein the very multitude were prompt and ready in all sciences, [so much did learning accompany the true religion, that then began to flourish,] that had been by any man's diligence set forth unto them. Weighing also that the capacity of his countrymen, the English nation, was so pregnant and quick to achieve any kind, or art, of knowledge, that they were not inferior to any other. And further, pondering, that divers learned men of other countries had heretofore, for their furtherance of knowledge, not suffered any of the *sciences liberal* to be hid in the Greek or Latin tongue; but had with most earnest travail made every of them familiar to the vulgar people; he thought that logic, among all other, being an art as apt for the English wits, and as profitable for their knowledge, as any of the other sciences, might with as much grace be set forth in the English, as the other arts heretofore have been. Wherein, as he added modestly, he took not upon him so cunningly and perfectly to have writ of the said art, as though none could do it better; but because no Englishman until now had gone through with this enterprise, he thought it meet to declare that it might be done.”

And then addressing to the king, “That he knew his grace, for his own studies, little needed any help of such an English enterprise, being so well travailed both in the Greek and the Latin for the same purpose, through the help of those right worthy men, sir John Cheke and sir Anthony Cook, his majesty's teachers and schoolmasters in all good literature. But to feed and satisfy the thirst and desire of such Englishmen, as, for default of the said tongues, could not come to the knowledge of logic, he had judged it worth the labour, to give the precepts and rules thereof in English; that all, according to the gift that to every one is measured, might be the more provoked to follow the example of his majesty, as well in studiousness and desire of knowledge, as also in the exercise of all virtue and princely worthiness: wherein his grace had

made a goodly entry. In which most godly trade if his grace should continue, (with the fear of God, and the most reverent observation of his most holy commandments and gospel; wherein at that day all England, to their incomparable joy and comfort, did see and find his majesty's chief delight to be,) it could not be doubted, but that the same should be to the wicked a terror, to the godly a comfort, to the realm of England a perpetual defence and safeguard, and to all Christian kings, either then living, or hereafter to come, an example of kingly worthiness, and a miroir to princely governance."

Wylson's other book reprinted this year was, *The Art of Rhetoric; for the use of all such as are studious of eloquence: set forth in English*. The former edition (which was about the year 1552) was by the author dedicated to the right honourable John Dudley, lord Lisle, earl of Warwick, and master of the horse to the king's majesty. Wherein he shewed the occasion of his writing this book, that it was upon that lord's motion to him:

"That it had pleased him, among talk of learning, earnestly to wish, that he might one day see the precepts of rhetoric set down by him in English, as he had erst done the rules of logic, which he promised that lord then that he would do. And soon after he [Wylson] being retired into his own country, in a quiet time of vacation, with the right worshipful sir Edward Dimmoch, he travailed as much as his leisure served thereunto, to the fulfilling of his lordship's request; and through that motion to help the forwardness of some others, not so well furnished, &c. And also because, that by his lordship's tender embracing all such as were learned, and by his own right studious exercises, he evidently declared what estimation he had of learning and excellent qualities; and what a special desire and affection he bore to eloquence."

This (that I may observe it *en passant*) is the character that this writer, that knew him, gives of him who was afterwards the great duke of Northumberland. That he was a studious man; a great patron of scholars; and that eloquence naturally flowed in him.

In a certain page of this book, the author hinted at some pretended learned men in his time without utterance; in these words: "Enter into talk with such as are said to be learned, and you shall find in them such lack of utterance, that if you judge them by their tongue and expressing of their

minds, you must needs say, they have no learning.” And he compared such barbarous clerks to slovens; “Methinks they do like some rich snudges, that have great wealth, and go with their hose out at heels, their shoes out at toes, and their coats out at elbows;” jesting at some priests in those days, pretending to great learning.

This book, as it hath great learning and instruction in the use of it, so it hath much pleasure and diversion intermixed. But however it had like to have cost him dear: for travailing abroad under queen Mary’s reign, (when many learned and pious men fled abroad to avoid persecution,) he came as far as Rome; where some understanding who he was, for this his book he was taken up and cast into the inquisition; but escaped by a wonderful providence: as we may hereafter relate. Both these books were so well esteemed, that they were printed the third time in the year 1567.

A German captain, named Gerard Hoenrich, came this year into England, pretending to deep skill in matters of war, fortifications, and other mechanical arts; and making himself known to sir William Cecyl, offered to serve the queen as a captain, and undertook to shew, in time of peace, how to make such warlike preparations as to be able to resist the enemy by land and sea; and to teach to make ships far more useful than those which were then used, which he called by a nickname, *herring ships*; namely, such as should go with oars, when no wind were stirring, as well as galleys, and in storms might be kept out at sea, and fit to enter into any ports, and to transport as well land as sea forces. He offered also to treat with the queen, if she desired that he should teach the arts belonging to war. Moreover, he offered to shew the art and manner of producing saltpetre out of the earth; for which he required three hundred pounds in reward. Also, he offered to shew the manner and way of fortifying buildings and making havens at much less charges, and sooner than hitherto fortifications had been made, either by French or English: for that he had the art of carrying earth to an higher place, to what height you please, and that with less labour; and this three manner of ways, by horse, by singular art, and by the labour of hired men. All which should be so united, that they might be fitted to all places; and hitherto not seen. He knew also four ways of drawing up water, and to erect buildings needful to prevent the water hindering the miners, and whereby they might dig their mines the deeper; never hitherto seen by the English. The way also of driving in piles, wherein foundations and walls might be set; to the doing of which there should be need but of six men, who by this art should do more than four and twenty. He had also a new

art of building in the water to stand dry: and lastly, to remove a rock placed in some river, so as to render the river navigable, or so as to build upon it. And for the teaching these arts he required 300*l.* more.

That all these arts might be delineated and demonstrated by certain platforms, so as by them the queen might pass a judgment, and see that her charges should not be to no purpose. He spake also of a sort of guns, that should be of great use both by sea and land; which he was ready to shew to the queen. Finally, he could shew a way, whereby land seated near rivers should produce two crops of hay every year, at very little charge.

This virtuoso the queen somewhat listened to, and presented him with a sum of money out of her own royal bounty. But of all his proposals she most seemed to like of learning the way of extracting saltpetre out of the earth: and about Christmas concluded to give him a certain reward, which he demanded for shewing the same; and intended to appoint somebody to treat with him concerning the other projects. And in March he had letters patents from the queen concerning the nitre business. And upon this, if the queen would pay him 50*l.* he promised to give her the model of a powder-mill, which each year should bring to her as much as that 50*l.* was worth. The queen also desired of this German to direct her how to procure some Freezeland horses and mares for breed.

But to let this German pass, that seems to have been but a braggadocio; there was another German, and he a divine, that deserveth to be more respectfully and honourably mentioned in this place; namely, Philip Melancthon, professor at Wittenbergh, where he died this year on the 13th of the calends of May, [i.e. April the 19th,] in his grand climacteric: a man famous for his learning, wisdom, and moderation, and the service he did religion in Germany, and in England also; having writ several letters to king Henry VIII. concerning reforming corrupt religion, who had earnestly sent for him to come into England to consult with him. He writ also to king Edward VI. advising and encouraging him in his proceedings. And he had thoughts in that king's reign of coming over into this kingdom, from the violence of the persecution raised upon the *interim*, as he wrote to Alasco. And he was formerly sent unto by that king, anno 1553, to come and succeed in the place of Bucer deceased, late the king's public professor of divinity in Cambridge; and archbishop Cranmer had ordered a sum of money to be sent over to him for his *viaticum*, to bear his charges. But that king's death prevented. Melancthon's judgment ran not so high in the

doctrine of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, as other German divines did; whom he blamed much for their expressions and heights. But what his maturest and last thoughts were in that great controverted point may be seen by a letter he wrote, not a month before his death, to John Crato, doctor of physic in Uratislaw, who was under some doubts concerning this doctrine. In this letter (which is not among the rest of his published letters, but in a little book printed at Basil a year after his death) he shewed the doctor how the ancient Greek and Latin writers expressly called the bread and wine *symbols* and *antitypes* of the body; also the sign *and figure* of it. To which may be added his great judgment of this point in a letter written about four months before his death, [viz. November 1559,] to Frederic, count palatine of the Rhine: wherein he said,

“That it would be best to retain the words of St. Paul, *The bread which we break is the communion of the body*. And that divines should speak largely of the fruits and benefits of the supper, that men might be invited to the love of this pledge, and the frequent use of it. And the word *κοινωνία*, i.e. *communion*, should be declared. He doth not say, the nature of the bread is changed, as the papists say; he doth not say, the bread is the substantial body of Christ, as Heshusius saith; but that it is the communion, that is, that whereby is made a consociation, or a consortship with the body of Christ, &c.”

His great endeavour was the union of the reformers; and that the differences among them might be buried. And to effect this, his great labour was the proposing to the church of England, and other churches, to have a meeting of learned men of each church, who should draw up articles of religion, and an agreement of faith and doctrine, wherein all might consent and subscribe. This he propounded to archbishop Cranmer; and he spake of it but a few months before his death to Frederic, prince elector of the Rhine and duke of Bavaria: *Opto autem ut sapientum principum consilio, &c.*

“I wish (as he wrote to him) that at last by the counsel and authority of wise princes might be convened out of ours and the churches of other nations, some learned and pious men, to consult of all the controversies; and that one concordant, true, and clear form of doctrine, without any ambiguity, might be delivered down

to posterity. In the mean time, that we cherish, as much as may be, the conjunction of our churches with moderate counsels.”

Thus that excellent and wise Melancthon. And with this character and memorial we leave him: adding only this further concerning him; that his judgment was for the government of the church by bishops. Camerarius, who writ his life, speaking of his moderation and wisdom, saith, there was one thing that he ceased not to persuade, to which also Luther agreed, viz. that if the German bishops would grant the liberty and use of the pure doctrine of heavenly truth, according to the exposition of the [Augustan] Confession, their power and the administration of their dioceses should not be refused nor denied them. And Melancthon in one of his letters writes to Luther in these words; You would not believe how I am hated by the Norisi, [a people near those in Bavaria,] and by others, because the jurisdiction of bishops is restored. Thus do those of our party quarrel for their own kingdom, and not for the gospel.” See more concerning this great divine’s opinion for episcopacy in Adrianus Saravia’s book *De divers. gradib. minist. evangel.*

This most learned and chief reformer of religion was buried at Wittenburgh, whence Randolph, an English travel ler, long since transcribed his epigraph in his journal, viz.

WITTEBERGAE.

Philippo Melancthoni sacrarum literarum solertissimo et fidelissimo explicatori; veritatis coelestis patrono, et propugnatori imprimis strenuo; optimarum disciplinarum et atrium cum instauratori, tum conservatori: qui omnem doctrinam quasi ragam et dissipatam collegit; et ad certam rationem revocavit: viro pierate, studio purae castaeque religionis, sapientia, virtute, humanitate, benignitate erga omnes praestanti, feliciter et sancte in terris mortuo XIII. calend. Maii C. V. an. LXIII. M. II. D. II. H. I. academ. Witteberg. cui ille totis ann. XLII. operam navasset H. M.P.C.

A sermon was preached at St. Paul’s the third Sunday after Epiphany, by Alexander Nowel, the dean; a passage whereof was much talked of, and grossly misrepresented by papists: and Dorman, a popish writer, took the confidence to charge him with it in print. The expression charged upon him

was, that “it would do him good to raze his buckler upon a papist’s racer
To this, Nowel was forced to answer, and said,

“It was a false lie; and that he had rather go a thousand miles about,
than to be put to that necessity to *save* his life by such hard means:
and have his own face razed ten times, than he would once raze
another man’s face, or hurt any Christian man; so little good would
it do him.”

The truth was this; he preached on the said Sunday upon the epistle of that
day. There, upon these words, *Non vosmetipsos ulciscentes, dilecti, or
defendentes*, as it is in the common and old translation, after he had
declared, that we may not avenge ourselves, he observed, how the
common translation had it, that we should not *defend* ourselves. And
hereupon he moved this question, Whether a Christian man might defend
himself? Whereunto he answered by these words:

“In case we be by any magistrate or officer, or at the commandment
of the prince, by any man wronged, I know no defence, but patient
suffering: for no true Christian hath any hand to lift up against the
prince. But in case a thief would set upon me by the highway,
where I could have no help at the magistrate’s hand, I would, if I
were able, defend myself; and rather than I would be slain, I would,
if I could, *maim* him: for to kill the thief, who, being in that cause
slain, should a thousand pounds to a penny be damned, would be
most horrible. Yea, said he, if any private person without any
authority of office, or commandment of the prince, should quarrel
with me, and call me heretic, thief, or would invade me forcibly, I
would lift up my buckler-hand, and, rather than he should kill me, I
would lay my buckler upon his faced if I could, though it were
rough with studs, and had a pike in the middle:”

speaking (as he said in his vindication) those words only in case of saving
his own life, if he could no otherwise do it.

Another notable sermon was preached in the month of January, at S.t.
Paul’s Cross, near the time the former was preached; the preacher, James
Calfield, or Chalfhill, an Oxford man, afterwards subdean of Christ-church
there. His sermon was highly commended, both for the wholesome
doctrine of it, and for the preacher’s excellent delivery, even to the

amazement of the auditors. Of this sermon one Prat, a friend of John Fox, being then at Norwich, wrote him some account, viz.

“A young man of Oxford, called Mr. Cawfield, prebendary of Christ-church, made a notable sermon at Paul’s Cross on Sunday was sevensnight. His excellent tongue and rhetorical tale, filled with good and wholesome doctrine, so ravished the minds of the hearers, that we were all in an admiration of his eloquence. Among other things, he lamented the misery of Oxford, and that it was yet under the papistical yoke. He published the dissimulations of the papists, and their *practice* to dissuade young men from the truth; in such sort that he moved a number of tears. We are much bound to thank God, who hath raised up such young imps to publish the name of his son Jesus Christ. Though the papistical persecution took away the old preachers, Christ never leaveth his church destitute.”

So he in his letter. I give this note of Calfield here, that we may the better know him, when we shall have occasion to speak more of him hereafter.

This year was printed, if not reprinted, a prayer book, called *Horarium*, set out by the queen’s authority. This Horary was printed again 1573, with privilege at London, by Will. Seres. This book doth Mr. Cosins mention in the preface to his book *Of Hours*, entitled, *A collection of private devotions in the practice of the ancient church*; being of the same nature with that *Horarium*. Cosins’s book was first printed anno 1626, with the approbation of George, bishop of London, being composed for the use of the lady Denbigh, then warping towards popery. It was often printed, but at last gave some people great offence, as popish; and Prin wrote against it.

There had been many Spaniards in England since Henry the Eighth’s time, whose first wife was a Spaniard; and whose daughter Mary, that king’s only issue by her, had favoured and entertained them about her. But especially their numbers increased here upon the persecution in Spain; which was about the reign of king Edward; many whereof being protestants, remained still in this realm. For I find now a congregation of Spaniards in London; and one Cassiodorus was their preacher: which congregation began, about the last year, when they met in a private house for their devotion: but in this year 1560, the preacher did earnestly request of the secretary, and bishop of London, some church to have their religious assemblies in, for the avoiding of scandal, lest it might be surmised they

taught such doctrine, and used such worship as they were loath should be publicly known. In the year 1563, Anthony Corranus, another learned Spaniard, and professor of religion, (whom we shall speak more of hereafter,) wrote out of France to this Cassiodorus, to forward here the impression of a Spanish Bible. But a little before this letter came to his hand, Cassiodorus was fled and gone, as was thought, into Germany, upon an accusation against him *de peccato Sodomitico*.

CHAPTER 20.

Some Englishmen in the inquisition in Spain. Frampton's narration of his usage there. Occurrences. Some secular matters. Lent preachers.

THIS year were two Englishmen clapt into the cruel and inhuman inquisition in Spain: the one was Nicolas Burton, [or Britton,] a merchant of London, and the other a mariner of Southampton; who, after a severe imprisonment in a prison called Triana, in Sevil, were condemned to be burnt. And so they were, immediately after the sentence pronounced, December 2, together with a great many others, both French and Spaniards; as namely, these whose names do follow:

Julian Hernandes, born at Valverda. He had been a corrector to the press of such books as were printed at Geneva in the Spanish tongue; and afterwards, for the zeal he had to set forward the gospel, returned into Spain; where, after he had continued certain years distributing Testaments and other godly books that were in the Spanish tongue, to divers men, and in sundry places, he returned into Flanders, and by occasion of a certain book which he had given a smith, who shewed the same secretly to a priest, and he complained thereof to the inquisitors, this Julian was sought for and apprehended by certain familiars, that hunted after him in his way going to a city called Palma, and by them was cast into prison, afterwards condemned by the inquisitors, and died most constantly for the profession of the gospel of Christ: having great disputations during the time of his imprisonment with a learned clerk and famous divine, one D. Hernand Rodrigues.

Juan de Leon, born at Pallentia, a monk of St. Isidore's cloister; apprehended in Zealand, as he was taking ship to go into England, at the departing of the Englishmen from Geneva, after the death of queen Mary.

Guillermo Brocemolez, a mariner.

Francisca de Chavez, a nun of the cloister of St. Elizabeth, in the city of Gibraleon.

Bartolome Fabricio de Baiena, a Frenchman. Anna de Ribera, wife to Hernando de Sant Juan. Francisca Ruiz, wife of Francisco Duran of Sevil.

Leonor Gomez, wife of D. Hernando Nunnez, a physician in Gibraleon.

Elvira Nunnez, daughter to the same D. Hernando by his former wife.

Lucia Gomez, daughter to the said Leonor Gomez by her former husband.

Leonor Gomez, wife to another Hernando Nunnez, an apothecary in the city of Lepe.

Juana de Macuelos, of Sevil.

Melchior de Salto, a citizen of Granata.

In this act also were burnt the bones and picture of D. AEGidio, and the bones and picture of D. Constantino de la Fuente.

At the same time likewise was read the sentence of the inquisitors given upon a noble woman, called Donna Juana de Bohorques, who died amidst the tormentors' hands; wherein she was declared to be guiltless and innocent.

Divers other, both men and women, as well of nobility as of worship, were at the same time condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and their goods confiscated.

The like executions were done the year before this, both in Sevil and Valladolid: where both men and women of Spain, Flanders, France, monks, priests, nuns, and others, were burnt, or imprisoned for life.

But to keep ourselves within the bounds of England. When Burton [or Britton] was thus in the inquisition, his goods were also seized and confiscated: which yet were not all his, but some belonged to merchants in England. Among the rest, to a certain merchant, who to recover them sent his attorney, being also a merchant factor. Who arriving at Sevil, applied himself to the holy house, as they called it, to claim the said merchant's goods, shewing for that purpose his letters and writings. They told him he must sue by bill, and retain an advocate: which he did for four months. Then, upon pretence that his letters and testimonials were not full, he went

back into England for other and more ample writings and certificates, which he brought with him on his second arrival in Spain. But after all this, the inquisitors, loath to part with so good effects, caused Frampton himself, (for that was his name,) to be seized by their officer, and made their prisoner. The narration of which most base, treacherous usage he wrote. The sum of which was, as I have it from the MS.

“That being at Cadiz, or some other Spanish port, he was taken; and that being set upon a mule, he was tied with a chain that came under the belly of the mule three times round about: and at the end of the chain a great iron lock made fast to the saddlebow. And this done, we took our journey towards Sevil; the familiar [that is, a promoter employed by the inquisitor] and his man well armed. We rid through many towns and villages before we came at Sevil. And at my coming thither, I was delivered at the castle of Triana; which by estimation is as great as the Tower of London; and being delivered to the hands of the gaoler, he brought me into one of the towers, God knows, dark and comfortless. In the which dark house I found an old man of the city of Sevil, one of the aldermen of the city, called there *a jurado*. There was also a friar of the order of St. Isidore. There was also a scholar of Salamanca, and a preacher, a priest. Which persons were there apprehended for matters of religion. And being then night, they had a little oil in a dish, with a linen match lighted, to light them in that house.

“I demanded of them the orders of that house, and they answered to all such questions as I asked. And when the time drew near that they should go to sleep, one of them gave me a piece of a mattress of straw to lie upon, and told me, that it were best for me to lay my cloak under my head, for that there was no other thing in that house; and so I did. And being locked up under five locks, I remained there till the morning; and then was I called before Juan Gonsalvus, bishop of Tarazona, and before two inquisitors, and a notary, ready with paper and ink to make my process. The bishop asked me, what my name was? I told him, John Frampton. He asked me what age I was of? I told him, twenty-five years. Where I was born? I told him, in England. What my father’s and mother’s names were; I told him. And still he went forward asking me, and the notary writing all that he asked, and what I answered. He asked, how long past I came out of England, and what place I came

first unto, and from thence, whither I went; and in every town where I lay, at whose house, and what their names were; and what goods and money I had in the country of Spain, and in whose power it was. I told them the truth as it was in all points: and at the end of long circumstance, he commanded me that I should declare what I knew of myself, or of any other man, that we had committed against their holy catholic faith of Rome. For otherwise, if I did not declare it to them of mine own voluntary mind, that then the promoter, otherwise called *the fiscal*, should accuse me by order of law; and then they would proceed against me, and condemn me as an heretic. And then by law they would have no mercy on me. So that with long talk, and many threatening words, I was committed to the gaoler, and so to my prison.

“I was called for again in the afternoon, and was asked by the bishop, what I had thought of, as touching my business with them; and why I did not disclose that I knew of myself and others: for if I did not, I might lie there long enough. I answered, I knew not what they meant, nor knew nothing wherein I should accuse myself, nor any other man: for that my coming into that country was not to treat of any matters of faith, but as a merchant to trade in the trade of merchandise, as by my doings did appear; nor had not offended in any thing, nor knew not wherefore they commanded me to be brought thither after any such sort, as by their order I came: for that I never offended any law in Spain, in word nor deed. The bishop asked me, whether a servant of mine landed my chest of apparel at Cadiz. I answered, Yea. He demanded of me, what other thing was in my chest beside my apparel. I told him, a small book of Cato in the English tongue. He asked me, if that I knew the book, if it were shewed me. I said, Yea. The book was forthwith shewed me. I said, it was the same book. He demanded of me, to what intent I brought it. I answered, to pass the time at sea in reading of it. He asked me, if I could say my *Ave Maria*. I told him, Yea. Then say it, says he. I said it. *Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum. “Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus, Amen.* Say forth, said the bishop of Tarazona. I have said all that I can say. Then he said, Herein thou dost deny the intercession of saints. I answered, that I never knew more, nor it was never otherwise taught in England; and I never knew more, nor heard of more. Then

saith he, There lacketh *Sancta Ma ria, mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus*. I told him, I never heard it till then. Then said he, Remember thyself, and declare what thou knowest of thyself, and of others: for if thou do not, we mean to proceed by rigour of justice. I answered always, that I knew nothing wherein I should accuse myself, or any other; for I had offended in nothing. And for the which I was commanded to my prison.

“And at the end of twenty days they called for me again; and being brought before the inquisitors, they asked me, why I did so slake the time, and not declare the truth. I always answered, I knew not what they would have. Well, said he, there is no remedy but that we must proceed against thee by order of justice: and so was I commanded to my prison. And after this order was I called for three times, and admonished with much violence; and every time twenty days between. And so at the end of three admonitions, an accusation was laid in against me; which the fiscal, being a priest, came into the audience personally, and in a sheet of paper laid in by writing. And also said by word of mouth, when he put in the accusation; ‘I do accuse this man in these articles that I do lay in here against him. there upon I do ask iustice to be done of him.’ The notary took the paper, and began to read. In the which was written this that hereafter followeth. “I do accuse this man, for that he hath departed from our catholic faith of Rome, and hath passed to the sect of Martin Luther, not having respect to the true faith, nor unto the fear of God. “*Secondly*, He will not discover his heresics, nor other heretics that he know of, but doth obstinately remain an heretic, and a coverer of other heretics. “*Thirdly*, He is one that hath heretics’ books, thinking them to be good, and will not discover where they be, nor what he hath done with them, and much against the fear of God keepeth himself frowardly, and will not confess any thing of himself, nor any other. Whereupon I do ask, that you do proceed according to justice by him. Then said the notary, Do thou answer to thy accusation.

“I answered, that I had always believed in the faith of Jesus Christ; as from my baptism I had no other. And by his death I trusted to be saved. And for any other sect I knew not.

“**Secondly**, I knew not any other person that I ought to accuse. But always I, for my own part, lived and believed as aforesaid, without breaking of any law here or elsewhere in word or deed.

“**Thirdly**, I knew no heretics’ books that I had: for the book, for which occasion you brought me hither, was of Cato; which book treateth of no manner of religion, in the which there was no fault to be found. And my coming hither into this country is only in the trade of merchandise, and for no other intent.

“Then said one of them, It cannot otherwise be, but that thou being an Englishman must needs live and believe according to the laws of thy country. I answered, that I had been always obedient to the laws of the country, and had believed always according as before in the accusation I had declared. Divers times in the communications I had with them in sundry points, they would command the notary not to write what they asked, nor what I answered.

“The answer of the accusation being ended, I was committed to my prison: and at the end of five months, or thereabout, I was sent for, and brought before the bishop, the two inquisitors, and the provisor; and being in the house of audience, where they always sat in judgment, the bishop of Tarazona, called John Gonsalvus, began with me, saying, John Frampton, thou hast had time enough here to declare thy faults, and also what thou knowest of others; tell the truth, and yet we will do well by thee.

“I answered, that I had said what I knew, declaring to them the hinderance and great losses that they had put me unto in keeping me prisoner so long time without a cause: and also declaring to them, that I never offended them; as I did not certainly.

“Then they asked me if I would have a man of law to answer for me in the suit that the fiscal had against me. I told them, Yea, if that thereby I might be the sooner delivered. Then there came in one, called Martin Alonso, a man of law, that doth speak in the behalf of the prisoners, incontinent after their declarations be made, and answered upon their *accusations*. My accusation was read to him, and the answer that I made; so that it seemed to me, that he spake in my behalf what he could, saying, that I ought to be put at liberty, and worthy of no punishment, for that I gave no occasion for it:

and that I had been obedient to the laws of my native country, and had no fault: wherein he made a great circumstance, I thinking thereby that the matter would have been somewhat eased; but all did not help; nor do they that kind of ceremony, in giving any prisoner a man of law, but to make them believe that they do them a great pleasure; for the man of law speaketh not any word to the prisoner, but sitteth by the inquisitors in their consult. And so the prisoner is sent away, and the man of law within a while after departeth. And he being departed, the prisoner is forthwith sent for again; as I was: and being brought before the bishop, the two inquisitors, and the provisor; Well, said the bishop, thou wilt not confess the truth. I answered, I had no other truth to say than I had said.

“Then forthwith the bishop commanded the notary to read a sentence that they had made against me: which was, that I should be tormented. Then after sentence was read, the bishop said, If thou die in torment, thank none but thyself. And forthwith the gaoler was called for, and carried me to the house of torment, where he left me standing alone, God knows, in a place of great sorrow. And forthwith came in to me two men covered with white canvass coats, from their heads to their feet, and every of them a vizard upon their faces: and they said never a word to me, standing by me. And incontinent came in to me two inquisitors and the provisor, which is the bishop of Sevil’s deputy, and a notary to write. Which four persons sat at a round table; and upon the table was two candles lighted, for the house was dark. And then the inquisitors began with me, saying, Now thou shalt tell the truth; I answered, that I had told them what I knew. I was forthwith commanded to put off my apparel, and the two men that had the vizards took me in hand, and stripped me of my coat, doublet, and hosen, into my shirt. And this being done, the inquisitors commanded them to bind me both my arms behind me, even by my hand-wrists. The which they did with a small cord six times round about as hard as they could pull it. And there was a great rope that did hang in the middle of the house, in the roof, on high, in a pulley; which great rope one end thereof was made fast to the small cord that was put about my arms; and they put a pair of fetters upon my bare legs, and with a windlass, made of timber, that went round beneath at the other end

of the rope, the two men that had the vizards began to pluck me up from the ground, so that I thought that all my body had been broken in pieces. And I being liked from the ground, the inquisitors called upon me to tell the truth. By reason of the extreme pains that I was in, I willed them to say what they would I should say, and I would say it.

“And after a while they put me down, and asked me, Whether there were any mass said in England? I told them, No. They asked me, how that I believed touching that? I told him, that I had believed in all things as it was taught in England, being my native country. Then said they, What is that that thou believest? and how sayest thou unto the mass? I told them, that their mass was not used according as that sacrament was ordained by our Saviour Jesus Christ. Thou didst believe, said they, even so as thou wert taught? I answered, Yea. Then, said they, say forth the truth. I told them, that I did confer in all things as I was taught in England. And forthwith I was plucked up again; and after a while let down again. And being put down well near dead, and very faint of this torment of the *stappado*, they asked me in particular, What other thing touching the church of Rome I believed not in? I told them, that I had conferred in all things in faith as it was taught in England. Then, said they, say on, what it is. I told them, that there could be no remission of sins bought for money, as was in Spain by the pope’s bulls. But that all sins were forgiven only by the death of Christ. And that this doctrine was taught in England. Wherein I believed. What sayest thou of confession? said Licentiado Gasco. I told them, that it was not necessary for salvation. Nor purgatory was there none; and holy water a ceremony not good for any thing. Then said the Licentiado Gasco, Truth it is, that thou mayest be saved without holy water, and with the death of Christ only thou mayest be saved. But with the ceremonies of the church thou mayest be saved the better. As if thou go barefoot on the ground, thou mayest go the easier with a pair of shoes on thy feet, and the warmer. Even so likewise believing on the sacraments and ceremonies of the church, thou mayest be saved the better.

“And the third time I was plucked up again, where I thought to have made an end of my life. And after a while I was put down, and my arms loosed from the small cords, and fell down by my sides,

not feeling any more than though I had no arms. And! lay flat on the ground, half dead and half alive. And the two men with the vizards did take me up from the ground, and chafed my arms with hot tallow. And after a good space my arms came to feeling, and the blood sprang out at my hand-wrists, where I was tied. And this done, after a while that I was come to myself, the two men with the vizards put on my apparel, and delivered me to the gaoler, and so I was carried to my prison.

“The inquisitors sent for me the next day to ratify that I had confessed in torment. And after, they asked me, whether I would confer with their religion. I answered, that I would do what they would command me. And I did confer with them in their religion; and was committed to my prison. And in a few days after, the promoter, called there the fiscal, brought in another paper, called a publication of witnesses that was against me. Wherein one witness did say, that he had seen in a chest landed at Cadiz, a suspicious book in a strange tongue. And this was all they were able to say against me by any manner of information, more than that which they had forcibly made me confess in torment, and otherwise as you have heard. Which confession, that they forcibly made me confess, was the occasion of the confiscation of my goods; for I never offended them in any one jot of their laws.

“I answered to their publication, that the book was mine; and so having conferred with them, they sent me to my prison, where I remained to the end of fourteen months from the day that I came in. And at the end of the same time, I was suddenly called with another that was in my company, and commanded by the gaoler to come forth: and so we were carried to another prison, where we were put in company of forty persons of all sorts of men. This being in the evening.

“But two hours before day we were called, and every man set in his order to go as it were in procession towards a mighty great scaffold, that was made in the city in the place of St. Francis. So that of these persons that were put in my company, some of them were condemned to wear a disguised coat, and to remain wearing that coat in perpetual prison; whither they were commanded all the days of their lives. Some of them, as they went towards the

scaffold, went in their coats with halters about their necks. The most of all these were condemned to the galleys, there to row, some for six years, some for ten years, and some all the days of their lives: and some to the perpetual prison for a year. But all in general lost their goods. And also it is an order among them, that if a man be put to wear a coat, generally they do command that never more he shall be witness in any cause, neither to wear on his person, silk, gold, silver, pearl, or precious stone. And to this they added to me, that I should never depart the realm of Spain, during my life, upon pain of death.

“There was another company, that came out of the castle, which were brought out of another prison: which company came forth with mitres of paper upon their heads: which were thirty of them, men and women: all condemned to be burnt; and were burnt that day. So this sort came forth with coats on their backs to the likeness of fire, and painted devils, as it were. Of them there were divers notable learned men, as friars and others. And because they should not speak, they had their tongues plucked out of their mouths, and sticks bound to them. That day were burnt Dr. Constantino and Dr. Egidio, the greatest famous learned men that ever preached in Sevil: I say their pictures, as they preached in their pulpits being alive, were burned. They died in the castle, God knows after what sort. Nicolas Britton of London, and a mariner of Hampton, were burned that day, and ten women, and also seven or eight friars.

“Another company came out that day without coats, and some of them, or most, were whipped upon an ass round about the city: which was for speaking of words against their religion. And these be bannished the country for years or months, and lost no goods. These went bareheaded to the scaffold, and in their own coats, and a candle lighted in their hands.

“All the which aforesaid companies went in procession, by one and one; and two familiars with every one prisoner, leading them by the arms till they came to the scaffold: and there every prisoner’s sentence was read. They that were to be burned came all behind in the procession: and the inquisitors behind all, riding upon their mules. And for the inquisitors another scaffold was made very

sumptuous, where they sat to hear the sentences *read* of every prisoner, and commanded in all points *touching* these matters, like men of mighty authority.

“From the scaffold were carried those that went to the fire to be burnt. Every one was severally set up upon a several ass by himself: and so were carried to the stakes, *where* they died. All the rest returned to the castle. And the next day every man sent to the place whither the sentence of every one commanded.

“They kept me fourteen months in another prison at my own charges, after they had taken all my money and goods, and apparel from me. And at the end of that time they put me at my liberty upon the condition declared in my sentence. So that I was in their hands two years and four months, and lost 760*l.* of mine and of my friends, as appeareth evidently. The goods that they confiscated that day of the prisoners for the king’s chamber, as the sentences declared, were above 50,000*l.* Many other matters are used in this kind of tyranny, which are here too long to rehearse.”

And here let me insert a few secular matters belonging to this year.

July the 5th, the queen’s ambassadors happily concluded the peace with Scotland, (after the treaty had been like to have been broken off, and the war renewed.) But as yet it was kept secret; but shortly to be published.

Papa petiit consensum Hispani, ut reginam excommunicaret, is writ in a journal of this year, 1560, and about this time.

In July or August, the queen in her progress came to Winchester: and being in those parts, she went to Basing, the lord treasurer’s house, who was marquis of Winchester; with whom she was most splendidly entertained, and with all manner of good cheer. Where she openly and merrily bemoaned herself that the marquis was so old: for else, by my troth, said she, if my lord treasurer were but a young man, I could find in my heart to have him for my husband before any man in England. In September was a resolution taken very shortly of calling down base monies. And the queen swore, (as one Alen wrote from court to the earl of Shrewsbury,) that the day and time should be kept secret to herself; and that few besides should know it: so that men should have but short warning of the matter.

About the beginning of September, she came to Windsor; and was there every hour in an expectation of the king of Sweden's coming; being very shortly looked for at Westminster; where certain works were in hand; and the workmen wrought day and night to finish them against his reception. His business was to court the queen for his wife. But he came not himself, being advised to the contrary: yet his brother the duke did; and was a passionate advocate for his brother with the queen.

I shall conclude this year with the mention of some of the public sermons, and a few other matters falling in, that may deserve to be remembered.

February the 9th, Pilkington, elect of Durham, preached at Paul's Cross; there being present (beside the lord mayor and court of aldermen) the lord Robert Dudley, secretary Cecil, and divers others of the queen's council: who after sermon repaired to the lord mayor's to dinner.

March the 5th, Seth Holland, (who had been warden of All Souls in Oxon, and dean of Worcester, and chaplain to cardinal Pole; and who had been sent by the said cardinal to the lady Elizabeth with a message a few days before his death,) was buried in St. George's, Southwark, out of the King's Bench; being in point of respect brought to church by about threescore gentlemen of the inns of court and Oxford.

In the beginning of Lent, this year, was a proclamation issued out, that if any butcher did kill any flesh that time of Lent, he should forfeit 20*l.* for each time he did so.

One Adam, a butcher, dwelling in little Eastcheap, killed three oxen this Lent; and an inquest went upon him; and he was cast to pay the said fine. February the 19th, Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, preached before the queen. He made a godly sermon, and had a vast and honourable audience.

The 22d, Skamler, now bishop of Peterborough, preached before the queen in his rochet and chimere.

The 24th, Mr. Sampson, dean of Christchurch, Oxon, preached before her at the court.

The 27th, Pilkington, elect of Durham, preached before her there.

March the 6th, Horn, bishop of Durham, preached at the queen's chapel, and made a pious sermon.

March the 10th, the bishop of London preached at court. And the same day, Mr. Gressop of Oxford preached in the shrouds at St. Paul's. This man read an English divinity lecture in that university.

The 16th, being Midlent Sunday, the bishop of Durham preached at court.

The 19th, the dean of St. Paul's there.

The 23d, the archbishop of Canterbury preached at Newington, beyond St. George's, Southwark.

The same day, at the court, preached the bishop of Ely. He insisted in his sermon upon this argument, "That none should preach of high matters in divinity but those that *were* learned."

The same day, a bishop unnamed preached at the Cross.

March the 26th, (now the year 1561 entering,) Mr. Sampson preached at the court.

April the 4th, at St. Paul's Cross, preached Mr. Mulling, archdeacon of London. To which let me add the Spital sermons this Easter: which were preached by Horn, bishop of Winton; Pilkington, bishop of Durham; and Cole, parson of High Ongar in Essex. And to conclude this list of preachers,

April the 13th, Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, preached at St. Paul's.

And so it was the wisdom of the present governors to put up from time to time able, learned, discreet, and aged men to be the teachers of the people at these solemn and great assemblies: who did commonly make it their business in their sermons to prove and evince the present proceedings in religion, and, as occasion served, to lay open the errors and corruptions of that religion and worship that was now lately rejected.

CHAPTER 21.

Archbishop of York confirmed. Three other bishops consecrated. The church filled with her bishops. Papists' objections against them. Richard Cheney's complaint. Fox's Martyrology comes forth: vindicated. Peter Martyr invited over. Archdeacon Wright's sermon at Oxford. Bullinger's sermons upon the Revelations come forth translated: and Calvin of Relics. His judgment, approving some rites used in the English liturgy; and of episcopal government.

As yet the see of York remained without an archbishop; William May, archbishop elect, deceasing before his consecration, as was said before. But now was Thomas Yong translated from St. David's, and confirmed, Feb. the 25th, chief pastor of that archiepiscopal see: though a certain diary sets the confirmation at March 2, and to be done in the bishop of London's palace. He was charactered to be a virtuous, godly man; but yet there was a former blot that stuck upon him still, that he the chanter, and one Constantine, register of the church of St. David's in king Edward's reign, raised up a great many enemies, and abundance of trouble against Farrar, their bishop, (who died a martyr under queen Mary,) chiefly because he would visit his church. Constantine was dead, but Yong, yet alive, was not forgotten for this behaviour. But to cover it as much as might be, now he was to be so highly advanced, one Prat, a reverend friend of Mr. Fox's, (who in a letter to him, dated in January 1560, had signified Yong's intended preferment,) desired, that as he had mentioned this matter in his Latin History, so he would leave it out in his English Martyrology, which he was now preparing; and to pass it over in silence, or else to write of it in such sort, as no man might be defamed; whereby the religion might sustain hurt, or papists take occasion to accuse us of persecution, a thing laid so closely by us to their charge: especially since both Yong and Constantine were reconciled to that bishop before his death; coming to him and asking him forgiveness; and so were again united in brotherly love.

In this province of York was placed James Pilkington, D. D. (whom we have had occasion to mention before,) for to govern the see of Durham. He was of a good family in the north; and had learned brothers that were divines also, viz. Leonard and John: the latter, being professor of divinity,

he made his chaplain, and soon preferred to a prebend in his church, October 2, 1561, and collated him to the archdeaconry of Durham, December 5, two years after. He also preferred to a prebend in his church another very learned man and an exile, viz. Thomas Lever, S. T. B. formerly of St. John's college, and sometime master, (as was the bishop himself.) He was also master of Shetborn hospital in the diocese; which place he held to his death: but of his prebend he was deprived, (I suppose,) for refusal to comply with the ecclesiastical orders prescribed. The said bishop also gave a prebend in his said church to another eminent exile of the same stamp, viz. John Fox, (for I make little doubt it was the same John Fox that was the martyrologist,) being entitled in the register of Durham, *Artium magistri et sacri verbi Dei professoris*. It was the same prebend that was held by another memorable man, Thomas Sparke, suffragan bishop of Berwick. Fox's collation was dated September 2, 1572; but he resigned it the next year. But another prebend, viz. of Shipton, in the church of Sarum, he and his posterity enjoyed even to our days.

In May 1561 was Richard Davis translated from St. Asaph to St. David's: and Thomas Davis, LL. D. of Oxon, a Welshman, aged forty-nine, was consecrated, May 26, bishop of St. Asaph: and William Downham, of Herefordshire, aged fifty, an Oxford man, was consecrated bishop of

Chester on the 4th day of May. Now were both the provinces filled with their bishops.

And thus was the church replenished with a new set of bishops, professors of the gospel, and most of them sufferers for it: men of good learning and true godliness, though in outward appearance contemptible, in comparison with those that filled the sees before. They were not so well learned in canon law, in matters of contention about worldly controversies, (I use the words of dean Nowel,) in bearing of temporal office and authority, in income, courtly behaviour, and worldly pomp, as were those bishops; yet in all kinds of learning, manners, and qualities, by St. Paul in the office of a bishop required, there were found as many learned bishops, and as able and willing to do the duty of good and godly bishops, [*per se non per alium,*] among them even at this day, as ever were among the papists, or in England, since the first bishops were created in it. And he trusted, likewise, that the clergy next under the bishops should not be found any whit inferior in learning, nor honesty of life, to theirs.

I will not conceal the cavils made by papists against them. For the adversaries had divers objections against our archbishop and his brethren the bishops; which were now made in the beginning of this reign, (as the lord Coke, whose words I use, shews us,) and by consequence against the bishops ever since.

“First, That they were never consecrated according to the law, (see Dier Mich. 6 & 7. Eliz.) because they had not three bishops at least at their consecration; nay, never a bishop at all, as was pretended. Because that they, being bishops in the reign of king Edward VI. were deprived in the reign of queen Mary, and were not, as was pretended, restored, before their presence at the consecration. These pretences being in truth but mere cavils, tending to the scandal of the clergy, being one of the greatest states of the realm, (as it is said in the statute of the 8th Eliz. cap. 1,) are fully answered by the said statute, and provision made by the authority of that parliament, for the establishing of the archbishop and bishops, both *in praesenti* and *infuturo*, in their bishoprics. Of this statute, archbishop Parker, in his book *De Antiq. Britann.* speaking of himself, saith, *Ann. Dom. 1559, Cantuar. episc. electus est a decano et capitulo eccles. metropolit. Cantuar. Posteaque eodem anno 17 Dec. adhibitis quatuor episcopis, &c. lege quadam de hac re lata requisitis consecratus est.* Another objection was made against them; for that the commission being never enrolled, whereby the bishops made in queen Mary’s time were deprived before the fourth year of the reign of queen Elizabeth; or the record of the approbation [deprivation, perhaps] of them cannot be found. And therefore it was pretended, that the archbishops and bishops made by queen Elizabeth, living the former, should be no lawful bishops. But by the statute of the 39th Eliz. cap. 8, the archbishops and bishops are adjudged lawful, as by the said act appeareth. And by these two statutes, these and all other objections against our bishops are answered.” These are the words of that great lawyer.

In April, Richard Cheney, a learned man, made a complaint to secretary Cecil concerning a wrong sustained by the late royal visitation. He was incumbent of a parish called Halford, in Warwickshire, of ten pounds per annum, [in the king’s books, as it seems;] whereof he allowed his priest ten pounds per annum, and he lived on the rest, (as he wrote,) that is, on the remainder, which was little more. But being in that visitation absent from

his said living, charitably preaching about in the country, in the great want of preachers at this time; the harvest being, as he said, great, but the labourers few, yea very few; whether it were his absence, or something else, which the visitors took notice of and offence at, but he was worse by forty pounds since the queen came in, than he was before. This man, being archdeacon of Hereford under king Edward, was one of the convocation in the first year of queen Mary; and with five more did boldly dispute in that synod against transubstantiation, with the learnedest men there that held that doctrine. In his younger days he was often at court, I suppose a preacher there; but now in his age chose a country retirement. "I began first in my youth," said he, in a letter to Cecil, "at the court, but I intend to make an end in mine age at the cart, at my circumcised benefice." He was a good Grecian, and affected the true, though new way of pronouncing it, which Mr. Cheek, the Greek lecturer, first set on foot in Cambridge. He had friends which offered to procure him a bishopric, or a prebend in Westminster; but he declined both, affecting rather a private life. He was lately called up to preach at the court: where Cecil afterwards spying him, went, after his courteous way, towards him, and saluted him, offering him his hand. This gave Mr. Cheney a fair encouragement to write to him, and to let him know what damage he had lately sustained in his poor preferment. And so writ to him in April, after a facetious style, which was his way, hinting therein his wrong, and present poor estate. His letter, in memory of the man, I have repositied in the Appendix.

But this complaint of his made such an impression upon Cecyl's tender heart, that he sent Cheney's letter to the archbishop, and these kind words endorsed upon it:

"I beseech your grace consider of this poor man's merry, simple request. Indeed it is not his shame to lack: and therefore, for God's sake, let him be helped. I cannot with leisure do for him: but whatsoever your grace will devise for me to do, I will not forbear.

Your grace's at commandment, W. Cecil."

The same year, Eaton college wanting a provost, (the former having been deprived at a visitation,) the archbishop put the secretary in mind to recommend him to the queen for that preferment, styling him "a good, grave, priestly man." But failing of that, he was preferred the next year to the bishopric of Gloucester, as we shall see in due place.

About this year did the laborious John Fox set forth the first edition in English of his great book of Acts and Monuments, in one thick volume. Wherein he hath done such exquisite service to the protestant cause, in shewing from abundance of ancient books, records, registers, and choice MSS. the encroachments of popes and papalins, and the stout oppositions that were made by learned and good men in all ages and in all countries against them; and especially under king Henry and queen Mary here in England: preserving to us the memories of those holy men and women, those bishops and divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and their constant deaths, willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and for refusing to comply with popish doctrines and superstitions. The design of writing this history was first set on foot among the exiles abroad in queen Mary's hard days; and many of them were concerned in it, to supply Fox with matter from England. The chief of these were Grindal, afterward bishop of London. From him Fox had the history of the holy John Bradford, and the letters writ by him in prison, besides many other things. It was agreed upon by them, that this history of those days should be written both in Latin and English, and printed; the former for the use of strangers, and the latter for the use of our own country: and so it was. And first it was printed beyond sea, in Latin: the overseeing and finishing of which edition detained the author some while abroad, after the entrance of queen Elizabeth upon her government.

Great was the expectation of the book here in England before it came abroad. The papists then called it scurrilously, *Fox's golden legend*. When it first appeared, there was extraordinary fretting and fuming at it through all quarters of England, even to Lovain. They charged it with lies, and that there was much falsehood in it: but indeed they said this, because they were afraid it should betray their cruelty and their lies, as the author speaks in the epistle before his book. His calendar, standing before his said book, which he made on purpose to set down the names of all that suffered for pure religion in those evil days, gave the papists great offence; taking it in that sense, as though he had cast out of the calendar the ancient saints, and in their places put new ones. But he said for himself, that he composed this calendar only for an index, designing the month and year of each martyr. Yet, as he added, that if the cause, and not the punishment, made a martyr, he judged one Cranmer to be preferred before six hundred Becketts of Canterbury; and that there was in one Nicolas Ridley what might be compared with any that went by the name of St. Nicolas.

Parsons also, in his book of the Three Conversions of England, chargeth him with spoiling of the bishops' registers and ancient records: which he spake without any assured ground, more than his own uncharitable guess. He pretended, "that he could have found abundant matter to have confuted Fox out of the records he used, had not he and his fellows made away and defaced the said records: which were to be found before him in the registers of every bishopric and cathedral church; but now no more, as we presume." Which last words, as *we presume*, do plainly let us know, that what he had severely charged upon him expressly before, depended indeed upon nothing but his own and his party's *mere presumption*. Fox was an indefatigable searcher into old registers, and left them as he found them, after he had made his collections and transcriptions out of them. Many whereof I have seen, and do possess. And it was his interest that they should remain to be seen by Posterity: and therefore we frequently find references thereunto in the margins of his book. Many have diligently compared his books with registers and council-books, and have always found him faithful.

He dedicated this first edition to queen Elizabeth; and another edition, many years after done by him, he also dedicated to her. In this first edition, which is rarely to be met with, are many things, as commissions, instruments, letters in Latin, and divers other matters, which are left out in the after-editions for brevity sake, there being such store of other things coming to light to be inserted.

And for some reward of these his labours, the queen, in the sixth of her reign, gratified him with the prebend and parsonage of Shipton in the county of Oxon, belonging to the church of Sarum: which his posterity enjoyed unto sir Richard Willys, knt. and bart.; who married the heir of the family, daughter of Robert Fox, M.D. sometime an eminent physician in London.

The credit of this book of Mr. Fox is mightily undermined by the papists, as was said before, and most professedly and earnestly by Parsons, in his book before mentioned. I leave it to others to vindicate him, (that being not my present business;) but yet he must not go without the commendation of a most painful searcher into records, archives, and repositories of original acts, and letters of state, and a great collector of MSS. And the world is infinitely beholden to him for abundance of extracts thence, communicated to us in his volumes. And as he hath been found most diligent, so most

strictly true and faithful in his transcriptions. And this I myself in part have found. And several passages in his book have been compared with king Edward's council-book, lately discovered, and found to agree well together.

The papists do endeavour to shake the credit of the rest of his story, by his supposed falsehood in one part of it; namely, concerning one Grimwood; who, being a great persecutor, and, withal, one mightily addicted to cursing and swearing, a great judgment from God is related to have fallen upon him, to the depriving him of his life. Once it happened, that a minister in his sermon quoted this passage of Grimwood, and propounded it as a warning to sinners; and for them to take example by him. But Grimwood was then alive, and present in the church. Whereupon he sued the minister for scandalizing him. But the judge, after due hearing, would not suffer the action to lie, because he did it not maliciously, and had alleged what he said out of a book, and so none of his own invention. This case is extant in judge Croke's Reports. And hence Fox's enemies have triumphed, and charged him as a man to whom little credit ought to be given, as taking up reports upon little or no good ground at all. This supposed falsehood of Fox, the author of the *Athenae Oxonienses* makes a great flourish with, and useth it to make the story improbable which the said Fox relates of judge Morgan, who condemned lady Jane Grey, and died mad soon after. But to return to Grimwood's story. It could not be avoided but that Fox must make use of other men to bring relations of matters to him, to furnish his book; and he, trusting to their fidelities, set them down as he received them: whence, in such vast collections, it is no marvel if some failures sometimes happen. But what if, after all this, the relation of Grimwood's judgment was true? I have been assured so from a very careful inquirer after such matters; who told me, that he had read it in a very authentic paper, carrying so much evidence with it, that he did not in the least misdoubt it: the judgment indeed not falling upon that Grimwood that sued the minister, but another of the same, both Christian and surname, as was well known afterwards.

There is another passage, as it seems, erroneously set down by Fox, which he is to be vindicated in also, so far forth as taking the relation from another hand. It is concerning one Cooper, who suffered under queen Mary for rebellious words spoken against her, rather than for religion: and concerning a judgment from God falling upon one Grimward, (perhaps the aforesaid person,) for his false witness bearing against the said Cooper. But

this relation, as Fox had inserted it in his history, be it true or false, he had from William Punt, who under queen Mary had been a diligent inquirer into the sufferings of the professors; and taking the same in writing, had procured the printing of them beyond sea, and then vended the books here in England. The same Punt was informed against by Tye, bishop Boner's commissary in the parts about Colchester, as a leading heretic. This is the character of the man. But to pursue this matter further, and to search whence this Punt had his information: he had it from credible witnesses, who gave in this account before him and Sutton, a minister of Ipswich, and one Fox, brother to our martyrologist. But after the Martyrology was printed, Will. Rushbrook, minister of Byldeston, a neighbouring parish to Ipswich, reading the aforesaid relation of Cooper in the said book, and knowing something of the business, perceived several errors therein. Therefore, out of a care of consulting for the credit of the author and book, in the year 1563, and month of April, he wrote hereupon to Mr. Walker, an eminent minister in Ipswich, shewing wherein Punt's information failed, and wishing it had not been put into Mr. Fox's book, and desiring him to inform the said author thereof: Cooper's punishment, as he asserted, having been justly inflicted, not so much for religion, as treasonous words against the queen. The sum of his letter was,

“That he had talked with those *which* he judged could best certify the truth of the matter which was reported of Cooper. That if every man *indeed* might be a martyr which was then punished for *rebellious* words, we should have many martyrs indeed. That Will. Punt was much to blame, because that he, Rushbrook, told him more than two years past, that his *paper* that contained that report was untrue, which, as he had then writ it, was now put into print. That in this *report* he committed these faults; viz. that Cooper was no such man that ought in commendation to be named in that book: that whereas Whyte was named to be a false witness, he witnessed truly: that Grimward was unjustly reported to be a witness, much more a false witness: that what was said to come upon the said Grimward was as true as the rest: that Cooper was valued more than he was worth, as to his goods, which were seized by the sheriff; a true account whereof in kine, horses, and other cattle, and householdstuff, came but to 6*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*”

When all this was understood by Mr. Fox, he came himself to Ipswich, to inform himself truly about it. Punt also went to Mr. Sutton beforesaid, who

remembered it very well, every part thereof as it was then imprinted. Notwithstanding, these two, with another honest man, went to the party that had related it, and read the story unto them; who boldly affirmed the same to be true, and would so confess before any man, as they said. There were two that attested this, being one and twenty years of age apiece. He also procured Mr. Candish, a justice of peace, as it seems, and the wife of Cooper, to meet at Ipswich; whom, with the children, they minded to bring before Candish and others; and so to make a true certificate thereof with their hands, as witnesses of their words; and then would send it up with speed; as Punt wrote up to London, to Fox's brother, living at the duke of Norfolk's house by Aldgate. He wrote also, that Mr. Sutton had and would take great pains therein. And so I leave the matter undecided to the reader's judgment and discretion. I have set down all this at this length, to shew what diligence and care was used that no falsehood might be obtruded upon the readers; and Fox and his friends' readiness to correct any mistakes that might happen.

Fox, as he had thus several that clamoured against him, so on the other hand he had many encouragers; and many letters and applications made to him, giving him thanks for his great and useful pains, and exhorting him to go forward. One of these was John Loud, an eminent man in his time; who wrote him a letter to this purpose in the year 1579, and withal furnished him with many other remarkable passages of the sufferings and stories of the professors of religion under king Henry and queen Mary, and of the iudgments of God upon persecutors. This Loud, however his very name is now lost, yet in his time made a figure, being an earnest professor of religion in the reign of king Henry VIII. and a companion with Mr. Philpot the martyr, both in Oxford, Winchester, and London. He studied also in Bene't college in Cambridge, where he was tutor to sir Richard Southwel, a man advanced to be a privy counsellor, and dwelt in the Charter-house, London. Here Loud dwelt with him, and instructed his son in Latin, and in the laws civil and temporal. For Loud, after his leaving the university, had been a student of the laws in Lincoln's-inn.

Besides this letter of Loud's before mentioned, I have seen these letters likewise concerning Mr. Fox's said book: one in the year 1565, from Morice (once the famous secretary of archbishop Cranmer) to John Day, Fox's printer: another, anno 1567, from Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, to Fox: another to him writ anno 1565, from Dr. Humfrey, of Oxford, concerning Alan Cope, and other popish adversaries of this book, and disparagers of

his martyrs, exciting him to answer them sharply: another to him from the same Humfrey and one Parret, from Oxford, anno 1582: and lastly, another from Richard Taverner, signifying his sending to Fox cardinal Pole's last will. In which letters are some things worth the reading.

Peter Martyr, the great divine, and public professor of divinity in the university of Oxford under king Edward, upon the new establishment of religion here in England, was ardently invited to come again hither. And that this invitation might have the greater force with him, one unnamed, but entitled by P. Martyr in his answers *illustrissimus princeps*, (whom therefore I believe to be Thomas duke of Norfolk, and he set on by his tutor John Fox,) wrote a kind and earnest letter to him to come over, and sent it by his friend Julius, that then was in England about some business: whom this nobleman had assisted in his affair with much humanity. In his letter to Martyr he signified to him, how he had suggested to the queen, that he might be recalled into England, and had spoke to her in his favour. In his said letter he expressed exceeding good will towards Martyr; and that the reason he loved him was only his piety and religion. He promised him all the favour and benefit from him that he could do; and added, that it was the love of this his own country, and his care to have the word of God furthered, that were the causes of his affection to him. This endeavour of getting Martyr into England proceeded, no question, from an order made by the archbishop and bishops at Lambeth, where they sat by commission; which was, to raise a contribution out of their own revenues for learned strangers to be placed readers in the universities, both for their stipends, and for the defraying of their expenses in their journey.

But Martyr excused his coming, partly because he was obliged to the city and church of Zurick, (whence he wrote his letter, July 22, 1561,) and so not his own man. And therefore with them, both magistrates and ministers, he had consulted: who indeed very readily, for the good of England, were willing he should depart thither; but on the other hand they considered his age and weakness, and how he was not able to bear such a journey. They considered also the great danger he might run in divers places through which he should pass; and moreover, how he was called into England to bear greater labours by far than there he had: and therefore they concluded it best for him to tarry with them; and that there, both by teaching, writing, and publishing what he had ready, he might serve them in England, and others also. And so Martyr, taking this advice, stayed at Zurick, and there died in peace.

The pulpits sounded every where with the approaching happiness of this nation, under the influence of so gracious and well educated a princess, and under the joyful expectation of the entrance of God's true worship into England again. And even in Oxford, where, to all outward appearance, every the least footstep of pure religion was utterly worn out, was a very notable sermon preached; and that by a person of as great eminency as any there. It was Dr. Wright, archdeacon of Oxon, and head of a college there. He was vice-chancellor when Dr. Richard Smith made his challenge to P. Martyr to dispute with him; and in that dangerous hurlyburly he conveyed Martyr away, through the rout and crowd at that time assembled, to his own house. Upon the turn under queen Mary, he made a shift to comply: and for his wisdom and learning was one of the visitors of Magdalen college, Oxon, when both the president and so many of the fellows were put out, soon after that queen's access to the crown; and was noted to be the equalest in hearing, and the readiest to absolve. He was also afterwards one of cardinal Pole's visitors of that university, complying with the time and orders then in force, and concealing his opinion during her five years' reign; with what conscience himself best knew. But as occasion served, he would speak favourably of the gospellers. So when they of Corpus Christi college had expelled Mr. Jewel, he, knowing the worth of that *Jewel*, told some of the college what an ornament he was to them. He had but one eye, yet, saith my author, he was *homo oculatus*. But the reason I have here taken occasion to mention him is this: that at queen Elizabeth's first coming to the crown, he openly, in All Saints, preached with a great spirit, though with a weak voice, "that Christ was not mixed nor leavened, but simple and crucified." In the same sermon he commended to the clergy the liturgy of the church of England, the celebration of prayers and sacraments in the English tongue; and learnedly and solidly asserted it out of scripture, and Origen against Celsus. Saunders added, in his relation of him, that alleging that place of St. Paul, *He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers;* he said, "*Ye see here is not a word of the pope.*" And May the 10th, being eight days after this public and godly confession, he died. The foresaid famous popish calumniator said of him, "That his recantation *of* the pope was the cause of his death, and the beginning *of* the defect of his understanding:" though he had his understanding and memory to the last, making his will; as many could attest, that were then present.

This year, 1561, came forth an hundred sermons upon the Apocalypse, made by Henry Bullinger, chief pastor of Zurich; translated out of Latin into English, by John Daus, of Ipswich; dedicated to sir Thomas Wentworth, lord Wentworth, lieutenant of the county of Suffolk: set forth and allowed according to the queen's order appointed in her injunctions. Bullinger's preface was, "To all the exiles of France, England, Italy, and other realms and nations in *Germany* and Switzerland, for the name of Christ; and to all the faithful, wheresoever they be, abiding and looking for the coming of Christ, our Lord and Judge." This preface was writ by him in the year 1557. The publishing of these sermons in these persecuting times was very seasonable, considering the sum and end of this revelation of Jesus Christ to his servant John was, as the learned author shewed,

"that he would never fail his church on earth, but would govern it with his Spirit and word through the ecclesiastical ministry: but that the church itself, whilst it remained in this world, should suffer many things, and that for Christ, and the truth of his gospel professed. And that it opened all and singular evils, in a manner, that the church should suffer; shewing how it must be exercised with common calamities, as war, plague, famine, &c.: what it should privately suffer of the false brethren through heresies and schisms, and grievous and continual strifes, contentions, and corruptions in the matter of religion: finally, how terribly it should be vexed by the most cruel persecution of the old Roman empire: and lastly, by the wicked crafts and extreme tyranny of Antichrist. All which things appertain to this end, that all his chosen, being sufficiently warned before, and provided in all ages, whilst this world shall endure, might with true faith cleave unto Christ our Redeemer, King, and High-priest, &c. and in innocency of life serve him, and patiently attend him, coming to judgment, &c. And chiefly, that they should flee Antichrist, which should come in the end of the world, usurping unto himself most unjustly the kingdom and priesthood of Christ, grievously persecuting the church of Christ even to the last judgment."

This year also was translated out of French into English, by Steven Withers, a treatise of Relics, writ by another learned foreigner, viz. Mr. Calvin. It began, "St. Augustine, in the book which he entituled, *Of the Labour of Monks*, complaining of certain trifle-bearers, who already in his time did exercise a most villainous and filthy kind of carrying hither and

thither relics of martyrs, addeth, yea, *if they be relics of martyrs*. By the which word *he* signifieth, that even then the abuse and deceit herein was committed, in making the poor simple people to believe, that bones gathered here and there were the bones of saints. But seeing the original of this abuse is of such antiquity, it is not to be doubted, but that it hath been in the mean while, by so long continuance of time, greatly multiplied: especially seeing the world since that time, is marvellously corrupted, and hath declined from worse to worse, even until it be come to the extremity in the which we see it." A book which, by relating what relics were in divers countries, and of what sort, and of what quantity, abundantly evinceth the horrible abuses of them. It bore this title; *A very profitable treatise, made by Mr. John Calvin, declaring what great profit might come to all Christendom, if there were a register made of all saints' bodies, and other relics, which are as well in Italy as in France, Dutchland, Spain, and other kingdoms and countries.*

The mention of Calvin must bring in a very remarkable letter, which he wrote in the month of August this year, concerning certain ecclesiastical rites used in our office of public prayer newly established: which were scrupled by some of the English exiles upon their return; chiefly because not used by the reformed church in Geneva. Concerning which they had sent to Calvin for his resolution and judgment. Wherein he gave his opinion generally in favour and approbation of them. For so I take that epistle of his, which he wrote as an answer to several persons, whom he styled, *eximii viri, et ex animo colendi fratres*: i.e. worthy men, and very much esteemed brethren: whom I am apt to think were the divines and scholars that lately sojourned at Geneva. By the answers he made, the questions propounded by these brethren, I suppose, were these:

First, Whether it was expedient, after the public confession, to have any absolution, declaring the gracious promise of God to repenting sinners; because there was none such used in the church of Geneva. Calvin approves it, saying, that there was none of them but acknowledged it very profitable, to join to the public confession some singular promise to raise penitent sinners to the hope of pardon and reconciliation. He added, that from the beginning it was his mind to bring in this practice. But some feared offence would be taken at the novelty of the thing: whereupon he was too easy to yield: and so the thing was omitted; that is, to be inserted into their office. But he wished that the people, to the pastors whereof he wrote, were accustomed to both.

Secondly, Another query was concerning the using of certain proper words to every communicant singly: which Calvin used not to do. To which he answered, that in administering the supper, he sometimes used St. Paul's words. But because he could not repeat them to every one, without taking up more time than could well be spared, he rather desisted.

Thirdly, The third question seemed to be, how often the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered? and whether it were not fit to have it monthly, rather than as it was enjoined but three times a year, viz. in the great festivals? Calvin did most of all like to have it administered every month; so that the more frequent use of it begat not negligence. Which seemed to go so far with him, that he somewhat inclined to have it (on that account) not so frequent: for, said he, while the greater part abstain from the communion, [as they would do, if it were celebrated every month,] the church is after a manner scattered from one another. But that he had rather the church were invited to the sacrament every month, than four times a year only, as was the custom then with them. He added, that when he came first to Geneva, the sacrament was communicated but thrice in the year, [that is, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide,] when there were seven months coming between Whitsuntide and Christmas, without any sacrament of the Lord's supper ministered at all. Whereupon he declared his liking of monthly sacraments. But that when he could not prevail, he thought it good to spare the weakness of the people, than more stiffly to contend about it. Whereby he signified his advice in effect to the brethren here in this church, where the people were also used to the said three public times of receiving the sacrament, and would at present be hardly brought to an alteration. And all that Calvin did in this case was, to omit the reformation of this more seldom receiving the eucharist, till a more convenient opportunity should offer hereafter. Yet he caused it to be entered into the public acts, that this custom was faulty: that it might be more easy and free to correct it by those that came hereafter.

Fourthly, The fourth query was, whether it were convenient to communicate the sick? and if so, with what number and company? and whether in this private communion the public office should be used, or no office, but the consecrated bread only brought from the church unto the party home to his house? To which Calvin gave in substance this answer; That the sick should not be denied the sacrament, many and weighty causes moved him: for should they not be communicated, it would be a very

blameworthy neglect of Christ's institution. But that when the sick party was to partake, there should be some assembly of the kindred, friends, and neighbours, that so there might be a distribution, according to Christ's commandment. And that the holy action should be joined with an explication of the mystery; and that nothing should be done differently from the common form and way of the church. He liked not carrying the sacrament up and down promiscuously; for the avoiding of superstition in some, and ambition and vain ostentation in others: many for such ends being apt in those days to come to these private sacraments. Which he esteemed a very difficult thing to prevent. And that therefore the greater judgment and care should be used to whom they gave it. And lastly, he looked upon it as a preposterous thing to bring bread as holy from the church; but to carry it in pomp, by no means tolerable.

To this judgment of this great French divine, concerning rites used in this church, I will briefly subjoin his approbation of the episcopal government of the church, which is alleged out of his Institutions by Dr. Whitgift:

“That every province had among their bishops an archbishop; and that the council of Nice did appoint patriarchs, which should be in order and dignity above archbishops, it was for the preservation of discipline. Therefore for this cause especially were those degrees appointed, that if any thing should happen in any particular church which could not be decided, it might be removed to a provincial synod. If the greatness or difficulty of the cause required yet greater consultation, then were there added patriarchs, together with the synods: from whom there was no appeal but unto a general council. This kind of government some called hierarchia, an improper name, [which he disliked, because it imported dominion and rule.] But if, omitting the name, we shall consider the thing itself, we shall find that these old bishops did not frame any other kind of government in the church from that which the Lord hath prescribed in his word.”

And so much concerning Calvin's sense of our church's liturgy and government.

CHAPTER 22.

A reflection upon what was already done in the church. Papists write against it; take occasion at the fire of St. Paul's. Answered by bishop Pilkington. Popish questions and cases dispersed. Answered. Reformation of the coin of the nation. Sir Richard Shelly, lord prior of St. John's, and turcopolier at Malta.

AND now we may look back, and observe what good progress was already made in the reformation of religion. The dioceses were supplied with learned, pious, protestant bishops; images were removed out of the churches; the common prayers celebrated in the English tongue; the sacrament of the Lord's supper administered to the people in both kinds; mass and transubstantiation exploded; the pope's pretended jurisdiction in England rejected; sound articles of Christian faith framed, and professed by the clergy; homilies, that is, plain, practical sermons, set forth, to be read to the people, where preaching could not be had. So that the church of England was reduced to the same good state wherein it was in the latter years of king Edward. Which was thus described by good bishop Ridley, a little befo're his death, when queen Mary had unhappily overthrown all.

“The church of England had of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true and sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned by all true Christians. The church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine, set upon the Lord's table, thanks were given, and the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread, in remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken; and the cup, in remembrance of Christ's blood shed, was distributed; and both communicated unto all that were present, and would receive them; and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do. All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so

that every thing might be easily and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, at common public prayers, ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation; *not* only framed and fashioned to the true vein of holy *scripture*, but also all things set forth according to the *commandment* of the Lord, and St. Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue. It had also holy and wholesome homilies, in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in scripture: and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that used always to reign in this realm of England. This church had, in matter of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the holy scripture, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in short time, if they had been universally received, they would have been able to set in Christ's church much concord, and unity in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies wherewith this *church*, alas! was almost overgone."

All this reformation the holy bishop so lamented the overthrow of, was now again, in so few years in this happy reign, reestablished.

But the popish party in England, blinded with old prejudices, would not see the present happiness of the English church; but laboured all they could to oppose and disparage and undermine this reformation: which they did partly by their writings privately dispersed. Thus when by lightning, on the 4th day of June this year, the steeple, the bells, and roof of St. Paul's church were burnt, a papist, soon after this accident, spread certain papers about at West-Chester concerning it; wherein were these words: In St. Paul's church in London, by the decree of the blessed fathers, every night at midnight they had matins; all the forenoon, masses in the church, with other divine service, and continual prayer; and in the steeple, anthems and prayers were had at certain times. But consider how *far* now contrary the church hath been used: and it is no *marvel*, if God hath sent down fire to burn part of the church, as a sign of his wrath."

And whereas, June 8, that is, the next Sunday after this fire, Pilkington, bishop of Durham, preached at Paul's Cross, and took notice in his sermon of the dreadful devastation of this church, exhorting the people to take it to be a warning of a greater plague to follow to the city of London, if

amendment of life were not had in all estates: he did also recite certain abuses of the said church; as talking, buying and selling, fighting and brawling there: he shewed also how the virtue of obedience to superiors was much decayed in those days. These causes assigned for this judgment were reflected upon in the said paper; making the chief causes rather to be, “*that* the old fathers and the old ways were left, together with blaspheming God in lying sermons, preached there, polluting the temple with schismatical service, and destroying and pulling down altars, set up by blessed men, and where the sacrifice of the mass was ministered.” This occasioned the writing of a tract in confutation of the paper aforesaid; printed by Will. Seres, an. 1563.

The which tract seems to have been writ by the same bishop in vindication of his sermon. There the writer shewed more at large, how that church and all parts of it had been defiled, partly by popery, and partly by other gross profanations. “That no place had been more abused than Paul’s had been, nor more against the receiving of Christ’s gospel: wherefore it was more marvel, that God spared it so long, than that he overthrew it now. That from the top of the steeple down within the ground, no place had been free. From the top of the spire, at coronations, or other solemn triumphs, some for vainglory had used to throw themselves down by a rope, and so killed themselves, vainly to please other men’s eyes. At the battlements of the steeple sundry times were used their popish *anthems*, to call upon their gods, with torch and taper, in the evenings. In the top of one of the pinnacles was *Lollard’s* tower, where many an innocent soul had been by them cruelly tormented and murdered. In the midst alley was their long censer, reaching from the roof to the ground; as though the Holy Ghost came down in their censuring, in likeness of a dove. In the Arches, men commonly complained of wrong and delayed judgment in *ecclesiastical* causes: and divers had been condemned there by Annas and Caiaphas for Christ’s cause. Their images hung on every wall, pillar, and door, with their pilgrimages, and worshippings of them: passing over their massing and many altars, and the rest of their popish service. The south alley was for usury and popery; the north for simony; and the horse-fair in the midst for all kind of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murders, conspiracies. The font for ordinary payments of money, as well known to all men, as the beggar knows his dish. That the popish clergy began and maintained these, and godless worldlings defended them; whereas the poor protestants lamented, and would have amended them. Judas’ chapel, [misnamed on purpose for

Jesus' chapel,] under the ground, with the apostles' mass, so early in the morning, was counted, by report, as fit a place to work a feat in, as the stews or tavern.

“So that without and within, above the ground and under, over the roof and beneath, on the top of the steeple *and* spire, down to the low floor, not one spot was free from wickedness, as the bishop had in his sermon declared. So that the whole should praise God (saith he) for his mercy in sparing it so long; and now tremble at his fearful judgments in justly revenging such filthiness.”

And again a little before; “God's house must be a house of prayer, and not the proud tower of Babylon, nor the pope's market-place, nor a stews for bawds and ruffians, nor a horse-fair for brokers; no, nor yet a burse for merchants, nor a meeting-place for walking and talking. And that if a convenient place to meet for honest assemblies could not be found, nor had conveniently elsewhere, a partition might be had, to close up and shut the *praters* from the *prayers*, the walkers and janglers from well-disposed persons, that they should not trouble the devout hearers of God's word.”

And lastly, the said author, making this judgment upon this church of St. Paul's to be a signification of what God had done in the present reformation of the church of England from its superstitions, hath these words; “That God had once again, with the trumpet of his word, and the glad receiving of his people, thrown down the walls of Jericho, and the pope's bulwark there, by his own might, without the power of man, if men would so consider it, and fear the Lord.”

There were also about this time, or the year ensuing, questions and cases of conscience propounded, and conveyed up and down by some papists, with solutions to them, agreeable to their purpose; to keep the laity, as well as the priests, from compliance and conformity to the present orders about religion. And they were these:

“What is the catholic church? “Who is an heretic?

“Whether be priests in schism, that have subscribed to the religion now used in England?

“Whether be priests in schism, that minister the communion and other sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer now set forth?

“Whether be they in schism, that minister no sacraments, but only, instead of divine service, read chapters and psalms, &c. afore the people?

“Whether it be lawful for priests that say the communion, also to celebrate mass?

“Whether it be lawful for priests to say mass, which say no communion, but only read psalms and chapters to the people, instead of service?

“Whether is this to be called a wicked time, that such heresy and schism doth reign in?

“Whether it is lawful for the laity to receive the communion, as is now used?

“Whether the people, compelled with fear for loss of worldly goods, may receive the communion, as bread and wine, not consenting to it in the heart?

“How should the people do, that cannot have the sacrament ministered to them according to the ordinance of Christ’s church?

“Whether is not every one, as well priests as laity, bound to obey the queen and her laws?”

These dangerous and captious questions, with their solutions, falling at length into the hands of the beforementioned bishop Pilkington, (and dispersed perhaps in his diocese,) were well answered by him: and his little book, published for the common good, being printed also by Will. Seres, an. 1563.

But to give a taste of the popish solutions to two or three of these cases; only enough to shew what earnest endeavour they used to keep both priests and people from uniting with the present church, or to call off those that had. To the case, *Whether it were lawful for the laity to receive the communion as now used*, it was answered, that in receiving the communion as now used, they broke their profession made in baptism, and fell into

schism; separating themselves from God and his church, refusing the bishops [i.e. late deposed] their true pastors, and so entering into the malignant church of Satan, &c. And that the bishops were in prison, ready to suffer death, afore they would either minister or receive the communion, like true pastors, &c. That the catholic church, which they professed at their baptism to believe and obey, taught them to receive Christ's body consecrate at mass, with prayers, invocations, and benedictions, with the sign of the holy cross; and not bare bread and wine, without consecration and benediction, as they used in this communion; being against the decrees and ordinances of Christ's catholic church. That God Almighty commanded them to separate themselves from such, &c.

To the next question, *Whether the people, compelled with fear, or loss of worldly goods, or temporal punishment, might receive the communion, as bread and wine, and not consenting to it in the heart;* the answer was, That St. Paul said, it was requisite to our salvation, with our mouths to confess the truth. Also, that our Saviour said, he that denieth him afore men, he will deny afore his Father in heaven. And to kneel down to receive their *cursed and polluted bread*, was to commit idolatry. Nor was it lawful to dissemble herein. For no punishment the good catholic people would receive with the Arians: much less ought they to receive the communion now used for any punishment.

To the next question, *How should the people do, that could not have the sacrament ministered to them according to the ordinance of Christ's church?* the answer was, That in no wise they ought to receive the communion, but to commend their minds and wills to God with devout prayer, firmly continuing in that doctrine which they were christened in. And so doing, in will to receive the blessed sacrament; if they were not in place where it was ministered according to the ordinance of Christ's church, God would accept their will and good intent, as if they did receive it corporally. But that if they received this communion, they separated and divided themselves from the sacraments and prayers of all the universal church of Christ.

But all this, and other the like cases and resolutions of these papists' own making, did bishop Pilkington briefly despatch, and clearly lay open the folly and falsity of.

“And that, as he said, for the sake of simple ones he undertook this labour, that they should not be deceived and overcome with fond

fancies of idle brains: and lest God's enemies should crack, that none could or durst answer them. That [in respect of the foolishness of this writer] it was the polity of papists to set out a broker to utter their wares, and catch the unlearned: but that the subtler sort held their tongues; stood aloof, to see how this forerunner would take place; and were thought by their silence to be able to say much more, whenas they feared indeed, lest, in being answered, they might take the foil, to the clear overthrow of their cause. That if the miserable state of the people had not moved him, he would have holden his tongue. But that, with the poor simple ones, whom they deceive in corners with such lies as these, such common, bald reasons should not prevail, he thought good, for pity sake, to say thus much, to stay them whose eyes God should open to see. And that his reasons and authorities on purpose were commonly taken out of their own doctors and writers, and such as were not counted protestant, nor made use of by any of this new learning. And for the nonce, he forbore to allege the learned sort, lest the unlearned should say, they did not skill of such books, nor knew whether they were truly brought in."

Though it be not so suitable to the ecclesiastical story of these times, (of which my professed purpose is to write,) yet let me relate a passage that happened this year in the state, so much tending to the honour of the nation, and to the ingratiating the queen to her people. As she had called in before copper and mixed money, and allowed those that brought them in to the exchequer as much in good money. as those pieces ordinarily went for, to her own considerable charge, that her subjects might not be losers; so she now made another step to the amendment of the current coin, reducing all fine money to the true standard; and appointing the several gold and silver pieces to pass at a lower rate than they went at before, that so they might come to the exact old English standard. This I do the rather relate here, because it is so imperfectly and uncertainly, if at all, set down by our historians: and because I make some doubt, whether the queen's proclamation thereof were ever printed, I have exemplified it from a written copy thereof in the Appendix. By which it appeareth, that the Michaelmas last past, 1560, the queen turned base copper money to money that was good sterling. And all this coarse money being called in, and fine, that is, gold and silver, money made current, she then signified her intention to reduce that fine money to its true worth, so that it should pass

for no more than its true, intrinsic value, which hitherto it had not done. Yet for some reasons she forbore for some time to put this her purpose in execution. But this was soon noised abroad how monies were to be taken down to the lower value; so that they who were worth an hundred pounds before, now should not be worth, it may be, fourscore, though he had the same quantity of cash as before. This had many inconveniences attending it, beside the discontent of the people. Rumours of it ran from one market-day to another; and the markets rose, and provisions grew dear. This unseasonably prevented the queen's determinations: so that she was fain in the midst of these bruits to issue out a proclamation to stay them. But neither could this remedy it, the same rumours being beforehand universally spread into men's heads by sinister means. And another sort took hold of these rumours out of covetousness. And so the prices of all things were universally enhanced, that were to be sold for money. Pitiful hereby was the condition of the meaner sort of people, as labourers in husbandry, handicraftsmen, serving-men, soldiers, and others, living by wages or pensions, who must buy their victuals and sustenance with money: these were miserably oppressed with unreasonable prices and dearth.

This moved the queen; and for the remedying hereof she thought fit to delay no longer putting her intent into execution: and so she reduced the monies of her realm to such a true standard, as should never hereafter be changed nor altered; being indeed the standard that remained in the kingdom since the sixth of king Edward IV. and so continued down to the sixteenth year of king Henry VIII. who then first debased the money by mixing it with brass.

All monies now were either fine gold, crown gold, strangers' gold, or fine sterling silver. Of the fine gold, was the sovereign, that went at thirty shillings; which was brought down to twenty: for no more was it worth: the royal, that went at fifteen shillings; which was brought to ten, according to its true value: the angel, that went at ten, was made current at six shillings and eight pence: the half angel, five shillings, to three and four pence. The crown gold pieces were, the sovereign, half sovereign, crown, half crown. The strangers' gold pieces were the French crown and the Burgundian crown. The sterling silver pieces were, the shilling, and the half shilling, the quarter shilling, the three halfpence, the three farthings. What these pieces hitherto went at, and to what value reduced, may be seen in the proclamation. And in conclusion, this the queen would have to be

accepted of all her good subjects, as one of the principal acts, tending to the recovery of the ancient fame and wealth of the kingdom; and desired that none, that out of malice or ignorance depraved this noble act, should have credit given to them; wherein she evidently sustained so great burden in her treasure, as it ran in the said proclamation.

Richard Shelly, styling himself of St. John's, afterwards calling himself *lord prior of St. John's of Jerusalem*, (sir Tho. Tresham was the last lord prior in England, who died and was carried down to Northampton, to be buried amongst his ancestors, March 16,) went this year 1561 from Spain, where he was a pensioner of that king's, to Malta, to establish his office and dignity of turcopolier for the English nation, as he wrote in a letter to sir Tho. Chaloner, his acquaintance in England. He went, as he said, though to his great cost and travail, because he could in no wise suffer so goodly preeminence of our nation to be lost in his time, for lack of taking possession of the place. He had the king of Spain's letter to allow him to go, and take upon him the said title of turcopolier: which title was due to him, as heir apparent; and he was *dominus natus*. This, he said, was the reason he would not take upon him to be called there [in Spain] prior D'Inglaterra; which to every man's understanding was a title of known honour; whereas turcopolier was so diffusive a name, as not worthy the pains of pronouncing; and so strange a dignity, by reason of the long intermission, as had no ready place of acceptation abroad. But, as he wrote to his friends, he did it for the honour of his nation; and that he would respect his nation afore his person, and the public afore his particular. He swore afore God, that for the same reason, and none other respect, he had already procured in Madrid, and would procure as he went, so much favour as might be, for the establishing of the English privileges in Malta. And lest any offence might be taken by the queen at this his enterprise, he declared himself a true English subject; that to Malta he went *true and mere English*, in following his conscience, to be bestowed in the queen's service, whereinsoever it should be meet to employ a man of his order.

When he was at Genua, the king of Spain sent a letter to him to return in post, because he would send him ambassador into Persia. And at the same time the lord great master of Malta sent him a letter, charging him to defer no longer to take upon him the title of his priory; and that upon pain of taking away his cross, and upon his oath of obedience. And this was the reason he took the title of *prior* upon him, and upon a force declined that of *turcopolier*. For this office in the convent was of high preeminence, and

was above all priors. But it could not be brooked that he should then enjoy so high a title, and therefore was commanded to call himself *prior of St. John's*. And there he lived some time with great honour and favour, till a contest happened between him and the prior of Capua, who came to be grand master by simony, and would have usurped his place, that in right should have succeeded there. This put an end to his being at Malta; otherwise, there he reckoned to have been resident all his life: if he would have borne, as he said, the abasing of his nation; “which neither as a Christian man, nor as an English man, nor as a Shelly, he might no way endure.”

CHAPTER 23.

A journal of memorable matters falling out within this year, not hitherto noted. A Common Prayer Book with pictures of the saints laid before the queen at St. Paul's; disliked by her. Paintings in churches.

I SHALL conclude this year with a brief relation of several matters that happened from month to month; which (in my judgment) deserve a memorial to be made of them, and to be rescued from oblivion, since they may give a further view of these times, and let in light into things of greater moment.

March the 26th, the young lady Jane Seimour, daughter to the late duk, of Somerset, and one of the queen's maids of honour, and in great favour with her royal mistress, (dying the 20th of the same month,) was brought in the afternoon from the queen's armory to the abbey of Westminster, to be buried, with all the quire of the said abbey, and two hundred of the court, and threescore mourners; consisting of lords and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen, all clad in black; besides others of the queen's privy chamber. She had a great banner of arms borne; Mr. Clarenceux was the herald attending; and Scambler, bishop of Peterborough, added to the solemnity a funeral sermon. And being a duke's daughter, was buried in the same chapel where the duchess of Suffolk was.

April the 10th, one was brought out of Bethlem, and whipped through the streets. His crime was blasphemy, for saying, "he was Christ." And one Peter taken out of the Marshalsea was likewise whipped, for that he said, "he" was the same Peter that did follow Christ."

April the 12th, one who was a stranger was set in the stocks at Westminster market, being clad all in red, for saying, "he was the lord of all lords, and king of all kings."

April the 16th were all the altars in Westminster abbey demolished; and so was the altar in the chapel of Henry VII. where that king and king Edward VI. lay buried. And all the stones thereof carried where the late queen Mary was buried: [perhaps toward the making of her monument with those religious stones.]

Ditto the 22d, sir Edward Walgrave, knt. (who was a great officer in queen Mary's court, and a privy counsellor,) and his lady, were carried to the Tower. It was for hearing mass, having a popish priest in their house. Others were brought to the Tower at that time; and, as it seems, for the same breach of the law. This knight and his lady had the character of very good alms-folks, in respect, no doubt, of their great liberality to the poor.

Ditto the 23d, sir Edward Hastings, lord of Lough-borough, knight of the garter, and another great counsellor with the late queen Mary, was brought unto the earl of Pembroke's [at Baynard castle] for the same fault, I presume, in being present at mass.

The same 23d of April, being St. George's day, the festival was kept solemnly at court in this manner: all her majesty's chapel came through her hall in copes, to the number of thirty, singing, "O God, the Father of heaven," &c, the outward court to the gate, and round about being strewed with green rushes. After came Mr. Garter and Mr. Norroy, and master dean of the chapel, in robes of crimson satin, with a red cross of St. George: and after, eleven knights of the garter in their robes. Then came the queen, the sovereign of the order, in her robes; and all the guard following in their rich coats. And so to the chapel. And after service done, back through the hall to her grace's great chamber. And that done, her grace and the lords went to dinner: where she was most nobly served; and the lords sitting on one side were served in gold and silver. After dinner were two new knights of the garter elected, viz. the earl of Shrewsbury and the earl of Hunsdon. There were attending all the heralds in their coat-armour before her grace. These were installed at St. George's feast held at Windsor the 18th day of May following, the earl of Arundel being the queen's deputy.

June the 4th, Corpus Christi eve, between eleven and twelve of the clock at noon, began great thundering and lightning. At St. Martin's church by Ludgate a thunderbolt smote down certain great stones from the battlement of the steeple, which fell down upon the leads of the church, and brake the leads and boards, and a great chest in two pieces.

The same day, about four or five of the clock at afternoon, the lightning took St. Paul's church, and entered at one of the holes in the outward part of the steeple, about two yards under the bells, and set the steeple on fire; and never left, till the steeple and bells, and top of the church, were all consumed, unto the arches; burning both wood and lead, and the bells, and

the timber under which stood the great organs; and the chapel where the old bishop was buried.

And in divers other places of England great hurt was done with lightning.

June the 15th, which was the next Sunday but one after this dreadful burning of St. Paul's, Nowel, the dean, preached at the Cross an excellent sermon, the lord mayor and aldermen, and most of the crafts, present, and a great audience besides. Whose subject, no doubt, was the rueful spectacle of their cathedral lying in ashes; and he exciting them with all his rhetoric to set upon the reparation of it. For but two days after, viz.

June the 17th, the lord mayor and common council agreed and concluded, to what men to commit the care of overlooking such as should be set on work for Paul's; and who might be vigilant in all places for carrying on the building vigorously; resolving to choose men of knowledge and ability to oversee both the work and the workmen: which was in pursuance of what the said court had done June 10, when they granted three fifteens towards the building of the church and steeple with great speed, as soon as they might possibly get timber, and other materials, and workmen.

The 22d, Mr. Ralph Skinner, belonging to the church of Durham, being appointed dean there, preached a recantation sermon at the Cross; giving men warning of a note-book which he had printed, and bade every man take heed of it; for it was, he said, "very heresy."

The 23d, began the service to be said at St. Gregory's church by the Paul's quire, till St. Paul's might be got ready.

The same day, at Westminster seven men were set on the pillory for conjuring, and other misdemeanours; whereof one was a priest, named Bettison.

The 25th, the same men were set on two pillories in Cheapside.

July the 1st, the work began at St. Paul's for the reparation of the church and steeple: Mr. Grafton, grocer, Mr. Harrison, goldsmith, and others, overseers and directors of the works.

July the 4th, all the queen's council dined with the ambassador of Sweden, who came hither to transact a match between the queen and his master.

The 6th, the Paul's Cross sermon was preached at the Gray Friars, [i.e. Christ's-church,] it being very rainy weather, and the shrouds at Paul's (where in such seasons the sermons were preached) being, I suppose, demolished in the late great fire.

The 10th, the queen came by water unto the Tower of London by twelve of the clock: her business now was to visit her mints, which she did in person; where she coined certain pieces of gold, and gave them away to several about her: whereof one she gave to the marquis of Northampton, and another to the earl of Hunsdon. About five o'clock she went out at the iron gate, and so over Towerhill unto Aid-gate church; and so down Houndsditch to the Spital, and down Hoglane; and so over the fields unto the Charter-house, being the lord North's place; attended in great state, (as was customary when she went abroad,) before her, going on horseback, trumpeters, the gentlemen pensioners, the heralds of arms, the sergeants at arms; then gentlemen, then lords, and the lord Hunsdon bearing the sword immediately before the queen; after the queen the ladies riding. Here at the Charter-house she tarried till

The 13th day, when she took her way from thence by Clerkenwell over the fields unto the Savoy to Mr. Secretary Cecyll, where she supped. Here her council waited on her, with many lords and knights, and ladies; and great cheer made till midnight: and then her grace rode back to the Charter-house, where she lay that night. And the next day, she departed thence on her progress into Essex; and the chief streets of the city being renewed with fresh sand and gravel for her equipage, she passed from the Charter-house, through Smithfield, under Newgate, and so along St. Nicolas Shambles, Cheapside, Cornhill, unto Aid-gate and Whitechapel. All the houses were hung with cloth of arras and rich carpets, and silk. But Cheapside was hung with cloth of gold and silver, and velvets of all colours: all the crafts of London standing in their liveries from St. Michael the Quern as far as to Aidgate. The cavalcade was after this manner: first, serving men riding; then the queen's pensioners, gentlemen, knights, lords, the aldermen in scarlet, the sergeants of arms, the heralds in their coat-armour: then my lord mayor bearing the sceptre; then the lord Hunsdon bearing the sword: and then came the queen's grace, and her footmen richly habited; the ladies and gentlewomen followed: after all, the lords' and knights' men in their masters' liveries. And at Whitechapel the lord mayor and aldermen took their leave of her grace; and so she took her way

toward Essex; and, I suppose, lodged that night at Wansted-house in the forest.

The 20th of July died Dr. Bill, who was dean of Westminster, provost of Eaton college, and master of St. John's in Cambridge, the queen's chief almoner.

The 30th, about eight or nine, was a great thundering and lightning as any man had ever heard, till past ten. After that, great rains till midnight; insomuch that the people thought the world was at an end, and the day of doom was come, it was so terrible. This tempestuous weather was much this summer. Thus the 21st of this July it rained sore, beginning on Sunday night, and lasting till Monday night. And the 5th and 6th of the same month were great rains and thundering in London. What mischief was done by the dreadful thundering and lightning June the 4th, was told before. And before this, April the 20th, were great thunder, lightning, rain, and hailstones, for bigness the like whereof had scarce ever been seen.

September the 1st, sir Edward Walgrave, who was brought to the Tower last April, died there. His confinement here was thought to have been the cause of his death. He was much swoln. The 3d day of September he was buried in the quire of the Tower church, beside the high altar, by torchlight. And the 6th day the lady Walgrave came out of the Tower.

The 5th, superstitious utensils were burnt at Oxon by Sampson, dean of Christ's-church.

The 8th, being the day of the nativity of our Lady, they began to set up the rails of Paul's steeple upon the battlements.

The same day, the queen, who had been in her progress, now removed from Hartford castle to Enfield. And the 22d, she came from Enfield to St. James's beyond Charing-cross. From Islington thither the hedges and ditches were cut down to make the next way for her. There might be ten thousand people met to see her; such was their gladness and affection to her. It was night ere she came over St. Giles in the Fields.

The 20th, a commandment came from the queen unto the college of Windsor, that the priests belonging thereunto that had wives should put them out of the college; and for time to come to lie no more within that place. And the same to be observed in all colleges and cathedral churches, and likewise in both the universities.

The 23d, Dr. Gabriel Goodman was made dean of Westminster in the room of Dr. Bill, late deceased.

Octob. the 3d, a royal present of the king of Sweden to her majesty (whom that king courted for his wife) came to London; being eighteen great horses, all of them pied coloured. They were brought and set up at the Cross-keys in Grace-church-street. The next day came two ships likewise from Sweden to Woolwich laden with more royal presents for the queen. And the 6th day those presents, whatever they were, having been put into certain vessels, the said vessels being brought up to London were unladen at the water side, and carried into the Tower. What these presents were is not related; but August the 30th, last past, the news were, that the king of Sweden was sending a great number of wagons laden with massy bullion, and other things of value, to England. Nay, and on the 15th of September, news came to London, that the king of Sweden himself was landed in the north. And indeed he was himself determined to come, had not the queen by a letter dissuaded him.

This king's name was Ericus. He continued his courtship of her majesty most eagerly from 1560, when his father was alive, (who first set it on foot,) to the year 1562, with assured hopes of marrying her at last, deluded by some Englishmen: which was the reason of his resolution of taking a voyage into England. For some idle cheats of this nation, pretending themselves well acquainted with the court, and the intrigues of it, had signified by letters to the king, that they knew the mind of the queen and her council, and that she had used such expressions, (which they reigned themselves,) that she desired nothing more than his coming over. Of all this the lords of the queen's council in a letter informed that king's chancellor: and that in truth these persons were some obscure impudent fellows, that knew little of the affairs of the queen or court; and that they did but befool his master: but that they had taken two or three of the framers of these letters to the king, who upon examination had acknowledged that poverty and hope of gain put them upon what they did; hoping by this means to have fished out money either of the king or him. And therefore upon them they resolved to inflict some exemplary punishment, for the terror of all such sycophants for the future. This letter was dated from the court at Greenwich the 5th of August, 1562.

About the last of October they began to sing service at St. Paul's; being, it seems, the first time of opening the quire after the fire. The bishop began the service himself. There was then also a great communion.

November 1, the mayor and aldermen went in the afternoon to St. Paul's with all the crafts in their liveries, attended with fourscore men all in blue, carrying torches. The bishop of London preached the sermon. They tarried in the church till night; and so the lord mayor with his company went home all with torchlight.

November 2, a young man stood at Paul's Cross in sermon time with a sheet about him, for speaking certain words against Veron the preacher; who had often preached the Paul's Cross sermon, and before the queen at court, and was a learned and zealous protestant, and prebendary of that church. And on that account it was thought fit that the scandalizing of such a person should not be passed over without public satisfaction. This penitent perhaps had charged that reverend man with incontinency. Certain it is, that on the 23d of this same month, whilst Mr. Reneger, the queen's chaplain, preached the sermon at Paul's Cross, a certain French gentleman, named de Machin, sat at the sermon time, [i.e. in the place of penance,] for reporting, as he had heard, that Veron the Frenchman and preacher was taken with a wench. And he kneeled down before the said Veron and the bishop, to forgive him, having also several worshipful men his friends interceding for him. This Veron was also rector of Ludgate.

December the 15th, a pillory was set up in Paul's churchyard against the bishop's place, for the punishment of a man that had made an affray in St. Paul's church. His ears were nailed to the post, and after cut off.

January the 4th, while the dean of St. Paul's preached at the Cross, one did penance for a cheat, who pretended himself to be dumb; but the master of bridewell made him speak. For which cause he was brought there, by his own mouth to acknowledge and confess his imposture, and to ask the church pardon.

The 31st, a proclamation for the strict keeping of Lent, upon great charge and penalty. Such proclamations came out yearly. Some of the preachers this Lent at court before the queen were these.

February the 11th, being Ash-Wednesday, Goodman, dean of Westminster. The first Sunday this Lent, Sandys, bishop of Worcester. The first Wednesday the second week, Nowel, dean of St. Paul's. The next Sunday,

Alley, bishop of Exeter. March the 8th, Horn, bishop of Winchester. March the 11th, Wednesday, Nowel again. March the 13th, being Passion-Friday, Nowel again. March the 15th, Passion-Sunday, Nowel again; for the bishop of London, who should have preached, was sick. March the 20th, Jewel, bishop of Sarum.

March 27, 1562, being Good-Friday, in the afternoon, (as all the sermons at court were on afternoons, that they might not interfere with the sermons at St. Paul's,) the bishop of London preached before the queen.

The same Good-Friday in the forenoon, old, venerable Miles Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter, the translator of the Bible into English, a confessor and an exile, and one that lately assisted at the consecration of archbishop Parker, now more lately rector of St. Magnus at the bridge-foot, preached at Paul's Cross.

Let me mention also the Spital sermons for the conclusion. March the 30th, Monday, preached Mr. Renager, the queen's chaplain. March the 31st, Tuesday, Mr. Nowel, dean of St. Paul's. April the 1st, Wednesday, Mr. Turner of Canterbury. The 5th, being Low-Sunday, Sampson, dean of Christ's-church, Oxon, preached at Paul's Cross; where he declared the three former Spital sermons in Easter week, as he had done, I think, twice before; being appointed thereunto in regard of his excellent elocution and memory.

The aforesaid dean, so often noted before for his frequent preaching before the queen, and in other great and honourable assemblies, preached on the festival of the Circumcision, being new-year's-day, at St. Paul's, whither the queen resorted. Here a remarkable passage happened, as is recorded in a great man's memorials, who lived in those times. The dean, having gotten from a foreigner several fine cuts and pictures, representing the stories and passions of the saints and martyrs, had placed them against the epistles and gospels of their festivals in a Common Prayer Book. And this book he had caused to be richly bound, and laid on the cushion for the queen's use, in the place where she commonly sat; intending it for a new-year's-gift to her majesty, and thinking to have pleased her fancy therewith. But it had not that effect, but the contrary: for she considered how this varied from her late open injunctions and proclamations against the superstitious use of images in churches, and for the taking away all such relics of popery. When she came to her place she opened the book, and perused it, and saw the pictures, but frowned and blushed; and then shut it, (of which several took

notice,) and calling the verger, bade him bring her the old book, wherein she was formerly wont to read. After sermon, whereas she was wont to get immediately on horseback, or into her chariot, she went straight to the vestry, and applying herself to the dean, thus she spoke to him:

Q. Mr. Dean, how came it to pass that a new service book was placed on my cushion? To which the dean answered,

D. May it please your majesty, I caused it to be placed there. Then said the queen,

Q. Wherefore did you so?

D. To present your majesty with a new-year's-gift.

Q. You could never present me with a worse.

D. Why so, madam?

Q. You know I have an aversion to idolatry; to images and pictures of this kind.

D. Wherein is the idolatry, may it please your majesty?

Q. In the cuts resembling angels and saints; nay, grosser absurdities, pictures resembling the blessed Trinity.

D. I meant no harm; nor did I think it would offend your majesty, when I intended it for a new-year's-gift.

Q. You must needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our proclamation against images, pictures, and Romish relics in the churches? Was it not read in your deanery?

D. It was read. But be your majesty assured, I meant no harm, when I caused the cuts to be bound with the service book.

Q. You must needs be very ignorant to do this after our prohibition of them.

D. It being my ignorance, your majesty may the better pardon me.

Q. I am sorry for it; yet glad to hear it was your ignorance, rather than your opinion.

D. Be your majesty assured, it was my ignorance.

Q. If so, Mr. Dean, God grant you his Spirit, and more wisdom for the future.

D. Amen, I pray God.

Q. I pray, Mr. Dean, how came you by these pictures who engraved them?

D. I know not who engraved them, I bought them.

Q. From whom bought you them?

D. From a German.

Q. It is well it was from a stranger: had it been any of our subjects, we should have questioned the matter. Pray let no more of these mistakes, or of this kind, be committed within the churches of our realm for the future.

D. There shall not.

This matter occasioned all the clergy in and about London, and the churchwardens of each parish, to search their churches and chapels; and caused them to wash out of the walls all paintings that seemed to be Romish and idolatrous; and in lieu thereof suitable texts taken out of the holy scriptures to be written.

CHAPTER 24.

The papistical clergy busy. Lists of the names of the popish recusants, late dignitaries in the church, or otherwise. And their confinements and bounds, prescribed by the ecclesiastical commissioners.

SUCH as bore affection to the old popish religion were now very busy about the kingdom, to disaffect the minds of the queen's subjects. These were both of the laity, and of the clergy, and of the universities; whom it was therefore thought necessary to watch diligently. This was a great part of the charge lying upon the commission ecclesiastical. Several of the busiest of these that could be found were taken up, and placed under custody in the prisons of London and South-wark. And informations were given in against several more in the north parts of the land that could not yet be found. And many were about this time brought before the ecclesiastical commissioners; from whom yet they received favourable handling: for they did not put or continue them in prison, nor prosecute the law upon them, but only prohibited them certain places, and circumscribed them within some particular countries or places, or number of miles thence, and generally to abide there where they were best known, and their friends lived. And such as had been scholars of the universities were restrained from going thither. And so all to give security to behave themselves quietly in the realm. And thus they might have lived and died here safely and securely, as several did; but many, or most, acted by a turbulent spirit, soon after this fled away beyond the seas, and settled themselves in Louvain, Antwerp, and other places in the *Low Countries*, or elsewhere, where they writ books, or otherwise practised maliciously against their own prince and country.

I have met with a particular list of the names of these men, whether deans, archdeacons, prebendaries, beneficed priests, scholars of the universities, &c. the several bounds wherein they were to be confined; with their characters added in the margin: and another list of the names of such who were known to be dangerous persons, but not taken: also a third, of the names of such as were fled: and a fourth, of such as were in hold. These several scrolls seem to have been transcribed for the privy council, being signed by the hands of several of the commissioners, viz. Edmund London,

Richard Ely, William Chester, bishops; Godfrey Goodman, D. D. Walter Haddon, T. Huicke, civilians. But behold these catalogues.

**RECUSANTS WHICH ARE ABROAD, AND BOUND TO
CERTAIN PLACES.**

Alexander Belsar, [or Belsire,] clerk, [the first president of St. John Baptist's college, Oxon,] to remain in the town of Hahborough, in the county of Oxford, or within two miles compass within the same. [Where he had been rector; and there lived and died.]

Dr. Pool, late bishop of Peterborough, to remain in the city of London, or suburbs, or within three miles compass about the same.

Thomas Willanton, late chaplain to Dr. Boner, to remain in the county of Middlesex or Buckingham, or in the city of London; and bound to appear once every term. Robert Purseglove, late suffragan of Hull, and before an abbot or a prior; to remain in the town of Ugthorp, in the county of York, or within twelve miles compass about the same.

Thomas Seagiswick, D. D. to remain in the town of Richmond, or within ten miles compass about the same.

William Carter, D.D. late archdeacon of Northumberland; to remain in the town of Thirsk, in the county of York, or within ten miles compass about the same.

Thomas Harding, D. D. to remain in the town of Moncton Farly, in the county of Wilts, or sixteen miles compass about the same; or within the town of Tollerwilme, in the county of Dorset, or twenty miles compass about the same.

Richard Dominick, clerk, late parson of Stradford, in the diocese of Sarum; to remain in the town of East Knoyle, in the county of Wilts, or within sixteen miles compass about the same.

William Boys, clerk, late parson of Gyseley, in Yorkshire; to remain in the town of Southwell in the county of Nottingham, or within four and twenty miles compass about the same.

David de la Hyde, an Irishman, late scholar of Oxford; at his liberty, saving that he is restrained to come within twenty miles of either of the universities.

Edward Brunbrough, Robert Dawks, George Simpson, late scholars of Oxford, restrained as before.

Anthony Atkins, clerk, late of Oxford; to remain within the counties of Gloucester or Salop.

William Thules, late schoolmaster of Durham, bound for his good behaviour in matters of religion, and restrained from the diocese of Durham.

Roger Thompson, clerk, restrained from the dioceses of York and Durham.

John Rastal, Nicolas Fox, Robert Davies, William Gibbet, John Durham, late scholars of Oxford; restrained from the universities, and bound for their quiet behaviour in matters of religion.

Richard Halse, late prebendary of Exeter, to remain in the counties of Devon or Cornwall; the city of Exeter, and within three miles of either of his late benefices, always excepted.

John Blaxton and Walter Mugg, late prebendaries of Exeter; to remain in the county of Hereford.

Robert Dalton, clerk, late prebendary of Durham; to remain with the lord Dakers [or Dacres] of the north. Nicolas Marley, late prebendary of Durham; to remain in the bishopric of Durham, so that he come not within eight miles of Durham.

Thomas Redman, late chaplain to the late bishop of Ely; to remain in the counties of York, Westmorland, and Lancaster.

Henry Comberford, late of Litchfield; to remain in the county of Suffolk, with liberty to travel twice every year into Staffordshire; allowing six weeks at every time of his travel.

John Ramridg, lately punished, bound to be quiet, and to go to the service; and sureties bound for his appearance, when he shall be called.

John Ceaton, [or Seaton,] D. D. to remain in the city of London, or within twenty miles compass within the same.

John Erle, clerk, late of Winton; to remain in the county of Southampton: so that he always give notice at Hyde in the same county, where at all times

he shall make his abode. And that he come not to the Trinity church, or college of Winton.

Laurence Vawce, [or Vaux,] late warden of Manchester; to remain in the county of Worcester.

Richard Hart, late one of the curates of Manchester; to remain in the county of Kent or Sussex.

Anthony Sabryn, late prebendary of Durham; to remain in the town of Kirkby Moorside, in the county of York, or elsewhere within the said county, the city of York only excepted: so that he pass not above five miles northward of Kirkby Moorside aforesaid.

Robert Manners, late parson of Wotton at Stone; to remain in the town of Baldock, in the county of Hertford, or within twenty miles compass about the same.

Edmund Daniel, late dean of Hereford; to remain with the lord treasurer, or within twelve miles compass of his lordship's house, where he maketh his abode.

Thomas Hide, late schoolmaster of Winton, with the lord treasurer.

Robert Hill, late commissary at Calice; to remain in the town of Burton upon Trent in the county of Stafford, or elsewhere within the said county.

Nicolas Banister, late schoolmaster at Preston; to remain in the county of Lancaster, the town of Preston in Amanders always excepted.

William Winck, late of Cambridge; to remain in Norfolk.

Clement Burdet, late of Bath; to remain at Crondal in Hampshire, or else at Sonning in Barkshire.

Dr. Tresham, late of Oxford; to remain in Northampton-shire.

Albone Lungdale, D. D. to remain with the lord Montacute, or where his lordship shall appoint: and to appear within twelve days after monition given to the said lord Montacute or his officers, before the commissioners.

John Porter, late parson of Crondal in Kent; to remain in Maidstone in the county of Kent, or in the city of London or suburbs, or in any other place within the said county of Kent, the city of Canterbury excepted. So that always he give intimation to the sheriff of Kent of his present abode.

John Dale of Cambridge; to remain in the town of Newmarket, or ten miles compass about the same, saving towards London and Cambridge but four miles.

Alan Cope, and William *Lewis*, late scholars of Oxford. The said Cope is bound to appear once within fourteen days: and the said Lewis restrained from the universities; otherwise at liberty.

Stephen Hopkins, clerk, confessor, as he saith, to the bishop of Aquila, [the Spanish ambassador,] and a daily resorter unto him. He was delivered out of the Fleet by the queen's majesty's special commandment, to the lord archbishop of Canterbury.

Tristram Swadell, late Dr. Boner's servant: and yet. thought to be a practitioner for him.

Thomas Dormer, late scholar of Oxford; restrained from the universities.

Henry Johnson, clerk, late parson of Brodwas in Worcestershire; to remain in the county of Hereford.

Robert Shawe, late prebendary of Worcester; to remain in the county of Salop. Robert Shelmerden, clerk; to remain in the county of Northampton.

William Burton, clerk; to remain in Oxfordshire.

Henry Saunders, clerk; to remain in the county of Warwick.

Edward Atslowe, Walter Russel, Robert Young, Robert Fenne, Rafe Keat, late scholars of Oxford; restrained from the universities.

A list of certain evil disposed persons, of whom complaint hath been made: which lurk so secretly, that process cannot be served upon them.

Philip Morgan, late of Oxford.

John Arden, late prebendary of Worcester. Frier Gregory, alias Gregory Basset, a common mass-sayer, One Ely, late master of St. John's college in Oxford. One Haverde, late chaplain to Mrs. Clarentieux, [agentwoman very much about the late queen Mary.]

William Northfolk, late prebendary of Worcester.

Dr. Marshall, late dean of Christ's-church in Oxon, who hath had recourse to the earl of Cumberland. And one Mr. Metcalf, his brother-in-law, in Wensdale in York, as it is supposed.

Dr. Robinson, [or Robertson, archdeacon of Leicester, and] late dean of Durham, is excused by his lameness. One thought to do much hurt in Yorkshire.

One Morren, [or Morwen,] late chaplain to Dr. Boner, wandereth in Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Lancashire, very seditiously. It is he that did cast abroad the seditious libel in Chester, [that, I suppose, upon the burning of St. Paul's, London, anno 1561, which libel was answered by bishop Pilkington.]

Robert Grey, priest, who hath been much supported at sir Thomas Fitz-Herbert's; and now, it is said, wandereth in like sort. A man meet to be looked unto.

One Dr. Hoskyns, late of Salisbury; a subtle adversary. Baldwin Norton, late chaplain to the archbishop of York. *Item*, We are informed, that through the example of sir Thomas Fitz-Herbert, John Secheverel, and one John Draycot, esquires, by us committed to prison, and so remaining; and through the bearing and succouring of their wives, friends, kinsfolks, allies, and servants; a great part of the shires of Stafford and Derby are generally illy inclined towards religion, and forbear coming to church, and participating of the sacraments: using also very broad speeches in alehouses and elsewhere. And therefore it may please your honours to have special regard unto these parts.

OTHERS FLED, AS WAS REPORTED, OVER THE SEAS, VIZ.

Dr. Bullock, late prebendary of Durham.

Dr. Darbshire, late chancellor to Dr. Boner, and his kinsman.

William Tayler, late chaplain to the archbishop of York.

John Hanson, late chaplain to Dr. Scot, [bishop of Chester.]

John Parfeu, nephew to the late bishop of Hereford.

Henry Henshaw, late rector of Lincoln college, Oxon. One Bovel, late prebendary of Southwel.

**PRISONERS IN THE FLEET BY ORDER FROM THE
COMMISSIONERS.**

Sir Thomas Fitz-Herbert, knight. Dr. Scot, late bishop of Chester.

Dr. Harpsfield, late archdeacon of London.

Thomas Wood, late parson of High Ongar in Essex, and chaplain to queen Mary, [and nominated by her to the pope for a bishopric then vacant.]

Dr. Cole, late dean of St. Paul's.

Thomas Somerset, gent.

Dr. Draycot, [sometime archdeacon of Huntingdon.]

Dr. Chadsey, or Chedsey, [late one of Dr. Boner's chaplains, and archdeacon of Middlesex.]

**PRISONERS IN THE MARSHALSEA BY ORDER FROM
THE COMMISSIONERS.**

Dr. Boner, late bishop of London.

John Symms, a priest of Somersetshire.

**PRISONER IN THE COUNTER IN, THE POULTRY
BY ORDER AS BEFORE.**

John Draycot, gent.

**PRISONERS IN THE COUNTER IN WOOD-STREET
BY ORDER AS BEFORE.**

Dr. Yong. John Secheveral, esq. Thomas Atkinson, clerk, late one of the fellows of Lincoln college, Oxon. John Greeete, a priest, late benefited in Hampshire.

IN THE KING'S BENCH BY ORDER AS BEFORE.

John Baker, clerk, late parson of Stanford Rivers in Essex

CHAPTER 25.

Cheny, bishop of Gloucester, consecrated. Some passages concerning him. Commissions for Bristow. The Great Bible printed; and bishop Jewel's Apology. Peter Martyr dies. A nonresident proceeded against. Elizeus Hall, a notorious impostor.

THE bishopric of Gloucester being yet without a pastor, April 19 was consecrated bishop thereof Richard Cheny, B.D. educated at Cambridge, aged forty-nine years; who was famous for being one of the six, that in the first convocation under queen Mary, being then archdeacon of Hereford, undertook boldly the cause of the gospel in a disputation against almost the whole synod.

What his character and merits were in the former reign may further be gathered from a letter of his to secretary Cecyll, his good friend. He seemed to be well instructed in Greek literature, which was rare in those days. Wherein he shewed his skill once at Oxford, in discourse with some of the university there; and blaming the old corrupt way of pronouncing some of the Greek letters, (which some of them defended,) he instanced particularly in the sound of the letter ἦτα in the same manner as the English letter *I*: and shewing them the absurdity thereof, he told them of a certain bishop, in whose company he once was, sitting at the table with him, (who stiffly maintained the common way of pronouncing the Greek,) he directed him to read those words in the twenty-seventh chapter of St. Matthew, *Ἠλὶ, Ἠλὶ, λαμὰ σαβαχθανί* Which bishop presently calling for the Greek Testament, read it, *I ly, I ly, lama sab*_reading false Greek, but true English, as he merrily told those Oxford scholars.

He was called by some of his friends to London from his country living to take a bishopric, or a prebend of Westminster, so well esteemed he was upon the queen's access to the throne; but he refused it, as requiring residence; and choosing rather retirement. And being of note for his learning and ability in preaching, was appointed one of those that preached before the queen in the beginning of her reign. In whose sermon he took the liberty to tell her of certain her commissioners, as *visitors*, who were pretty severe upon the incomes of the clergy, whom he called therefore the queen's *takers*: who had taken a quantity of wheat from him of the value of 10*l.* and by so much less yearly his living was like to prove. Of which he

complained in his letter to the secretary; using this expression, “That he was in his younger years employed at the court, but he thought he must make an end at the cart, in his circumcised benefice, [as he said, in his facetious way of speech.] And that he thought it hard, that he only should be a loser now, that had more conference with the learned men of the contrary side in queen Mary’s time, than many others had, that were now favourites.” But see his whole letter in the Appendix, as some remembrance of this bishop.

He had also, by secretary Cecyl’s means, the bishopric of Bristol, then void also, *in commendam*. Which *commendam* was granted him by the queen’s letters patents, bearing date April 29, in the fourth year of her reign. He was a Londoner: and thirty years after, I meet with a Richard Cheney, a goldsmith in London, whether his nephew or relation, I do not determine.

The archbishop of Canterbury issued out a commission to him, under the title of bishop of Gloucester, and commendatory of the cathedral church of Bristol, appointing him his vicar-general, delegate, and commissary general in spirituals, and keeper of the spirituality of the city and diocese of Bristol: to visit the church of Bristol, &c. And this during the vacancy of the see. This commission was dated at Lambeth, May 3. But it was not long before this commission was taken away from him again by the archbishop, disliking most probably some of his principles and opinions. At which bishop Cheney took such distaste, that he wrote to sir William Cecil to release him of the bishopric of Gloucester. And in September he renewed his request, that he might have leave to resign his office, considering the jurisdiction of Bristol was taken from him: and such preaching in the rash and ignorant, he said, was continued in Gloucester diocese, as his poor conscience could not think to be good. What this preaching was we may guess, and but guess at, by the remembrance of a former bishop there; namely Hooper; who did not much affect ceremonies, either of habits or ornaments of religion, nor allowed of any manner of corporeal presence in the sacrament: which sentiments most probably were by him or his chaplains so diligently sown in that diocese, that much of them remained to this day; opinions, by no means liked of by bishop Cheney, who was, as Camden saith of him, most addicted to Luther, both in respect, I suppose, of the doctrine of the presence, as also for the retaining of many old customs, as crucifixes and pictures of saints in the churches, and such like. He had made some complaints to the archbishop of rash preaching, when he was at London; and the archbishop promised him countenance in

suppressing it. And accordingly he had a commission from his grace, as was before said. But after some short time he and his principles were better known, and less approved: which caused the archbishop, as we may conclude, to withdraw his commission. This made him tell the secretary, that his grace of Canterbury acted contrary to his promise with him.

And indeed I find divers commissions directed from the archbishop to others, for the inspection of that diocese of Bristol: as one, dated May 23, 1563, to John Cottrell, LL. D. to be his commissary and delegate, during the vacancy. Another commission, May 18, 1571, to John, bishop of Sarum, to be the keeper of the spiritualties, and his commissary general for Bristol vacant. Which bishop, being in his journey to visit this diocese, died at Moncton Farley; which created a great sorrow to the archbishop, who loved him dearly. Yet another commission there was issued out, dated Sept. 29, 1571, to Dr. Cottrell, archdeacon of Dorset, to be the commissary for Bristol: and another, dated Nov. 21, 1571, to the bishop of Bath and Wells for the same diocese. And besides these there were some other commissions for that place: Cheney all this while alive. By which it appears that the government of Gloucester, of which he was consecrated bishop, was only left him, but not that of Bristol, though the revenue thereof, I believe, remained to him.

But these latter commissions to others are no wonder, since in the synod in April, anno 1571, he was solemnly denounced excommunicate by the president, the lord archbishop himself, for absence and contumacy, in Henry the seventh's chapel, before the whole synod.

Upon these discontents, taken at the beginning of his episcopal honour, he was desirous to resign. He said,

“He had rather live a private life, as he did before, like a poor man, than to continue with such burden and torment of conscience, beside cares for great payments and charges of household: that he had enough of lording; whereof he found nothing but *splendidam miseriam*. He complained how the charges of his housekeeping were exceeding large, living in a great city, as Gloucester was, and in his own hired house, and all upon the penny, and now in the time of his first-fruits, and a dear world. And that if he had not had the help of the revenue of Bristol, he could not have subsisted. But yet he would gladly leave both, if he might resign at such a time, that

he might depart from his living out of debt, as he supposed he might do, if he resigned between Michaelmas and All-hallowtide.”

This was the sum of a letter he wrote to the secretary. In what year exactly this was written, I cannot say, only that he was not yet past his first-fruits. But notwithstanding his letter, he continued bishop of Gloucester many a year after. He affected good housekeeping, and kept many servants, which ran him much into debt. So that in the year 1576, which was but two years before his death, he was behind-hand with the queen, and was got 500*l.* in her debt. The issue of which was, that process came down to the sheriff of Gloucester, to seize his land and goods for payment.

One of his successors in the see of Gloucester, pained Godfrey Goodman, (who indeed turned papist,) in a certain MS. book of his own writing, makes the world believe that this bishop Cheney was a papist, and was suspended in the court of Arches for popery, and had brought up his servants papists. But I do not find any where that he was indeed of that faith, any further than that he was for the real, that is, the corporeal, presence of Christ in the sacrament. By a letter wrote unto him in November, 1571, by Campian the Jesuit, who knew him well, we rather collect the contrary. For therein he earnestly exhorted him to return to the church; “that he was more tolerable than the rest of the heretics, because he held the presence of Christ in the altar, professed the freedom of man’s will, and punished not catholics in his diocese; whereby he got the hatred of the puritans; yet he tells him that he was *haereticorum odium et catholicorum pudor*; that is, *such a one as the heretics hated, and the catholics were ashamed of.*” And his suspension, which is spoken of, (if true,) related, no question, partly to his being in the queen’s debt, partly to his Lutheran doctrine; but chiefly to his excommunication.

But we will give this brief character of him, taken from the aforesaid Campian, and so pass away to other things. He was an excellent man, both in his nature and his learning, his urbanity and his manners. He kept good hospitality for the citizens and other good men, and preserved his palace and farms in good case and condition. He was in judgment for the unerring of general councils. And when that of Carthage was objected to him, how it erred about the baptism of heretics, he said, that the Holy Ghost was promised, not to one, province, but to the church; adding, that no doctrine could be shewn that had universally deceived an (ecumenical council. And on this he built his real presence in the sacrament; because this was the

ancient faith, and the Christian world, and the company of bishops, who were the keepers of that which was committed to the church, (*custodes depositi,*) held this doctrine. And he used to commend these as the interpreters of scripture. I shall add no more of him, but that he died at the age of sixty-five or sixty-six, and was buried at his own cathedral of Gloucester, anno 1578.

The queen now taking compassion upon the poor persecuted protestants in France, and seeing withal her own welfare and prosperity undermined by the Guisian faction there, both out of pity and policy resolved to aid those persecuted Christians, and sent a considerable force of men thither. And that God might bless this expedition, and give success to the queen, a form of prayer was enjoined to be used for the present estate in the churches, at the end of the litany, on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, throughout the whole realm: and was as follows: (which I set down the rather, as being instructive of the just reasons of this undertaking.)

“O most mighty Lord God, the Lord of hosts, the Governor of all creatures, the only Giver of all victories, who alone art able to strengthen the weak against the mighty, and to vanquish infinite multitudes of thine enemies with the countenance of a few of thy servants, calling upon thy name, and trusting in thee. Defend, O Lord, thy servant and our governor under thee, our queen Elizabeth, and all the people committed to her charge. And especially at this time, O Lord, have regard to those her subjects which be sent over the seas to the aid of such as be prosecuted for profession of thy holy name, and to withstand the cruelty of those which be common enemies, as well to the truth of thy eternal word, as to their own natural prince and countrymen, and manifestly to this crown and realm of England, which thou hast of thy divine providence assigned in these our days to the government of thy servant, our sovereign and gracious queen. O most merciful Father, if it be thy holy will, make soft and tender the stony hearts of all those that exalt themselves against thy truth, and seek to oppress this crown and realm of England; and convert them to the knowledge of thy Son, the only Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ: that we and they may jointly glorify thy mercies. Lighten, we beseech thee, their ignorant hearts to embrace the truth of thy word; or else so abate their cruelty, O most mighty Lord, that this our Christian region, with others that confess thy holy gospel, may

obtain by thy aid and strength surety from our enemies without shedding of Christian and innocent blood: whereby all they which be oppressed with their tyranny may be relieved; and all which be in fear of their cruelty may be comforted. And finally, that all Christian realms, and especially this realm of England, by thy defence and protection, may enjoy perfect peace, quietness, and security. And that we for these thy mercies jointly altogether, with one consonant heart and voice, may thankfully render to thee all laud and praise; and in one godly concord and unity among ourselves may continually magnify thy glorious name: who with thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, art one eternal, almighty, and most merciful God, to whom be all laud and praise world without end. *Amen.*”

The Great Bible was this year printed, viz. that of Coverdale’s translation; that had been printed in the time of king Henry VIII. and dedicated to that king; and also in the time of king Edward VI. for the use of the church; and now again under queen Elizabeth, having again undergone his review. And this was to serve till the bishops, who were to take their particular portions of the holy scriptures, had finished their review, in order to the setting it forth more correctly. But this was not done till some years after: and this is that, which when it came forth was called the Bishops’ Bible. Whereto the archbishop set a preface, and whereupon he bestowed a great deal of pains, as we have shewn in his life.

And as an handmaid to the Holy Bible, this year also bishop Jewel’s Latin Apology was first printed, though written the year before. Which book was approved by the allowance and authority of the queen, and published by the consent of the bishops and others.

This book was entitled in English, *An Apology or Answer in Defence of the Church of England: with a brief and plain declaration of the true religion professed and used in the same.* The occasion and grounds of writing it, as the author himself reported, were the slander devised by papists against this late reformed church: as,

“That we were heretics; that we were departed from the faith; that we with our new persuasion and wicked doctrine had broken the consent of the church; that we raised, as it were out of hell, and restored to life again, old heresics, and such as long ago were condemned; that we sowed abroad new sects and furious fancies,

that never before were heard of. Also, that we were now divided into contrary factions and opinions, and could never agree by any means among ourselves. That we were wicked men, and made war, after the manner of giants, (as the fable is,) against God himself; and did live together without care or reverence, of God: that we despised all good deeds, and used no discipline of virtue, maintained no laws, no customs, no equity, no justice, no right; that we loosed the bridle to all mischief, and allured the people to all kind of licence and lust. That we went about and sought how all the states of monarchies and kingdoms, might be overthrown; and all things might be brought unto the rash government of the people, and to the rule of the unskilful multitude. That we had rebelliously withdrawn ourselves from the catholic church, and shaken the whole world with a cursed schism; and had troubled the common peace and general quietness of the church. And that like as in time past Dathan and Abiram severed themselves from Moses and Aaron, so we at this day departed from the pope of Rome without any sufficient and just cause. As for the authority of the ancient fathers and old councils, *we* set them at nought. That all ancient ceremonies, such *as* by our grandfathers and great grandfathers, now many ages past, when better manners and days did flourish, were approved, we had rashly and arrogantly abolished; and had brought into the church by our own private *authority*, without any commandment of any holy and sacred general council, new rites and ceremonies. And that we had done all these things, not for any respect of religion, but only for a desire to maintain strife and contention. But as for them, they had changed nothing at all; but all things, even as they received them from the *apo-sties*, and were approved by the most ancient fathers, so *they* had kept them from age to age unto this day.”

These were hideous charges against what had been lately doing in the church of England: and highly necessary it was, that a justification should be set forth of what was done by the reformation; upon which all these aspersions were cast. Which Jewel’s able pen happily undertook. And of what esteem and reputation it was in the church of England in these times, appears by a state-book set forth the year after; “I refer you to the Apology, which our church hath placed openly before the eyes of the whole Christian world, as the common and certain pledge of our religion.”

So that it was written upon a state account by the common advice and consultation, no doubt, of the college of divines that were then met about reformation of the church. And so the reverend author himself shewed in his epistle to queen Elizabeth before his Defence, viz. that it contained the whole substance of the catholic faith, then professed and freely preached throughout all the queen's dominions: that thereby all foreign nations might understand the considerations and causes of her doings in that behalf. As in old times did Quadratus, Melito, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and other godly learned fathers upon the like occasion, as well to make known the truth of God, and to open the grounds of their profession, as also to put the infidels to silence, and to stop the mouths of the wicked.

This Apology was translated out of Latin into sundry tongues, and so made common to most parts of Europe, and was well allowed and liked of by the learned and godly, who gave open testimonies of the same. And it was never reprov'd in Latin or otherwise, either by any one private writing, or by the public authority of any nation; till Mr. Harding, resident at *Louvain*, published an open Confutation of it, and offered the same to the queen. But the main ground of his whole plea was, that the bishop of Rome, whensoever it shall like him to determine in judgment, can never err: that he is always undoubtedly possessed of God's holy Spirit: that at his only hand we must learn to know the will of God; and in his only holiness stands the unity and safety of the church: that whosoever is divided from him must be an heretic: and that without obedience to him there is no hope of salvation. Nay, he affirms, that he is not only a bishop, but a king; and that all kings and emperors receive their power at his hand, and ought to swear obedience and fealty unto him. Jewell, in his said epistle to the queen, quotes the particular places and folios in the Confutation, where Harding asserts all this. The bishop published some answer to Harding in the year 1567, dated from London, October the 27th, that year. And again in the year 1568, there came forth, written by the same Harding, *A Detection of sundry foul Errors, &c.* printed at Louvain. Both which Confutation and Detection the bishop most learnedly answered at large in his book called, *A Defence of the Apology*, and dedicated it to the queen about the year 1569, as he dated the preface to the reader, from Sarisbury, December the 11th that year. But to go back to the Apology itself.

It was composed and written by this reverend father, as the public confession of the catholic and Christian faith of all Englishmen. Wherein is taught our consent with the German, Helvetian, French, Scotch, Genevian,

and other reformed churches. The cause is shewn of our departure from the Roman see, and answer is given to those slanderers, who complained that the English came not to the pretended general council of Trent, called by the pope, nor sent any legate thither, nor excused their absence by any letters or messengers. The reason of writing this Apology was, that papists might see all the parts and foundations of the doctrine we defended, and might understand the strength of the arguments on which our religion stands. And it is so composed, that the first part is an illustration of the true doctrine, and a paraphractical exposition of the twelve articles of the Christian faith. The second, a succinct and solid reprehension of objections. If the order of the book be regarded, nothing could be more distinct; if the perspicuity, nothing more clear; if the style, nothing more terse if the words, nothing more eloquent; if the matter, nothing more nervous.

“A book,” added Dr. Humphrey, the writer of Jewell’s life, “which I would not have Hosorius only take into his hand, but also be propounded to Christian youth in all schools, whence they might safely and fully be attracted by tropes of eloquence and principles of piety.”

This book nettled the papists; and many sharpened their pens against it, and some wrote their invectives in Latin, and some in English. In Latin wrote Alan Cope; in English, Nicolas Sanders, Stapleton, Rastal, Dorman, Heskins, and Harding. With this last, Alexander Nowel contended, but specially with Thomas Dorman; Jewell especially with Harding in vindication of his own book, and by the way with others.

This famous Apology was soon after translated into proper English by a very learned lady, (the lady Bacon,) and published for common use, which we shall mention under the year 1564. There was also another English translation of the Apology before this, done by the said lady, came forth, viz. this year 1562.

Let me add concerning this book, that it was made much of by those of Zurich, where Jewell was well known; nay, of all protestants: and was, besides the English, translated almost into all languages, as German, French, Italian, Spanish. The council of Trent, held about this time, saw it, and censured it: and appointed one Frenchman, and another Italian, to answer it; but they gave no answer to it: though several afterwards ventured to do, and were sufficiently confuted. Let me add; Grindal, bishop of London, sent this Apology of the church of England to Peter Martyr at

Tigur: which came to his hands about the calends of August: the 24th day of which month the same Peter wrote a letter to bishop Jewel the author. Concerning which book he gave his great approbation in these words:

Ea veto non tantum mihi, cui omnia tua probantur, et mirifice placent, omnibus modis et numeris satisfacit, vetum etiam Bullingero, ejus-que filiis et generis, necnom Gualthero et Wolphio, tam sapientis, mirabilis et eloquens visa est, ut ejus laudandi nullum modum faciant, nec arbitrantur hoc tempore quicquam perfectius editum fuisse. Hanc ingenio tuo felicitatem, hanc edificationem ecclesiae, hoc Angliae decus vehementer gratulor: teque obtestor, ut quam ingressus es viam, pergas tuis vestigiis premere. Etenim bonam licet habeamus causam, tamen prae hostium numero pauci sunt, qui eam tueantur. Et illi jam videntur experrecti, ut bonitate stili et argutis sophismatis multum se probent imperitiae multitudini. Loquor autem de Staphylis, Osiis, et plerisque aliis hujus farinae scriptoribus: qui hoc tempore mendaciorum papae strenuos patronos agunt. Quare cum in Apologia tua illa doctissima et elegantissima tantum spes de te concitata-veris, certo scias, omnes bonos et doctos jam sibi polliceri, veritatem evangelicam, te vivo, non esse ab hostibus impune lacesendam.

Ego vero plurimum laetor, quod illum diem viderim, quo factus sis parens tam illustris et elegantis filii. Largiatur Deus coelestis Pater, pro sua bonitate, ut sobole non absimili frequenter augearis.

To this sense in English: “That his book, in all respects and accounts, gave him satisfaction, and to whom every thing that came from him was approved. And not only himself, but also Bullinger, his sons and sons-in-law, Gualter and Wolph [chief ministers there] were infinitely pleased with it: to whom it seemed so wise, so admirable, and eloquent a piece, that they could not sufficiently commend it: and that these thought there had nothing at this time been set forth more perfect. He exceedingly *gratulated* this felicity to his wit and parts, to the church this edification, and this glory to England. He beseeched him that he would go on vigorously in this way that he had entered into: for we, said he, have a good cause, yet in respect of the number of adversaries, there were but few that

defended it: and that they themselves seemed to be awakened, that by the smoothness of their style, and cunning sophisms, they might much approve themselves, to the ignorant multitude. He spake of the Staphili and the Osii, and many other writers of that sort; who at that time yielded themselves patrons of the lies of the pope. And that therefore, since by that his most learned and eloquent Apology, he had raised such hope of him, he might certainly know, that all good and godly men promised themselves, that the truth of the gospel, while he lived, should not be assaulted by the enemies unrevenged.

“And that for himself, he exceedingly rejoiced to see that day that Jewel became the parent of such an illustrious and beautiful issue: praying that God the heavenly Father would grant him often an increase of such offspring.”

November 12, Peter Martyr died: who deserves to stand in our English history for his great and good descryings here in this realm under king Edward. And the next year Josiah Simler dedicated his oration of Martyr’s life and death unto bishop Jewel, and sent it to the said bishop with Martyr’s comment upon Genesis, as it still stands before that comment; together with Martyr’s effigies in silver. Of which this was Jewell’s judgment, that although it resembled him very well in many things, yet there was something, he knew not what, in which the skill of the artist was short. “And what wonder,” added he, “is it, that an error should be committed in the likeness of him, whom indeed, when I consider all things, I think there was scarce any thing like unto.” Beside this comment on Genesis, Martyr in his lifetime dedicated to him his dialogue, *De utraque in Christo natura*, against the ubiquitaries.

Peter Martyr declined in his health some months before his death: for in August, in his letter to bishop Jewel, he gave him this account of himself.

De me veto quomodo habeam, si cupis dilucidius cognoscere, scito, animo esse in Christo hilari, et in iisdem versari laboribus, in quos cum adesses, incumbenam: at corpore non ita sum valido et firmo, ut antea fui. Nam quotidie onus aetatis ingravescit. Jam a sesquianno sum prorsus edentulus, nec ventriculus officium fecit, ut me appetitu ad comedendum excitet, Laboro proeterea capitis distillationibus: ad quae mala tibi arum non leves accesserunt dolores, propter duo ulcera, quibus interdum graviter discrucior.

Ubi licet proprie et per se corpus angatur, attamen propter consensum, quem Graeci sympathiam vocant, animus quoque non potest non affici. Haec quae non dubito, pro eo quo in me animo es, tibi fore auditu molesta, minime hisce literis inseruissem, nisi tuce preces mihi vehementer prodessent, quas ex necessitate, qua urgcor flagrantiores impetratum iri mihi persuasi.

This learned and pious confessor, and sometime the king's public professor of divinity in Oxford, justly requires that we take some honourable leave of him. It is true, he was mortally hated by the popish bigots here at home, and most foully slandered by them, as a time-server, a renegade, and the like. Dr. Tresham, in his epistle to the lords of the council, before his relation of the dispute at Oxford between the said Peter Martyr and other papists, calls him a "doting old man, subverted, impudent, and a notable master of errors." Dr. Richard Smith, another of his antagonists, gave out in print, that at Martyr's first coming to that university he was but a Lutheran, and taught in the matter of the sacrament as he did; but going once to court, and observing that doctrine there ntlisliked, and fearing his opinion might do him hurt in his living, he anon turned his tippet, and sang another song. Now to all this charge, to do him right, let me subjoin for answer what archbishop Cranmer said in his behalf, viz. that he was a man of that excellent learning and godly living, that he passed Dr. Smith as far as the sun in his clear light passeth the moon being in the eclipse. And again, that as for Peter Martyr's opinion and judgment in the aforesaid matter, no man could better testify than he: forasmuch as he lodged within his house [at Lambeth] long before he came to Oxon: that he [the archbishop] had with him many conferences on that subject, and knew that he was then in the same mind that he was afterwards at Oxon, and as he defended openly there, and had written in his book. And that if Dr. Smith understood him otherwise in his lectures at the beginning, it was for lack of knowledge: for that then Dr. Smith understood not the matter, nor yet did, as it appeared by his foolish and unlearned book which he had then set forth. But as for Dr. Martyr, (added the archbishop,) did he seek to please men for advantage, who, having a great yearly revenue in his own country, forsook all for Christ's sake; and for the truth and glory of God came into strange countries, where he had neither lands nor friends, but as God of his goodness (who never forsaketh them that put their trust in him) provided for him.

The church now, partly by former bad example, and partly by dislike of, and withdrawing themselves from the service now established, had abundance of nonresidents. I meet with one about this time, whom the archbishop himself took to task. His name was Thomas Morrison, rector of Henly upon Thames, in the diocese of Oxford, which as yet was vacant. He was sequestered, and the fruits of his church sequestered into the hands of two persons appointed to receive them. This was done in December. The archbishop's instrument ran thus:

Matthaeus permissione divina, &c. Cum, uti ex fide digna relatione acceperimus, rectoria sive ecclesia parochialis de Henly per proedict. processionem, sive continuam absentiam ultimi rectoris, et incumbentis ejusdem aliquandiu vacaverit, et pastoris solarario destituta extitit, prout sic va-cat in proesenti: cujus proetextu cura dictoe ecclesiae penitus inofficiata relinquitur in animarum parochianorum ibidem grave periculum, et interitum manifestum: Nos igitur proemissa conniventibus oculis proterere nolentes, sed iis pro posse nostro subvenire volentes, omnes et singulos fructus, &c.

Another instrument the archbishop sent forth to all the clergy of Oxford diocese,

“To cite and admonish, once, twice, thrice, Morrison [sometimes called Morris] to appear, if he might be apprehended. If not, to fasten a citation on the door of the church of Henly, that the said Thomas Morris, the said rector, within six months perpetually serve the cure of the souls of the parishioners. Otherwise, he contemning this monition, to appear before him, or his vicar-general in the cathedral church of Paul's, to render a reasonable cause of his absence, and to receive what shall be judged right: otherwise that he would proceed to deprive him.”

And so he was June 28, 1563, a sentence of deprivation being then denounced against him; and one Barker, B. A. was presented to the church. This Morrison undoubtedly was a papist, and had fled from his benefice, because he would not comply with the present settlement of religion.

A notorious impostor arose in these days, and shewed himself in London, called Elizeus Hall, who gave out himself to be a messenger from God; and

pretended to revelations and voices speaking to him from heaven; and writ books by inspiration. He was at last brought before the bishop of London the 12th of June this year. Where, upon interrogatories, he gave this particular account of this his phrensy, viz.

That his name among the common people was Elizeus Hall, but that he writ himself, *Ely the carpenter's son*; because that one night in a vision he saw a fire in his chamber, and heard a voice saying unto him, "*Ely*, arise, watch and pray; for the day draweth nigh." And that this voice was heard thrice that night: and that this was about eleven years ago. Further, he said, that he was rapt out of the bed, and saw heaven and hell, and was absent from the 9th of April, 1552, till the 11th next following, viz. two nights and one whole day, [answering to the time between Christ's death and his resurrection.] And that there appeared to this examinee one in white apparel, [viz. an angel,] and commanded him to watch and to pray seven years, and to write three years and an half, according to the time of Christ's ministry, saying, "*Two* years and an half thou shalt bring nothing to pass: in the other year reserved, thou shalt be troubled and fall into persecution." And so, he said, it came to pass: for in the year past he had been before commissioners, and examined divers times. That there remained yet behind of the three years not much more than one month: and then he knew not what should become of him, (except he had a new revelation:) for then his commission was ended.

That he took upon him no name of minister, preacher, nor prophet; for he was called to none of these offices. And being asked what name his office bore, he termed himself *a messenger sent from God* to the queen, and to all princes; and that his commission endured but one month, or little more. He said, he had his vocation by revelation, and that he never learned of any creature; that he had not read much in the Bible; and that he was able, having pen, ink, and paper, to write, and to cite, and allege authorities forth of the scriptures: meaning, as appeared, that he had all his knowledge by revelation. Being demanded whether there were any more learning in the *Great Book* [writ by him] than in his book of *Obedience*, which the said bishop had read afore; he said his book of *Obedience* was but the fifteenth part of his new *Great Book*. That in the latter end of queen Mary's days he did begin to write, but he could bring nothing to pass: his gift was not come to him; and till he had given over all things, he could never write effectually: and that since he began to write, he neither did eat fish nor flesh, nor drank wine, according to his revelation, which he then

remembered; wherein he was forbidden to forsake all things pleasant to the flesh: and that he writ every word of his book on his knees.

Being demanded what his judgment was of the mass, [as suspected perhaps to be set on work by papists,] and what of transubstantiation, and especially purgatory; for it was like, that if he had seen heaven and hell, he should have seen purgatory also, if there were any; he refused to answer, referring himself to his book, saying, he was commanded not to speak of those matters till he had delivered his book to the queen.

Being interrogated, whether he had received the sacrament within two years past, he answered not directly, but so as it might appear he had not; and that he was one of the popish judgment in religion, which very manifestly appeared by divers of his speeches. For his apparel, [which it seems was distinct,] he alleged his revelation.

In a catalogue of books belonging sometime to sir John Parker, son to archbishop Parker, among the rest, there was a book, entitled, *The Visions of Elizeus Hall in metre.*

CHAPTER 26.

The lord keeper's and Mr. Speaker's speeches, A second parliament. Matters transacted relating to religion. The penalty of high treason in the bill for the supremacy argued. Speeches of the lord Mountague, and Mr. Atkinson, a lawyer, against it. Another for it. Acts passed; viz. for the assurance of the queen's royal power: against conjurations: for execution of the writ for taking a person excommunicated, &c. The queen's answer about her marriage.

ON the 12th day of January the queen's second parliament began to sit at Westminster. She rode that morning from her palace in great state unto Westminster-abbey, accompanied with all her lords, spiritual and temporal. The queen was clad in a crimson velvet robe, and the earl of Northumberland [of Worcester, writes D'Ewes] bearing the sword before her; all the heralds of arms in their rich coats, and trumpets blowing. The bishops were twenty-two in number, (Landaft and Carlisle wanting,) riding in their robes of scarlet lined, and hoods down their backs of meniver. She lighted at our Lady of Grace's chapel; and with her noble and stately retinue went in at the north door into the abbey, where she heard a sermon preached by Nowell, dean of St. Paul's; and then a psalm being sung, she and her honourable company went out of the south door, and so to the parliament chamber, and soon after to the house.

The lord keeper Bacon, at the queen's commandment, opened the cause of this parliament's meeting (as he did of the former) in an eloquent speech, declaring the causes to be partly for religion, for the setting forth God's honour and glory; and partly for policy and the commonwealth, as well for provision at home, as for foreign enemies abroad. I shall only take notice what the lord keeper said with respect to religion. He shewed,

“that God's cause being sincerely weighed, considered, and followed, would bring forth good success in all affairs; and being not followed, but neglected, how could any thing prosper or take good effect? He blamed both spirituality and laity: that the preachers were not so diligent in their vocation as they ought; and the laity neither so diligent in hearing, nor yet in doing, as they should: and some of the laity, in not giving credit to God's word

preached, as ought to be. He took notice here of the great want of ministers; and that some of those that were ministers were much insufficient, which notwithstanding, considering the time, were to be borne withal; not doubting the circumspection of the bishops in well looking to the placing of such which should be appointed hereafter: and such as were negligent or blameworthy, and would not be reformed, to have sharp punishment.

“That heretofore the discipline of the church was not good, and the ministers thereof slothful. Whence sprung two enormities: first, that for lack of the former every man lived as he listed, without fear. And by reason of *the* second, many ceremonies were agreed upon; but the right ornaments thereof were either left undone or forgotten: that it was for want of discipline that few came to service, and the church so unreplenished; notwithstanding a law made the last parliament for good order to be observed in the same: but as yet it appeared not executed: that therefore, if it were too easy, it should be made sharper: and if already well, then to see it executed: *for* the want of discipline caused obstinacy, contempt, and growth of heresy.

“That in his opinion the device was good, that in every diocese officers should be appointed and devised, as should be thought good, to sit for the redress of these and such like errors twice or thrice a year, till the fault were mended. In the doing of which, the head officers were *to* be borne withal, and maintained; and laws to be made for the purpose. The chief care of which, he said, [applying himself to the lords spiritual,] pertained unto *them*, wherein they should take pains; and whereunto laws should be joined, not only for the more perfecting of the same, but for the maintenance as well of the heads as of the members thereof.”

On the 15th of January, Thomas Williams of the Inner Temple, esq. being chosen speaker to the lower house, was presented to the queen: and in his speech to her, what he, said relating to religion was to this purport. First, he did in the name of all the commons give most humble and hearty thanks to God and her, who had brought and restored God’s doctrine into this realm. He took notice of the want of schools; that at least an hundred were wanting in England, which before this time had been, [being destroyed (I suppose he meant) by the dissolution of monasteries and religious houses,

fraternities and colleges.] He would have had England continually flourishing with ten thousand scholars, which the schools in this nation formerly brought up. That from the want of these and good schoolmasters, sprang up ignorance: and covetousness got the livings by impropriations; which was a decay, he said, of learning: and by it the tree of knowledge grew downward, not upward; which grew greatly to the dishonour, both of God and the commonwealth. He mentioned likewise the decay of the universities; and how that great market-towns were without schools or preachers: and that the poor vicar had but 20*l*. [or some such poor allowance,] and the rest, being no small sum, was impropriated. And so thereby, no preacher there; but the people, being trained up and led in blindness for want of instruction, became obstinate: and therefore advised that this should lye seen to, and impropriations redressed, notwithstanding the laws already made [which favoured them.]

He took notice also of a third monster, called *error*, (as *ignorance* and *necessity* were the two others that troubled the kingdom.) Under this monster he brought the Pela-gians, libertines, papists, and such other, leaving God's commandments, to follow their own traditions, affections, and minds: that if the papist was (and indeed he was) in error, that we should seek the redress thereof; for that the poor and ignorant were abused. Until which redress be had, he told her majesty, that neither she nor her realms, neither at home nor abroad, should ever be well served of such persons which were so divided. And therefore, said he, speedily look to it, and weed out this wickedness and error, too much known nowadays.

He added further, that in the country he had heard tell of, but since he came up, walking in the streets, he had heard oftentimes [with his own ears] more oaths than words. A pitifill hearing! He urged to have it punished. He moved her majesty (with the assent of this assembly) to build a strong fort for the surety of the realm, for the repulsing of her enemies, and to be set upon firm and stedfast ground: which fort to have two gates, the one commonly open, the other a postern, and two watchmen at either of them; one governor, one lieutenant: and then no good thing would be there wanting. The fort he meant was the fear *of God*; the governor God himself; her majesty the lieutenant; the stones of it the hearts of faithful people. The two watchmen at the open gate, to be knowledge and virtue; the other two at the postern, to be mercy and truth; all being spiritual ministers. That this fort was invincible, if every man would fear God; for all governors reign and govern by the two watchmen, knowledge and truth:

and that if she, being the lieutenant, saw justice, with prudence her sister, executed, she would then rightly use the office of a lieutenant: and for such as departed out of this fort, let them be let out at the postern by the two watchmen, mercy and truth: and then she would be well at home and abroad. Finally, he exhorted her continually to seek God's glory, and his true honour; and then she would have this fort well built, and by her well governed. In this ingenious speech I strongly suspect Cecil had a great hand: who as he was first chosen speaker himself, but got himself excused, so he seems to have been the main instrument of getting Mr. Williams chosen in his room: for when sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the queen's household, had recommended him to the house to be their speaker, and Williams had disabled himself, Cecil answered him, the house had gravely considered of him as a fit person, and required him to take the place, and so he was seated in the chair.

Now to take notice of the bills that were brought in, having a tendency to religion, or the church. The very first thing they set about in the house of commons was the succession to the crown; and (in order to that) the queen's marriage with some fit person, for heirs of her body to inherit her kingdoms: for January the 16th, which was but the next day after the speaker was chosen and accepted, a burgess (viz. the mayor of Windsor) moved for the succession. And the 28th of the same month, they exhibited their petition to the queen for the establishment of the said succession. Which petition was drawn up in very eloquent and pressing language, yet tendered with all humble deference. The arguments were chiefly taken from the danger of the realm without the prospect of succession, and particularly from the fear of papists, styled,

“A faction of heretics in her majesty's realm, who, most unnaturally against their country, most madly against their own safety, and most treacherously against her highness, not only hoped for the woful day of her death, but also lay in wait to advance some title, under which they might revive their late unspeakable cruelty, to the destruction of the goods, possessions, and bodies, and thralldom of the souls and consciences of her faithful and Christian subjects..... They found how necessary it was for her preservation, that there should be more persons set and known between her majesty's life and their desire..... They knew not how many pretended titles and trust to succeed her..... And they found by good proof, that the certain limitation of the crown of France had in the realm procured

so great quiet, that neither the person of the prince in possession had been endangered by secret and open practice, nor the commonweal molested by civil dissension, through any quarrel attempted for the title of that crown," &c.

And the 1st of February, the lords of the parliament were with the queen, as it was thought, upon the same account. But she deferred her answer.

An eminent member of the house, I mean the queen's secretary, Cecil, in the beginning of February wrote to Sir Thomas Smith, her ambassador in France, concerning this matter, and what his judgment was therein; viz.

"That the heads of both houses were fully occupied with the provision of surety to the realm, if God should to our plague (as he said) call the queen, without leaving of children. That the matter was so deep, as he could not reach *into* it; and praying God to send it a good issue. And soon after, (viz. February 18,) he writ again to the same person, that he could not see that any effect would come of the earnest suits made of the three estates to the queen's majesty, either for marriage or state of succession."

In this house of commons were many good public-spirited members. These I find in a journal of Cecil's, viz. Bell, Wilson, Goodyere, Norton, Warner, Sir Anthony Cook, &c. To which I may add Cecil himself, who (as himself writ to the aforesaid Smith) was so full occupied to expedite matters in this present parliament, that he had almost no leisure to attend other things.

The bills following were such as were read and concerted in the house of lords.

The 30th of January, a bill for assurance of certain lands assumed by the queen's majesty, during the vacation of bishoprics, was read the second time, the first reading not mentioned in D'Ewes' Journal.

This bill seems to be intended for the further establishment of an act made the last parliament for the exchange of bishops' lands. This had no more reading this session, and was laid aside.

February the 15th, read the first time, the bill against fond and fantastical prophecies; and for the punishment of invocation of evil spirits, enchantments, witchcrafts, and sorceries; brought from the house of commons. This bill was divided into two in the house of lords. The bill

against enchantments, sorceries, and witchcrafts, was read the 8th and 9th, the first and second times. And March the 11th, the bill against fond and fantastical prophecies was read the third time, and concluded. The 20th of March, several bills were brought from the commons to the lords, and among the rest, the two last mentioned bills, and so finally concluded.

February the 20th, a bill for the assurance of the queen's majesty's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions, was brought to the lords from the house of commons. It was brought in for the further keeping in awe the popish party, which had been already very busy and bold, and dangerous to the queen and realm. This bill was read in the lords' house, February the 25th, the first time. And March the 3d, the same bill was read the third time, with certain provisions thereunto annexed by the lords, and concluded. By this bill the refusal of the oath of the queen's supremacy the second time, was made treason. But it was argued strongly against in both houses by the favourers of popery, as too severe a penalty, considering that to many it was a matter of conscience; which, as a most plausible argument, was chiefly insisted upon, as though it were a compelling men to swear the protestant doctrine to be true. Among those in the house of lords that stood against this bill, sir Anthony Brown, lord Mountague, was one; and in the lower house, Mr. Atkinson, a student of the Inner Temple, opposed the same. I have seen the speeches of both. And I observe the plea of conscience and gentle usage toward such as differ in judgment, are arguments made much use of now in the behalf of papists, which were but of small avail in the last reign, when they were in power. Their speeches may not be unacceptable to lay before the reader. The lord Mountague spake thus:

The prince or commonwealth that will make a new law, ought to consider three things: the first, that the same law be necessary; the second, that it be just and reasonable; the third, that it be possible and commodious, apt and fit, to be put in execution. *Unto* these three qualities may be reduced all other that are requisite, to the end the law should be good. Now it is to be seen, if these three qualities be in the law, that certain do pretend, and would have to be made in this parliament against the papists, as they call them. For the which presuppose, that my intent is not to persuade, that the religion which now is observed in England is either false or schismatical; but to entreat only, if it be good, that a law be made, whereby it shall be commanded under pain of death, that the papists with oath *confess* the doctrine of the protestants to be true and evange-heal. As for the first, I

say, that this law that is pretended is not necessary; forasmuch as the catholics of this realm disturb not, nor hinder the public affairs of the realm, neither spiritual nor temporal: they dispute not, they preach not, they disobey not the queen, they cause no trouble nor tumults among the people: so that no man can say, that thereby the realm doth receive any hurt or damage by them. They have brought into the realm no novelties in doctrine and religion.

This being true and evident, as it is indeed, there is no necessity why any new law should be made against them. And where there is no sore nor grief, medicines are superfluous, and also hurtful and dangerous. As concerning the second, I say, that this law that is pretended is neither just nor reasonable, nor cannot be, nor deserveth to be called, or have the name of *law*, when it is made: for it shall be contrary and repugnant unto all laws of men, natural and civil. I meddle not with God's laws; for I have above said, that in this discourse I do not pretend to entreat of the verity and truth of religion. But leaving that till time fit and convenient, I do entreat, whether it be just to make this penal statute to force the subjects of this realm to receive and believe the religion of the protestants upon pain of death. This, I say, is a thing more unjust: for that it is repugnant to the law of nature, and all civil laws: the reason is, for that naturally no man can or ought to be constrained to take for certain that that he holdeth to be uncertain: for this repugneth to the natural liberty of man's understanding: for understanding may be persuaded, but not forced.

The doctrine of the protestants doth repugn unto all the ecclesiastical state of England that were present at the last parliament, and holdeth contradiction with all provinces of Christendom. It repugneth to all the doctrine of all the parliaments past, and all general councils. With these contradictions, there is no protestant, if he be a man of any understanding or judgment, but will confess that it is doubtful and uncertain; seeing that of those things that appear not to our senses, there ariseth no doubt nor uncertainty, but of the opinions of men. And if he will say it is the catholic doctrine; therefore the question is, how this word ought to be understood? Which is the work of understanding, and is reduced and brought to opinions. And when there be many opinions of the one side and the other, it is reason, that the thing be doubtful, till all opinions come to one: and that there be one faith, one God, and one Trinity.

Now to turn to my purpose, I say, that since the doctrine of protestants is so uncertain, (leaving to call it false,) there is no reason nor justice, that doth permit or suffer that men should be forced to take it for certain, true, and sure, and affirm the same. It is sufficient, and enough for protestants, to keep the possession of the churches, and the authority to preach and excommunicate, not to seek to force and strain men to do or believe by compulsion that they believe not; and not to swear, and to make God witness of their lie. [I cannot but observe here by the way, how much this bill is (whether wilfully or ignorantly) misrepresented by this peer. For the oath therein required to be taken, is not to swear to the truth of the protestant religion, and the doctrine thereof, (nor is there the least mention made of religion in the whole act,) but only that no foreign bishop (chiefly meaning the bishop of Rome) hath any power or authority in the queen's realms and dominions. Nor was this oath to be imposed upon all the queen's subjects universally; but only such as should enter into holy orders, or took any eminent places and offices upon them; which if they declined to do, and meddled not in the government, no such oath was required of them. And there is an express proviso that none shall be compelled to take it, but some ecclesiastical persons that gave just grounds of jealousy to the state. And besides, this act was found necessary for the security of the queen and her government, (which was at this time in no small danger,) as the title of the act ran, *For the assurance of the queen's power over all her states and subjects*: and the preamble of the act mentioned *the dangers by reason of the fauters of the usurped power of the see of Rome, at this time grown to marvellous outrage and licentious boldness*. But now, after this caution, let us go on with this lord's speech.]

It is enough for them, [the protestants,] and they might hold themselves content, that there is no impediment or let made by the catholics, but that they may persuade the people so much as they list, and teach and preach their doctrine. As touching the third, that is, whether this statute should be possible, meet, and convenient, to be put in execution; I say, that on that is said in the second chapter of Justice, de-pendeth and is contained the understanding of this third, touching the commodity and possibility. For it is an easy thing to understand, that a thing so unjust, and so contrary to all reason and liberty of man, cannot be put in execution, but with great incommodity and difficulty. For what man is there so without courage and stomach, or void of all honour, that can consent or agree to receive an opinion and new religion by force and compulsion; or will swear that he

thinketh the contrary to that he thinketh. To be still and dissemble may be borne and suffered for a time; to keep his reckoning with God alone; but to be compelled to lie and to swear, or else to die therefore, are things that no man ought to suffer and endure. And it is to be feared, rather than to die, they will seek how to defend themselves; whereby should ensue the contrary of that, every good prince and well-advised commonwealth ought to seek and pretend, that *is*, to keep their kingdom and government in peace.

So that this law and statute that is pretended, since it is not necessary for men, without they leave quietness and peace; nor just and reasonable, seeing it forceth men to hold for certain and true, that they should hold for doubtful and false; and being incommodious and impossible to be put in execution, for the alterations that may ensue of great injustice; I conclude that by no means any such law ought to be made and enacted. And because some said, this need not to be feared, nor ought any thing to be a stop: because the greater part of the assembly of the lords and the higher house was of the mind and opinion that the law ought to be made, including in the same assembly the bishops, that are twenty-five: I answer, that they neither can nor ought to have to do in this matter, because they are as party, and therefore cannot be judges. And that they have party, and have interest in this matter, it cannot be denied; since *ipso facto* they have dispossessed the catholic bishops of their churches under this occasion and colour, to bring into the realm better doctrine. Besides all this, neither the law nor the gospel, nor other civil law, doth suffer ecclesiastical persons to have more than the judgment and examination of the doctrine and excommunications. And according to this it belongeth not to the bishops, but only to declare and pronounce the doctrine of the papists to be false, as they have done, and to excommunicate such as follow the same. To appoint afterward the temporal penalties of confiscation, banishment, or death; this appertaineth not to them, but to the secular judge; who, according to the necessity of the commonwealth, for peace and quietness of the same, may execute and proceed against such excommunicate persons with more or less rigour after, as he shall think good.

It shall be also very just, reasonable, and convenient for the service of the queen, that the lords of the realm alone, without the bishops, do consider, if it be meet and convenient for the wealth and quietness of the realm, to make this statute and law so rigorous; or whether that that is made already be sufficient; or whether it be meet and convenient (to take away all

inconveniences and damages that may arise of those diversities and novelties in religion) to command the bishops all, as well papistical as protestants, to find the means to try the matter (afore disputed here) within the realm, or in the general council. The which seemeth should be much more easy, more sure, and more convenient.

And furthermore, since it belongeth to the said lords not to endanger their lives and goods, if any war should happen within the realm, or with their neighbours; let them therefore take good heed, and not suffer themselves to be led by such men that are full of affection and passions, and that look to wax mighty, and of power, by the confiscation, spoil, and ruin of the houses of noble and ancient men.

To this speech made in the house of lords, I shall subjoin another oration in the house of commons against the said bill of the oath of supremacy, by Mr. Atkinson aforesaid, spoken the 10th day of March.

Right honourable,

You have heard the effect of this bill, containing in itself, that all those that shall by any open act maintain any foreign jurisdiction, or shall refuse the oath, which is likewise for the abolishing of all foreign power; that such offenders shall for the first offence incur the danger of *premunire*; and if they eftsoons refuse again, then to be judged as in case of high treason. Whether any foreign power be lawful to be received within this realm, or whether in conscience a man ought to take this oath, that matter I purpose not now to dispute; for that is already put out of question by consent of the whole realm in high court of parliament, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lady that now is; against which it shall not become me to reason. But *marie*, whether an offence committed against that statute be so sharply to be punished as this bill here requireth, that is the question that we now have in hand. Wherein I think that the punishment already devised is sufficient, that the punishment limited in this bill is too rigorous; and that though this act went forward, yet no benefit could thereof grow to the commonwealth. If the offence were treason, as it was said this other day in the house that it was, and that the offenders therein were traitors even by the common laws of the realm, as men that sought to take the crown from the king, and give it the pope, then would I think no punishment too little for it; and pity it were, that even for the first offence it was not made death. Howbeit, if it may be proved unto you, that the maintenance of foreign jurisdiction was not by the laws ever accounted treason, then I trust there

will no good man think, but that the offence being not so great, the punishment ought not to be so great neither. I would agree, that the ancient writers of the law, as both Bracton and Briton, have in their writings called the king *God's vicar in earth*: and so I assent to that that Skipwith saith, that there is the deanery of Pickering in Ireland, belonging to the archbishop of Deviling, [i.e. Dublin,] and that it is of this condition; that if an Englishman be made archbishop, that then he shall have the deanery as his free chapel; and if an Irishman, then the king. His reason is, *Quia reges sacro oleo uncti spiritualis jurisdictionis sunt capaces*, i.e. Because the sacred majesty of a king anointed with holy oil hath capacity of spiritual jurisdiction. I likewise agree to the saying of Brian, where he saith, that a great doctor of law once told him, that a priest by prescription might be impleaded in the king's temporal court, *quia rex est persona mixta ex sacerdotibus et laicis*: i.e. because the person of a king is mixed of priesthood and laity.

Of all which we may gather, that by the common laws the king may have the temporal profits of a spiritual promotion, and also implead a spiritual person in his temporal court. All which notwithstanding, I am sure no authority can be shewed to prove, that the affirming, that the pope ought to have jurisdiction in these or other like matters, or that the jurisdiction of them ought not to appertain to the king, was never yet accounted treason.

And therefore suppose that the king had brought a *Quare impedit* against a spiritual person, (which is a plea merely temporal, determinable in the temporal court,) and that the spiritual person had thought to appeal to Rome in stay of the judgment; had this been treason? Nay surely, though without some open act shewing the same, it was never yet taken to be treason; nor was it never yet seen, that a man in such a case was bound to discover his conscience upon his oath. But to go further, suppose he had expressly said before witness, that he would appeal to Rome; nay, suppose he had appealed to Rome indeed; had this been treason? Nay, it was never yet but *premunire*; and *not premunire* neither, till the statute of the 27th of Edward the Third made it so. But was this an offence against the king's crown and dignity? But so are many offences that are not treason and are not, as he said, *crimina laesae majestatis*, but *crimina minutae majestatis*. If then to affirm, that the pope ought to have jurisdiction in a temporal matter, were not treason, much less were it treason to affirm the same in spiritual matters: as to say, that the consecration of archbishops belonged to him, or that the order of service and sacraments ought to be directed by

the see apostolic. What the judges have said in our law in the behalf of the pope, that spare I here for duty's sake to speak of. I am sure it was more than I have hitherto said: and yet were they, I believe, as skilful in knowing what treason was, and as loath to offend therein, as was the gentleman that went about with so many reasons to prove it treason; nor I doubt not, but even at those times, when princes suffered this offence to remain unpunished, and when the subjects offended in it, that yet they had as great a care to maintain the royal dignity of the crown, and were otherwise as void of traitorous hearts, as those that think themselves best subjects.

And therefore we read, that in the time of Edward the First, the pope willed the king to take peace with Scotland, and he made him answer, *that touching his temporalities he knew no peer in his realm*. And the like letters were sent in time of Henry the Sixth; and Humfrey, then dean [duke] of Gloucester, hurled them in the fire. And whosoever readeth the statute of *premunire* made in the sixteenth year of Richard the Second shall find, that all the lords, both spiritual and temporal, said, *that they would stick with the king in the maintenance of his crown and dignity*: and they were therefore severally examined, to the intent that their opinions might be known. If then it hath been proved, that that offence hath not been treason; nor that the offenders therein have not otherwise borne traitorous hearts; I trust, that the offence being not so great, you will not without cause go about to increase the punishment.

Let us therefore never go about to aggrieve the matter, or make it worse than it is; but let us consider it in such sort as it is indeed; that is, an offence in religion, and an offence against the statute made in the first year of the queen's majesty. And then, whether such an offence be to be punished by death, either for the preservation of the common peace, or else by the express laws of God, that matter falleth further in consultation. As for the scriptures, I must confess myself ignorant in them, as the thing that is not my profession, nor in which I have been exercised: yet thus much have I heard the preachers say, that are now, that though in the old law idolatry was punished with death; yet since the coming of Christ, (who came to win the world by peace, and bade, *Put up thy sword*,) the greatest punishment that hath been taught by the apostles in case of religion, hath been by excommunication. For religion, say they, must sink in by persuasion: it cannot be pressed in by violence. And therefore they called the act of the six articles, that was made the thirty-first of king Henry the Eighth, *the whip with the six lashes*. And as for the dealings in queen

Mary's days, they much misliked them; calling the bishops *bloodsuckers*, and bade "Fie on these tormentors, that delighted in nothing else but in the death of innocents; that threatened the whole realm with their fire and fagots; murderers; that they were worse than Caiaphas, worse than Judas, worse than the traitors that put Christ to death." And that with such vehemency and stomach, as I assure you I mervail how it can possibly come to pass, that they should now desire to establish that as a law, which they thought then so far unlawful.

And indeed many a solemn clerk and holy father hath there been in the church, that have much misliked that cruel handling; and have wished rather the opinions of the men to be taken away than the men themselves; and would have them convinced *magis verbo quam vi*, i.e. rather by the word than by the sword. Howbeit, what was the cause, why in all Christian realms offenders in religion were punished by death; and further, how far the punishment that is here devised exceedeth that in rigour and cruelty; and lastly, how offenders in this case of religion ought not to be punished by the one nor by the other; that matter shall I make so plain and so evident unto you, that I trust no charitable man will consent to the passing of this bill. First, as for excommunication, that was thought so easy a punishment, that it was the thing that they gladly would have wished for. For what could please them better that had already forsaken the true faith, than to be banished from the company of all those that believe otherwise than themselves? Therefore was fining and ransoming devised against the Manichees. But that would not serve; for either had they nothing to lose, or else were willing to lose that they had. Then was it further devised and enacted, that they should be imprisoned. But imprisonment would not help neither: for the number of them was such as the prisons could not hold them; and the keepers many times were corrupted. Then was banishment devised; but that was worst of all other: for then would they by their letters openly defame those, by whom for their naughtiness they had received any damage. And further, not keeping their conscience to themselves, ceased not, by preaching in woods and cellars, by dealing in huggermugger seditious books of their own making, keeping of midnight lectures, making of interludes and ballads, to allure other silly souls to their naughtiness; so far forth, that if better remedy had not been provided, this canker would have crept over the whole body of Christendom. Nor were they so contented neither, but fell to open violence, as robbing and spoiling of churches, and taking other men's goods from them. Insomuch that the

stories of the church make mention, that when the Macedonians and the catholics should come before the deputy of Philippus, for hearing of their controversy, and that the throng was great, the Macedonians fell in hand with them, and said, that by the number of them it should seem rather that they came to fight with them than to dispute; and therewith drew their weapons upon them, and slew them to the number of three thousand. For which violence of theirs it was ordained by consent through Christendom, that violence should be offered them again; and their offence, for common quietness sake, and for the peace of the church, punished in this sort: that is to say, that if it were by open witness proved that any had offended, that yet he might abjure for the first offence, if he would; and upon penance and repentance made, be received into the church again. But if he eftsoons fell in relapse, then he should be left to the secular hands. Which punishment as it *was*, was yet much more easy, than that which is here devised. For there you see, unless he had been convinced by witness for some open fact done, he was without danger of the law. But here, though he intended to live under a law, and keep his conscience to himself, yet will we grope him, and see what secretly lieth in his breast: and to the intent he shall not daily with us, we offer him an oath, which many a man shall take that un-derstandeth not what it meaneth. There you see the first offence was not punished; but he had leisure to bethink him, and mend. But here the very first offence is punished; and by what punishment? Forsooth, by judgment of *premunire*, which is loss of lands and goods, his body in prison at the queen's will and pleasure; and yet he is in no great surety of his life neither. For if any man upon displeasure should kill him, his friends might well lament his death, but they could not punish it. For a man attainted in *premunire* is *perdie* out of the protection of the king and of the laws. Yea, and besides all this, not a man dare give him his alms, lest he should be an alder and maintainer within the compass of this a statute.

Therefore methinks the law was a great deal better, and surely much more profitable for the commonwealth, that was made in the first year of the queen's majesty. For there we see the first offence is not so grievously punished. And if every ecclesiastical person, every judge and other officer, every one that is of the queen's fee, every man that shall sue livery, all scholars in the university, be sworn, (as they must be by the same statute,) what mischief can there be wrought, but it shall be espied and quenched? Is it not, think you, an easier way to win men, (for win them we must, if we shall do well,) to leave a gap for him open to promotion, if he embrace

these proceedings, than, if he refuse them, to take that he hath from him? Is it not a sufficient punishment for him, that no man shall by his wit and learning, so long as he continueth that opinion, bear any office, or have any countenance in this commonwealth? What better proof can you have of the goodness of the law, that you see since that time no great breach of the law, no seditious congregations, no tumult, but the common peace well kept, and every man liveth under a law without disturbance of the queen's proceedings? So that that punishment being sufficient, it is in vain to desire a greater to keep them under. Let us follow the example of the queen's majesty; whose gracious highness hath with such clemency ruled us, and so tempered her justice with mercy, as I ween never prince since the conquest (I speak it without flattery) hath for the time reigned over us in a quieter peace, with more love, and less exaction. The honour be to her gracious majesty, and those good counsellors that have had that statute in hand.

But to go on; suppose it were passed for a law, what great good could we reckon should grow to the commonwealth by it? You will say, a sort of stubborn papists should be rid out of the way; who, if they lived, would be causers of sedition; and sedition must needs be the cause of desolation. Surely, if the whole number, that think against the oath in their conscience, should refuse the oath, and for the offence be executed, the realm could not choose but be much weakened, and a great deal the less able to defend itself. We may partly see it by the universities, that, what with the one side and the other, hath been so shaken for religion, that learning is almost quite decayed in them; and, if provision be not made, all like to come to a barbarous ignorance.

But suppose you, that the greatest part will refuse the oath? Think you, that all that take it will upon the taking of it change their consciences? Nay, many a false shrew there is, that will lay his hand to the book, when his heart shall be far off. Of this hath this house full experience. For in the bill of conveying over of horses there was a clause, that whosoever would swear that it was for his necessary travel, it was lawful. And because men sticked not at such a trifle to forswear themselves, that clause was repealed. And upon like consideration, by the grave advice of this house, was the oath left out of the subsidy-book. If men for such trifles will forswear themselves, it cannot choose but be perilous, when their goods, lands, liberties, and lives shall depend upon it. And namely, upon a matter whereof for the most part they have no knowledge; but all one to them, whether it be so or otherwise. And so protesting that to be in their

consciences, whereof they stand in doubt, they should wilfully forswear themselves. And if men were seditious before, now will they become ten times more seditious. Neither shall the queen's majesty be ever a whit the surer, which is the title, and, as it should seem, the only meaning of this bill. For if any were rebellious before, now will his heart become more rebellious: for that he is enforced to perjury: and that mischief will secretly keep in his mind, and shew it then, when he thinketh it will do most harm. Or else, if he be not thus wickedly disposed, then will he linger on in despair, and with violence at the last seek to destroy himself, which were too lamentable to hear of: and we the cause of all this mischief.

Let us therefore, for the honour of God, leave all malice, and notwithstanding religion, let us love together. For it is no point of religion, one to hate another. Let us make an end of division, for fear lest our enemies, who are mighty, and now in the field, might peradventure, finding us at dissension among ourselves, the easilier vanquish us. Whereas, if we can agree and love together, there shall be no doubt but we shall put them now to the worst, whom we have often vanquished before. Let us do as the good mother did before Solomon, who when she had contention before the wise king for her own child with the common harlot, and that the matter went so hard, that he could not tell to whom to give it, but thought to divide it, the tender love of the mother considering that the child's division should be the child's destruction, could not suffer that, but was content to yield up, and give away her interest. So let us, for the love of God, forget and forgive all griefs for the commonwealth's sake, and let us love one another: for so shall no division work the desolation of our kingdom. And when we have all done, to this we must come at last. We see in Germany, where after so long contention, and so great destruction and waste of their country, at last they are come to this point, that the papist and protestant can now quietly talk together, and never fall out about the matter. I beseech you therefore, right honourable, that you will well remember the trust that your country putteth in you; and since you have the sword in your hand to strike, be well ware whom you strike. For some shall you strike that are your near friends, some your kinsmen, but all your countrymen, and even Christian. And though you may like these doings; yet may it be that your heirs after you shall mislike them; and then farewell your name and worship. Remember that men that offend this way, offend not as murderers and thieves do, that is, of malice and wicked intent, but through conscience and zeal, at leastways through opinion of religion. And

if it shall happen them to die in the wrong opinion, then shall we not only destroy the bodies, of which there is no small force, but their souls, which is a loss that will never be recovered. And if they should do it against their consciences to save their lives, and seem peradventure in doubt of the matter, then should they fall unto perjury, and we become causers of it. And sith they keep their consciences to themselves, and live under a law, why are they to be punished by so sharp a law? And though some peradventure have offended you; yet do not for their sakes punish the rest, who never offended you; but rather, for the others' sakes, who are the greater number, forgive all.

Follow the example of the good mother in Solomon, or rather the example of the queen's majesty, whom I pray God may long reign over us, and her issue after her.

In answer to these and such like speeches against the bill, I will offer a learned argument of some other member unknown, well skilled in the laws, in favour of it, and against the former reasons and considerations. A copy of it came into the hands of archbishop Parker, who sent it to Cox, bishop of Ely. And from that very copy I transcribe the tenor of it:

In the time of king Edward III. one should have been hanged, drawn, and quartered, for publishing an excommunication, directed from the bishop of Rome against one of the king's subjects. But at the entreaty of the lord chancellor and lord treasurer, his life was pardoned; notwithstanding, he was abjured the realm. If ratifying part of the pope's authority were so punished, the consenting to the whole must of necessity be high treason.

In the statute of 25 Edward III. de *Proditionibus*, cap. 2. if a man be adherent to the enemies of the king in his realm, finding them aid and comfort in the realm, or any other place, it was high treason: but to be sworn to the pope, being the queen's enemy, and [the party] so remain, and will not refuse the oath to him, nor swear to the queen, is to comfort the queen's enemies: therefore high treason.

In the 12 Henry VII. Fineux, chief justice: as in spiritual matters towards God, so it is in temporal matters towards the prince; and therefore at the sheriff's turn every subject ought to be present to learn his duty. But in spiritual matters, not to affirm, maintain, and uphold God, and all things touching the substance of religion, with heart, mind, and power, is horrible heresy: so, not to maintain the prince, his style, the royal dignity of the

crown, with heart, mind, and power, is high treason. But he that refuseth to swear to the prince doth so, &c. Therefore he is a traitor.

1 Henry VII. Hussey (chief justice in the time of Edward IV.) said, A legate was at Calais from the pope, for to have the king's safe conduct to come into the realm. And then, in open council before the lords and justices, it was demanded, what should be done. Who answered, that they would send unto the legate; and if he would swear, that he had brought nothing with him in derogation to the king and of his crown, that he should have licence; or otherwise, not. And the bishop of Ely caused the pope's legate to swear, that he had nothing that should be prejudicial to the king and his crown; and then he entered. If a stranger was compelled for to swear for the safeguard of the prince before his entry into the realm, much more a natural born subject should not live in the realm, except he would be sworn for the safeguard of the prince and dignity of the crown.

Praedict. anno, Hussey *praedict.* said, That in the time of Edward I. the pope sent letters to the king, that he should make peace with Scotland, and that he should put the matter to his order. The king by the advice of his council sent word, that he would not commit the matter to be ordered by the pope. And all the lords writ unto the pope, that although the king would give away his right that he had in Scotland, that he should not do it, because it was his right to have the supreme government of Scotland. And further, the bishop of London said at the same time, that he saw in the time of king Henry VI. when the pope sent letters which were in derogation of the king, and the spiritual men durst not speak any thing against them, that Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, took the letters, and cast them into the fire, and burnt them. If the nobility, our ancestors, have so stoutly maintained the right of the prince against the pope, shall we seem now to maintain the pope and his authority, in refusing to punish those with so just a law, that do, for maintenance of the pope, refuse to swear their oath of allegiance to their sovereign lady and queen?

13 Henry VIII. treason may be in intendment only; felony must be in act always. But whoso refuseth to swear to the prince, discloseth the intendment of his heart to be traitorous. Therefore, &c. After these allegations out of history, then it was further shewn as followeth.

First, By act of parliament made in the first year of the queen, the supreme government over her spirituality and temporality was given to her; and the extolling of the bishop of Rome made *premunire* for the second offence;

and treason the third time: and the offering of the oath appointed, and the refusal thereof by any, made the loss of his office [the first time.] The new bill maketh for the first offence, of extolling of the bishop of Rome's authority, or refusal of the oath, *premunire*; and the second time, treason. For the extolling or setting forth that bishop's authority, all do condescend the penalty is not unreasonable; but only to force the oath, which they say toucheth the conscience, which should not be searched, [that some are against.] As to that, first it must be considered, seeing it is enacted that both be offences, what pains the offenders deserve. The contents of the oath is an acknowledging of the superiority in the prince, and promise of allegiance; which is the duty of every subject, as a subject, in temporal causes, and toucheth no spiritual thing, but bindeth the subject by promise to recognize the sovereignty in his prince. Which if a man may be by his prince commanded to confess, if he refuse, is treason, because, in that he doth refuse it, he doth affirm the contrary of the oath to be true. As for example, if the lord doth require his tenant to do homage to him, wherein he doth but confess him to be his lord, and himself to be his tenant, if he refuse to do it, what else doth he, but disavow him to be his lord? To say a man may have a conscience in it; to that, [I ask,] shall a man have a conscience in cases of treason?

The prince at her coronation swears to defend us; shall not we swear to defend her? The refusal of the oath was treason in the time of king Henry established by parliament. If then newly upon new proof of the enormity of the Romish practices, the refusal was treason at the first offence, when by common reason the suddenness of the alteration might have endangered the state, if his [the bishop of Rome's] authority had been thought godly and lawful; a *multo fortiori*, now is it expedient to make the offence treason at the second time; especially being so long tried by learning and reason to be an usurped authority, and also by length of time worn far more out of memory.

We have promised, in the speaker's last motion for establishment, to make laws for her [the queen's] defence. What better law may there be made? If we endearour not to make it, we break our promise; and she said, she looked for promise therein to be kept by us.

If any man be required in the queen's name to acknowledge her queen of England over all her people; if he refuse to do it, he is a traitor. There is no other thing, in effect, comprised in the oath: therefore the refuser of the

oath is a traitor. And in that the offence is made *premu-nire*, and the second, treason, it is too mild for the offence; especially, the wife's dower, and the heir's inheritance without corruption of blood, being saved.

To say, it was never made treason, *ergo*, no treason to be now, the argument is not true. For if the princes would have so taken it, it were treason by the common laws of this realm; but that king Henry was abused by error. But if it were never treason before, seeing the circumstance of time past, present, and that may follow, it is expedient to make, upon the new occasion, new laws, as is daily in other cases.

If they say, it toucheth conscience, and it is a thing wherein a man ought to have a scruple: but if any hath a conscience in it, these four years' space might have settled it. Also, after his first refusal, he hath three months' respite for conference, and settling of his conscience.

Again, the oath is not to be tendered to any that by in-tendment shall want reason to know the sovereignty of the prince.

If any man, be he never so unlearned, do openly pronounce the contrary of the oath against the queen, they themselves will say, he deserveth death as a traitor, and that it is not matter of heresy or doctrine. If so, it is to see, whether the denial to accept the same be an affirmation to the contrary: if so, then treason, doubtless. Thus the great matter of this bill was argued learnedly, *pro* and *con*. Now we proceed with our relation of other bills.

Febr. the 27th, a bill for the restitution in blood of the children of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury. [His children were Thomas and Margaret.] March the 2d, the same bill was read the second and third time, and sent to the house of commons.

March the 2d, a bill for the confirmation of a subsidy granted her majesty by the clergy of the province of Canterbury, was read the first time in the lords' house, being brought with other bills to this house from the commons; which bill was read the third time, and concluded, March the 6th. The same came again into the commons' house: for, March 11, it was brought from the commons to the lords, and concluded.

March the 8th, a bill was brought from the commons to the lords, that the hospital of St. Katharine's, near the Tower, shall be a parish church, and for the erecting of a school. I find nothing more of this bill this session.

March the 17th, a bill was sent from the lords to the commons, for uniting of churches in towns corporate. Nor do I find this bill read any more.

March the 29th, a bill for the due execution of the writ *De excommunicato capiendo* was read the third time in the lords' house, and concluded; and carried, with other bills, to the commons. April the 9th, this bill was brought up again to the lords, with a proviso annexed by the commons, and divers amendments; which were read the first, second, and third times, and concluded.

This bill had its rise and beginning from the upper house of convocation, now sitting. For I find the forms of two bills now under the hands of the archbishop and bishop of London: the titles whereof were writ by the said archbishop's pen. That of the former was, *For resorting to the church*; and of the latter the title was, *De excommunicato capiendo*. Which bill, as it came from these bishops in the synod, ran in this tenor:

“Forasmuch as in these our days divers subjects of this realm, and others the queen's majesty's dominions, are grown into such licence and contempt of the laws ecclesiastical and censures of the church, that unless it were for fear of the temporal sword and power they would altogether despise and neglect the same: which temporal sword and power being oftentimes slowly and negligently executed, by reason of the writ *De excommunicato capi-endo* being only directed unto the sheriff within whose circuit the party excommunicated doth abide, by the negligence, corruption, favour, or delay of the same sheriff, is either not executed at all, or else so slowly, that the execution of justice thereby is letted or delayed; and the party excommunicated thereby encouraged to continue and persist in wilful and obstinate contumacy and disobedience: whereby the corrections and censures of the church do run in great contempt, and like daily to grow. into more, unless some speedy remedy be provided in that *behalf*:

“May it therefore please your, &c. that it may be ordained, enacted, and established by the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this *present* parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from henceforth all writs *De excommunicato capiendo* may be directed to the sheriffs, under-sheriffs, and all justices of the peace, bailiffs, constables, and other ministers or officers whatsoever, or unto any of them, within whose

circuit or precinct the party or parties excommunicated do inhabit: and that it shall be lawful unto him, one of the said sheriffs, under-sheriffs, justices of the peace, bailiffs, constables, or other officers or ministers whatsoever, unto whose hand the said writ shall come, by virtue of the same, to attack and apprehend the body of the person or persons excommunicated; and to carry and convey the same unto the next prison or gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprise, until such time as the party or parties, with effect, shall humble and submit himself or themselves unto the commandment and laws of the church: and also to satisfy unto the party or parties thereby grieved or danmiffed, all such cost or damages as he or they have thereby any ways borne or sustained, at the taxation of the spiritual judge, according to the laws ecclesiastical. Provided, that all other laws, orders, statutes, and customs, which heretofore have been ordained, provided, and used for the punishment and correction of such as be, or shall be, for any cause excommunicate, shall stand and remain in the same force and strength as they did stand in before the making hereof, any thing in this former act to the contrary notwithstanding.”

This bill took up some time in both houses, and was considerably enlarged and provided for before it passed. So that this bill was framed for the better bringing on conformity to the religion now reformed and established, and for the checking of erroneous doctrines, as well of papists as others; and to oblige the people to be diligent to come to church, and partake of the communion: and to prevent the slights of sheriffs or their officers, in smothering the execution of these writs, for taking up persons excommunicated for false doctrines, or other unchristian practices, cognizable by the bishops or spiritual judges: and lastly, that more strength and authority might be given to spiritual censures.

March the 30th, a bill was brought up to the lords, for the translating of the Bible and other divine service into the Welsh tongue. This bill was read the next day the second time; and on the 5th of April read the third time; and, April 6th, was brought with some other bills from the commons, returned, and concluded.

The same 30th of March was first read a bill, that chancellors, commissaries, and officials, in ecclesiastical courts, shall be graduates in

one of the universities: which was read again the next day; but went no further, as I can find.

The same 30th day was another bill read the first time, touching an annuity granted of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* out of lands in Wandlesworth, in Surrey, belonging to the archbishop of York, for the finding of a school in Guilford. April the 3d, this bill was read the third time, and concluded.

April the fid, a bill was read for annexing the county of Dorset to the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Salisbury: but I hear no more of this bill. The reason of which bill, I suppose, might be the small revenue of the bishopric of Bristol, (to which diocese that county belongs,) that it was thought insufficient to maintain the port of a bishop; and so more convenient to lay it to the next see. But would it not have been better, by some bill to have settled something of value to augment that bishopric for the continuance of it?

April the 8th, a bill was sent up to the lords' house, that sanctuary shall not be allowed to defraud any due debts. But this bill proceeded not. April the 10th, the queen came into the house, and passed several bills prepared: and then the parliament was prorogued. The acts that passed, which have some relation to religion, were these:

An act for *the assurance of the queen's majesty's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions*. This act of parliament, as the preamble informs us, was to guard and preserve the queen, and her heirs and successors, and the dignity of the imperial crown of this realm, from the perils, dishonours, and inconveniencies which had beforetime fallen, as well to the queen's progenitors, kings of this realm, as the whole state thereof, by means of the jurisdiction and power of the see of Rome, unjustly claimed and usurped within this realm and the dominions thereof: and of the dangers by the fautors of the said usurped power, which is said to be grown at that time to marvellous outrage and licentious boldness: and now requiring more sharp restraint and correction of laws.

This law was levelled against such as by writing, ciphering, printing, preaching, or teaching, in deed or act, did hold and stand with, extol, set forth, or maintain the authority and power of the bishop of Rome, or his see, within this realm. The penalty was, for every such default and offence, to incur the dangers and forfeitures ordained and provided in the statutes of provision and *premunire*, made the 16th year of Richard II. By the said

act, persons that had taken or should take holy orders, or be promoted to any degree of learning in any university in the realm; and all schoolmasters; and all that had or should take any degree of learning at the common laws of this realm, or were to be admitted to any ministry or office belonging to the common law, or other law or laws; and all other officers of any court whatsoever, &c. were to take a corporal oath upon the evangelists, before they should be admitted to take upon them to occupy any such vocation, office, degree, according to the tenor, effect, and form of the oath of supremacy, made in the first year of the queen. And in case any should refuse such oath, to suffer and incur the dangers, penalties, &c. ordained and provided by the statute of provision and *premunire*, 16th Richard II. aforesaid.

And within forty days after the refusal of the said oath, the persons having authority to tender the said oath, to proceed to indict the person so offending in such sort, to all intents and purposes, as the jury might do of any offence committed against the queen's majesty's peace.

And for stronger defence and maintenance of this act, it was enacted, That if any, by writing, ciphering, printing, preaching, &c. should hold or stand with, extol, set forth, and maintain the said authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, or by any speech, open deed, or act, attribute any such manner of jurisdiction or preeminence to the said see, or to any bishop of that see, within the queen's realms or dominions; or to be abetting, procuring, or aiding to any such, after such conviction or attainder; or any person abovenamed and appointed by this act to take the said oath; and do after the space of three months next after the first tender thereof, refusing to take it: then every such offender for the second offence to forfeit, and lose, and suffer such like and the same pains, forfeitures, judgment, and execution, as is used in cases of high treason.

By this act also, every person hereafter to be elected and appointed a knight, citizen, or burgess of parliament, before he enter into the parliament-house, or have a voice there, was openly to receive and pronounce the said oath.

It was to be read, published, and declared at the quar-ter-session, by the clerk of the peace, and at every leet and law-day by the steward of the court; and once in every term in the open hall of every house of court and chancery. This was the import and sum of this memorable act: which was necessary for me to set down, in order to the understanding the history of

the state of religion in this land at this time; the Romish party, and the favourers of the see of Rome, being so dangerously busy, that the wisdom of the nation found it needful to constitute such a severe law, and such extreme penalties against them; and to lay all such persons aside from enjoying any public place or office in church or state, that would not own the queen's supremacy in her own dominions.

An act also was made by this parliament *against fond and fantastical prophecies*. The ground and cause of this act is assigned in the beginning of the said act to be, That divers ill-disposed persons in king Edward's days, inclining to the moving of factions, and seditious, and rebellions within this realm, made use of fond prophecies to amuse the people, easily carried away by such deceits, which appeared to them like something divine: wherefore an act was made against these prophecies in that king's reign, which was expired. But the like practice began now again to be used, in feigning, imagining, inventing, and publishing such *fond and fantastical prophecies*, as well concerning the queen, as divers honourable personages of the realm, and others, to the great disquiet, trouble, and peril of the queen and realm. Therefore now a new act was made against such framers and divulgers of idle prophecies. And the penalty of a year's imprisonment, and 10*l.* for every offence, was laid upon every one that did set forth in writing, printing, singing, or by any other open speech or deed, any *fond and false prophecies*, upon, or by occasion of, any arms, fields, beasts, badges, or other such like things accustomed in arms, cognizances, or signets; or upon or by reason of any time, year, or day, name, bloodshed, or wax; to intend thereby to make any rebellion, insurrection, dissension, loss of life, or other disturbance within the realm. The second offence was made imprisonment during life, and forfeiture of all goods and chattels.

This act also was made to meet with those that were disaffected to the present government and religion established: who would privately foretell, by some pretended hidden skill, the short duration of the queen's reign, or the time or year of her death: and by the coats of arms and bearings of some of the chief persons about the queen, [as the bear and ragged staff belonging to the lord Robert Dudley,] &c. would frame significations of things fortunate to themselves, and unfortunate to those they bore ill-will to.

Another act was made *against conjurations, enchantments, and witchcrafts*. That which gave ground to this act was, that as these wicked practices nowadays prevailed much, so there was no ordinary or condign punishment provided against such practisers of conjurations and invocation of wicked spirits, sorceries, charms, enchantments, and witchcrafts, the statute against them, 33 Hen. VIII. having been repealed, I Edw. VI. Since the repeal whereof, many fantastical and devilish persons had devised and practised invocations and conjurations of evil spirits, and had used and practised witchcraft, enchantments, &c. to the destruction of this realm, and for other lewd intents and purposes. The penalty of such was, to suffer the pains of death as felons, when upon any such witchcraft or enchantment any person should happen to be killed or destroyed: or imprisonment for a year, and once every quarter of the said year to stand upon the pillory six hours in some market-town, and there openly confess his error and offence; when by such enchantment or witchcraft any person was not killed, but wasted, consumed, or lamed in his body or members; or whereby any goods or chattels of any person should be destroyed, wasted, or impaired. The second offence to be death. Another act now made was, *for the due execution of the writ De excommunicato capiendo*. Let me also relate the reason and occasion of this act, as in the preamble is specified; namely, That divers persons offending in many grievous crimes and offences, appertaining to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, were many times unpunished for lack of good and due execution of the said writ. The great abuse whereof was, that the said writ was not returnable into any court, but left to the direction of the sheriffs or their deputies; by whose negligence and defaults the writ by this means was not executed at all. And hereby such offenders were much encouraged to continue their sinful life. Therefore it was enacted, that the said writ that should be awarded out of the high court of chancery, should be made in the time of the term returnable in the court of King's Bench, in the term next after the test of the said writ. And that if the writ delivered of record to the sheriff, or his deputy, were not duly returned before the justices of the King's Bench; or that any default or negligence had been used, in not well serving and executing it; then they to assess such americiament upon the said sheriff or his deputy, as they should in their discretion think meet. And in case the sheriff, or his officer, return, that the party named in the writ could not be found within his bailiffwick, then the justices of the said bench to award a writ of *Capias*. And how that was to be managed, and the punishment of

the person excommunicated, &c. may be read in the said act, the particulars too long to be here inserted.

What the crimes or causes of proceeding to excommunicate any, and the said writ thereupon, may be understood by a provision in this act; viz. That in the *Significavit* must be mentioned the cause of the excommunication, as, some matters of heresy, or refusing to have a child baptized, or to receive the holy communion, as now commonly used to be received by the church of England, or to come to divine service as now commonly used in the said church, or error in matter of religion, or doctrine now received and allowed in this church, incontinency, usury, simony, perjury in the ecclesiastical court, idolatry.

This act seems to back and give a force to the censures of the bishops. Which was needful in this juncture, to check papists, and other scandalous crimes and corrupt doctrines against the religion, as now reformed. For in the act there is a *saving* to the authority of archbishops and bishops, as to certify any persons excommunicate, so to accept and receive the submission and satisfaction of persons so excommunicate in manner and form heretofore used; and to absolve and release them, and the same to signify, as heretofore hath been accustomed, into the court of chancery: and thereupon to have such writs for the deliverance of such persons, so absolved and released, from the sheriff's custody or prison, as heretofore they, or any of them, had, or of right ought to have.

Another act was, *for the translating of the Bible and the divine service into the Welsh tongue.*

And lastly, an act for *the restitution in blood of the children of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury.* These two last were private acts, and not printed in the book of statutes.

For as in the queen's first parliament some private acts were made for the restoring in blood divers, who were concerned in the business of the lady Jane and sir Thomas Wyat, or the children of them, as Lord John Grey, sir James Crofts, sir Henry Gates, Robert Rudston, the sons and daughters of Edward Lewkner, esq. and others: so in this her second parliament were divers others restored, as the children of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, sir Peter Carew, sir Ralph Chamberlain, knights; William West, Thomas Cobham, esquires; the heirs of Thomas Isley, esq. lately executed, brother to sir Henry Isley executed also; the heirs and children of

Lionel Diggs, William Isley, William Thomas, Edward Turner, esquires, and many more. These were private acts, and not printed in the book of statutes.

But one of the greatest matters of this parliament was brought to no desirable conclusion; and that was concerning the queen's marriage. For which the house of commons had made a very earnest petition to her in the beginning of their session. But indeed she seemed not to like of it; by returning the commons no answer at present; and by the too short and leisurely answers she sent to them afterwards, viz. first, by her comptroller and secretary, February 16. That she had not forgot the suit of the house, nor could forget it. But "she willed the young heads to take ex-ample by the ancients." Secondly, by the lord keeper at the breaking up of the parliament, That for the great weight of the matter her majesty was minded to take farther advice.

But how the queen indeed stood affected to wedlock may be partly understood by Roger Ascham, who read to her, and was frequently with her. For when Sturmius, the learned man of Strasburgh, had in his correspondence with

Ascham, anno 1562, inquired into that affair, (he and other good protestants abroad, as well as her subjects at home, desired to see it effected,) he answered, "that in all the course of her life she resembled Hippolyte, and not Phae-dra." These were the two wives of Theseus; Hippolyte was the queen of the Amazons, and a warrior; Phaedra, on the other hand, was very amorous. Ascham told him, that he had adventured to shew his letter to the queen; [having no doubt some ingenious expressions in it to that purpose;] which the queen read over thrice smiling, but very bashfully and modestly, and said nothing. Then he added, that for her disposition towards wedding, he nor none else could know any thing certain, nor tell what to say. And that it was not without reason he had told him, "*that* all her life she was more like to Hippolyte than Phaedra." Which he said he meant in regard of the chastity of her mind; and that of her own nature, not by the counsel of any, she was so strange and averse from marriage.

And here I may in the conclusion add the sentence of sir Thomas Smith, in his ingenious orations concerning this argument; where, in the person of Agamus, (who was against the *queen's* marrying,) he hath this brave saying, with an eye to the maiden queen: "But if queens make peace, and:

keep their realms flourishing in good order and quiet, and, overcome their own and their under-governors' affections *of* robbing and oppressing the poor subjects, [keeping *themselves* single,] they make a great and a commendable *conquest*, more than ever Sylla, Pompey, or Caesar did; *yea*, or Carolus, the last emperor of Rome, in taking the French king, or winning Tunis." Now, in short, to look back upon the work of this parliament. A subsidy and two fifteens were granted, as big as ever any was. This was like to the former, with this amends, that the grant upon goods were from 3*l.* where the former was from 5*l.* A like subsidy was granted from the clergy. A law was past for sharpening laws against papists: wherein some difficulty had been, because they were made very penal. But such were the humours of the commons house, that they thought nothing sharp enough against papists. Very good laws were in hand for increase of fishermen; and consequently the mariners and navy. Fish was much favoured now, [and so such bills the more like to pass.] Wednesday was meant to be observed like Saturday; and sundry other things therein provided. Cecil was the author of a short law, not exceeding seventeen lines; whereby was ordered, that if any man would sell any foreign commodity to any person for apparel, &c. without ready money, or without payment within twenty-eight days, the seller should be without his remedy. A very good law was agreed upon for indifferent allowances for servants' wages in husbandry. And many other laws were passed the nether house, as, for toleration of usury under ten per cent. which, nevertheless, Cecil said, he durst not allow. Another against Egyptians: another for remedying the defrauding of statutes for tillage. This account of the labours and pains of the house of commons this session did secretary Cecil himself acquaint, by letter, Smith, the queen's ambassador in France, with. But many, or most of these, passed not into acts, but only passed or were approved in the lower house.

CHAPTER 27.

A convocation. The archbishop opens it. Matters done therein. Papers of weighty matters drawn up to be laid before the synod.

A PARLIAMENT now beginning to sit in the month of January, that famous convocation of the clergy was also called together, in which were framed and agreed upon the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, the professed doctrine of the church of England, and many other matters consulted and debated for the establishment of true religion, order of the clergy, and the decent and edifying worship of God in this church. Great pity it is, that we have not where to have recourse for more assistance and supply, to enable us to give a complete account of this synod, since the registers thereof, as of other synods, formerly kept in St. Paul's, are burnt. An irreparable loss! A divine of great note, before a venerable auditory, had occasion once to say, that he had once in his hand an original journal of the lower house of convocation in the fifth year of the queen; which must be this very convocation: Such a journal (could I have seen and perused it) might have been of excellent service in the account I am to give of it. I am glad to see the journal and acts of the upper house, which was lately published in the Appendix to the *Synodus Anglicana*, printed anno 1702, taken from a book of extracts out of the journals of convocation, from 1529 to 1562. By the help of this, and by many other papers I have seen, I shall endeavour to make some tolerable relation of it: for I have diligently looked over a great many rough draughts and writings, both of archbishop Parker's own hand, and of the hands of bishop Grindal, bishop Sandys, and bishop Cox, (chief leaders in the reformation,) concerning matters propounded and concerted in this venerable assembly. From whence I will faithfully transfer several things, and the chief, I presume, of the proposals and debates.

I cannot give a perfect list of the names of the members of the lower house. But we shall have occasion in the progress of this narration, and in a subscription of their hands to the Articles, to name some of them.

Now considering the state of the church, newly crept out of corruption and superstition, there lay before this synod a great deal of work to be done, both in matters of doctrine and matters of discipline; that is, in what method and order the bishops were to govern their churches, and how the inferior clergy were to behave themselves in their respective cures and

parishes. The matter of ceremonics now was also very busily transacted: and several good things were propounded by the upper house.

This memorable convocation of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, wherein the matters of the church were to be debated and settled for the future regular service of God, and establishment of orthodox doctrine, was called together in the chapter-house of St. Paul's on the 12th of January, the day also of the parliament's first meeting. They met sometimes in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, London, and sometimes by continuation at king Henry VIIIth's chapel, Westminster, thirty-six several sessions. Whereof this was the first; when, by virtue of a commission from the archbishop to Robert Weston, his official of the court of Canterbury; to Thomas Yale, his vicar-general in spirituals; to Henry Jones and Valentine Dale, advocates of his court of Arches; all doctors of laws, jointly and severally, to be present, in his room and name, in the synod, to be begun and celebrated by the said most reverend father, by authority of the queen's letters to him in this behalf directed: the said commission empowering them, or some of them, to continue and prorogue the said synod until the 13th day, being Wednesday; the said Robert Weston accordingly continued and prorogued the said synod, as in a schedule by him read more plainly appeared. January the 13th, being the second session, the archbishop came himself in person into the cathedral of St. Paul's, being attended thither from the water-side by the doctors, and the other officers and ministers of his court of Canterbury, with great honour and reverence, agreeable to his high place in the English church. After, he and the rest of the bishops of his province were placed in the choir, the Litany in English being said, and *Veni Creator* sung, Mr. William Day, B. D. provost of Eaton, preached upon I Pet. 5:2, *Feed the flock of God which is among you, &c.* and after sermon the first Psalm sung in English; then the bishop of London administered the communion to the archbishop and bishops. His grace after this, and his suffragans the bishops, with the rest of the clergy, removing into the chapter-house, and there some previous matters despatched, he made a short speech to them, shewing them the present advantage put into their hands by the gracious providence of God, in setting queen Elizabeth on the throne, to reform matters amiss in the church. And so bade the inferior clergy depart, and choose them a prolocutor or referendary, and to present him before him the next session. And accordingly they pitched upon Alexander Nowel, the dean of St. Paul's, whom the said archbishop had recommended to them. And January 16, being the third session, he was

conducted between the dean of Westminster and the dean of Christ's-church, Oxon; and speeches being made by the dean of Westminster and the said elected prolocutor, the archbishop approved him by a speech of his own.

The rest of the sessions in the upper house were spent in serious debates and conferences among themselves about regulating the church and the ministers of it, in examining papers brought from those of the lower house, in digesting the right faith of Christ into articles, (which was brought to effect and subscribed at this convocation,) in inquiring into matters to be reformed; whereof some sheets were drawn up in the lower house, and presented to the most reverend father, and the rest of the upper house, by the prolocutor; in devising some particulars for discipline; in providing a catechism for the use of schools, for the grounding the younger sort in true principles; and in giving the queen a subsidy; the archbishop still reminding and directing the lower house. And he also recommended to the bishops to look into their respective dioceses, and to draw up in writing what they found to need reformation. These things are but shortly set down in the acts of this synod; but the particulars that ensue will greatly illustrate and explain them.

For to prepare matter for the synod, the archbishop had it beforehand in his serious thoughts; and set others also on work, no doubt, upon it. There is a notable paper to this purpose, which I will begin withal; adding the marginal notes, some writ by the archbishop himself, some by others. But who the composer of this paper was, I cannot say. It was entitled,

GENERAL NOTES OF MATTERS TO BE MOVED BY THE CLERGY IN THE NEXT PARLIAMENT AND SYNOD.

- I.** A certain form of doctrine to be conceived in articles, and after to be published and authorized.
- II.** Matters worthy of reformation, concerning certain rites, &c. in the Book of Common Prayer.
- III.** Ecclesiastical laws and discipline to be drawn, concerning both the clergy and laity.
- IV.** To procure some augmentation of temporal commodities, for the supply of the exility of small benefices and livings.

CONCERNING, THE FIRST, VIZ. THE FORM OF DOCTRINE.

First, A catechism is to be set forth in Latin. Which is already done by Mr. Dean of Paul's, and wanteth only viewing.

Secondly, Certain articles, containing the principal grounds of Christian religion, are to be set forth, (in the which also is to be determined the truth of those things which in this age are called into controversy:) much like to such articles as were set forth a little before the death of king Edward. Of which articles the most part may be used with addition and correction, as shall be thought convenient.

Thirdly, To these articles also may be adjoined the Apology [writ by bishop Jewell] lately set forth, after it hath been once again revised, and so augmented or corrected, as occasion serveth.

These to be joined in one book, and by common consent to be authorized, as containing true doctrine, and enjoined to be taught to the youth in the universities and grammarschools throughout the realm. That whosoever shall preach, declare, write, or speak, any thing in derogation, depraving, or despising, of the said book, or any doctrine therein contained, and be thereof lawfully convicted before any ordinary, &c. he shall be ordered as in case of heresy; or else shall be punished as is appointed for those that offend and speak against the Book of Common Prayer, set forth in the first year of the queen's majesty's reign that now is: that is to say, he shall for the first offence forfeit 100 marks; for the second offence, 400 marks; and for the third offence, all his goods and chattels, and shall suffer imprisonment during life: with an addition, that if the person offending the first time be not worth in goods and land 100 marks, then he shall forfeit all his goods and chattels; and if the person offending the second time be not worth 400 marks, then he shall forfeit all his goods and chattels; and for neither time of offence any pecuniary penalty to be redeemed with suffering imprisonment.

TOUCHING THE SECOND, THAT IS TO SAY, FOR RITES, &C. IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

First, That the use of vestments, copes, and surplices, be from henceforth taken away.

Secondly, That no private baptism be administered hereafter, but only by those that be ministers of the church.

Thirdly, That the table from henceforth stand no more altarwise, but stand in such place as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer.

Fourthly, The number of fasting-days and holydays to be by name expressed in the said book; and the open observers of abrogated days to be punished.

Fifthly, That the use of organs and curious singing be removed; and that superfluous ringing of bells; and namely, at Allhallowtide and on All-Souls day, may be prohibited; and that no peal after the death of any person be above the space of one hour, and at the interment above half an hour.

Sixthly, That in public baptism the godfathers and godmothers shall openly profess and recite the articles of the Christian faith, commonly called the Creed, and desire that the infant may be in that faith baptized, and received into the church of God. And that they shall not answer in the infant's name to such questions as heretofore have been demanded of them in that behalf.

Seventhly, That no dispensation be granted to marry, without the banns first asked thrice upon three several Sundays or holydays. And that it shall be lawful to marry at any time of the year without dispensation, except it be upon Christmas-day, Easter-day, and six days going before, and upon Pentecost-Sunday.

TOUCHING THE THIRD, THAT IS, ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS AND DISCIPLINE.

First, Petition is to be made to the queen's majesty and the parliament, that, according to a statute, anno 25 Henry VIII. thirty-two persons may be appointed to collect and gather ecclesiastical laws, and to view those that were gathered by commissioners appointed in king Edward's time.

In the mean time, that these laws or orders, which hereafter follow, may be established.

First, Concerning the clergy. That all peculiar jurisdiction be extinguished; that the whole jurisdiction of the churches in every diocese be restored to the bishop of the diocese.

Item, That in cases of correction, no appeal from the bishop of the diocese be admitted, nor no inhibitions granted, to hinder the said bishop to proceed in those cases.

Item, That in every cathedral church there be a divinity lecture read in English thrice in the week by some able person; of the common charge of the church, if no spiritual living have been of old time appointed for such purpose. And the ministers and singing-men of the same church to be present at the reading thereof.

Item, That all the petty canons, vicars, or conducts of cathedral churches, which be priests or ministers, be enjoined to study some part of the scripture. Which if they refuse to do, then, by the discretion of such as shall have jurisdiction over them, to be removed from their rooms.

Item, That there be grammarschools in every cathedral church.

Item, That the apparel of ministers may be uniform and limited, of what fashion it shall be, touching the cap and upper garment.

Item, That no parson, vicar, or curate, do serve two cures at once, upon pain of loss of his benefice, if he have any; and of suspension from the ministry by the space of one year, if he have no benefice.

Item, That none be admitted to any parsonage exceeding the yearly value of 8*l.* or to any vicarage exceeding the value of 20 marks, unless he do understand the Latin tongue well, and can answer to the catechism set forth in Latin.

That none have any deanery, provostship, archdeaconry, or other dignity in any cathedral church, prebend, parsonage, or vicarage, and being no priest, shall retain and keep his spiritual promotion or benefice any longer hereafter than one year a, unless within the same year he be made priest; any dispensation whatsoever heretofore granted, or hereafter to be granted, to the contrary notwithstanding.

That none hereafter under the age of three and twenty years shall be enabled in law to receive any deanery, pro-vostship, archdeaconry, dignity in any cathedral church, prebend, parsonage, or vicarage. And whosoever, being above three and twenty years of age, shall receive any such promotion or benefice, except within one year after he be made priest, he

shall be deprived thereof; any dispensation or privilege to the contrary heretofore granted, or hereafter to be granted, in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, that it shall be lawful for any student in the universities, being above eighteen years of age, to receive one prebend in any cathedral church, where the local statutes be not repugnant to the same, if there be no cure annexed, or church impropriated to the same prebend: and to retain the same during the time he shall continue in any university, either within the realm or beyond the seas, and give himself wholly to study; so that he be made priest when he shall come to four and twenty years of age.

And also it shall be lawful for doctors and bachelors of the law, to receive or retain one prebend or two, though they be no priests, in cathedral churches, where the local statutes will so permit, for so long time as they shall exercise under a bishop of this realm spiritual jurisdiction.

That none be abled in law to receive any benefice, or other spiritual promotion, exceeding the yearly value of 30*l.* unless he be a preacher before he receive the same. By a *preacher* is meant such an one as hath preached before his ordinary, and hath his approbation under seal to be a preacher. That none from henceforth, having one benefice with cure of souls, be abled in law to receive any other benefice with like cure, by force of any dispensation, unless he be a preacher, and in degree of schools a doctor of divinity or law, a bachelor of divinity, or at the least a master of arts; and the one benefice not to be distant from the other above twelve miles: otherwise, as soon as he shall receive the second benefice, the first shall be void in law. And in this case of the permission of a preacher to have two benefices, the dispensation to be rated at some small sum.

That none be suffered to have above two benefices with cure together at one time, by force of any dispensation. And he that hath two benefices with cure together at one time, unless he be resident continually at the one, (and yet so as at divers times he may be personally at the other, to preach there,) to be deprived of the benefice of the greater yearly value.

That no patron of any benefice or spiritual promotion shall sell or assign any advowson to any person; but shall bestow it himself upon some meet clerk, when the benefice or spiritual promotion is void.

That all advowsons heretofore granted of any patron of any benefice, or other spiritual promotion, shall from henceforth be void; and that hereafter no advowson or grant of the next vacation of any benefice or spiritual

promotion shall be effectual and available in the law; unless before the making thereof, either the incumbent be dead, or the benefice or spiritual promotion be otherwise void in law.

That all parsons, vicars, or their curates, every Sunday and holyday, do openly and distinctly read, after the gospel, the articles of our faith, the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, and the Lord's Prayer; and at afternoon offer themselves to teach the Catechism to the youth of the parish, and take witness thereof of the churchwardens and sidemen; upon pain to forfeit for every time that they do neglect so to do, 3s. and 4d. to be levied upon his goods or wages by the churchwardens and sidemen, to the use of the poor of the parish, without replevy to be admitted therein.

I will name no more of these articles, though they run to the number of thirty-four, unless it be one more, namely. That in every deanery in the country there may be constituted by the bishop one grave and discreet priest, to be archipresbyter, or *decanus ruralis*: who shall not only oversee the priests of that deanery, but also have authority to call before him all such as offend against the ecclesiastical laws, and to examine them, and to certify the ordinary thereof: but the said dean not to determine any thing in those matters."

CONCERNING THE FOURTH PARTICULAR, VIZ. INCREASE OF MINISTERS' LIVINGS.

[And here occur four evils to be remedied.]

I. First of all, it is evident that impropriations are *radix omnium malorum* in this realm. Forasmuch as the poor man payeth his tithes, ordained at the first to be given to a teacher, and now, as in the time of the abbeys, converted to other uses, and no sufficient portion left to the vicars.

REMEDIES.

First, Universal restitution were the best, but can hardly be hoped for.

If not that, then after the end of three years, all leases of parsonages, and all occupations of the same by any lay person, to cease and determine. And that the said parsonages so impropriated shall be wholly united and annexed to the vicarages; and the said vicarages after such union to be made parsonages; the said incumbents paying to the owners, by the wage

of a yearly pension, the yearly rent of all such impropriations, according to the rate of the queen's majesty's records, and discharging the said proprietors of all charge incident to such impropriations, as by commission for that purpose to be appointed might be awarded.

Provided always, that where the vicarages be so very small, that the annexing of the appropriation in form aforesaid will not make the vicarages sufficient, that in such case the commissioners may allot some portions of the rent for an augmentation.

Provided also, that the benefices so restored shall not be leased by any incumbent, unless it be for one or two of the first years.

Provided also, that the commissioners appointed shall have authority to determine, how many of the benefices, so augmented as aforesaid, are sufficient livings for learned men to keep hospitality; and none to be admitted to such benefices, but those that are able to preach. Who shall also be bound to take no more livings; and to be continually resident on the same, and keep hospitality, or else to be deprived.

II. The second mischief is, that by avarice and practice of evil bishops, pastors, and priests, almost all benefices of any reasonable value are let out for many years, with the confirmation of the bishop and patron.

REMEDY.

For remedy whereof, it were to be wished, that any lease hereafter to be made, more than for one year, shall be of no validity in law. And that all leases heretofore granted and confirmed, shall cease and determine at the end of three years, and return to the incumbents. And like view by commission to be made of those benefices, how many are sufficient of themselves; and then the incumbent to be bound to be resident, and to accept no more livings.

III. The third inconvenience to be cured is the covetousness of patrons; who ought by their names to be *patroni*, and not *praedones*, of their churches.

REMEDIES.

And therefore strait penalties are to be made against those patrons which directly or indirectly take money, or make or accept simoniacal pacts. And

among other penalties, a patron convicted hereof, to lose his patronage during his life, and to be given that term by the queen's majesty, or by the ordinary of the diocese; and the wicked priest, which gave or promised, to be deprived of all his livings, and made for ever unable to receive any more ecclesiastical livings.

And for better trial hereof, that it may be lawful for every ordinary, spon true and just suspicion of simony committed, to examine both the priest suspected, and also the patron, or any other person whatsoever, who is thought to know any thing concerning such simony, by virtue of a corporal oath.

And in case, where the suspicions of such simony be vehement, and yet by secret practices so covered, that it cannot perfectly be known, that the ordinary may put the priest so suspected to his purgation; and to be purged only by ministers, whereof some to be preachers; and if he fail in such purgation, to be deprived. But in this ease the patron shall not lose his patronage.

IV. The fourth inconvenience is the universal subtraction of privy or personal tithes. By means whereof, almost all cities, market-towns, boroughs, thoroughfares, where the greatest multitudes are, and those more ingenious and civil, are at this present destitute of learned men, and many have no service at all.

REMEDIES.

Which must be remedied, either by rating of some certainty upon every person by a contribution or otherwise to a reasonable sum; or else to appoint a rate according to the rent of their houses, as it is in London. That is, for every pound rent, to the parson or vicar two shillings and nine-pence.

Then follows,

DISCIPLINE OF THE LAITY.

Item, It is to be wished that every nobleman [*here is a great chasm in the MS.*] parents, and masters of households, having children of eight years old and upwards, if upon examination to be had by their curate, or other appointed by the ordinary, it be found, that they cannot say by

heart the *Short Catechism* in English set forth, and thereof convinced before the ordinary or his officers, shall pay for every such child 10s. to the poor man's box; unless the said parents can prove, by declaration of the curate, that they have continually, at the days appointed for the catechism, brought their children to him, to be instructed therein; and the default is in the want of capacity in the youth. The said penalty to be levied by the churchwarden upon the goods of the offender, by way of distress; only upon signification given to them in writing by the ordinary: which alone to be sufficient warrant for them. And that no replevy be granted or admitted in this case.

The like penalty in form aforesaid to be extended against masters, who have servants or apprentices in their houses, being under the years of fourteen, and have continued in their houses above one whole year, and at the end of that one year cannot say the said catechism by heart.

Every person of age and discretion sufficient to communicate, shall offer himself once a year, upon such days as shall be appointed, to be examined by his parson, vicar, or curate, whether he can say by heart the articles of his faith, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer; upon pain to be excommunicate *ipso facto*. And before they be absolved, to pay unto the churchwardens, to the use of the poor, if the offender be a rich man or woman, 6s. 8d. and if the offender be a poor man or woman, 3s. 4d. For which purpose every parson and vicar, by himself, or some sufficient curate, shall give his attendance to hear his parishioners every Wednesday, Friday, and holyday, during the foresaid time, upon pain of deprivation, and loss of his benefice: and every curate, upon pain to forfeit 40s. At which time the said parsons and vicars shall take occasion to give some private, godly admonitions to their parishioners, if they know any faults or offences in them.

What priest or minister soever, under colour hereof, shall practise auricular confession, shall be deprived of all his livings, and deposed from the ministry.

Whosoever cannot by heart say the articles of the faith, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, shall not be admitted to the communion, nor to be married, nor to be godfather or godmother at any baptism: saving, that there may be some consideration of those that be very aged, by discretion of the minister, for one or two years, and no longer.

That every parson, vicar, or curate of every parish shall yearly make and exhibit unto the archdeacon or commissary of that circuit, in their visitation or synod, next after Easter, a book of all the names of their parishioners, both men and women, of the age of fourteen years and upward. Wherein he shall note who refuse to come to be examined, as afore is appointed; who can say, and who cannot say the articles of the faith, &c.; who also have not received the communion thrice that year; and whose children or servants, which be appointed to learn the catechism, as is aforesaid, cannot say the same by heart.

Such parson or vicar that refuseth or neglecteth to make and exhibit the said book in due form, by himself, or his sufficient curate, shall be deprived of his benefice. And such curate as refuseth or neglecteth to make and exhibit the same, as afore, shall be deposed from the ministry.

**THAT EXECUTION OF PENALTIES FOR NOT COMING DULY
TO DIVINE SERVICE MAY BE BETTER OBSERVED, AND
MORE EASILY EXECUTED.**

That such as do not communicate thrice a year at the least, be sererely punished. And such as have not, nor will not communicate at all, to be as in case of heresy; or else some grievous fine to be set upon them; and to be increased, as the contumacy increaseth.

That persons remaining excommunicate, for not obeying orders in religion six months without submission, or reconciliation to the church, &c. be taken as in cases of heresy.

That adulterers and fornicators may be punished by strait imprisonment and open shame, if the offender be vile and stubborn, &c. as carting by the civil magistrate, &c. Some think banishment and perpetual prison to be meet for adulterers.

When they be reconciled, the form of reconciliation appointed *legibus ecclesiasticis Edwardi 6ti.* to be used without respect of persons.

DE JURAMENTIS.

That in all men's houses some penalty be set upon them which use customarily to swear by God, or any part of Christ; by his mass, &c. And that the owners of houses give good examples themselves.

DE MATRIMONIIS.

That all clandestine contracts be judged in law as no contracts.

That marriages made between young persons, without some reasonable consent of parents, if they be alive, or else of some other friend, as may be limited by this order, may be void in law.

The consent of young women not to be judged sufficient, till they be come to the age of fifteen years.

It is also to be wished that some better order were taken for the marriage of wards, that they should be of some reasonable years afore they be contracted; seeing such inconveniences daily ensue the order now in use.

If any man steal or take away a maid from her parents without their consent, or any orphan without the consent of her tutor, and do marry her, let it either be felony, or else be punished with grievous fine and imprisonment; and the said matrimony be judged no matrimony in law, but to be dissolved again.

The like penalty is to be extended against those, which, knowing a suit to be depending in any ecclesiastical courts between any woman and another man challenging contract, shall marry with any such woman, afore she be by sentence and order of law declared to be free, and at liberty.

And these were the papers prepared for the synod.

CHAPTER 28.

The Articles of Religion. Difference between these and. King Edward's Articles. The authority of the church. The names of the subscribers of the upper and lower house: observations on some of them. Remarks on the XVIIth Article, of Predestination. On the Xth Article, of Free-will. The XIth, of Justidification. The XXVIIIth, of the Lord's Supper.

THE synod being met, seemed to guide themselves by the former method, and began with the Articles of Religion, as a matter with the greatest speed to be despatched. Which Articles, when they were framed and finished, and decreed, were mostwhat the same with those made and constituted by the synod under king Edward, in the year 1552, which may be seen in bishop Sparrow's Collection, and elsewhere. In a volume in the Bene't college library, there is a very fair draught of these king Edward's Articles; having been accurately writ out for the use and serious consideration of the archbishop. I observed there strokes drawn in many places, sometimes through words, and sometimes through whole lines, by a red-lead pen, which the archbishop commonly used for noting, as he read any book. I will relate a few things which I took notice of in the perusal of this MS. of the Articles. Some of these Articles are wholly superseded by the archbishop's *minium*, and divers others of them shortened; dashing that through, which he was minded to have omitted.

As in the third article, where these words are struck out, after *descendissee*, "Nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit: spiritus ab illo emissus cum spiritibus, qui in carcere, sive in inferno detinebantur, fuit; illisque praedicavit, quemadmodum testatur Petri locus."

In the sixteenth article the title was, *De peccato in Spiritum Sanctum*. But the three last words are dashed out, and over them, writ with the archbishop's hand, *After baptism*.

The twentieth article stood without any alteration made by the archbishop's red-lead pen; and it ran not as we have it now, beginning thus,

"The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controverties of faith;" but thus it began: "Ecclesise non licet quiequam instituere, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur;

peque unum scripturae locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix, attamen ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita praeter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis, debet obtrudere.”

Thus this twentieth article of king Edward’s book passed without any change or correction. But it hath sufficiently appeared, that that clause of the *church’s power* was inserted by the synod; the words being found in two printed Latin copies, an. 1563. See the Life of Matthew, archbp, of Cant. book 4:chap. 5.

And what the common received opinion of this clause of the article then and afterwards was, may appear by the words of John Fox, in his learned answer to Osorius’s invective against our reformation; viz.

“The church hath authority in deciding controversies of doctrine: yet so that itself must be overruled by the authority of the word, &c. Likewise in discipline and reformation of manners, the church may determine and judge. But here also consideration must be had of the difference. For the censures ecclesiastical are of one kind; but judgment temporal of another.” And again; “Although authority be committed to the church, to judge and determine of doctrines and outward misdemeanours; and although the resolution of doubtful controversies, and opening of matters obscure; and declaring and debating of matters confuse; the reformation of matters amiss; be left over to the sentence and judgment of the church many times; yet is not this ordinary authority so arbitrary and absolute, but is also fast tied to the direct rules of the word.”

Article the 28th, of *the Lord’s Supper*, being somewhat long, the archbishop, thinking to have it divided into two, after *occasionem*, added of his own hand this title, that was to serve for another article; “Corpus Christi datur, accipi-tur et manducatur in coena, tantum coelesti et spirituali ratione.” And then the article begins, “Christus in coelum ascendens corpori suo immortalitatem dedit,” &c. but there is a red line drawn through it; as though he intended upon second thought wholly to leave it out.

Article the 29th. There is mention made of a sentence taken out of St. Augustin: in the margin, the archbishop sheweth the particular place where, writing *Super Johan-nem tract. 26*. Article 34, entitled, *Ecclesiastical*

Tradition: whereas it was read, “Pro regionurn et morum diversitate,” after *regionum* he inserted *temporum*.

The 40th, 41st, and 42d articles are by his red mark wholly excluded.

And then at the end of all, the archbishop caused these words to be writ;

“Hos articulos fidei Christianae, continentes in universum novemdecim paginas in autographo, quod asservatur apud reverendissimum in Christo patrem dom. Mattharem Cantuar. archiepiscopum, totius Angliae primatem et metropolitanum: et in prima [pagina] qua-tuor articulos et lineas triginta quatuor,” &c. [and so on, relating how many articles and how many lines were in each page: then follow these words:] “Nos archiepiscopi et episcopi utriusque provinciae regni Angliae in sacra synodo provinciali legitime congregati, recipimus et profite-mur, et ut veros atque orthodoxos, manuumstrarum subscriptionibus approbamus, vicesimo nono die mensis Januarii anno Dom. secundum computationem ecclesiae Anglicanae millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo, et illustrissimae princip. Elizabethae D. G. Angliae, Fr. et Hib. reginae, fidei defens. &c. dnae. nostrae clementiss. anno quinto.”

And then follow the hands of the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Winchester, Chiches-ter, Ely, Worcester, Hereford, Bangor, Durham, Chester, Lincoln, Salisbury, St. David’s, Bath and Wells, Coventry and Litchfield, Exon, Norwich, Petriburgh, and St. Asaph. Where I observe four bishops wanting, viz. those of Bris-tow, Rochester, Oxford, and Gloucester. Oxford was yet vacant, and the bishop of Gloucester, (who held Bristow in *commendam*,) I will not say, refused subscription, or absented: for I find in certain extracts out of the registers of convocations, that bishop did subscribe, his name being there entered among the rest; and so also is that of the bishop of Rochester. Then come the subscriptions of the lower house after these words:

“*Hi quorum nomina sequuntur propriis manibus subscripaerunt libello articulorum, a reverendiss. archiep. Cant. et episcopis provinciae Cant. ad inferiorem domum convocationis transmissio, quinto Febr. 1562.*”

Stephanus Nevinson, procurator clei Cant. subscripsi propria manu.

Ricardus Beseley, scripsi manu propria, procurat. cler. cant.

Johannes Bridgewater, manu propria scripsi.

Johannes Calverley, manu propria scripsi, unus procurat cler. Roffen dioc.

Tho. Watts, procurat. capituli S. Pauli London et archidiaconus Midd.

Jo. Mullyns, archid. Lond. ac unus procurator. cler. dioc. ejusdem.

Tho. Colus, archidiac. Essexiae

Johannes Pullan, archidac. Colchestriae

David Kemp de Albano [archid]

Jacobus Calphil, procurator cleri Londinensis et Oxoniensis capituli.

Guilielmus Latimerus, archid. Westmer et decanus Petriburgh, et procur. ecclesiae ejusdem.

Gabriel Goodman decan. Westmonast.

Joannes Watson, archidiac. Surrey

Johannes Ebden Wintonien. proc.

Ra. Coccrel, procurat. Surr.

Thomas Lancaster, thesaurarius Sarum.

Richard Chandler archidiacons Suff. aut Suss.

Jacobus Proctor, cleri Sussexien

Hugo Turnbull decanus Cicestr

Wilhelmus Bradbridge, cancellarius Cicestrensis.

Thomas Spenser, archid. Cicestr.

Edmundus Westonus, archidiaconus Lewensis.

Persivallus Wilburn, proc. ecclesiae cathedralis Roffensis

Johannes Cottrel, archid. Wellensis

Richardus Guy, procur. cleri Bristol.

Jacobus Bond, archid. Bathon

Justinianus Lancaster, archid Taunton.
 Gualterus Bowerus, proc. cleri Somerestensis.
 Tho. Sorebaeus proc. cleri Cicestrensis
 Stephanus Cheston, archid Wintoniensis
 Robertus Lougher, archid. Totnes, et proc. cleri Exon.
 Ricardus Tremaine, procurat. cleri Exon
 Tho. White archid. Berks
 Robertus Wisdom, archid. Eliensis
 Gregorius Garthe, Proc. pro cap Ely
 Johannes Bell
 Thomas Ithel, pro clero dioces Eliensis procurat
 Thomas Sampson dec. eccl. Christi Oxon.
 Johannes Salisbury, decan. Norw.
 Johannes Walkerus, proc. cleri Suffolc.
 Johannes Lawrance, archid. Wylts.
 Johannes Aelmerus, archid. Lincoln.
 William Todd archid Bedford
 Joh. Longlond, archid Buckingham
 Robert Beaumont archid, Huntington
 Thomas Godwyn, proc. cleri Lyncoln
 Johannes Kenal, archid., Oxon. et unus procurat cleri Oxon
 Guido Heton, archid. Glocest.
 Georgius Savage, procurat. cleri Glouc.
 Anthonius Hinton, procur. cleri Petriburg et procur. achidad Northhampt.
 Willielmi. Fluyd, procur cleri Petriburg

Joannes Peddr, decan. eccliae Wigorniae.

Robertus Avys, proc eccliae, Wigorn.

Thomas Wilsonus, proc ejusdem.

Laurentius Nowel, decan ecccliae cath. Lychefeld.

Thomas Leverus, archid Coventr.

Arthurus Saull, proc. dec. et capli cath. Glouc.

Robertus Weston, procurat cleri Coventr, et Litchf. dioc.

Thomas Byckley, procurat. cleri Coventr. et Litchf. dioc.

Richardus Walker, archid Stafford et Derbiae

Robertus Croley, archid. Hereford.

Robertus Grinsel, archid. Salop. et procur. capli et cleri Hereford

Nichus. Smith, procurator cleri Hereford.

Thomas Linett, praecentor. Menevensis,

Linett, pro caplo. et. clero.

Jo. Pratt, archid. Menev.

Jo. Butler, archid, Cerdigan.

Wa. Jones archid, Brecon

Robertus Pownde, unus pro clero Brecks,

Guilhelmus Constanine, procur. cleri Maneven

Hugo Evans, Assaphensis

Richardus Rogers, archid. Assaphenis

Edmundus Meyrall, archid Bangor

Per me Hugonem Morgan, proc. cleri dioc Bangor.

Nicolas Robinson archid. Merion

Andreas Peerson, procur. cleri Landav. dioc. subscrip.,.

Gulielm Daye, praepos col. regii de Eton.

Johan Hylls, proc. cleri Oxon.

Gulielmus Buscon, archid..

Thomas Powell, proc. cleri Assaph.

Thomas Bolt, archid, Salop

Thomas, Bolt proc cath. eccliae Chich. Lic.

Robertus Hues, proc. capli. Assaph.

Micha. Renyger, procurat capli. Winton

Andreas Perne, dec. Eliensis

Franciscus Mallet, decan. Lincoln. per procur.

Rychardus Barber, archid. Leicestr.

Robert. Lougher, proc. Henr. Squire, archid. Barwic.

Gregor. Dodds, decan. Exon. proc. eccliae. cath. ibid. et proc. Mri. Smith,
archid. Landav.

Will. Todd, archdeac. of Bedford.

Johannes Ebden.

William Evance.

Andreas Peerson

John Price

Thomas Powell

Edmund Merrill

Nicolas Robinson

Per me Robertum Pownde.

Per Hugonem Morgan

Richardus Barbar, nomine procuratiro Mri. Francisci Mallet praemissi, decan. eccl. cath. Lincoln praemissae, subscribo; et etiam nomine eo praemisso subscribo

Robertus Evence

These, who subscribed their names before, seem to have subscribed again *nomine procuratoro*.

After these names thus subscribed, were these words cautiously written, for fear (as it seems) of a *premunire*:

“Ista subscriptio facta est ab omnibus sub hac protestatione, *quod* nihil statuunt in praejudicium cujusquam senatus-consulti; sed tantum supplicem libellum, petitiones suas continentem, humiliter offerunt.”

The articles were unanimously concluded, and the subscription finished by the upper house in the chapter-house of St. Paul’s, Jan. 31, being the ninth session of the convocation. The eleventh session, they being subscribed by some of the lower house, were brought up by the prolocutor; praying the most reverend, and the reverend fathers, to take order, that all that had not yet subscribed might do it publicly, either in the assembly of the lower house, or before them in the upper. Whereupon the said fathers decreed, that the names of those of the house that had not subscribed should be written, and brought to them the next session. By which time some others had subscribed, though others had not yet. I shall make no further remarks on these subscribers of the lower house, but only, that whatever their learning was, many of them wrote so ill, that it is a difficult task to read their names; which probably therefore may have occasioned a mistake or two in the true transcription thereof. It may not be amiss, in the perusing these names, to shew which of them had been exiles under queen Mary, and who, though not exiles, yet lived then obscurely; and who, lastly, in that reign complied with the popish religion, and were dignified in the church. Of the first sort were, Besely, who had been rector of Staplehurst, and was one of the six preachers at Canterbury, (he was at Frankfort, in the contest about the service and discipline, but in that number that went not so far and bitterly in the contention, and was reckoned among the learned sort,) Watts, Mullyns, Cole, Pullan, Spenser, Wisdom, Sampson, Beaumont, Nowel, Elmer, Rogers, He-ton, Pedder, Wylson, Lever, Saul, Byckly, Wiburn, Cro-ley, Prat, Renyger, and Pownde, if he were the same

with Pownal, who was one of the ministers of Arrow in Helvetia, and after, one of the six preachers in Canterbury; and probably some others beside these. Those of the second sort, I think, were Latimer, Goodman, Nevinson, Longland, Calf-hil, Godwin, Roberts, and others. Those of this synod that were in place and dignity under queen Mary, were Thomas White; (who is mentioned in a letter of bishop Grindal's, writ soon after this synod to the secretary, as a great papist, and yet at the synod; and I find that Gregory Martin, of Rheims, wrote, anno 1575, to one Dr. Tho. White, warden of New college, who I conclude was this our White, reproving him for "following the world, or dissembling in religion against his conscience and knowledge;") he was archdeacon of Berks 1557, chancellor of Sarum 1571, and died 1588. Besides this White, of the same sort, were Andrew Perne, Francis Mallet, who was queen Mary's chaplain, and nominated by her to the pope, a little before her death, for bishop of Sarum, Cottrel, Turnbull, who was prebend of Canterbury, and divers others.

Let me make a brief note or two of a few more members of this synod, as I might of many more of them, were this a place for it. John Bridgewater was rector of Lincoln college in Oxford, and after divers years went over sea, and took several young men along with him, and turned papist. Tho. Cole was at Geneva, and was one of those assisted there in the translation of the Bible. John Pullan, B. D. in king Edward's days, was parson of St. Peter's, Cornhill, did under queen Mary preach privately to the brethren, somewhere in Cornhill, assembled, afterwards went beyond sea to Geneva. Thomas Lancaster (unless it were another of the same name) was deprived of the bishopric of Kildare in queen Mary's reign. Rob. Lougher was a doctor of the civil law belonging to the Arches, and, when Sandys was archbishop of York, was his vicar-general. John Salisbury was restored to his deanery of Norwich 1560, and was consecrated bishop of Man by the archbishop of York, an. 1571, formerly suffragan of Thetford. John Prat was a grave minister in London, and Fox's great friend and correspondent. George Savage (or at least one of that name) was bastard brother to bishop Boner, whose father was sir John Savage, priest. This George sided thoroughly with the protestants in this synod. Thomas Wylson, probably the same that was afterwards master of St. Katharine's, and secretary of state. Hobeft Weston was chancellor of Exon and Wells, successively; one of the lords justices in Ireland, and chancellor of that kingdom, and a great friend of the reverend father Coverdale, who, when he was bishop, sent for

him from Oxford, and made him his chancellor. He was present at the famous disputation at Litchfield, before the bishop, concerning certain points of controversy about the habits, and other ceremonies. Rob. Croley, besides his archdeaconry, was parson of St. Peter's the Poor in London, and afterwards of Giles, Cripplegate. Richard Rogers was afterwards dean of Canterbury, and suffragan bishop of Dover. James Calfhil was a Scotchman born, but bred at Eaton school, and sent from thence to King's college, Cambridge. Thence he was removed, as many other Cambridge men were, to the king's new erections in Oxford, which first had been cardinal Woolsey's foundation. He was the great encourager and persuader of Toby Matthew, afterwards the eminently good archbishop of York, (to whom he was cousin,) to take holy orders, observing in his youth his rare abilities. And the said Matthew followed Calfhil's advice, even against the good-will of his father and mother, and other his able friends. In the year 1569 he made application to secretary Cecil, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, for the provostship of King's college, but Dr. Goad's interest prevailed. He wrote learnedly against Marsha], a papist, about the cross, as was told before. What he, and such as he, made their aim and purpose in this synod, may appear by those words of his in the first period of his book against Marshal:

“Having to erect the house of God, (wherew we ought to be fellow-workers,) *we* are bound especially to see to this, that neither we build on any ill ground, thereby to lose both cost and *travel*; nor set to sale and commend to others a ruinous thing, or any way infectious, instead of a strong defence, or wholesome place whereupon to rest, &c. as the apostle, 1 Corinthians 3: *As a skilful masterbuilder, I have laid the foundation.*”

Words applicable to him, and the rest now employed in the reforming of the church.

This divine had studied the fathers of the church, as this his censure of them shews in his said book, viz.

“That he was able, from the very first doctors of the church, after the apostles' times, to run them all over, and having strictly examined their words and affections, had found imperfections in all. But that he would be loath by discrediting of others to seem to seek praise of skill, or else to be likened to Cham, Noah's son, that seeing the nakedness of the fathers, would in contempt utter it.”

Before I conclude this chapter, it may be observed concerning the 17th article, which treats of *predestination* and *election*, that it is drawn up without any mention of *absolute reprobation*, or decreeing the cause thereof: which seems to have been done to prevent any scruple that might arise to any protestant against subscribing the said article. For we are to know, that among those that now professed the gospel, and had suffered persecution for it under queen Mary, there were considerable numbers differing from the rest, that followed some foreign divines of great name, in the point of predestination; denying the doctrine of God's being any cause of the sins of men, and thereby of their damnation. One of these was Thomas Talbot, parson of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, London. Those of this persuasion were mightily cried out against by the other, as freewillers, Pela-gians, papists, anabaptists, and the like; but they took their opportunity to address to the bishops, plainly declaring their opinion, and their sufferings as well as others, for the gospel; and desiring therefore the favour of some act of parliament, to enjoy the liberty of their consciences without restraint or punishment, (which some threatened,) as others of the queen's protestant subjects did. I meet with such a petition to the church, the exact time whereof doth not appear: but it being evident it was near the beginning of the queen's reign, and while a parliament was sitting, I venture to place it here. It was exhibited by the aforesaid Talbot, and ran to this tenor.

“Whereas there be many, both of the clergy and laity, of this realm of England, that do fear God, and hate and abhor all papistry and foreign power, which the pope in. times past usurped within the realm, under the pretence of God's fight, and have for the same, in the reign of the queen's majesty's noble sister, queen Mary, suffered exile, imprisonment, and great penury, with other loss of friends. and goods, as other protestants have done; and now look and hope to enjoy, together with the rest of the queen's majesty's obedient subjects, the good and merciful benefit of God given unto this realm under the queen's majesty's most noble and prosperous reign, that is to say, quietness of conscience, not being compelled to any idolatry, or false serving of God, and a quiet time by God's grace to frame their lives according to their profession:

“Yet notwithstanding, contrary to their expectation, to their great grief and sorrow, because they do hold, contrary to a great number of their brethren the protestants, that God's holy predestination is

no manner of occasion or cause at all in any wise of the wickedness, iniquity, or sin, that ever was, is, or ever shall be wrought, committed, or done in the world, whereby any part of mankind shall be predestinate, of any unavoidable necessity, to commit and perpetrate the sin and wickedness that mankind, or any part of mankind, from the beginning hath or shall commit or perpetrate; and so to be ordained before all worlds, by force of God's holy predestination, to an unavoidable necessity to be damned eternally:

Item, "That if God should predestinate from everlasting any of the aforesaid evil, wickedness, and sin, to be committed, done, and perpetrated of an inevitable necessity, that then God, through his predestination, were the chief author and occasion thereof; and also an example thereof unto the whole world, which by his commandment is bound to follow his example, and to be holy as he is holy:

Item, "That God doth foreknow and predestinate all good and goodness, but doth only foreknow, and not predestinate, any evil, wickedness, or sin, in any behalf; which thing all the learned fathers unto this our age have always most firmly holden and maintained, and a great many of the learned of this our age yet do firmly hold and maintain.

"For this cause they be esteemed and taken of their brethren the protestants for fautors of false religion, and are constrained hitherto to sustain at their hands daily the shameful reproach and infamy of free-will men, Pelagians, papists, epicures, anabaptists, and enemies unto God's holy predestination and providence, with other such like opprobrious words and threatenings of such like, or as great punishments and corrections, as upon any of the aforesaid errors and sects is meet and due to be executed, what time discipline (which of all things is most meet and necessary to be had in a Christian congregation) shall be fully committed into the hands of the clergy. Whereas nevertheless they hold no such thing as they are burdened withal, but do only hold concerning predestination as above briefly is declared. Which thing they be ready at all times, and have many times offered unto divers of their foresaid brethren, the protestants and learned, (for avoiding of contentions, brawlings, ambiguities, misplacing and misunderstanding of words, which may fall in so high and weighty a matter,) to maintain and prove by disputation in writing,

that they justly, and according to God's word, do hold and may hold the same, without any prejudice or suspicion to be had towards them of the opprobrious infamy of such heretical names abovenamed; and do nothing doubt at all, but by such kind of conference and disputation in writing, by the grace of God, to make this so high and weighty a matter, (which is not well possibly by argumentation with tongue and words directly to be expressed,) most clear and evident to be judged, discerned, and understood of all men.

“Please it your gracious fatherhoods therefore, that it may be provided and enacted, that none of those corrections, punishments, and executions, which the clergy hath in their authority already, and hereafter by authority of this present parliament from henceforth shall have in their authority, to exercise upon any of the aforesaid errors and sects, or any other, shall in no wise extend to be executed upon any manner of person or persons as do hold of predestination as is above declared; except it be duly proved that the same person or persons do, by their express words or writings, affirm and *maintain*, that man of his own natural power is able to think, will, or work of himself any thing, that should in any case help or serve towards his own salvation, or any part thereof, or else some other manifest articles or points of error, which any of the foresaid sects, or any other, do hold.

“**Item**, That other their brethren, and learned protestants, that do not hold of predestination as is above-said, shall from henceforth cease, desist, and leave off from calling any man by the name of free-will man, Pelagian, papist, epicure, anabaptist, or any other heretical name, contrary to the order of charity; except the party whom they so call be convict of the same by order of the law.

“**Item**, That all disputation concerning God's holy predestination shall be from henceforth had and made only by writing, and not by word of mouth, for the avoiding of all unreverend speaking of God's holy predestination; and to avoid all contention and brawling, and other uncharitable behaviour, which of such unreverend speaking must needs proceed and come.

“**Item**, That from henceforth it shall be lawful for both parts, as well them that hold of predestination as is above-said, as the other, freely to write and put in print whatsoever they shall be able to allege and bring in, for the maintenance and proving of the truth of their opinion.

Whereby all men may be able to judge and discern the truth betwixt both parties, and brotherly charity be observed and kept among such as do profess God's word, hate all papistry, and be true and obedient subjects unto the queen's majesty, to the good example of all the rest of the people, both within this realm and without. God save the queen. Amen."

And here let me insert also something concerning the 10th article, nearly bordering upon the 17th, namely, that entitled, *Of Free-will*; to shew in what sense it was commonly taken by the favourers of the reformation under king Henry VIII. One of the learnedest of which sort in those times was Richard Taverner, a great writer, and a great retainer to the lord Thomas Cromwell, lord privy seal, (whom he calls *his own master, and singular good lord.*) This man translated into English the common places of Erasmus Sarcerius, a German divine, and dedicated the said translation to the said king Henry. In which dedication he speaks of disputations and differences that then were moved about predestination, contingency, and free-will; and what one allowed, another dispraised; but that Melancthon and Sarcerius went together in their judgments. And

"how some had put free-will in no things; some, on the contrary, went about to maintain free-will in all things. Again, that others going in the mean between these extremities, as Melancthon and Sarcerius, with many other excellent clerks, had denied free-will only in spiritual motions; and that in such persons as were not yet regenerated and renewed by the Holy Ghost. And yet in the mean season they took it not so away, but they left them also in spiritual motions a certain endcavour, or *willing*. Which endcavour nevertheless could finish nothing, unless it were holpen by the Holy Ghost. This," saith Taverner, "after my poor judgment, is the rightest and truest way."

The next article, being the 11th, which is of *Justification*, may deserve a short note. In which article we are directed to the homily of Justification for the church's sense of it more largely. And likewise in king Edward's book of articles it is said, "That justification by faith alone of Jesus Christ, in that sense in which it is explained in the homily of Justification, is the most certain and wholesome doctrine of Christians." So that reference is made by both synods of 1552 and 1562 to the said homily; and yet, if we turn over both books of our homilies, there is none that bears that title. But

the second and third part of the homily of Salvation (which treats of justification) must be that which is meant: and indeed in the first framing of this homily there was a great controversy between archbishop Cranmer, the chief composer thereof, and bishop Gattiner, concerning that branch of it that asserted justification by faith, as may be seen in my Memorials of that great archbishop, under the year 1547.

And once more upon the 28th article, *of the Lord's Supper*, it may be noted, that the divines in those times seemed not fully agreed in the doctrine of the *presence*; if we may believe what Dorman writ soon after this synod, viz. that there was a controversy in this new church (as he called it) concerning the *real presence* of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament. And that Mr. Gest, preaching at Rochester, [where he was bishop,] preached for the real presence; Mr. Grindal at London [where he was bishop] for the contrary. To which Dorman added, (to make the difference in this article seem greater,) that Mr. D. Parker of Canterbury [as he styled him] being suspected, he said, to be a Lutheran, must hold a third opinion of the *presence*. To which it is worth observing, as to the truth of this charge, what reply Dr. Nowell makes:

“That these were small matters in comparison, however he called them by the name of *schism*, and that they little troubled the state of the church; while he named one as diverse from other in opinion in one point, and falsely surmised of another (meaning the archbishop) to be a Lutheran.”

CHAPTER 29.

Rites and ceremonies debated in the synod.

THE matters of doctrine, to be believed and owned as the faith of the church of England, being thus despatched, according to the former method, the convocation proceeded to the reformation of rites and ceremonies, and other matters, in the public liturgy. And here bishop Sandys brought in his paper: wherein his advice was to move her majesty;

First, That with her majesty's authority, with the assistance of the archbishop of Canterbury, according to the limitation of the act provided in that behalf, might be taken out of the Book of Common Prayer *private baptism*, which hath respect unto women: who, by the word of God, cannot be ministers of the sacraments, or of any one of them.

Secondly, That by like authority the collect for crossing the infant in the forehead may be blotted out: as it seems very superstitious, so it is not needful.

Thirdly, That according to order taken by her majesty's father, king Henry VIII. of most famous memory, and by the late king Edward, her majesty's brother, certain learned men, bishops and others, may by her majesty be appointed to set clown ecclesiastical orders and rules in all ecclesiastical matters, for the good government of the church of England, as shall be by them thought most meet: and the same in this present session of parliament, whatsoever they shall order or set down within one year next to be effectual, and for law confirmed by act of parliament, at or in this session.

There was put in also the request of certain members of the lower house, with their names underwritten, (to the number of thirty-three,) concerning such things as that house, nevertheless, agreed not to by common consent, viz.

I. That the Psalms appointed at common prayer be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, or said with the other prayers by the minister alone, in such convenient place of the church, as all may well hear and be edified; and that all curious singing and playing of the organs may be removed.

II. That none from henceforth be suffered in any wise to baptize, but ministers only; and that they also may leave off the sign of the cross used in baptism, as of the which many have conceived superstitious opinions.

III. That in the time of ministering the communion, kneeling may be left indifferent to the discretion of the ordinary: for that some in kneeling do not only knock, but oftentimes also superstitiously behave themselves.

IV. That the use of copes and surplices may be taken, away; so that all ministers in their ministry use a grave, comely, and side-garment, as commonly they do in preaching.

V. That the ministers of the word and sacraments be not compelled to wear such gowns and caps, as the enemies of Christ's gospel have chosen to be the special array of their priesthood.

VI. That in the 33d article, of *doctrine concerning ceremonies*, these words may be mitigated; *Is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem ecclesiae quique laedit auctoritatem magistratus, et qui in firmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut caeteri timeant, arguendus est.*

VII. That all saints feasts and holydays, bearing the name of a creature, may, as tending to superstition, or rather gentility, be clearly abrogated; or at least a commemoration only reserved of the said saints, by sermons, homilies, or common prayers, for the better instructing of the people in history. Men may after the said spiritual exercise occupy themselves in a bodily labour, as of any other working-day.

To this paper the names subscribed were, Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, proloc. Sampson, dean of Christ's Church, Oxon. Laurence Nowel, dean of Litchfield. Ellis, dean of Hereford. Dey, provost of Eton. Dodds, dean of Exon.

Mullins, archdeacon of London. Watts, archdeacon of Middlesex. Pullan, archdeacon of Colchester. Lever, archdeacon of Coventry. Bemont, archdeacon of Huntingdon. Spencer, archdeacon of Chichester. Croley, archdeacon of Hereford. Heton, archdeacon of Gloucester.

Rogers, archdeacon of Asaph.

Kemp, archdeacon of St. Alban's.

Prat, archdeacon of St. David's.

Longland, archdeacon of Bucks.
Calfhil, Church of Oxon.
Walker, Clergy of Suffolk.
Saul, Dean and chapter of Glouc.
Wiburn, Church of Rochester.
Savage, Clergy of Gloucester.
W. Bonner, Clergy of Somers.
Avys, Church of Wigorn.
Wilson, Of the same.
Nevynson, Clergy of Canterbury.
Tremayne, Clergy of Exeter.
Renyger, Dean and chapter of Wint.
Roberts, Clergy of Norwich.
Reeve, Dean and chapter of West.
Hills, Clergy of Oxon.

By the foregoing articles we may plainly perceive, how much biased these divines were (most of which seem to have been exiles) towards those platforms, which were received in the reformed churches where they had a little before so-journed.

On February the 13th there was a notable matter brought into the lower house; the determination of which matter depended upon a narrow scrutiny of the members. For on the day aforesaid these articles were read, to be approved or rejected:

- I.** That all the Sundays in the year, and principal feasts of Christ, be kept holydays; and all other holydays to be abrogated.
- II.** That in all parish churches the minister in common prayer turn his face towards the people; and there distinctly read the divine service appointed, where all the people assembled may hear and be edified.
- III.** That in ministering the sacrament of baptism, the ceremony of making the cross in the child's forehead may be omitted, as tending to superstition.
- IV.** That forasmuch as divers communicants are not able to kneel during the time of the communion, for age, sickness, and sundry other infirmities; and some also superstitiously both kneel and knock; that

order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary within his jurisdiction.

V. That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying divine service, and ministering of the sacraments, to use a surplice; and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit.

VI. That the use of organs be removed.

Upon this arose a great contest in the house; some saying, they approved of these articles, others not; and others moving that the allowing or not allowing them should be left to the archbishop of Canterbury and the prelates; and very many protesting, that they would not by any means consent, that any thing contained in those articles should be approved, as they did any ways differ from the book of common service, received before in this kingdom by authority of parliament, [i.e. in the first of the queen, when the book of service and administration of the sacraments used in king Edward the sixth's time was established, and all other forms and rights forbidden.] Nor that any change should be against the orders, rules, rites, and other appointments, in the said book. Then they proceeded particularly to disputations upon the fourth article. And in fine, they went to the suffrage in the afternoon, and such of the house as were against the six articles before mentioned, and protested as above, carried it (though with difficulty) against those that were for them. These, among whom were the dean of Westminster, and the chaplains of the archbishop, Robinson Byckley, (who were afterwards bishops,) Peerson, and Ithel, had a great deference for the reformation of religion, as it was settled under king Edward; and so were for a strict and unalterable observation of the liturgy and orders of it, as it then stood. But those that were for alterations, and for stripping the English church of her ceremonies and usages then retained and used, were such (as I find by their names subscribed) as had lately lived abroad in the reformed churches of Geneva, Switzerland, or Germany; and so, out of partiality to them, endeavoured to accommodate this church of England to their model. But the divines on the other side reckoned the wisdom, learning, and piety of Cranmer, Ridley, and the other reformers of this church, to be equal every way with those of the foreign reformers: and knew, that what those venerable men did in the settlement of this church was accompanied with great deliberation, and a resolution of reducing it in doctrine and worship to the platform of the primitive churches, as they

found it in the ancient ecclesiastical writers; and had consulted also in this great work with the most learned foreigners: and some of them had sealed it with their blood. Add to which, that these that thus stood for king Edward's reformation without changes, did prudently consider the present constitution of the church and nation, and the queen's disposition and education.

Note, That many absented this afternoon, appearing neither in person nor proxy, to give their voices in this debate.

On the part of those that approved the six articles above-mentioned were forty-three persons; who with their proxies made fifty-eight voices; and were these

Nowel, proloq. — 1

John Walker — 2

Wiburn — 1

Lever — 1

Becon — 1

Day — 1

Pedder — 1

Proctor — 2

Reve 1

Watts — 3

Coccrel — 1

Roberts — 5

Dean of Litchf. — 1

Tod — 2

Calfhill — 3

Spencer — 1

Croley — 1

Godwin — 1

Besely — 1

Soreby — 1

Prat — 1

Nevynson — 1

Bradbridg — 1

Tremayn — 1

Bowre — 1

Hill — 1

Heton — 1
Ebden — 1
Savage — 1
Kemp — 1
Longland — 1
Pullan — 1
Avys — 1
Tho. Lancaster — 1
Wylson — 2
Renyger — 1
Edw. Weston — 2
Burton — 2
Dean of Heref. — 1
Wisdom — 1
Bemont — 1
Dean of Oxon. — 1
Saul — 2
TOTAL — 58

The names of those that approved not of the six articles, nor of any change of the Book of Common Prayer, were. thirty-five; who made with their proxies fifty-nine voices; and were these:

Deanof Westm. — 2
Bridgewater — 2
Constantine — 1
Cottrel — 4
Lougher — 3
Calverley — 1
Latymer — 3
Peerson — 1
Nic. Smith. — 1
Dean of Ely — 1
Merick — 1
Watson — 1
Hewit — 3
Luson — 1
Walter Jones — 3
RichardWalker — 2
Grensel — 3

Garth — 3
Warner — 1
Cheston — 1
Turnbul — 1
Tho. White — 1
Chandler — 1
Robinson — 1
Kenal — 2
Bond — 1
Bel — 1
John Price — 1
Justinian Lancaster — 1
Bolt — 2
Ithel — 1
Byckley — 1
Hughs — 3
Pound — 1
Hugh Morgan — 3
TOTAL — 59

The names of those that appeared not at this concertation, neither in person nor proxy, were as follows:

Dean of Canterbury — 1
Archdeacon of Rochester — 1
Mullins, archdeacon of London — 1
Cole, archdeacon of Essex — 1
Carew, dean of Windsor and Bristol, and archdeacon of Exon — 3
Turner, dean of Wells — 1
Dodds, dean of Exon — 1
Harvey, archdeacon of Cornwall — 1
The chapter of Exon — 1
Dean of Norwich, and archdeacon of Anglesey
Wendon, archdeacon of Suffolk — 1
Elmer, archdeacon of Lincoln — 1
Lowth, proctor of the church of Gloucester — 1
Fluydd, proctor of the church of Peterburgh — 1
Norley, proctor of the church of Winton — 1

Robert Weston, proctor of the church of Coventry and Litchfield — 1
Butler, archdeacon of Cardigan — 1
Hugh Evans, dean of Asaph — 1
Chapter of St. Asaph — 1
Tho. Powel, proctor of the clergy of St. Asaph — 1
Rogers, archdeacon of St. Asaph — 1
Dean of Bangor — 1
Chapter of Bangor — 1
Archdeacon of Landaft — 1
TOTAL — 27

CHAPTER 30.

Government of the church. Petitions of the lower house, for orders to be observed in the church. The condition of vicars considered by the synod.

IN the next place they turned their thoughts to the *government* of the church. And Sandys, bishop of Wigorn, drew up orders “to be observed by the bishops and other ecclesiastical persons, by their consents and subscriptions in this present synod.”

First, Forasmuch as bishops are not born for themselves, but for their successors, and are only possessors for their own time, every bishop, by the subscription of his hand, promiseth, that he shall not, either by lease, grant, or any other means, let, set, or alienate any of his manors, or whatsoever heretofore hath not been in lease, except only for his own time, and while he is bishop.

Item, That no bishop, dean, or chapter, shall give or grant any advowson of their prebend, parsonage, or vicarage, after the date hereof.

Item, That no bishop shall admit any into the ministry, who hath not good testimony of his conversation; who is not learned, fit to teach the people; and who hath not presently some appointed place, cure, and living to serve. And that he do not admit the same without the consent of six learned ministers; who shall all lay their hands upon his head at his admission.

Item, That every bishop by himself, or by his officer, shall see that every curate, parson, vicar, or other, do catechise the children and youth of his parish every Sunday, according to the injunction in that behalf.

Item, It is ordered, that no minister shall marry any-other than be within his parish, the woman-party at the least; and that he do it not, except the banns be openly thrice proclaimed in the same parish, and that he knew that the parents of the party consented thereto.

Item, That no bishop, dean, or chapter, shall bestow their benefices, whereof they be patrons, but upon such as are learned and fit for the office, and such as will subscribe to sound religion now by authority set down.

Item, That every bishop take order, that whosoever is a common swearer in his diocese, if after two admonitions by the minister he will not leave the same, that then it shall be lawful for the minister to exclude him from the communion, until he shall find reformation in him.

The archbishop propounded divers matters for the better regulation of the church: to which he, with his own hand, wrote this title; *Articles drawn out by some certain, and were exhibited to be admitted by authority; but not so allowed.* The first article was thus; The bishop of the diocese to have jurisdiction in the sites of the late monasteries, and to appoint them to several parish churches. The second was concerning appeals in cases of correction. The third of purgation. The fourth, no ecclesiastical judges to be molested in any temporal court for proceeding in matters ecclesiastical. The fifth was about the negligence of churchwardens. But this paper is too long to be here inserted, lest it break the thread of the history; though truly I think it worth reading. And pity it is, that these articles were not more countenanced, and made laws. But many of these things would not down with the looseness of that age; and it was feared to give the church too much power; and vice cared not for restraint. But they are preserved in the second Appendix.

But besides these proposals for discipline, when they would not be admitted, the lower house digested the sum of what they judged necessary and convenient to be observed, both with respect to the book of Articles of Religion, and to the Liturgy, and other things, under one and twenty articles, which were as follow:

REQUESTS AND PETITIONS OF THE LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION.

I. That a catechism be set forth in Latin for the instructing of youth in the universities and grammarschools throughout the realm.

II. That certain articles, containing the principal grounds of Christian religion, be set forth, as well to determine a truth of things this day in

controversy, as also to shew what errors are chiefly to be eschewed. And these with the catechism to be joined in one book.

III. That no private baptism be ministered hereafter, but only by those that be ministers of the church.

IV. That in public baptism, the father of the infant (if he possibly may) be present: and that he, and the godfathers and godmothers, shall openly profess and recite the articles of the Christian faith, commonly called the Creed, and desire that the infant may in that faith be baptized, and received into the church of Christ. And they shall not answer in the infant's name to such questions as heretofore have been demanded of them in that behalf.

V. That it may be added to the confession which is used to be made before the ministration of the holy communion, that the communicants do detest and renounce the idolatrous mass.

VI. That no person abide within the church during the time of the communion, unless he do communicate. That is, they shall depart immediately after the exhortation be ended, and before the confession of the communicants.

VII. That all images of the Trinity and of the Holy Ghost be defaced; and that roods, and all other images, that have been, or hereafter may be superstitiously abused, be taken away out of all places, public and private, and utterly destroyed.

VIII. That whosoever, being either of the clergy or laity, shall preach, declare, write, or speak any thing in derogation or despising of the book abovenamed, or against any doctrine therein contained, and be thereof lawfully convicted before any ordinary, and will stand in the maintaining thereof, being by godly reasons moved to the contrary, he shall be punished as, &c.

IX. Moreover, if any person or persons, lay or ecclesiastical, shall deny, directly or indirectly, publicly or privately, by writing or speaking, any article of doctrine contained in the said book, and be thereof lawfully convicted before any ordinary, and will obstinately stand in the same, he shall be, &c.

X. If any ecclesiastical person, having any benefice or promotion spiritual, and being required by his ordinary, his deputy, or any other competent judge, to subscribe to the said articles, or to declare his open consent and judgment in any public place of assembly, where his ordinary, &c. shall appoint, do peremptorily refuse so to do, he shall, &c.

XI. And if any pretended nominated or elected to any benefice, or spiritual promotion, do refuse to subscribe or declare his consent and judgment to the said articles in form aforesaid, the same shall be, &c.

XII. That no man be judged in law to be instituted to any ecclesiastical promotion or living, unless he personally first subscribe to the said articles before his ordinary; and a note of his subscribing be inserted into his institution.

XIII. And if any bishop, ordinary, or chancellor, do admit or institute any person or persons to any benefice or spiritual promotion, and do not require the person, so to be admitted or instituted, to subscribe to the said articles; that then the said bishop, ordinary, or chancellor, not so requiring, shall, &c.

XIV. Likewise, those that shall take degrees, or shall be admitted to any fellowship, or living of students in either of the universities, shall, at the time of their admission, subscribe to the said articles. And the recusants shall be, &c. And such as have fellowships already, or living of students, if they be required by the masters or heads of their colleges, halls, or houses to subscribe, and do refuse, shall, &c. For the better execution whereof, all masters and heads of colleges, halls, and houses, within four months next after the publishing hereof, shall require not only all such as are already fellows or students of their colleges, halls, and houses, to subscribe and give their consents to the said articles, but also all such as they shall admit hereafter to any fellowship, or place of student, at the time of their admission.

XV. And if any master or head of any college, hall, or house, do not require the said subscription within the said four months, or do admit any to any fellowship or living of students without such subscription; or if any master or head do not himself subscribe and declare his consent to the said articles, when any of them shall be required by the chancellor being present, and in his absence by the vice-chancellor, or his deputy in that

behalf; that the said master or head so refusing, and not requiring or admitting as before, shall, &c.

XVI. And if the vice-chancellor or his deputy do not within the said four months require the said subscription and consent of the said masters and heads of every college, hall, and house, in either of the universities, or suffer any to take degree without such subscription, he shall, &c. Also, if the said vice-chancellor, or commissary, or their lawful deputies, shall not within the said time require the said subscription of the beadles and other officers, belonging to either of the universities, he and they shall, &c. And if any of the said beadles, or other officers belonging to either of the said universities, be recusants therein, they shall, &c.

XVII. Furthermore, as well the vice-chancellor, or commissary aforesaid, as the master or chief governor of every college of either of the universities, shall not permit or suffer any of the age of five and twenty years, and upwards, being not fellow of any house, having any manner of ecclesiastical promotion, to be resiant within any of the said universities, under any colour, but such as shall yearly, during their abode in the same, make two sermons in the most notable church in the said town; in which he or they so preaching shall openly profess his or their faith concerning such articles as shall be ministered unto him by the vice-chancellor or commissary, and master of the house wherein he or they shall make their abode: provided, that before every of the said sermons there be notice given to the people by the open ringing of a bell within the said church. And for every default of the vice-chancellor, commissary, or master aforesaid concerning the premises, every of them so offending, &c.

XVIII. That it shall be lawful for every ordinary to call personally before him any person or persons within his jurisdiction, which either be or have been ecclesiastical persons, or any lay persons, whom he suspects concerning religion; and to examine him or them of the said articles, and to require their subscription and open consent to the same, in such public place or places, to be given by the party suspected, as to the said ordinary shall seem good. Which if the said person or persons suspected shall refuse to do, being peremptorily required, and (recognizance being first taken of him to the queen's majesty by the said ordinary for his appearance) by the space of one month persist in the same, then he or they, &c.

XIX. That the declaration of certain principal articles set forth by the bishops, being again considered, and having such other articles added to the same as shall be thought necessary, shall be openly read by all parsons, vicars, and curates, in their several parishes at two several times of the year, that is to say, the Sundays next following Easter-day and St. Michael the archangel, immediately after the gospel read, or some other Sunday within one month next after these feasts, upon pain, &c.

XX. The same declaration shall be read also every year once by all ministers and priests in cathedral churches, and all colleges, throughout the realm.

XXI. That the same order may be taken in the Book of Common Prayer for these matters above rehearsed. And that the said book, together with the book of the form and manner of making and ordering bishops, ministers, and deacons, may be ratified by the authority of this present parliament.

This is an original, and was subscribed by sixty-four of the house by their own hands; reckoning Calhill's double subscription; viz.

Thomas Becon.

William Todd.

Ricardus Beseley.

Robert Beaumont.

Johannes Calvelcy.

Guliel. Daye.

Percivallus Wiburnus.

Thomas Godwyn.

Thomas Colus.

Tho. Sampson.

David Kempe de Albano.

Joannes Hyllus.

Joannes Pullanus, archid Colchest.

Arthurus Saul.

Guido Heton.

Johannes Calfehyll.

Andreas Perne.

Richard Reve.

Georgius Savage.

Guillielmus Latimer.
Anthonius Hinton.
John Warner.
Wilhelmus Fluyd.
Stephanus Cheston.
Johannes Pealder.
Joannes Watson.
Robert Avys.
Ra. Coccrel.
Thomas Wilsonus.
Michael Reniger.
Laurence Nowell.
Thomas Lancaster.
Ja. Calfehyll, proc. der. Ox.
Richardus Chaundler.
Thomas Lever.
James Proctor.
Thomas Bolt.
Hugo Turnbull.
Jo. Kenal.
Wilhelmus Bradbridge.
John Ellys.
Edmundus Westonus.
John Salisbury.
Thomas Spenser.
Tho. Richley Peterb.
Thomas Sorebaeus
Richard Huys.
Justinian· Lancaster.
Robertus Croleus.
Gualterus Bowerus.
Robertus Grynstel.
Gregorius Dodds.
Thomas White.
Robertus Lougher.
Thomas Huett.
Thomas Ithel.
Jo. Prat.
John Bell.

Wa. Jones.

Thomas Roberts.

Richardus Rogers.

Johannes Walkerus.

Jo. Butler.

John Longland.

Great endeavours were also made in this synod for the mending the poor and bare condition of vicarages, many of which were of so small revenue, that abundance of parishes were utterly destitute of ministers, to assist the people in their serving of God, and to instruct them in spiritual knowledge for the edification of their souls. So that there was no small apprehension, that in time a great part of the nation would become mere pagans. Besides, to render the condition of small livings more deplorable, the pensions that were due to religious persons, and allowed them for their lives when their houses were dissolved, seemed to have been by patrons charged upon their livings, when themselves ought to have paid them. And commonly poor ministers, when they came into livings, were burdened with payment of divers years tenths and subsidies, that were payable by former incumbents. There seemed now also to be some, that put the queen upon taking a new survey of all ecclesiastical livings; pretending that hereby the values of first-fruits and tenths would be considerably advanced to her, to the further oppression of the needy clergy. Add to all, that the popish priests left their churches miserably dilapidated to their successors. For the looking therefore into these matters, articles were sent in to the lower house of convocation, to be inquired of: viz.

I. Whether, if the writ of *Melius inquirendum* be sent forth, the likelihood be, that it will turn to the queen's commodity.

II. Whether that some benefices ratably be not less than they be already valued.

III. To inquire of the manner of dilapidations and other spoliations, that they can remember to have passed upon their livings, and by whom.

IV. How they have been used by the levying of arrearages of tenths and subsidies, and for how many years past.

V. How many benefices they find that are charged with pensions newly imposed, to discharge the pensions of religious persons.

VI. To certify how many benefices are vacant in every diocese. In this convocation it was propounded, that an act of parliament should be made for the relief of poor ministers, to this import, that the queen should set forth a commission under the great seal, to the bishops of every diocese, and to five or six more wise and godly men, to view every parish, and by authority of the said commission to provide, that in every parish, the parson, vicar, or curate, might have for his sustentation 20*l.* yearly, to be cessed there where it might most conveniently be laid.

The preamble of this draught ran thus;

“Forasmuch as before all things the kingdom of God is to be sought, and the means thereof is the sincere preaching of the gospel: and for the same end God hath by his apostles appointed sundry sorts of ministers, who for their faithful labours ought to have worthy wages: and for so much as in these our days, eyes in the light of the gospel, there is great want of ministers, and sundry churches destitute of their pastors, by reason there is no sufficient living appointed for the parson; which thing tendeth to the great decay of religion, and will be a means, if in time it be not provided for, that the people will fall into a paganism, &c.”

But this good purpose came to nothing.

The bishops also now had serious consultations among themselves for the better government of their respective churches; and these were some of their orders concerning the inferior clergy: consisting of divers things readers and deacons were to do; to which they were required to promise and subscribe, when they were admitted. Which orders perhaps were now at this synod only confirmed, having been enjoined before, in the year 1559.

FOR READERS.

Imprimis, I shall not preach, nor interpret, but only read that which is appointed by public authority.

I shall read divine service appointed plainly, distinctly, and audibly, that all the people may hear and understand.

I shall not minister the sacraments, or other public rites of the church, but bury the dead, and purify women after their childbirth.

I shall keep the register-book according to the Injunctions.

I shall use sobriety in apparel, and especially in the church at common prayer.

I shall move men to quiet and concord, and not give them cause of offence.

I shall bring in to my ordinary, testimony of my behaviour from the honest of the parish where I dwell, within one half year next following.

I shall give place upon convenient warning, so thought by the ordinary, if any learned minister shall be placed there at the suit of the patron of the parish.

I shall claim no more of the fruits sequestered of such cure where I shall serve, but as it shall be thought meet to the wisdom of the ordinary.

I shall daily at the least read one chapter of the Old Testament, and one other of the New, with good advisement, to the increase of my knowledge.

I shall not appoint in my room, by reason of my absence or sickness, any other man, but shall leave it to the suit of the parish to the ordinary, for assigning some other able man.

I shall not read but in poorer parishes, destitute of incumbents, except in the time of sickness, or for other good considerations to be allowed by the ordinary.

FOR DEACONS, &C.

I shall not openly intermeddle with any artificer's occupations, as covetously to seek a gain thereby, having in ecclesiastical living the sum of twenty nobles, or above, by year.

This was resolved to be put to all readers and deacons by the respective bishops, and is signed by both the arch-. bishops, together with the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Satum, Carleol, Chester, Exon, Bath and Wells, and Gloucester. By what is above said, we understand who readers

were, and their office, (which gave so much offence afterwards to many,) and that they were ordained to supply the necessity of the church at this juncture. They were to serve in small livings, where there was no minister, and to supply till they were filled. They were not to preach, administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper, nor baptize, but to read the common prayer and keep the registers. They were taken out of the laity, tradesmen or others; any that was of sober conversation and honest behaviour, and that could read and write. They were to be of gravity to exhort the neighbour-hood to love and unity, and to be peacemakers in any differences that might happen. They were to have salaries allowed them out of the fruits of the livings where they served, according to the discretion of the bishops who sequestered the profits of such places. They seemed not wholly to forbear their callings, but were not countenanced to follow them, especially if they were mechanical. And they went in some grave habit, as might distinguish them from others.

During this convocation, the second book of Homilies was prepared among the bishops, and by them revised and finished; and a preface was made for it, composed by bishop Cox. The rough draught whereof I transcribe from his own hand. But the book did not yet come forth, but lay till the next year before the queen for her confirmation of it. But behold the said preface, which was to stand before the whole book, when the second part came forth with the first; though it afterwards received some variation in the print.

“The queen's most excellent majesty, considering the government of this realm, with the people therein, are committed to her charge; and that the same being very desirous to be instructed in the way of truth, cannot have among them in all places such learned and godly ministers, as can and will instruct them in that way; hath, by the advice of her most honourable counsellors for her discharge in this behalf, caused eftsoons to be set forth those homilies, which in the time of her dear brother of blessed memory, king Edward VIth, were by his authority commanded to be read in churches: and whereas in the said book of Homilies mention was made of other *homilies* concerning certain necessary points of religion that were intended to be annexed to these, her highness hath caused the same to be faithfully drawn, perused, and hereunto annexed, and hath with like authority set them forth altogether, to be read unto her loving people and faithful subjects, in such order, as in her said

brother's time they were; that is to say, that every Sunday or holyday in the year, at time of the administration of the holy communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, the parson, vicar, or curate of every parish do plainly and distinctly read unto his parishioners one whole homily, or such parts of one as are in this book set forth, and divided, in such place and order, as in the Book of Common Prayer is appointed.

“And where the whole book shall in such order be read through and ended, there her majesty's pleasure is, that it be begun again; that by often repeating, those most necessary points may more firmly be fastened in the memories of her said subjects.

“Furthermore, her pleasure is, that if there shall be any sermon at the time usually appointed for the reading of the homilies, then that homily, or part thereof, that should be read by order, shall be referred till the Sunday or holyday next following: and this to be observed herein till her grace's pleasure shall be known to the contrary.

“*Also* her highness commandeth, that notwithstanding this order, her majesty's Injunctions shall be read at such times and in such order as is in the same thereof appointed: and that the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments be openly read unto the people, as in the said Injunctions is specified. That all her people, of what degree or condition they be, may learn how to invoke and call upon the name of God, what they have professed in their baptism to believe, and what duties they owe both to God and man. So that they may pray, believe, and work according to knowledge while they shall live here; and after this life be with Him, that with his blood hath bought us all. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for ever. Amen.”

CHAPTER 31.

Papers prepared, for doctrine and discipline, to be offered by the synod to the queen, or to the parliament. A catechism composed by Alex. Nowel, allowed by the synod. Bills prepared by them for frequenting divine service; and for excommunication. The canon law. A petition for regulation thereof, moved by Ralph Lever. The ill state of the universities.

IN the last place I shall add here some more papers that were prepared for this synod, either by the archbishop or other bishops; drawn up first by some one of them, and then laid before the whole *consensus*, to be weighed and considered by them: and after mature deliberation being corrected and perfected, to be offered, some to the queen, and some to the parliament; to be confirmed and ratified. The rough draught of some of these papers I have met with, which I shall here lay into this history, as I have before done others, being very instructive of the manner and method of the proceedings then used, for the reformation and settlement of true religion in this kingdom.

The first paper I shall present is, the bishop of Exon's judgment for doctrine and discipline, with his hand wrote on the top of the paper thus, W. Exon.

FOR DOCTRINE.

Imprimis, I judge, in my simple opinion, that it were very expedient and necessary, that one kind of doctrine should be preached and taught by all that be authorized to preach, and not to inveigh one against another, either in matters contained in the holy scriptures, or else in matters ecclesiastical, which be adiaphorous, i.e. indifferent; and that some special penalties be inflicted upon the transgressors thereof.

First, For matter of scripture, namely, for this place which is written in the epistle of St. Peter, that *Christ in spirit went down to hell, and preached to the souls that were in prison*. There have been in my diocese great invectives between the preachers, one against the other, and also partakers with them; some holding, that the going down of Christ his soul to hell was nothing else but the virtue and strength of Christ his death, to be made

manifest and known to them that were dead before. Others say, that *descendit ad inferna*, is nothing else but that Christ did sustain upon the cross the infernal pains of hell, when he called, *Pater, quare me dereliquisti? I.e. Father, why hast thou forsaken me?* Finally, others preach, that this article is not contained in other symbols, neither in the symbol of Cyprian, or rather Rufine. And all these sayings they ground upon Erasmus and the Germans, and especially upon the authority of Mr. Calvin and Mr. Bullinger. The contrary side bring for them the universal consent, and all the fathers of both churches, both of the Greeks and the Latins: for of the Latin fathers, they bring in St. Austin, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, Gregory the Great, Cassiodore, Sedulius, Virgilius, Primasius, Leo, with others, as it may appear in the places by them alleged. Of the Greek fathers, they allege Chrysostom, Eusebius, Emissenus, Damascen, Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssen, Epiphanius, Athanasius, with others: which all, both Latins and Grecians, do plainly affirm, *quod anima Christi fuit vere per se in inferno, i.e.* that the soul of Christ was truly of itself in hell; which they all with one universal consent have assertively written from time to time, by the space of 1100 years, not one of them varying from another.

Thus, my right honourable good lords, your wisdoms may perceive, what tragedies and dissensions may arise for consenting to or dissenting from this article: wherefore your grave, wise, and godly learning might do well and charitably, to set some certainty concerning this doctrine; and chiefly because all dissensions, contentions, and strifes may be removed from the godly affected preachers.

MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL.

Secondly, For matters ecclesiastical which be indifferent, there be some preachers, which cannot abide them, but do murmur, spurn, kick, and very sharply do inveigh against them, naming them things of iniquity, devilish, and papisti-cal; namely, I know one preacher, not of the basest sort nor estimation, which did glory and boast that he made eight sermons in London against surplices, rochets, tippets, and caps, counting them not to be perfect that do wear them. And although it be all one in effect, to wear either round caps, square caps, or bottomed caps, yet it is thought very meet, that we, being of one profession, and in one ministry, should not vary and jangle one against the other for matters indifferent; which are made politic by the prescribed order of the prince. Therefore, if your honourable

wisdoms do not take some way, that either they may go as we go in apparel, or else that we may go as they do, it will be a thing, as it is already, both odious and scandalous unto no small number.

DISCIPLINE.

Imprimis, Where it hath been heretofore accustomed by the bishops, their archdeacons, and spiritual officers, to give out letters of correction for incontinency, and to change *poe-nam publicam*, i.e. public punishment, into *poenam pecuni-ariam, in subsidium pauperum, aut alios pios usus*, i.e. punishment in money, for the supply of the poor, or other pious uses; and yet neither the sum of money signified, what is given, nor the fact openly declared in those places where the crime was committed, whereby great offence hath risen, and suspicion of bribery grown toward the bishops, their officers, and archdeacons: may it please your wisdoms, that order may be taken hereafter, that if any such commutation of penance be used, that the offender may signify unto the congregation, both where he dwelleth, and also that congregation where the fact was committed, with his penitent submission, asking God mercy, and the congregation, for his offence: and that the sum of money by him given be opened by the parson, vicar, or curate to the parish; that the same may be put to the poor man's box, or else distributed by the hands of the churchwardens straightway to the poor, or to any other godly use.

Item, That there be some convenient and more speedy order taken for those excommunicates, for whom there is a *Significavit* directed: for some, after forty days be expired, will take their heels and run away, leave the ordinary to scorn, vilipend the laws both ecclesiastical and temporal; and so sin will remain unpunished.

Item, That there be order taken, that the sheriffs do not delay to serve the writs *De excommunicato capien*, upon either friend or foe.

Item, That bishops may have jurisdiction to call all criminal causes before them, and to reform other disorders in all peculiars, and places exempt, which be *speluncae latro-num*, i.e. dens of robbers.

Item, That if any person spiritual come to his benefice or promotion by any kind of simony, either to the patron or to any other, that both the giver and the receiver be made, the one, *non capax alicujus beneficii durante vita* ; i.e. un-capable of any benefice during his life; and the

other to lose *jus patronatus*, i.e. the right of presenting, for that time, and the next avoidance, with other circumstances belonging to the same; which I refer unto your godly wisdoms.

Item, That there be some penal, sharp, yea, capital pains for witches, charmers, sorcerers, enchanterers, and such like.

Item, That in every cathedral church, where the residen-tiaries, as the deans, chanters, chancellors of the church, treasurers, archdeacons, with other residentiaries, be [not preachers] nor can preach themselves, they do contribute, according to the rate of their living, some honest and sufficient salary, to two godly learned preachers, which may discharge them both in the cathedral churches, and also in their other cures: and especially that the chancellors of the churches do give the greatest portion: for that dignity is given for that office and end.

Item, That no bishop do confirm with his seal and grant for term of years or lives, [any lease,] made by any parson or vicar, of his glebe lands, belonging to his or their benefices, but that the next incumbent may freely and fully enjoy them at their entry to the same: otherwise they shall be destitute of provision toward the maintenance of hospitality.

Item, That there be some order taken for the punishment of them that do walk and talk in the church at time of common prayer and preaching, to the disturbance of the ministers, and offence of the congregation.

Another paper of this nature was drawn up for the same *use*, which had this title; *Certain articles in substance de. sired to be granted by the queen's majesty*. This was composed by a secretary of the archbishop's, and were mended and added to in some places by the archbishop's own hand, and in some places by bishop Grindal's. The paper was as followeth:

First, For that unity in the doctrine of Christ's religion is the redress, and the surest means to join God's people and the queen's subjects in durable concord, we think it necessary to put out one book, containing articles of doctrine, and to be drawn out of the substance of the book of the *Apology*, set out by the queen's authority, and that such as shall hold any assertion to the contrary may be reformed and punished by the ordinaries, by the queen's ecclesiastical laws, in such sort as by the said laws had been provided against errors and heresies.

Item, As there is one uniform grammar prescribed throughout the schools of the whole realm, so there may be authorized one perfect *catechism* drawn, to the bringing up of the youth in godliness in the said schools, which book is well nigh finished by the industry of the dean of Paul's. And that the same catechism, being once approved by the learned of the convocation house, may be authorized to be taught also by the universities, and to the youth wheresoever they be taught their grammar in any private men's houses.

Item, For that the choice of chapters may be better considered in the book of service, and that certain rules and rubrics in the said Book of Common Prayer concerning certain rites, &c. some few imperfections escaped in the book of service, as well in choice of the chapters as of the Psalms, with other such things concerning the rites and ceremonies in the church, may be reduced to edification, as nigh as may be, to the godly purity and simplicity used in the primitive church.

Item, That ministers may be enjoined to wear one grave, prescribed form in extern apparel; and such as have ecclesiastical living, not agreeing to the same, to be discharged upon three monitions of the ordinary.

Item, For that discipline may be better executed, so that the people may frequent the common prayer, and the receiving of the holy communion, (as be prescribed by laws and injunctions of the queen's highness,) that the penalties levied of the parishioners for the default be not defeated by a replevy, or any other ways, to defeat the statute provided for the same.

Item, For the suppressing of the horrible licence and boldness now used in the variety of adulteries and fornications, and incest, and for that marriages may be better begun without clandestine contracting, and persons once married cast not off again their matrimony, with boldness of contracting new; that some sharper laws be devised; and that it may be provided, that ordinaries proceeding in the redress of such ecclesiastical crimes be not hindered, either by the obtaining too readily prohibitions out of the queen's courts. And that forasmuch as the whole jurisdiction, exercised by the ordinary, standeth only by the queen's ecclesiastical laws, and not by virtue of any foreign authority, the ordinaries may not be impeached nor endangered for the

proceeding, before advised prohibitions shall be awarded unto them, to cause them to desist from further prosecuting the cause.

Item, For the extinguishing of the detestable crime of simony, committed by some ungodly patrons, and covetous ministers compacting with the same, whereby divers parsonages be abused; that it may be lawful to the ordinary, where any just suspicion of such crime committed appeareth, to his discretion to search out the truth, as well by the oath of the evil minister, as of the evil patron, or other mean persons practising the same. And that the crime being found, the minister may be disabled to receive any ecclesiastical benefice by the space of seven years following: and that the patron may lose his turn for that time: to be at the disposition of the queen's highness, or of the ordinary for that turn only.

Item, That in all towns of this realm, the proprietaries may increase the exility of the vicarage by augmenting the living: so that the people be not unserved or defrauded of a reasonable minister, and be without common prayer and receiving the sacraments, as very many towns be, where such impropriations be seen: and that ordinaries, with the assistance of one justice or two, dwelling within such great towns, or next the same, may have authority to devise, by some taxation upon the parishioners of the like towns, for the supplying of the stipend of such as shall serve those towns, as to their discretion may appear.

[The article ensuing is crossed through in the MS. and in the margin this wrote by bishop Grindal's hand; *Con-sideretur melius*: it being thought (it seems) a tender point.]

Item, For that the ecclesiastical state may be more able, as well to contribute to the queen's majesty such benevolences as may be thought necessary for the preservation of the realm; and that they may be the more able to keep good hospitality by the due fruits of the benefices, if they were truly paid; that it may please the queen's majesty to review the statute of the year of the late famous prince, king Henry VIII. for the true payment of tithes and other duties, agreeable with such remedies as be therein provided.

Item, That whereas universally throughout the realm, the decay is great of such chancels as be appropriated, and be the possession of the queen's majesty, and other proprietors; that there may be given

convenient allowance yearly, as well for the full repairing of the same, as is allowed for the mansion houses of the said rectories: or else that such chancels, so ruinously standing without use, may be pulled down, and employed to the repairing of the church; and for some apt placing of the ministers within the body of the church.

Item, That some good order be devised for reformation of dispensation of pluralities, nonresidences, marriages without banns; as also for reformation of such as have presently multitude of ecclesiastical livings; and either be altogether unable to teach or profit the church, or else are unwilling to do the same: *and for such as have livings, and have obtained licences to live beyond seas, only upon misliking of religion.*

Item, That where the ordinary, proceeding against any persons for their contumacy, and pronouncing, for the contempt, sentence of excommunication, in which if they wilfully persist for forty days, of course the ordinary do sue for a writ *De excommunicato capiendo* directed to the sheriff of the shire, which for the most part be slackly served; that to the redress of such disobedient persons there may be provided some assured remedy for the serving of such writs, that sin may be punished, and justice be executed.

One considerable thing more passed the hands of this convocation, of which mention was made before; viz. the Gate-chism in Latin for the use of schools, and also for a brief summary of religion to be owned and professed in this reformed church. And this is the same with that which is commonly known to this day by the name of Nowell's Catechism. The occasion was this: upon secretary Cecil's advice, Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, drew up a catechism in elegant Latin, yet making much use of the Catechism set forth towards the latter end of king Edward's reign. This when the dean had finished, he dedicated to the said secretary who set him on work. And the clergy of the convocation thought fit to peruse it; and having well considered it, and making some corrections, gave it a more public character, as proceeding from them, and so allowing and approving the use of it. In the 22d session of this convocation, the protocutor, with Sampson and Day attending him, presented it to the upper house, as unanimously consented to by those of the lower. This taking up time, it was somewhat longer before the dean could send it again to the said secretary's hands.

And because the particulars of this may be worth knowing, I shall here repeat the contents of the dean's letter to the secretary, dated in June, 1563, a little after the rising of the synod. He certified him,

“That whereas the copy of the Catechism, which he caused to be written out for his honour, came to the hands of the bishops and clergy, assembled in the late convocation, and by reason that certain places were by their judgments altered, and that it was interlined, and somewhere blotted, he had caused it to be copied out again, and had sent it him now, not in his own name, as afore, but in the name of the clergy of the convocation, as their book; seeing it was by them *approved* and allowed: and that he would have sent it *sooner*, but that he thought his honour to be occupied with certain most weighty public affairs, by occasion rising and increasing in the mean time, that he could have no *leisure* to view that or any other book; which great public businesses, seeing they did not so speedily, as he trusted, draw toward an end, but continued and augmented still, he thought it meet, that the copy of the *book*, at the beginning appointed and dedicated to his honour, should remain with the same: that when *opportunity* should serve, he might at leisure have it, and judge, whether it were not unworthy, by his help, to be *made* public by the queen's majesty's authority: for how expedient it were, that some treaty of religion should be set forth publicly in the name of our country, his honour did well understand; seeing the opinion beyond the seas *was*, that nothing touching religion was, with any *authority* or consent of any number of the learned here in our country, taught and set forth; but that a few private persons taught and wrote their opinions, without the approbation of any authority at all.

“That for his part he had taken pains, as well about the matter of the book, that it might be consonant unto the true doctrine of the scriptures, as also that the style might agree with the purity of the Latin tongue. And that as *the* book had not misliked their judgments, whom he did both most allow and also reverence; so, if it might likewise be approved to him, to whose patrociny in his *purpose* he appointed it when he first began it, he should think his pains most happily bestowed.”

This Catechism lay in Cecil's hand for above a year, and then was returned to Nowell again with some learned man's notes, remaining with him till

1570, and then it was called for again by both archbishops, in order to the publishing of it, and by Cecil's consent, (to whom it was dedicated before,) being dedicated now by the author to the two archbishops, and the bishop of London by name, and to all the rest of the bishops, it was printed; and printed again 1572, and again 1578, bearing this title, *Christianae Pietatis prima institutio, ad usum Scholarum Latine scripta*. This Catechism was translated also by the same dean's procurement into English and Greek, for the use also of young learners. This Catechism seems to be the same with that set forth a month or two before king Edward's death, and licensed and recommended by the said king's letter set before it: for the two persons that hold the dialogue in both catechisms are *magister* and *auditor*. In that letter it is said to have been written by a certain pious and learned man; and to have been moreover diligently perused by certain bishops, and other persons of learning, to whom the king had committed it; and likewise the same which in queen Mary's first convocation was much quarrelled with, and complained of; and lastly, which the popish bishops brought with them, when they came to Mr. Philpot's examination; which Philpot very probably was one of those learned men in convocation that king Edward had committed this Catechism to their perusal of. Yet not so the same, but that now in the convocation, 1562, it had undergone divers and great alterations: one of these appeareth in the explanation of those petitions in the Lord's Prayer, *hallowed be thy name: thy kingdom come*: which in king Edward's Catechism were explained to favour the millennium more openly than in this later. This made Mr. Joseph Mede, in one of his letters to Dr. Twisse, speak of an old catechism that he had long in his possession, yet knowing no more of it, than that it had king Edward's letter recommendatory before it; but making a great remark concerning an assertion there of Christ's reign upon earth after the destruction of Antichrist, and all his enemies, as though it were a doctrine well known and owned among divines in king Edward's days.

It was thought fit that ministers should converse in this Catechism, and learn true divinity from it. But this some, conceited of their own learning, afterwards thought much of. Thus Thomas Cartwright in his *Admonition* complained, that now ministers, like young children, must be instructed and learned catechisms. Where in the margin he placed these words, *Ministers of London enjoined to learn Mr. Nowell's Catechism*. To which thus Whitgift; "That catechism which you in derision quote in the margin is a book fit for you to learn also: and I know no man so well learned, but it

may become him to read and learn that learned and necessary book." Such was the esteem of this Catechism upon its coming abroad, that at some visitation, as it seems, in London, the reading of it was recommended to the ministers; and that with good reason, having passed the synod. Let me add, that many years after, concerning this Catechism, thus it was writ by a great bishop in answer to Martin Marprelate;

"For a catechism, I refer them to that which was made by the learned and godly man, Mr. Nowell, dean of Paul's, received and allowed by the church of England, and very fully grounded and established upon the word of God. There may you see all the parts of true religion received, the difficulties expounded, the truth declared, the corruptions of the church of Rome rejected."

And thus we take our leave of this famous synod; wherein we may take notice how much, pains was taken, and yet how little was established and brought to perfection.

The last thing I shall speak of this synod is, that it was one of their businesses, especially those of the upper house, to prepare some bills for the parliament to establish, for the better providing for the due observance of religious worship in public, and order in the church. Two such bills I have met with, which were drawn up by a lay-hand, and sent by the bishop of London to the archbishop, to review and consider, and to recommend to the parliament. The one was, for the obliging to come to divine service and sermons, when they should be performed in the churches, under pain of excommunication: the other, for the more effectual taking up of such as by their neglect of religious duties fell under that censure. The substance of this latter bill became enacted this parliament; which as it came from the synod is already set down. The tenor of the former, though it became not an act, I shall here rehearse.

THE FORM OF AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT FOR RESORTING TO THE CHURCH.

"**First**, Be it enacted, &c. That upon every sabbath-day, and principal feast-day, be kept neither open fair nor market throughout the year; and that all persons or corporations, having by patent such days expressed, may change the same days with the day immediately following or going before the said Sunday or principal feast-day, upon pain, as well to the buyer as to the seller, to forfeit the half of the ware

so bought and sold to the promoter, &c. And if any, either seller or buyer, offend thrice in such fault, then to be judged to prison for fourteen days following, without bail or mainprise; and so convicted before the ordinary, his officer, or before any justice of the peace, he shall, without any partiality, and with expedition, award, as well the said penalty accordingly, as the imprisonment in case above expressed.

“Item, That no victualler or craftsman have his shop open before the service be done in his parish where he dwelleth: and that his servants be not set on work, or otherwhiles sent abroad about their worldly affairs; which might be deferred, and performed in the week-day. And that any master be answerable for his servants, of their coming and resorting to the church, except in cases of necessity; as in serving urgent affairs of the commonwealth, or the changeable necessity of their neighbours, which otherwise cannot be delayed without great hurt and danger: and that this case of necessity be so judged, and provided by the discretion of the ordinary, or by the jus-vice of the peace, next to the same his own dwelling.

“Item, That all manner of persons, with their household servants, shall frequent their own parish church at the common prayer, and there to remain the whole time of the same; and also shall receive the holy communion in such days and times, or so oft as is appointed by the book of service. And whosoever doth customably absent himself from the common prayer, and neglect to receive, as is provided, to be chargeable to the fine set thereupon, to be levied by the churchwardens. And if they be found negligent to levy the forfeitures, then they to make answer to the ordinary for all such fines forfeited, to be put into the poor man’s box, to be distributed once every quarter by the curate or parson of the same town. And the churchwardens to do such charitable and indifferent distribution, as they may be judged to be clear from all partial respect and corrupt affections.

“Item, If any person or persons, of what condition soever he be, be found notably to transgress his own duty in coming to the divine service as aforesaid, or to neglect to receive the holy communion, as it is prescribed, that then, besides the penalty before limited, he shall be taken and reputed as a person excommunicated, without further process and promulgation of sentence; and that he, so long time as he shall remain in such wilfulness, be discharged of the benefit of the queen’s

majesty's laws, and be made unable to sue, or to hold plea in any of the courts of the realm; whereby any recovery of debt or benefit may rise unto him, during the time he so do stand and persist in such wilful disobedience: and that it may be lawful to the adversary of any such person to allege the notorious negligence and contempt of such offenders, and so thereby to be dismissed of all action of debt or trespass whatsoever; so that the ordinary, or any next justice of the peace, do by his or their writing testify the notorious default in any person so offending, as is aforesaid.

“Item, In any city or town, where there be two, three, or more parishes, when any preacher lawfully authorized shall fortune to resort thither to preach the word of God, that the curates of other parishes be warned by the curate of such parish or parishes, where such sermon shall be made, that they may the sooner appoint the time of the common prayer, so to be ended, that there be left sufficient time for the preacher; for all such as shall be disposed to resort thereunto; and that the parishioners make not their excuses for not coming to their parish church by any such sermons hearing. And if any such person or persons offend, by despising to come to such sermons, or giving themselves to gaming, drinking, or idle-being at home, to be presented by the churchmen of such parishes, to be considered accordingly, as the ordinary shall by his discretion think convenient.

“Item, That if the churchwardens and questmen, sworn to present such defaults of any manner of person, do neglect to do the same, according to their knowledge; that then every such quest so offending shall forfeit in the name of a pain, 12d. for every fault, to be converted to the poor man's box. And that no man so presented and detected, by virtue of the oaths of such questmen, shall molest, or trouble at the law, any of the questmen, for such presenting, upon pain that such detected offender commencing any action against the detector, in such case shall forfeit to the queen's majesty 10l. the moiety whereof shall be to the use of the queen's majesty, and the other half to the party which shall give information thereof to the ordinary, or to any justice of peace nigh to the dwelling-place.”

It moved much the careful archbishop, and other the pious bishops, our reformers, to observe what little regard was nowadays had to the Lord's-day, and how sparingly people resorted to church, and God's public

service, so much neglected. The people commonly kept fairs and markets on this day, and other great festivals. Those that kept victualling-houses, and artificers, admitted guests, and opened their shops in time of divine service. Handicraftsmen would follow their works, and others go abroad about their worldly employments, on these as well as on other days. Therefore, for the remedying of this scandal of religion, and for the better providing, that the common prayer, the communion, and sermons, might be frequented; this bill aforesaid was by their means devised and framed, to be enacted into a law this parliament. And though many of these wholesome propositions passed not presently into acts, yet they were the groundwork and occasion of many good laws made afterwards. The canon law seemed yet to be in some force, which contained many things in it directly favouring the bishop of Rome and his superstitions; therefore a learned canonist about this time wrote a tract for the regulation of the canonists, and of the said canon law, and of the abuse of excommunication, and the unjust dealings of some of the queen's delegates; for the queen and this parliament to take into their consideration. And though I do not find Raphe Lever, the writer of it, (who seems to be the brother of Thomas Lever, and who succeeded him in the mastership of Sherborn hospital,) to be a member of this synod, or that it came before the synod, yet I choose here to present it to the readers, as being so agreeable to the matters that have been relating in order to a reformation of things amiss in the church, and very probably offered in this juncture. The title the paper bears is,

The assertions of Raphe Lever touching the canon law, the English papists, and the ecclesiastical Officers of this realm, with his most humble petition to her majesty for redress.

1. The canon law in these ages devised and made by the church of Rome is, in exceeding many points, contrary to the written word of God, and repugnant to the positive laws of this realm.
2. And whereas the canon law doth chiefly and principally establish the bishop of Rome his usurped and general authority over all Christendom, and breedeth in men superstition, and a certain security, that there is no further increase of faith required, but to believe as the church of Rome believeth; it is rightly termed *the pope's laws*.
3. But the rules, ordinances, and decrees which are printed in the books of the canon law, and yet have warrant by the holy scriptures and by the law

of nature, and thereupon are in force here at this day, being established by act of parliament, to this end, that justice may be ministered to all her majesty's subjects with indifferency, ought not to be named, reputed, or taken by any of her majesty's subjects for foreign or popish laws, but for good and wholesome English laws.

4. He that in open show defendeth or putteth in ure the said canon law, being repugnant to God's word, and to the laws of this realm, doth maintain foreign power, and doth open himself to the world to be one of that church, whose laws he doth best approve and like of.

5. He that believeth the church of Rome, which now is, to be the true church of God, and that the same church of Rome doth not err, nor hath not erred, in making of canons, laws, and decrees, and in commanding the same to be generally kept of all Christian nations, is *a papist*: and if he do openly profess the same, then he is a disloyal person, and not to be taken or used as a subject in the church and commonwealth of England.

6. That person, which professing himself to be a loyal subject to queen Elizabeth, and yet believeth that the church of England, as it is at this day reformed by the written word of God, and established by public authority, is not indeed, nor ought to be taken for the true church of God; (in which church the holy sacraments be rightly administered, the gospel of Jesus Christ is truly preached, and the public liturgy duly set forth according to the sacred scriptures;) I say, is in very deed no lively member of this church of England or of Ireland. Because Jesus Christ saith, *He that is not with us is against us*; and again he saith, *He that is not against us is with us*; signifying hereby, that no man can serve two masters, and that no man can be of God's church and of the synagogue of Satan: nor that there is any mean state between good and bad, light and darkness, truth and error, Christ and Antichrist, God and the Devil.

7. Every person, inhabiting within either the realm of England or of Ireland, and making open show and profession that he doth not think or believe, that the reign of queen Elizabeth, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. is a lawful reign, or a power and authority lawful, (so deeply warranted by the scriptures, that he who doth resist her majesty's government doth resist the ordinance of God, and heapeth to himself a just damnation,) ought to be cut off from the body of the realm, either by death or by banishment. Neither ought he to be

suffered to enjoy the blessings and benefits of the land, whose most sacred, lawful, and crowned queen he doth not take to be his sovereign and liege lady; to whom upon earth, next and immediately under God, he doth owe all obedience in the Lord, and for the Lord's ordinance sake.

8. He that is placed in office under queen Elizabeth ought, under pain of God's curse, to punish all papists and transgressors whosoever, as to his office doth appertain. And the officer ought to assure himself to have good warrant by the written word of God, by the law of nature, by the law of nations, and by the positive laws of this realm so to do.

9. He that affirmeth by word or writing, that the English magistrate hath no warrant by law to punish papists and all transgressors whosoever, dwelling or being within the realm of England or of Ireland, doth, by a necessary consequent in reason, disloyally and contemptuously derogate from the law, and from her majesty's authority regal.

10. He that hath ability given unto him of God to execute more offices than one, with as much expedition, and to as great a profit to the commonweal, as if the same sundry offices should be committed to several persons, ought, when he is appointed thereunto by lawful authority, not to refuse to take the same in hand.

11. A man may bear office in a Christian society, and yet be a preacher of the word too, especially where his office is no hinderance, but a furtherance and a countenance to the ministry. There is good warrant for this in many places of holy scripture, but namely, where St. Paul saith thus; *They that govern well are worthy of double honour, but chiefly, they that labour in the word and in doctrine.*

12. All human officers and magistrates ought daily to meditate upon the holy scripture, and by it to be directed in all their public affairs.

13. The good kings and famous men in Israel, when they went a warfare, or did enterprise any matter of great importance, used always first to ask counsel of God, by such prophets and priests as were known by experience to have been brought up in the study of holy scripture, to have been taught of God, and to have been guided by the Holy Spirit. By which example all Christian princes, magistrates, and people ought to be put in mind, how necessary a thing it were for them to seek for the like counsel, when they assemble to make laws; or when they do meet together, to consult about

weighty and public affairs. For then doth God stand in the congregation of princes, and is judge among them, when he directeth them by his holy Spirit, and instructeth them in his holy word.

14. The positive laws of any nation, city, or society, being made of things indifferent, and not repugnant to the written word of God, are not to be misliked or disobeyed of any subject, for that in his opinion other nations, cities, or societies have better laws than they be. Neither is it sufferable in a well-grounded commonwealth, that private persons should seek for a change without licence first asked of authority, and the same granted upon urgent cause. For every change in the commonwealth is perilous; but a needless change of law is most perilous.

15. The commonwealth, city, or society is best governed, that hath most of her causes determined by law; and fewest matters left to the judgment of her officers and governors.

16. A kingdom is the best kind of government, most recommended by the word of God, and most agreeable to the law of nature: and no other government fit for the realm of England and of Ireland, but only a kingdom.

17. The end of all laws, both divine and human, and the chiefest care that all princes, magistrates, and lawgivers ought to have, is this, to see the people of God to be taught, to give unto Caesar that is due to Caesar, and unto God that that is due to God.

18. Excommunication, as it is now openly used in the church of England, and put in ure by certain bishops, their chancellors, and other ecclesiastical officers, is most contrary to the written word of God, and not agreeing to such rules in the canon law, which at this day are in force by the positive laws of this realm.

19. If any person be excommunicated, or any ecclesiastical judge do pretend any person to be excommunicated, upon no sufficient cause, or upon no personal summons, or upon no matter laid in against the offender, or upon no examination of his fault, or upon no ordinary form or proceeding in law; that the conscience of such a person is free afore God, notwithstanding any such pretended excommunication: which is no excommunication indeed, but is only a painted show of a vain sentence pronounced and practised contrary to all divine and human laws.

20. No subject carl appeal from any sentence given by her majesty's delegates, be it never so unjust. Whereupon the said delegates, or at least divers of them, have been emboldened shamefully to misuse the sacred chair of justice, without any consideration had, on their behalf, either of the fear of God, or of the due executing of their office, according to her highness's directions, or according to the trust her majesty did repose in them; to the hinderance of justice, and to the great annoyance of exceeding many of her majesty's subjects.

21. For redress of all inconveniencies and mischiefs, which hereupon have happened and ensued since the last parliament, or hereafter at any time shall happen and ensue; your most humble suppliant maketh petition to your most excellent majesty, that such order may be taken by this parliament assembled, as doth best agree to your majesty's laws already established, as doth best stand with the preservation of your highness's royal person, and doth best serve for the continuance of your majesty's most happy and prosperous reign.

Another care seemed now also highly necessary, namely, for the universities; that due supplies might be had from thence of honest and learned ministers to furnish the church now established in good religion. Concerning which, conscientious and forethinking men had very melancholy thoughts, those places being now very empty of learned men, and so like to be. For the revenues of the church, which were for the subsistence and encouragement of the clergy, were extremely sunk and taken away, partly by exchanges, and partly by sacrilegious hands; so that few came to the universities, and fewer took the study of divinity upon them. This an old university man, and late master of St. John's college in Cambridge, gave this account of about this time. "Look," said he, "in the university, and spy what ancient learned men ye find there, either papist or protestant. I am ashamed to tell; and it is to be lamented, to see that there is so few: and it is earnestly to be begged at God's hand, that there may be more. For he feared it was rather to be wished than hoped for. This plague," he said, [i.e. of want of learning,] "was over our head, not regarded, and could not be avoided, however the world went; viz. that those few learned men that then lived (both papists and protestants) must needs die, and where then would be any learned number to supply their room? There were a few schools abroad to bring up youth. But so many benefices so small, that no man would take them; and so the parishes were

unserved, and the people waxed without the fear of God. That the universities had many goodly fresh wits in them, but that they were young, and without sufficient number of ancient guides to teach and rule them: that many men's days should be spent, before any number came to ripeness, although, for their young years, many did well. But that fathers and masters must be asked this question, namely, why they kept not their children at school? To which they would answer, there was more profit to be had in making their sons lawyers or physicians, or any thing, than ministers. For that, when they had bestowed all that they could get on one child in the university, he should not be able to live himself, nor help any friend he had: whereas the lawyer would become a gentleman, a purchaser within a few years. So that they would do any thing with him rather than make him a priest." Thus the prospect of poverty to fall to their lot who should take holy orders upon them to serve God in the churches, made learning decline sensibly, and especially divine learning.

CHAPTER 32.

Inquiries into the churches and chapels of the realm. The state of Norwlc[h] diocese. The queen's studies. Osorius's letter to her. A treatise of bishop Hooper; now printed. Miscellaneous matters. The Poles and others, condemned of treason. Matters between the French and English. New Haven put into the queen's hands by the protestants of France.

SOON after the synod was over, or somewhat before, in April or May, letters were sent abroad from the privy council to all the bishops, to understand the state of their dioceses: and that under six articles; the sum whereof was, to inquire concerning the number of chapels, rectories, and vicarages, how supplied, and how many of them void. But this search was to be made as secretly as could be. The letter of the council to the bishop of London for this purpose may be read at large in the Life of archbishop Gtindal. As for the diocese of Norwich, by a letter of Parkhurst the bishop, I find the method he took, and the account he sent in. He held a synod (as he called it) three weeks after Easter at Norwich, for the archdeaconties of Norwich and Norfolk, and found,

Within the archdeaconry of Norwich, 168 rectories or parsonages full, and had their incumbents, and 41 vicarages full. The rest of the parish churches of that archdeaconry, amounting to the number of 80, void, but some served with curates.

Within the archdeaconry of Norfolk, parsonages full, 184, vicarages full, 36, patishes void, 182. But some served with curates.

The same year, a month after Easter, the bishop kept a synod at Ipswich, for the other two archdeaconties of his diocese, viz. of Suffolk and Sudbury. And he found,

Within the archdeaconry of Suffolk, parsonages full, 114, vicarages full, 42, parish churches void, 130. But many served with curates.

Within the archdeaconry of Sudbury, parsonages full, 151, vicarages full, 31, parish churches void, 42. Some served with curates.

Concerning the chapels, and the number of them under; each archdeaconry, (whereof a certificate was also to be made and sent up,) the bishop

certified, that there had been more than were at that present, standing so ruinous a long time, that now they were quite taken down, and grew out of memory among them. But of the chapels of ease yet standing, he sent in this certificate. That in the archdeaconry of Norwich a chapel of ease was annexed to the parish of Winterton, called East Somerton. And the vicarage of Wroxham had the chapel of Salhowse annexed thereunto. In the archdeaconry of Norfolk were four parsonages with chapels of ease, there named. In the archdeaconry of Suffolk also several chapels of ease. And in that of Sudbury, several of the parish churches being donatives, and others belonging to religious houses, being not presentative, the bishop was not able to declare the state of them by his records.

And what number of households there were in each parish of his whole diocese, (another article to be certified,) he was not able to make answer to, without further respect of time and inquisition by his officers.

To which I will add the certificate of Berkley, bishop of Bath and Wells, concerning the chapels in his diocese, which he sent up in November. That this inquisition was made with all secrecy possible, but yet it became known, that such a survey was taking by order from above. Whereat the rumour was given, that the cause of it was an intention to take away those chapels, and to pull them down, and convert the materials to private uses. Whereupon (for so the bishop wrote to the secretary) certain patrons, farmers of impropriations, and such as had yearly benefices, had not only given out evil bruits for the pulling down of all chapels, but also some of them had put in ure to take down the lead of chapels, and to cover them again with tiles. This the bishop thought good to signify, that some order might be taken, that the common people might cease from grudging. As for the queen, besides her cares of the public, she being brought up to learning, employed herself sometimes in study and reading; and about this time, the better to inform herself in the truth of Christian doctrine, and the government of the church in the primitive times, she was very diligent in reading the fathers: of which sir William Cecil, her secretary, wrote to Cox, bishop of Ely, in his correspondence with him. Concerning which that bishop in answer gave his judgment in these words;

“*That* when all was done, the scripture is that that pearseth. Chrysostom and the Greek fathers,” said he, “*Pelagianizant*, [i.e. favour Pelagius.] Sometimes Bernard *monachizat*, [i.e. is for

monkery.] And he trusted her grace meddled with them but *succisivis horis*, i.e. at spare hours.”

But the queen indeed had some reason to look into the ancient times of the church, and to inform herself (seeing she had learning enough to do it) in the true state of religion out of the early ecclesiastical writers; since she was so set upon by Romanists, who bore out themselves so much with fathers and antiquity.

And in this very year one Hieronymus Osorius, a Por-tugueze, (who had writ a book well esteemed of, *de Nobilitate*, and afterwards was made bishop of Sylva,) took the confidence to write a Latin epistle to the queen, persuading her with much vehemency to become obedient to the Romish see; and liberally cast dirt upon the pains she had taken in reforming of religion, and reproached Luther, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, and all the eminentest reformers. This epistle was made up of falsehoods, misrepresentations, and vilifications, wrapt up in a smooth strain of oratory; which was the only thing to be regarded in it. Though this gentleman directed this letter to the queen only, and so was of a private nature, and to be concealed from the world, especially out of the respect and deference due to such great persons, yet he published it in print: and to make it yet more common, it was translated into French, and printed in France. This gave great offence here, and was soon answered, and the author sufficiently exposed, both for his ignorance in the matters he took upon him to write against, and for his slight and trifling and abusive way of writing; and for the book itself, beside the Ciceronian style, it was nothing but an harangue of empty stuff.

What kind of influence this book of Osorius had upon the queen, and after what manner, and with what learning he writ, take in the words of John Fox, who some years after writ against him.

“The queen’s highness to whom *you* writ, a princess adorned with most excellent ornaments, and qualities of princely renown, perused your letters, and, according to her singular dexterity and ingenious capacity, could read, could see, could feel no sound *nor* substantial matter, worthy of credit, which had an affinity with truth or modesty; when she beheld in them no reasons at all, or surely very wind-shaken, moth-eaten, *and* worn out to the hard stumps by many others heretofore: no pith in your arguments, and nothing concluded orderly: when she perceived that out of councils, out of

ancient fathers and doctors, you uttered nothing but bare *names* only, and no sentence to the purpose; and withal *no* example of the primitive and most pure ages: when she could not find any likeness of apostolic doctrine throughout all that your discourse, nor any mark or sparkle almost of evangelical sincerity, &c. may you yet *be* so ignorant, as to be ignorant or in doubt of the cause that doth stay her from partaking with your doctrine?"

But the next year we shall hear more of this man and his book, when Dr. Haddon, LL. D. and master of the queen's requests, a very learned and complete scholar, writ a Latin letter at large to him, in as good a style as his own, but with much more temper and weight of sense and argument.

Now to gather up a few more scattering passages that happened this year.

An Apology, hitherto lying in obscurity, was printed this year, wrote in prison by that constant martyr of Christ, John Hooper, sometime bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, in vindication of himself against a slanderous report, that he should be a maintainer and encourager of some, who in a private religious meeting had cursed queen Mary; perhaps that curse was, "that God would turn her heart, *or* shorten her days," as some in those times would and did pray. But this cursing of that queen, whatsoever it was, was pronounced about the 4th or 5th day of January, by some in the Compter near the Stocks, London. The papists, his enemies, reported, that Hooper had hereupon sent an epistle to those men encouraging and commending them for this fact of theirs. Whereas the truth was only this, that he had sent a consolatory letter to some godly people, who, meeting together to pray in the vulgar tongue on new-year's-day in Bow churchyard, in a gentleman's house there, were taken and carried to prison. These were so far from cursing the queen, that as they prayed for themselves, so for the queen and magistrates.

"Wherefore," saith that godly father in that Apology, "if the wicked were not past shame, charity, love, and honesty, how could they of conscience blow and blast abroad such wicked devices and slanders, that neither agree with the matter of my letter, nor with the persons, nor with the place where the crime was committed, nor with the time when the curses were used?"

In the same Apology he giveth this particular account of his loyalty to the queen:

“I have been always a true man to all the estate of this realm. I will stand with the law in that point, and reprove mine accusers, whatsoever they be. As for my truth and loyalty to the queen’s [that is, queen Mary’s] highness, the time of her most dangerous estate [when the lady Jane Grey was set up queen] can testify with me; that when there were both commandments and commissions out against her, whereby she was to the sight of the world the more in danger, and the less like to come to the crown; yet when she was at the worst, I rode myself from place to place (as it is well known) to win and stay the people for her parties. And whereas another was proclaimed, I preferred her notwithstanding the proclamation; and to help her as much as I could, when her highness was in trouble, I sent horses out of both shires, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, to serve her in her great danger, as sir John Talbot, knt. and William Lygon, esq. can testify; the one dwelling in one shire, and the other in the other. Seeing in adversity I was with her, and did her service then, I being at liberty; it is falsely and wickedly conspired by papists, that now she being in real possession of the crown, and in prosperity, and I a prisoner in captivity, would be against her.”

I thought fit to preserve this paragraph of that good bishop’s Apology, shewing his loyal principles, and his good deserts towards her, though little regarded afterwards by her.

Henry Bull set forth this book prefaced with an epistle to the godly reader. Wherein he sheweth,

“that when papists, by no tyranny nor cruel handling, could discourage this man of God from the constant confession of the truth, they stirred up shameful and cursed devices against him, that he should be a primary maintainer of such as cursed the queen. And how the providence of God had brought this work to light, which otherwise, by the negligence of some, was like to perish. Here he took occasion to blame those men that did defraud the church of such worthy monuments. That great had been the care of this blessed man and others for the church of God, and many fruitful works did they write in prison, in bands, in fetters; but few were come to light. And should we, (said he,) like careless and ungrateful people, suffer these godly labours, these painful travels,

thus to perish? How desirous were they to have them published, to witness to the world that which they taught and sealed with their blood, and to profit their brethren! That it had been this author's earnest request to the readers of this treatise, that they should not keep it close to themselves, but as soon as they had read it, to set it abroad, and communicate it to others."

And the request that the said author made concerning this treatise, the publisher did here generally make in his name, and others, and in the behalf of the church, for the rest of their works, to them in whose hands they remained; that they would not suffer them to be suppressed any longer, (for that it was which Satan and the enemies of the cross of Christ did most desire,) but to cause them to be set abroad in print to the commodity of many. He added, that truly it might seem to be a labour no less commendable for the learned, than profitable for the household of God, to be as diligent in searching and setting forth of such worthy works, as in penning and publishing of new;

"So full were they of heavenly doctrine, so full of the power of God's Spirit, so full of comfort and consolation; being written as it were out of God's sanctuary, with the finger of God, by men, even then out of the world, and in heaven already; that indeed they were most worthy to be sought for, as precious jewels and treasures."

June the 26th, Dr. Crome died; an ancient learned professor and confessor of pure religion, eminent in the days of king Henry VIII. but had made some compliances under queen Mary, to save himself from burning. He was long parson of St. Mary Aldermary, London, where he was buried the day after his death, with priests and clerks singing before him to the said church.

July the 19th, upon the death of Ralph Skinner, dean of Durham, was collated, or instituted, into the same deanery, William Whittingham, M.A. an exile, a man of learning and piety, sometime preacher to the English congregation at Geneva. He composed some of our Psalms in metre, that we commonly use in churches. But having wrote a zealous preface before Christopher Goodman's book against the government of women, was not well liked of; and having been clancularly ordained at Geneva, archbishop Sandys, in his metropolitcal visitation, a good while hence, called him into question. August the 8th, a priest was taken in Feuter-lane, at a certain lady's house, singing of mass; and with his cope which he had on, he was

carried through London to the lord mayor's: and after, from thence to the Compter; and some days after removed to the Marshalsea, where popish priests were now commonly committed.

November the 14th, at night, came a commandment to London, that prayers should be used there three days successively to God, to grant his help and good success to the English army now gone beyond sea against the duke of Guise, sworn enemy to the protestants, whom the prince of Conde intended to meet in the field on Tuesday next. February the 2d, being Candlemas-day, in devotion to the blessed Virgin Mary, certain men and women went to Durham-place, and others to St. Mary Spital, to hear mass. But many of them were taken, and carried away with the guard, and others sent to the Compter, and other places. Such strict care was now taken, that no popish superstition, or any other divine service, should be used, but that lately established by act of parliament.

The same day the French and Spanish ambassadors' houses were so watched, that divers massmongers (not of their families) were found and taken there. The Spanish ambassador was angry, but the other only pretended anger.

The treason of the Poles (wherein both the ambassadors of France and Spain were concerned) was discovered in October last, but it was resolved not to be meddled withal till the parliament sat.

And on the 26th of February were condemned two Poles, (brothers, if I mistake not, of the cardinal of that name,) Fortescue, Spenser, and Bingham, servants of the lord Hastings, of Loughborough, Barwyk, Prestal, and Cosin. Fortescue confessed all, and so was attainted, but was thereby like to find mercy. Their treasons were, intentions to come with a power into Wales, and to proclaim the Scottish queen. The traitors endeavoured to defend themselves by saying, that they meant it not, before the queen should die; which, as they were persuaded by Prestal, a conjurer, should be about March following. This relation the secretary makes in one of his letters to sir Thomas Smith, and addeth, he trusted God had more store of his mercies for them, than so to cast them over to devouring lions.

This Prestal got his liberty by his pretences to the philosopher's stone. For February 6, 1566, (for so long he seemed to have continued a prisoner in the Tower,) he made an offer by Armagil Waad, (lieutenant of the Tower,) to convert silver into gold. His pardon had been granted a little before at

the earl of Pembroke's request, as a new-year's-gift. This treason had been practised both by the French and Spanish ambassadors here residing: upon which the former had been examined by the council. Whereby it was made apparent, how truly the queen and her council judged of the malice of that house of Guise. And the secretary hereupon advised sir Thomas Smith, ambassador in France, to take advantage hereby, as he should see cause, to maintain certain reasons formerly published by her majesty, for justification of her doings in that kingdom, in aiding the protestants against the Guise's faction. And when the French ambassador in the month of November complained of this aiding of them against the crown of France, he was answered, that the queen continued in her former purpose, to maintain her doings for the help of the French king's subjects, and to prevent our own danger by the Guises.

The provost of Paris, being here in London, was especially tampering in treasonous practice against the queen: whereupon, in February, being discovered, he was put under easy restraint, but practised still; four or five of his letters, between him and others, being intercepted. By which letters he avowed that he would not answer, but would delay the matter, so that nothing should be gotten at his hand. And by those letters it was clearly gathered that he was guilty. The letters were partly written with onions, and conveyed to and fro in stoppies of bottles, and some in a secret part of his hose sent out to mending. Yet he was ignorant that these letters were taken. For these causes he was committed to the Tower. His lodgings there were indeed too good for him, being the queen's own lodgings. But the French king, by his ambassador, demanded the delivery of the provost. In March following he made answer in writing with his own hand falsely for the matter, and yet very fondly for himself; the French ambassador continuing to have him delivered. But it was meant that the provost should make some better answer to the matter, and thereafter receive such grace, as his friends should have reason to allow to be beyond his deserts; as the secretary writ to his correspondent. Thus angrily did matters now pass between England and France, and that chiefly on the account of the religion which the queen had espoused. Wherefore all the foreign papal powers contrived to dethrone or destroy her. The French did their part, as we have heard. The queen defended herself by assisting the French protestants. September 22, a contract was made between the queen and the prince of Conde, Monsieur de Rohan, the admiral of France, Be Gramo, Mons. Pynenes, Bricmout Marques, for delivery of New Haven; and they

to receive of her 100,000 crowns. And March the 5th, sir Nic. Throgmorton paid the said money at New Haven to Gasper Coligni, admiral of France, according to the said contract.

And in the month of November, New Haven (now called Havre de Grace, the port town to Roan and Paris, situated at the mouth of the Seine,) was delivered to the queen by the prince of Conde, as a caution. The queen fortified it most strongly, and resolved to keep against the French. This the French were highly jealous of. The queen sent the earl of Warwick, a valiant captain, to be chief governor there, besides a great force of men and money, and a number of miners out of Cornwall for the perfecting of the works. Sir Hugh Paulet was appointed to reside with the earl. And all English ships were seized that came into English ports, and forced to sell their grain for the provision of New Haven. In November, within twenty days, by reason of south-west winds, in Devonshire arrived twenty great hulks, laden with rye and wheat, in Portsmouth four, in Rye two; all which were sent to New Haven.

The English were fully bent to keep this place, by God's grace, against all France, except the French would restore Calais. And in December three old bands were sent for from Berwick to go thither: and before they came, they had there six thousand soldiers, and three months' victuals; and so intended to continue victualling.

At this time three ships, laden with wine from Bour-deaux, set upon a little ship of the queen's, called *The Hare*, passing from Portsmouth to New Haven. But the *Hare* took one of the dogs, (as the secretary merrily expressed it in his letter to the ambassador in France,) with one hundred tun of wine. In January, a gentleman arrived at Rye, who was sent from the admiral Castillion, and gave assurance of his purpose to prosecute the cause of God and his country; and that he meant to join with the queen's power in Normandy.

In February, sir Nicolas Throgmorton went from England to New Haven, to practise with the French protestants, and carried with him 20,000*l.* And within a few days 10,000*l.* more was sent after from Portsmouth.

February the 27th, a commission passed from hence to the count of Oldenburg, to levy eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, who were to pass into France with speed and courage. That nobleman was a notable,

grave, and puissant captain, and fully bent to hazard his life in the cause of religion.

Now, because this war with France was undertaken as well for the cause of religion, as for the queen's own defence, and for the recovery of her ancient dominion of Calais, and the territories adjacent, I shall proceed to give some further account of this affair, and the transactions between the queen and the French king, and his protestant subjects; containing matters for the most part secret, and not yet extant in any published history; being collected (as also what hath been already mentioned) out of the secretary's own private letters to the English ambassador in France.

In the month of February the lord Liddington, secretary to the Scots queen, then at the English court, sent letters by his servant to the duke of Guise, and consequently to that king; moving, that the queen his mistress might be a moyener [a mediator] of peace between queen Elizabeth and the said king. But how unmeet a means that queen was, any one might guess; nevertheless it seems queen Elizabeth declined it not. But the English secretary made this observation upon it, that the office was meet for a Christian prince; and so he prayed God to send success. But this was, as most thought, (and so it proved,) an hinderance to any good issue.

And it did as little further the business, that one Caval-cant, an Italian, but long in England, and a merchant of the city of London, went now to the French court secretly.

The secretary knew of his departure; yet he had no errand from him, nor, as he thought, from any belonging to the court: but offering service, he was left to himself. Being in France, as the secretary thought, he would not appear to the English ambassador's sight a meddler. This information concerning him he gave the said ambassador, and added, that he [the secretary] thought Caveleant meant nothing but well in this, and especially to get reputation.

For six or seven days, beginning the 11th or 12th of February, were great tempests, which cast away divers of the victuallers for New Haven, and scattered some into Flanders, some to Calais, and some to other places.

In the beginning of March, the admiral of France had delivered to him in money to the value of 300,000 crowns, and assurance for other 300,000 crowns, to be employed upon some Almain army this spring.

The count Mountgomery, who came lately into England, remained at Caen, as lieutenant under the admiral in Normandy.

New Haven was now rid of the Frenchmen, and the place at this time was well manned and victualled.

And now sir Thomas Smith was busy in treaty with the French, who writ over, that there were two impediments of the course of the treaty. The one grew by the means of the queen of Scots ministers; and the other by the Italian Cavalcant, lately departed from England thither. But the secretary assured *sir* Thomas, that her minister, who then was at the English court, professed as much earnestness in all his dealings to the crown of England as possible: and for that purpose did communicate with the queen's majesty's letters which he sent thither to the house of Guise. And the secretary thought the French were content to make some change *themselves*, hoping to fish more out of them, than they could out of the English ambassador. That as for Cavalcant, he wholly pursued, merehant-like, negotiation, as it seemed, to do himself good, with no more regard to the one than to the other. And so the secretary judged, and had dealt with him.

About the 21st day of March, by private letters the secretary conjectured peace was then made at Orleans between the king and the French protestants, without any consideration had of the English, notwithstanding the great assistance of men and money the queen had sent. And if it were so, (as so indeed it proved,) the English court resolved by stout and stiff dealing to make their own bargain; and so was the queen bent and intended.

March the 29th, a lamentable chance happened. Sir Tho. Finch, being appointed to be marshal at New Haven, in the place of sir Adrian Poynings, taking ship at Rye with thirty gentlemen, whereof two were brethren to the lord Wentworth, and some other of his name, were lost, with the ship, besides the Camber, coming (driven to return upon foul weather) before the tide was full, to serve him. The loss was esteemed great, and he as much lamented as any man of his degree in any part of England. The great labour now in England, undertaken by all these doings and transactions in France, was to recover Calais. This was the chief end of sir Tho. Smith's embassy at this time. And so the secretary wrote to him, (when he wanted instructions, and complained that they came so slowly,) that he was to prosecute no other end, but the restitution of Calais, without which there

could no accord be made between England and France. Upon this reason there was a full determination to keep New Haven. And if the French should offer any hostility, (which as yet they had not done, but was feared,) it should not only be defended, but they should also feel more hostility by sea and land, (as the English court threatened,) than they could bear. And for the prince of Conde and the admiral, who had played such a trick with England, to make a separate peace with the French, the secretary advised the ambassador to allege to them reasons, not only for the promises and compacts under their hands and seals, but also for their sureties. Both which if they should forget, he doubted not but God would deal with them accordingly. And indeed by this sudden peace, exclusive to the English, the protestants were not only weakened for the present, but made almost incapable of any succour out of England (especially when New Haven became the French's) for the time to come. And but the next year they were warred upon again by their king with more heat than formerly.

And here we shall break off a little these French transactions till the next year.

CHAPTER 33.

French protestants fly hither. Laws of Geneva printed in English. A patriarch of Assyria. A relation of the Poles' conspiracy. The French and Spaniard concerned. Restitution. Some account of the queen; and present state of the kingdom.

THE French protestants fled over hither this year, being exercised at home with great persecutions. The queen was kind to them, which Beza in a letter from Caen of his own hand acknowledgeth to secretary Cecyl, and particularly his kindness towards him, in offering him a safe retreat and harbour here in England, the same reverend man being now in great hazard, and not allowed peaceably to remain in any part of his native country, as he complained in a letter to the said secretary. He was just upon the point of coming over, but upon some sudden emergence hindered; upon which let he wrote the foresaid letter, and sent it by Trocmarton, who came over to the secretary to transact the protestants' affairs in this court. See his letter in the second Appendix.

This same year also were printed and published in English, the laws and statutes of Geneva, constituted since the reformation thereof; translated by Robert Fills, an exile at Geneva during queen Mary's reign: who procured a copy of the said laws carefully to be taken out of the register's book of the city, being but a small book, but yet by which that city was able to govern itself in much honesty, justice, peaceableness, and religion. He dedicated his book to the lord Robert Dudley, master of the queen's horse, and of the order of the garter, as being then reputed a patron of good and godly men, and their works. His end in publishing this book was twofold: the one was to take off a common slander raised by papists in queen Mary's days of those that fled abroad, namely, that they did it that they might live the more licentious. Whereas by this book they might see it was not for that reason, otherwise they would not have planted themselves in a city of such strict order and discipline.

“They charge us,” as he writes in his preface, “with liberty and licentiousness, most unjustly reporting, that we departed out of this realm in the late time of banishment of God's church, only to this end to enjoy more un-chastised freedom of sensual life. But when they shall behold these laws, and shall not be able to prove, but the

same are virtuously followed, and as severely executed in those places where he lived, as in this book they be here expressed, it shall appear how small licence is in our reformed churches left to sin, in comparison of the realms drowned in their superstitions, where their trust in men's pardon hath quenched the fear of God's displeasure, and where horrible sins are dispensable for money."

The other reason of his publishing those laws of Geneva was, that it might be a rule for this nation, in establishing good laws in the state, but especially in the church. For though he saith in one place, that it may not be gathered, that the translator is a new law-maker, or author of any innovation, or that his industry and diligence is any ways prejudicial to the laws of this our realm, which are laudable, good, and godly; yet somewhere else he saith, that men ought to suffer and take in good part this fact of him that bringeth forth to us, out of a strange and far country and foreign tongue, a form and pattern, not only of a well constituted commonweal, but of a well reformed church, not for heathens to gaze on, but for Christians to follow. And that Christians may behold in this treasure, as in a glass, a Christian reformation, and employ themselves to the imitation, as far forth as they see best for them. To make some amends to Rome for the total defection of this church and kingdom from the Pope, happily effected this year both by parliament and convocation, in their laws, articles, and constitutions, I shall conclude this year with a letter I meet with among my papers, wrote by Marcus Antonius *Amulius*, a cardinal, August 29, sent to the pope's legates in the council of Trent, concerning Abdissn, a patriarch of the eastern Assyrians, who had been chosen to that dignity by the clergy and people, inhabiting near the river Tigris, under the subjection of the Turk and Persian. This man being sixty years old travelled to Rome, and there arrived anno 1561, to receive, as was pretended, the pope's confirmation of his election. He willingly swore obedience to the pope, and that he would never depart from the decrees of the apostolic see, and so was declared patriarch in the consistory. And this occurrence was recorded and preserved in the archives at Rome. He desired to have the canons and decrees of the Trent council sent him, and promised that he, and all his, should diligently observe them. So the pope sent him away, together with his priests and deacons, provided with vestments and other things needful for his office and for his journey. And of these things, for ostentation sake, the cardinal aforesaid thought good to acquaint the legates at the council, sending also by the *pope's* command his confession,

writ by his own hand in Chaldee, but translated into Latin; that they should shew it to the said sacred council, where it was, together with the cardinal's letter, in much pomp read, Sept. 17, 1562. He praised this foreigner for his sanctity, for his excellent sense of the true faith, and for many opinions, wherein he agreed with the church of Rome. This affair is briefly related by father Paul; who adds, that when cardinal Amulius his letters were read, wherein he related how this patriarch's jurisdiction reached into some parts of India, subject to the king of Portugal, the ambassador of that king being present, professed, that the eastern bishops, subject to his king, did not acknowledge any patriarch for their superior; which occasioned others to espy divers absurdities in that narration. This letter, together with the pretended patriarch's confession of the pope's authority over him, and his submission to the council of Trent, omitted in father Paul's history, I have seen among Mr. Fox's Collections; and have entered it in the second Appendix.

Let me here insert the process of the trial of that great and dangerous conspiracy carried on by papists, shewing already their ill-will to the queen, and this year discovered.

Arthur Pole, Edmonde Pole, Anthonye Fortescue, John Prestall, Humfrey Barwycke, Edwarde Cosyn, and others, to the number of seven in the whole, by commission of oyer and terminet, dated *vice, line secundo die Februarii, anno quinto reginae*, were arrayned upon an indytemente of treason found in Surry; the force whereof hereafter followeth.

First, It is centeyned, that the same Arthur *Pole*, and others named in the same indytement, as false traytots and rebells agenste the queens majesty, did compasse, imagyne, and goe aboute not onelye to depryve and depose the queen, but also her death and destruction, and to sette upp and make the Skottyshe queen queen of this realme.

And to bringe the same to passe, they conspired to raise and make insurrection and warre within this realm againste the queen.

And for the further bringing of the game to passe, they agreed amongst themselves to depart this realm into Flanders, and from thence into France.

And at their arrivall in Flanders, they shoulde publish the seyde Arthur Pole to be duke of Clarence: and than should send their letters unto the queen mother, the king of Na-varra, and the duke of Guyse, signifyng the arrival

of the duke of Clarence in Flaunders, and to request ayd, acceptation, and adherence unto their sayd intents. And to be better accepted in the said realm of Fraunce for the bringing of their sayd traterous intents to effecte, the seyde Arthur Pole and his sayd complices devysed, that so soone as they came into the realme of Fraunce they shoulde treat with the sayd duke of Gayse (who is in the seyde in-dytemente named, to *be the open enemy unto the queen and her realme*) for marryage betwene the seyde Skottyshe queen and Edmonde Pole, brother to the sayde Arthur. And to bring in an army of five thousande men of the enemyes of our sayde soveraigne lady the queen, from the seyde duke of Gwyse, and with the same armye in Maye next after to arrive in Wales, and there to proclaim the seyde Skottyshe queen to be queen of England; and afterwarde from the parte of Wales to come into this realm, and to move the subjects to ryse and rebell against the queene, and to make the sayde Skottyshe queen, queen of this realme, and to depose our soveraigne ladye.

Item, That the seyde Skottyshe queen, after she hadd byn preferred to the crowne of this realme, should create the sayde Arthur Pole duke of Clarence.

Item, Yt is farther founde by the seyde indytements, that after the sayde conspirators had arryved in Flanders, they wolde sende lettres to one Goldewell, late bushopp of Saint Asaphe, then being at Rome, to be meane to the pope, for his ayde in theis conspiracyes, with promyse of restytusion of relygyon within this realme of Englandt, for such his ayde and helpe.

Item, Yt is founde that Prestall and Cosyn, two of the sayde conspirators, dyd invoke a wicked spryte, and de-maunded of him the best waye to bring all their treasons to passe. And that Anthony Fortescue, one of the seyde con-spyrators, dyd open unto the French ambassador, and unto the Spanish ambassador, the sayde traterous devyses; by the consente of the sayde Arthur Pole and the resydue of the seyde conspirators; with request unto both the same embas-sadors, to hand their letters unto the French king, and to the sayde duke of Guyse, for their ayde in performance of the sayde treasons; declaringe unto the same ambassadors the just tittle which the seyde Arthur Pole hadde to the seyde dukedom of Clarence.

Item, Yt is further founde, that the seyde Prestall and Cosyn, to the intents aforeseyd, dyd goe into the seyde partes by yonde the seas; and

that the seyd Anthonye Fortescue, by the consente of the seyd Arthur Pole, and the residue of the seyd conspirators, dyd hyer a boate to be brought unto Saint Olyves stayres nyghe unto London brydge, to thentente to convey in the same the sayd Fortescue, and other of the same conspirators, being left behind after the departure of the seyd Prestall and Cosyn, unto a Flemish hoye, being uppon the river Thames syx myles beyonde Gravesende; to the intente to transporte the same Anthonie Fortescue, Arthur Pole, and the resydue of the conspirators left behinde, into Flaunders, to the intente to performe the seyd trayterous conspiracyes.

Item, Yt is further found, that the same Arthur Pole, and other the conspirators abovenamed, being lefte behinde in Englande, came unto the sayd boate so provyded; and therein layd dyvers armures and certeyn munytyon for warre, and sommes of money, and other things necessarye for their sayd journey: and also remayned in a certen inne called the Dolphyn, for oportunyty of tyme, to be conveyed by the same boate unto the seyd hoye, and therein to be transported into Flaunders to the entents aforeseyd. And hereuppon the same indytemente concludeth with this effecte uppon all theis matters aforeseyd, layd together, that the seyd conspirators dyd compasse and ymagine the deposinge, death, and fynall destruction of our soveraigne ladye the queen.

The parties indicted upon this matter were, by the whole consent of the judges of the realm then in being, arraigned and adjudged as traitors at Westminster; but the queen of her clemency spared them. I write this at this length to supply either the silence or brevity of our historians; extracting it out of an authentic MS. This plot, it appears, was fomented and managed by the ambassadors which the French and Spaniard had sent into England. And they set on work by the Guises in France, who mortally hated queen Elizabeth, and the religion established: which was well enough known to the queen; who, to prevent their malice, and to break their force against her country, which was feared, took into her protection the protestants of Normandy, craving her aid, and made a contract with the prince of Conde, sending over to them both men and money. The Spanish ambassador, bishop of Aquila, was most dear and inward with the Poles, and promised the Roman Catholics the restoring of their religion here; and did what he could to disturb the quiet state of England: insomuch, that the queen solicited the Spaniard to call hun home; but he died in England the

next year. Of that plot, and this contract, thus did the secretary write to sir Thomas Smith, the queen's ambassador in France:

“By the council's letters ye shall understand, how that a matter of the Poles, practised by the French ambassador and Spanish, hath been of late discovered: which, although, be of no great moment to be feared, yet thereby it is made apparent how truly the queen's majesty and her council here do judge of that house of Guise. And so may you, as you shall see cause, take advantage hereby to maintain the former reasons published by her majesty for justification of her doings, [in assisting the protestant subjects in France.”]

Let me yet add one thing more. In this year was a good piece of justice done in a case relating to Edmund Allen, late of Fritenden in Kent, miller, and Katherine his wife, both burnt at Maidstone, 1557, for religion: whose story is recorded in Fox. A man he was well learned in the scripture, and did as frequently read it and other good books to his neighbours, and gave them many godly exhortations out of them. And being well to pass in the world, he was noted for his charity to the poor, and in a late dear year fed them, and sold his corn good cheap, when it was excessively dear elsewhere. But the priests were his enemies, and especially John Tayler, of Fritenden, his own parish, and Thomas Henden, of Staplehurst. And when by their information to sir John Baker, a zealous justice of peace, they had got him and his wife laid up in gaol, they divided the prey. And having with some others a commission to go to his house, and taking an inventory of his goods, they found a bag of money, which they converted to their own use, and made other spoils to themselves. But the injustice of these men was in this queen's reign called in question; and the 10th of February this year, she sent down interrogatories, and a commission to Thomas Wotton, esq. and certain other gentlemen in that county, to examine this business, and to call before them such persons as they should think fit for that purpose, and afterwards to send up the depositions. The issue of this process was, that they were fain to refund the money, and make good to William Morleyn, the heir, what they had taken away. For it was well known, that Katherine Allen, having been before the wife of one James Morleyn, brought with her to her second husband, goods, chattel, plate, and householdstuff, to a considerable value. The queen's commission, with the interrogatories and depositions, are among Fox's papers. On the back side of which are written these words by John Fox's hand; *Received of Mr.*

John Scot, servant to the bishop of London, drawn out of the originals remaining in his hand. For our farewell of this year, being the fifth of queen Elizabeth's happy reign, we shall take some view of her, and observe her in her private retirement, and in the state whereunto she had already brought her kingdom: which I chiefly gather from a letter of Ascham, her secretary for the Latin tongue, and much about her person in private. She dedicated her first royal labours in her government to God, as her duty to him required: for she first thoroughly purged religion, which she found foully polluted. In the doing of which she used that moderation, that the papists should have no cause to say, that they were dealt hardly withal. This peace made with God was followed with peace made with all princes. And yet, when she came to the government, she found the kingdom entangled in a double war, both with the Scots and the French. After which, she so valiantly and prudently resisted the Guisian faction in Scotland, conspiring together strange things against her, that now between each kingdom, [viz. England and Scotland,] and each prince, there was such secure peace, such strict friendship, as could be between two most quiet neighbour-hoods, or most agreeing sisters. After that religion first, and the commonwealth afterwards, were restored to so much desired tranquillity, she applied her mind to the putting into a better condition the strength and ornaments of her kingdom within itself.

Money that was embased, and made of brass, she made pure and good silver. A hard and truly royal work: which neither Henry nor Edward, her predecessors, great kings, ever dared to do.

Her armory she had already so completely furnished, that no prince in Europe could shew the like.

Her navy she had by this time so strengthened with all, manner of store and furniture, whether you respect plenty of provision and ammunition, or numbers of men, that the treasure of some opulent kingdom seemed to have been laid out upon this tiling alone. These great things she had done within these few years for the public good estate of the whole nation.

Then as to her own person and qualities, she was a queen that easily forgot private injuries, but a severe dispenser of common justice, favouring none in their crimes, nor leaving them hope of impunity. She cut off all licentiousness from all, giving no countenance thereunto in any. This precept of Plato she always set before her in all her doings, "that laws should rule over men, and not that men should rule and be lords over the

laws," in all her kingdom. Besides this, she was a princess that least of all desired the estates and goods of her subjects; and for her own treasure, she commanded it to be sparingly and frugally laid out for her private pleasure, but royally and liberally for any public use, whether it were for common benefit or domestic magnificence. Next, for her endowments of wit and learning, there was not in the court, in the university, nor among those who were the chief in religion or the state, that understood the Greek language better than she. When she read Demosthenes or Aeschines, Ascham (with whom she daily read both Latin and Greek) professed she made him often wonder, when he saw how critically she understood, not only the force of the words, the structure of the sentences, the propriety of the language, the ornament of the speech, and the handsome contexture of the whole discourse; but those things also which are greater, viz. the sense and mind of the orator, and the stress and drift of the whole cause, the law and desire of the people, the manner and institution of every city, and all other things of that nature. In other languages, what and how much she could do, all her subjects at home, and many abroad, were witnesses. Ascham added, that he was present one day, when she gave answer to three ambassadors one after another, viz. the emperor's, the French, and the Swede, in three tongues, Italian, French, and Latin; and that easily, without hesitancy, and readily, according to the several matters they came about. And to the rest of her qualifications, she wrote an excellent hand. And that Sturmius (to whom Ascham was relating all this) might see how exquisitely she could write, he sent him, in a scrap of paper enclosed in his letter, the word *quemadmodum* written by the queen's own hand.

And then to look upon the satisfaction the people her subjects took in her; it added much to their content and easiness under her reign, that plenty as well as peace by this time flourished in the nation. Add her success in all her undertakings, and the prosperity and wealth that appeared more and more, the longer she reigned. This made another author at that time compare queen Mary's reign and this queen's together. He bade them look on the days of popery, and see the dearth, the death, the scarcity that then was, when acorns were thought good to make bread of: and compare the present days with those, and the plenty of God's blessing on the people now; which the blind might see, it was so evident. There was no cause of complaint, nor was there any that complained. And it was thought England had not the like plenteous time in many years; although this present year corn had been dear, and was somewhat scarce, yet now notwithstanding,

the ordinary sort had almost disdained brown bread. And as tokens of further success, God had wrought these great things for the queen's majesty. When once the realm was in danger to be given into strangers' hands [viz. the Spaniards] in the former reign, and none could tell how to deliver themselves, God set the queen up, who, contrary to all men's expectations, avoided them all. What danger was from Scotland! Yet God so blessed the queen, that she not only delivered her people from them, but the Scots also from their enemies the French. And what relief in France the poor oppressed had at her hands, every one saw. And her loving subjects rejoiced, though the envious papists murmured and grudged. God did, past all human expectation, prosper the queen's doings. She at her great cost also restored to her people a fine coin from a base: and she took but few taxes of her parliament to do all this; when many and great were the taxes levied before without any advantage to the subject. How was this our realm then pestered with strangers, strange rulers, strange gods, strange languages, strange religion, strange coin! And now, how peaceably rid of them all! Insomuch, that the foresaid writer concludes, God had wrought such wonderful strange things in so short a time by a weak vessel, as he never did by any her noble progenitors, which had been so many, and so worthy, before her.

THE END OF VOL. I. PART I.

PUBLISHERS NOTES

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