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**ANNALS OF THE REFORMATION
VOLUME 2**

(FORMERLY VOLUME 1, PART 2)

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 2
(FORMERLY VOLUME 1 PART 2)

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ANNALS OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER 34

Veron the preacher. Spital sermons. The oath of supremacy tendered to bishop Boner; with the process thereupon. Velsius, an enthusiast. Disturbs the Dutch congregations. His challenge of the Dutch ministers. Proceedings with him.

VERON, a learned Frenchman, one of the eminentest preachers at this time, and a writer, who had been a confessor also under queen Mary, now rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and prebendary of St. Paul's, died the 9th of April, and was buried the day after, being Easter-eve.

Those that preached the celebrated Spital sermons this year were as followeth:

April the 12th, Easter Monday, preached Horn, bishop of Winton. At this sermon was declared the condition of the poor French protestants, that were fled into England for the persecution, among whom were many women and children: which raised such a compassion in the auditors, that there was collected for them 45l.

April the 13th, Easter Tuesday, Mr. Cole, rector of High Ongar in Essex, and archdeacon of Essex, preached.

April the 14th, Easter Wednesday, the dean of St. Paul's preached. And, April the 18th, being Low Sunday, preached Bradborn, [Bradbridg, I suppose, it should be.] He declared the three sermons preached the week before at the Spital, according to custom. This Bradbridg was now, or not long after, the dean of Salisbury, and afterwards bishop of Exon, Ally being dead.

Upon the act aforementioned, empowering the bishops to tender the oath of supremacy to the ecclesiastics under their jurisdiction, Horn, bishop of Winton, intended to tender it to Boner, late bishop of London, now lying in the Marshal sea in Southwark, a place within his diocese. He was therefore

brought before the bishop, or certain ecclesiastical officers of the said bishop, who required him to take the said oath. But Boner refused both the oath as unlawful, and the bishop himself, as not having power to administer it to him, being none of his diocesan, and indeed no diocesan at all, that is, no lawful bishop. Upon which a famous suit was commenced; at which an argument was learnedly held by great lawyers, whether the queen's bishops were legal bishops, as other histories do relate.

A certificate of Boner's refusal to take the oath was brought into the King's Bench by the bishop of Winton's chancellor; whereupon by the law he was to be indicted of a premunire. But Boner made several exceptions to the certificate, (which occasioned a suit in Michaelmas term, anno 6 & 7 Eliz.) as that he was only styled therein doctor of laws, and in sacred orders, but neither clerk nor bishop. But that exception was not allowed in the court. Further, that the certificate was said to be carried into the court such a day and year by A. B. chancellor of the said bishop, but saith not, by the command of the bishop. But neither was that allowed. Thirdly, that he was indicted upon this certificate in the county of Middlesex by the common jury, and it ran, to inquire in the King's Bench for the county of Middlesex. To which Boner pleaded, Not guilty; for he was in the county of Surrey. Whereupon a question was raised, by what county he should be tried, whether by a jury of Middlesex, or by a jury of Surrey, where the offence was committed. And it was resolved, that the inquiry should be by men of the county of Surrey, and of the neighbourhood of Southwark. For the indictment, mentioned in that act of 5 Eliz. extended to the indictment only, and leaves the trial to the common law, which appoints it to be where the offence is committed, as the lord Coke explained it. Fourthly, he excepted again, that Horn was not bishop of Winton, when he tendered him his oath, that is, not allowing him to be a bishop. Upon this there was much debate among the judges, in the lord chief justice Catlyn's chamber, if Boner could give in evidence upon this issue, namely, that he was not guilty, because the bishop of Winton was not bishop in the time of his tendering the oath. And (as Dyer reports) it was resolved by all, that if the truth and matter be such in fact, Boner would come off. And therefore it was left to the jury to try it.

But after much dispute, to take away all doubt for the future, the present bishops were established by a law made in the eighth year of the queen, that is, in the year of our Lord 1565.

But to return to Boner, and to the beginning of this contention. When he was carried back from the bishop of Winton to the Marshalsea, these passages happened between him and the gazing people, who hated him mortally for his late cruelties, and were met in great multitudes to see him pass. One said to him, "The Lord confound thee, or else turn thy heart." To whom he answered, "The Lord send thee to keep thy breath to cool thy porridge." To another saying, "The Lord overthrow thee," he said, "The Lord make thee as wise as a woodcock." Finally, a woman, wife to one Games, sometimes schoolmaster of the choristers in Magdalen college, kneeled down, and said "The Lord save thy life, bishop. I trust to see thee bishop of London again." To whom he said, "God a mercy, good wife." And so passed to his lodging, where he had talk with a minister of the word of God about the supremacy. The bishop being by him both moved by reason and exhorted by doctrine to yield, gave neither ear nor credit, but answered him tauntingly, "By God, you are well learned." To whom the minister said, "Where learned you, Mr. Bonet, to swear?" "I pray you," said he, "did not Christ swear, Amen, amen, dico vobis?" "Why, that is well," said the minister, "that you have some scripture for blasphemy, although you have none for popery." With that he flung from him out of his chamber into the garden, desiring Mr. Keeper to command him out of the house, that so withstood him.

Upon the foresaid refusal of Boner, and upon his second declining to take the oath, according as the act directed, the bishop of Winchester certified him into the King's Bench, as was said before. But Boner, against all the proceedings of the bishop, laid in his objections and exceptions in that and other courts. The rude draught whereof, wrote with his own hand, was as followeth verbatim.

Objections layed in by Edmond Boner, clerck, against the processe, and all the doyns, made eyther before Dr. Robert Horne, namyng hymself bishop of Winchester, and against the unlawful certificate given in by the same, in the Queen's Bench; eyther before any other in the said Queen's Bench, or elsewhere within this realm, concernyng the premisses, attempted [against] the said Edmond, by vertue of the surmysed statutes of a°. 1°. regni Elizabeth, or ao. 5o. of the same.

First, The said Edmond saith, protesting alway, that he intendeth nothing to say, attempt, or do against the queen's most excellent majesty of this

realm, in any wise by writing or otherwise, or her prerogatif, laws, statutes, or liberties, otherwise than may stand by good law, reason, and conscience, that he the said Edmond hath not ronne into any penalty, comprised in any of the said two statutes of anno primo et anno quinto of the said queen. For that especially, both the said two statutes of anno primo et anno quinto of the said queen be not of strength, force, or power, to condempn the said Edmond; both for that the same statutes ought to have had the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and also the consent of the commons in that parliament assembled: and also, for that the said Edmond was not convened or called herein before a lawful bishop, or competent judge, such as might require any such oath enjoined in eyther of the said statutes; neyther the said Edmond in law or conscience bound in any wise to give the said oath, which hath not his due companions, judicium, justitiam, et veritatem: nor could be given by the said Edmond, but by the death and loss of his own soul, and the danger and losse of divers other mens souls, of whom he hath care and charge of.

Item, That the said Mr. Robert Horne, not being lawful bishop of Winchester, but an usurper, intruder, and unlawful possessioner thereof; as well for that according to the laws of the Catholic church, and the statutes and ordinances of this realm, the said Mr. Robert Horne was not elected, consecrated, or provided, as also according to the canons of the Catholic church he, the said Mr. Robert Horne, came not to the same dignity, or was eligible to the same; but as a person infamed, unworthy, and utterly unmeet for the same, did take upon him the said office, most worthy to be repelled from the same.

Item, That the said Mr. Robert Horne, conspiring with other schismatical bishops of this realm, did by sundry and unlawful means go about at sundry times to put the said Edmond both in extreme and certain danger of his life, and also of loosing of all his lyving and goods.

Item, That the said Mr. Robert Horne, forgetting his own souls helth, and following the sensualitie of his own mynde, of late did make an unlawful, untrew, and false certiffcate, into the quenes majesties bench, surmising the said Edmond peremptorily and obstinately to have refused to give the said oath, required in the said statute of anno primo et anno quinto. Wheras he the said Edmond so did not; but alledged, that he was not bound to give the said oath, for reasonable causes, then and above also expressed.

Other exceptions, which the aforesaid Boner made against the bishop of Winchester's proceedings with him, in the court where he was indicted, were these:

The summons of the said defendent concerning his appearance was not good, nor agreeable to the laws and statutes of this realm.

Item, The inditement is not good and right, because that the matter, whereupon the inditement is grounded, will not bear the inditement: which maketh a great fault to be in the defendent refusing the oath. Which the said defendent in his conscience and lerning thinketh he ought not to give: forasmuch as he cannot give it without committing of deadly sin.

Item, Concerning the special oath, the defendent saith, that the said oath, like as all other oaths, ought to have three companions, appointed in scripture to be veritas, judicium, et justitia. And seeing that this oath hath not these three companions, the defendent pleadeth that he ought not to runne into any penalty at all.

Item, That this oath hath not the said three companions, it appeareth manifestly, for that the said defendent, if he should give it, he should do first against veritie and commit falsity. And also should do against judgment; whereby is here to understand discretion. And also he should not observe justice, which giveth to God and to every thing their due right. In consideration whereof, and that the quenes majestic (whom almighty God long preserve) myndeth not her subjects to runne into perjury, but to keep to their conscience and bounden duty; this defendent firmly believeth, that her said majesty being truly informed of the truth herein, which he is able to justify, will not be in any wise offended.

Item, The statute of anno quinto saith, that the oath shall be promoted in open place, where there shall be a convenient assembly of people to witness the same. And in the inditement there is no mention made of the oath offered before any assembly of people.

Item, That Dr. Horne is no lawful bishop, neyther concerning the tendering of the said oath, nor other things foresaid, nor exercise of other ecclesiastical office; for many causes, and especially for that he the said Dr. Horne was not lawfully consecrated, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: especially the statute of 25 of Henry VIII. cap. 20; where in effect is required, that he that is to be consecrated must, among other

things, have one archbishop and two bishops, or else four bishops, at the consecration. Which the said Dr. Horne had not.

Item, That the said Dr. Horne, by reason of the premisses, and that he hath not duly certified according to the statute of anno quinto: and over that, the said Dr. Horne hath without warrant, commission, or authority, called the said defendent out of the quenes majesties prison of the Marshalsea in Southwark, putting the said defendent in manifest and notorious danger of his life many ways, and especially by reason of the naughty and unruly multitude, which the said Dr. Horne and his complices, purposely of malice, had caused then and there in the streets riotously to be assembled, and by them and their bedle to be thereof advertised; and then and there to cry out wonder, and make exclamation against the said defendent, and them dangerously to use and advertise against all good order, and law, and reason: and moreover, for that the said Dr. Horne, without warrant, commission, or authority, did return the said defendent again in the Marshalsea foresaid, and put the said defendent in danger of his life, and to great costs and losses: therefore the said defendent most humbly beseecheth this honourable court, first for the quenes majesties honour and advantage, the said Dr. Horne to be called to answer before your honours for his wilful, heady, and lewd enterprize; and to graunt to the said defendent liberty and licence to sue him and his complices, for the manifest outrages, injuries, [and dammages,] attempted and done against the said defendent.

A part of another of Boner's declarations in his own behalf ran thus: Item, That where there was much adoe to frame the act, Doctor Horne sometime inditing it, the scribe writing it; and by and by smiting it out by his commandment, I the said Edmond told unto them, saying, "If you cannot make your act your selves, let me help you. And it shall do weh in my opinion if in the first place [you write] your own sayings and doings, and then write mine." Which thing with much adoe being agreed upon, and the writing left with the scribe, which doth declare all the whole matter, I departed thence, and afterwards divers times did send to William Bydell, the scribe, to have a true copy thereof; and in no wise could get it.

Item, That by the said premisses it cloth appear, that I the said Edmond made no such precise, peremptory, or obstinate refusal, as is certified in this behalf. And therefore neither the certificate brought herein, nor the indictment proceeding thereupon, are to be credenced, nor to be taken for

good and lawful, but clerely to be rejected and cast away. And the said Dr. Horne, for his unlawful doings herein, to be duely punished, and from the dignitie of the bishopric of Winchester, as an intruder, usurper, and unlawful possessioner, to be excluded and rejected; especially, being a notorious lecher, advouterer, schismatike, and heretike, and in no wise a lawful bishop, especially to exact any such oath, or to make such certificate, as is before mentioned.

All this scandal, trouble, and disturbance had this good bishop, in venturing to be so hardy as to meddle with such a man as Boner was.

Another troubler of the peace of the church, though of a quite different strain from the former, this year also arose, and appeared in London, namely, one Justus Velsius, a foreigner of the Hague. He was a man of learning, but a great enthusiast, pretending much to the Spirit, and to great illuminations, a foreteller of God's wrath at hand, and a discoverer of errors and heresies. This man, being one Thursday in March at a prophecy, (as it was called,) in the Dutch church in London, where Nicolas, one of the ministers, preached upon the doctrine of regeneration, stood up, and contradicted him, as delivering false doctrine, nay, many gross errors and heresies concerning this point of religion; and in fine, made a challenge to the said Nicolas, and Peter De Loene, the other Dutch minister, to dispute on this argument with them the Thursday ensuing. And the account of this enterprise of his he thought fit to write to the secretary; telling him,

“That he was present, and heard the said Nicolas discoursing concerning the regeneration of man, as a blind man of colours, introducing he knew not what monsters of heresies, and withdrawing from the people the true doctrine of regeneration, and bringing in certain false doctrines in the room of it, surpassing the absurdities of all heresies. Yet he keeping a temper, followed the counsel of Dionysius Areopagita, and thought not fit to contend against him with manifold gainsayings, which would have been a long business, and of no great use; but in simple words he had plainly laid down the very truth concerning regeneration, confirmed by scripture. But that they with much bitterness recompensed his kindness and goodwill, and with jeers and reproaches, the property of such men to do: insomuch that all good and moderate men, even of their own flock, grieved and complained of it. That he therefore, perceiving by the Spirit of God, that now the time was come,

wherein Christ would work by him the salvation of men, and demolish the enemies power, he had challenged these ministers, these spots and blemishes, sporting in their own errors, to the said contest. And this challenge he advised the secretary to give the queen notice of; that she might send whom she would of her seevants, who might not only be present, and witnesses, at this contest, but also endeavour that all things (as God willed and desired) might be done orderly, and without all tumult: and that she would not endeavour to hinder it by any means, unless she, taking up arms against the invincible God and Christ, had a mind suddenly to perish with those figliters against God and figliters against Christ.” This was written in Latin, March the 20th, 1563.

The challenge abovesaid he soon drew up in a form, and published it abroad, and enclosed it in his former letter.

“Since according to Paul in these our last days, there be many men (alas!) who, being blinded with the love of themselves, attribute much to themselves, being arrogant, proud, evil speakers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, wicked, wanting the affection of charity, truce-breakers, slanderers, &c. whom Paul biddeth to avoid; and of this number are Peter de Loene and Nicolas, who give out themselves for the ministers of the church of the German congregation in London; who as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do they resist the truth, denying by the spirit of Antichrist the force of the coming of Jesus Christ in the flesh, who therefore appeared, that he might demolish the works of the Devil; that is, that adulterous stamp and coin, to wit, original sin, which he [the Devil] impressed upon men, and from man himself [Christ in the flesh] he might receive the true coin of God, impressing upon him the image of the new and heavenly man.

“I, by the Spirit of God, whom to resist is an horrible thing, for the asserting of the glory of Jesus Christ our Saviour, (which those false apostles, deceitful workers, in whom Satan transfigureth himself into an angel of light, endeavour to take away from him,) am come hither, that I may publicly resist these very persons in the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore we make known to every one, because the kingdom of God doth not consist in word but in power, that we challenge those same Peter de Loene and

Nicolas, slanderers of the truth of Christ and God, the next Thursday, the 25th of March, not to an empty strife of words, but to the demonstration of the Spirit and power. That so as I assert, either their false and devilish doctrine, or rather our true and divine doctrine, be confirmed by signs, which the eternal truth of God, which cannot lie, hath promised, shall follow those that truly believe.

“And because they now of a long time, according to their lusts, have urged much false doctrine, persecuting Christ in his members, there are many (for not these two alone, but others also with them, defend this false doctrine,) whom they may assume their alders, and so as the false prophets of Baal, do multiply and heap up to themselves, I being alone, but joined to Christ, it is very agreeable to reason, and equal, that they first join themselves to this touchstone, and declare of what sort they are; afterwards, when they shall be found reprobate silver, and cast away by the Lord, then the grace of God shall be revealed, what kind of treasure we carry about in this earthen vessel, that it may be the abundance of the power of God, and be ascribed to him, and not to us; to whom all glory and honour is due for ever and ever. Amen.”

By this challenge it seems, that which gave this Velsius offence was the Dutch ministers’ assertion of original sin, utterly denied by the sect of Dutch anabaptists, of which sort this man I suppose was. And it is remarkable, so heated was the fancy of this sectary, that in this challenge he seemed to promise some signs and miracles to accompany his disputation, for the confirming of the pretended truth he should defend against these Dutch ministers.

I will relate another exploit of this conceited man. It was but a few days before this happened, that, as though it were by some inspiration, he required the abovesaid De Loene to put his whole congregation upon entering into a second covenant with God, (baptism, their first, being broken,) and enjoining him to propose it to them accordingly for their salvation. But the said De Loene not complying with this proposal, Velsius took upon him, as one having some extraordinary authority from God, as St. Paul had, to anathematize him in that apostle’s words.

The renewing and restauration of the dissolved covenant, as Velsius entitled it, to be propounded to the congregation, ran in these words:

“Because in the initiation of baptism we stuck not to the abrenunciations and sponsions made for us, but by intolerable breach of faith, turning away from Christ, and the life of God, as children of disobedience, we fell off wholly from them, again as dogs returning to their own vomit, and swine washed to their wallowing in the mire, being conformed to our former lusts in ignorance, doing the will of the flesh and of our thoughts, walking, as other nations which know not God, in the vanity of the mind, loving the world, and the things of the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, and giving heed to spirits, impostors, and doctrines of devils; which fill the soul with knowledge that puffeth up, envy and contention, and putting away a good conscience; have made shipwreck concerning faith, wandering from the simplicity which is in Christ: therefore, with the lost son, coming to ourselves, desiring to bring forth fruit worthy of true repentance, we do this day renounce wholly the Devil, and all his suggestions, the world with all its pomps; and also ourselves, and the vanity of our minds, and our carnal cogitations and lusts, with a firm purpose of never returning to them again. To Christ also and to God we give our names, to do henceforth according to his sayings, precepts, and laws, to be put into our minds, and to be written upon our hearts by the goodness and grace of him, and the communication and leading of the Holy Ghost, all our whole life according to our strength. To the eternal Father we religiously promise and vow these things, from a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned; by this aid and help, without which we can do nothing ourselves, as of ourselves. This we know, acknowledge, and confess, imploring that thou wouldest vouchsafe in us these very things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, by that holy and sanctifying Spirit. Amen.”

The letter he wrote to the Dutch minister aforesaid, to propose this covenant to his congregation, may deserve also to be taken notice of, which was as follows:

“My friend, whom I love with a pure heart in Christ Jesus, and whose salvation I do not less desire to further than mine own. How long at last will you so miserably deceive yourself and all others, and draw them with yourself into eternal perdition? For who is not ready again to renew and enter into this covenant with God and

Christ, and firmly to adhere to it, whence (as every one ought at this day to acknowledge) he is fallen? Ready, I say, to enter into this covenant after the manner as it is here propounded from the holy scriptures; without which he is neither a Christian, nor can at any time ever be. And for that cause, convert yourselves; be converted, I say, before it be too late, from your evil ways, and yield your ears to truth, which Christ by his unspeakable mercy hath sealed in us, and is ready to confirm the same by signs (set down in the last chapter of Mark) of those that truly believe. To which I, because the righteousness of God consisteth not in word but in power, challenge all the adversaries of truth, to the praise and glory of the omnipotent God, and the salvation of all men. Amen.”

But De Loene thought not good to follow this conceit of Velsius, and delayed the offering of this new covenant of his drawing up, to his flock: whereupon he exerted his pretended plenary power, and published a writing, solemnly denouncing his anathema against the said preacher in these words: “To the hand of him to whomsoever this writing shall come. Since he suppresseth it,” [i.e. the renewing of the dissolved covenant,] “and proposeth it not presently, and at this very day, to the whole congregation of Lower Germany; let the indignation of God be upon him; and in the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be delivered to Satan, to the destruction of his flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.

Velsius also about this time wrote a letter to a French ambassador then in London, foretelling therein what terrible judgments (which he said were already begun, i.e. by war and plague) God was bringing upon them for their obstinacy: and bade him know for certain, that God had revealed to him, by his Spirit, that they were inwardly possessed by Satan; because (as it seems) he had not listened unto some propositions that he had made to him and his nation about religion.

He wrote also to queen Elizabeth, and dealt as freely, in a long letter, with her, telling her, that he had writ to her for her own safety, and the safety of her kingdom: and that the Spirit of Christ compelled him to write, and to propose before her and the nobles of the kingdom, a *norma recti iudicii*, i.e. a rule of right judgment; which he sent to her, to be embraced and professed by all her people. It was a paper of his own drawing up, consisting of several articles of doctrine, by way. of question and answer,

wherein were some very odd notions: as, that “a Christian is made by participation and grace that which Christ was of himself and by nature, namely, first, God in man, and then Man-God.”

In the year 1556 he held a dispute at Frankfort with one Horne, who appeared in behalf of Calvin’s doctrine for absolute predestination, and against free-will: and him he called ambitionis et κενοδοξίας vilissimum mancipium, i.e. a most vile slave of ambition and vainglory. He asserted, that he that was born again might not sin, and in effect could not sin, that is, if he remained in the grace of regeneration.

To conclude concerning this man: he was brought before the ecclesiastical commissioners; and at length two of them, viz. the bishop of London and the bishop of Winchester, forbade him the kingdom; and that by the queen’s authority. This he took notice of in the end of his letter to the queen: but that it should be by her authority, he said, he could not be induced to believe; having been by them commanded to depart hence for no other cause than for the true confession, which the queen had heard, and for his endeavour of setting on foot a more pure life, by the leading of the Spirit of God. And that therefore he could not obey them, since God himself had confirmed his vocation here by an open miracle of Cosmus: who was a madman, and lately put into Bethlem: which madness Velsius fancied he had inflicted on him as a judgment; saying, he was possessed by the Devil.

CHAPTER 35

The bishop of Worcester's vindication of himself against Sir John Bourne before the privy council. Bourne's imprisonment and submission.

DR. Edwin Sandys, who deserved well of religion, and suffered for it, now bishop of Worcester, had a great enemy in that city, namely, sir John Bourne, knight, the late queen Mary's principal secretary of state. He was high steward of that church of Worcester, and a beneficiary thereof: and, however an enemy he was to the religion reformed, yet he resorted to his parish church for the most part daily, (as he asserted himself to the privy council,) ever since Sandys' coming to the diocese, and yet was reported to have mass said at his house: and he came now and then to the bishop's table, who treated him civilly. But Bourne, notwithstanding, had an angry stomach against the bishop, which at length appeared more openly; when upon some pretended ill treatment of him from the bishop and his folks, he wrote letters to the privy council, complaining of him by way of information: which the bishop by word of mouth before the council, Bourne himself being present, answered so clearly and satisfactorily, that his accusations appeared to be unjust, false, and scandalous. He wrote also a very rude letter to the bishop, and received a reprimand from the council for the same.

But Bourne ceased not; but again sent to the council a writing, which he called a declaration of the matters wherein the bishop of Worcester had vindicated himself before the council. In this declaration, consisting in thirteen articles, he laboured to reply upon what the bishop had said. It was writ superciliously and spitefully, and slanderously upon that grave father's assertions, sermons, and person.

“As, that he had thought himself ill entreated by his lordship, the bishop, and his folks; and thereby sore provoked he wrote that letter to the bishop, [which their honours had seen,] for which he had received correction and rebuke from them. That his lordship said, that being in prison in the Tower for religion, he understood that he [sir J. Bourne] was his enemy so much, that where queen Mary was inclined to pardon and release him of his fault, he fell on his knees before her, beseeching her grace to stay, saying, he was

the greatest heretic in Cambridge, whereby he remained in great danger of his life, till God delivered him” To this sir John Bourne said, “That he was not sent to the Tower, (as the bishop had said,) but to the Marshalsea, and remained there, not for religion, but for treason. That in his sermon which he made at Cambridge, when the duke of Northumberland came down thither upon the lady Jane’s business, being neither commanded by the nobility or the university, and without the advice of the learned men there, he touched the births of queen Elizabeth, and her late noble sister, and pronounced thereof that which became him not. That he never knew queen Mary intended his pardon: if she did, he never laboured the contrary. That corrupt labour was made for his deliverance under queen Mary, to which he [Bourne, then secretary] assented not; and when he was discharged he knew not, but sure he was there was no plain order for it; and that he had heard, he conveyed himself away by breaking prison with the aid of sir Thomas Holcroft or his man. That customably in the bishop’s talk he termed queen Mary, plain Mary, or Mary Marral, Bloody Mary, and Drunken Mary; and that, as a token of her clemency, she was drunk the same night she granted his pardon. That out of displeasure to Bourne, he removed two servants from his service (one put to him by one of the honourable board, and the other had served the lady Chandois) for no quarrel, but that one had served him, and the other he had praised, as being of his acquaintance: and had received two more into his service, whom he [Bourne] had removed from him. That the bishop had charged him to have mass commonly said in his house; which he denied he had: and that he called priests’ wives, whores: and that when he was at the bishop’s table, he seemed to be displeased with him for drinking to his wife, (whom Bourne gave this character of, that she was fair, wellnurtured, sober, and demure, so far as he had seen,) and for calling her lady: whereat (said Bourne) he chafed, and said he mocked both him and her. Bourne added, that he frequented his parish church for the more part daily ever since the bishop’s coming to his diocese: and verily believed he had been there more often for the quarter than his lordship in his cathedral church, or in any other in one year, of any intent to pray. That in a sermon of the bishop’s about matrimony and the virgin state, he had said, that there was no imparity, but the vow and dignity of both was equal, and equally seemed in the sight

of God. That indeed he praised both estates well. That he affirmed all contracts and bargains of matrimony to be damnable, and of no validity, made privately and without consent of parents; alleging Evaristus for that purpose. That concerning virginity and the single life, he handled the case so finely, that to his thinking, if he should have believed him, he could not find three good virgins since Christ's time. And that so he left the matter with an exhortation to all to marry, marry. Further, that he said in that sermon, that single-living men, that is to say, unmarried, and especially unmarried priests, lived naught. And that there in the city were lately presented five or six unmarried priests, that kept five or six whores apiece; though there were not above four unmarried priests in the city in all. That not one of them had purged himself of that crime whereof he was detected, nor had fulfilled any public penance, or private, as he guessed. And he had learned the law to be, that the ordinary should keep the detection secret till the party were called to answer; nor was the party openly in the pulpit to be traduced, till the visitor should call him to answer, were he lay or spiritual person.

“Then Bourne spake of the church of Worcester, whereof he was high steward and a beneficiary: and then of the covetousness of those spiritual persons belonging to it that were married; and how they did dispense the lands and goods of holy church to them committed where he dwelt. That in the bishop's visitation he had commanded the altar-stone in sir J. B's parish church to be pulled down and defaced. And whereas the bishop had said, sir J. B. had commanded the contrary, and that it should not be broken nor defaced, but reserved; and in contempt of him caused it to be borne out of the church, and carried home to his house; sir John said, it was untrue, for the altar was taken down, as he said, a year before he came to the church, and was reserved and laid aside toward the paving of one isle of the said church; and bestowed in the paving thereof accordingly, and never brought to his house, nor carried out of the church.

“Bourne had also charged the bishop with phrensy: and that he heard this first by report of the duke of Northumberland, he being present at his examination in the Tower. Which duke, being then charged that he should cause the said bishop [then Dr. Sandys] to

make that sermon at Cambridge, for which he was committed to the Marshalsea, had said for answer, that he was so much offended with the said sermon, that no one thing offended him more: and further said, he was once minded to have punished him for example, till for excuse, he learned, that he was once out of his wits, and beside himself for love, or some such other matter: which his infirmity, Bourne added, he had heard from others.”

Of these and many other particulars did Bourne’s said declaration consist. To this calumniatory writing the bishop was not silent; nor would his own care of his reputation in the church suffer him, but answered this declaration in two or three sheets of paper, offered to the council. To which answer was added the blazon of his coat of arms, signed by Will. Harvey Clarenceux; wherein it appeared he was sprung of an ancient genteel family in St. Bees in Cumberland, against the slander of the said Sir John Bourne, that he was no gentleman.

Now because the reputation of so eminent a father in our church, and of whom so much use was made in reforming of corrupt religion, and settling the church of England in the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s reign, might be cleared from the calumnies of his enemies; I shall here set down this bishop’s vindication of himself against this gentleman, which the said bishop sent to the privy council, and his letter with it. His letter ran to this tenor:

“Where, at such time as sir John Bourne and I were before your honours, there was declared unto me by your honours the substance of an information, which the said sir John had made to your honours against me; whereunto I prayed leave that I might presently answer: and having licence of your honours, briefly and truly answered the most part thereof accordingly. And thereupon your honours did order, that the said sir John should article in writing all such matters of his information as he had to charge me with; and that I afterward should in writing answer the same; and further object against him: it now plainly appeareth by his book of articles, that the said sir John doth not use his articles by way of information according to the said order, but by way of answer unto that which I spake before your honours. And because he taketh upon him to report that in writing which I uttered by mouth, and so to answer: and in his said report doth far alter the tale which I told;

and so hath answered in many places that which by me was never objected but by himself: I am constrained, first, briefly to iterate my said tale uttered before your honours, to the intent to put your honours in remembrance of the truth thereof; and to shew you likewise how far the said sir John mistaketh and misreporteth the same. And because his articles, which he useth by name of an answer to me, are rather in themselves a new accusation, I will truly answer to the substance of the same: and where he doth charge me and mine in his said articles with many and sundry great and heinous crimes, misbehaviours, and defaults; wherein, if he should say trouthe, I were far unmeet the office and rome wherein the queen's majesty hath placed me; so if his sayings shall appear to be vain, and not true, (as they be most untrue,) and many of them devised by himself, and of his malice, not only borne towards me, but also towards all that preach the doctrine of the gospel, as I do: then are they such an heavy burden of slander wrongfully laid upon me, so much to the discredit of me unto your honours, the defacing of my preaching, and hinderance of the execution of my office; that I shall most humbly beseech your honours, that he may at the least openly deny them with the same tongue, or by like writing, as he hath most slanderously, maliciously, and untruly uttered them." Then followed the bishop's paper, viz.

The repetition of my answer made before your honours in such matters, as sir John Bourne had laid to my charge before the same.

"I most humbly thank your honours, that it will please you to give me leave to answer for myself. I being prisoner in the Tower, suit was made to queen Mary and the privy council for my enlargement: and it was reported unto me, the bill of my delivery was allowed by the privy council, and sent up in the docket to be assigned by the queen. When it came thereunto, sir John Bourne hindered that bill, by reporting what my father was; what my brother was; and how that I was the greatest heretic in Cambridge, and a corrupter of the university. And so I was stayed until it pleased God to deliver me, as may now appear. This displeasure long since I had east out of my mind, and freely forgiven; whereof God will bear me witness.

“At my coming to Worcester, sir John Bourne resorted unto me twice or thrice, whom I entertained so friendly as I could; minding that way to win his favour, and conform his opinion in religion. And although I was informed by divers honest men of the city, that he had mass in his house, which his fool could openly report, and was otherways diversely bruited and suspected; and moreover in reasoning with me, and in defending transubstantiation, reproving Peter Martyr’s book, he protested he would never be of my religion. And where I directed forth process for a widow, whom his brother Thomas Bourne, having wife and children of his own, had gotten with child, being a woman before in honest name, and having a good living, sir John Bourne hindered the sending forth the said process; shewing my register that he would take upon him to satisfy me in that behalf, as my register did and will testify. And whereas I commanded an altarstone in his church to be broken according to the queen’s majesty’s injunctions; and resorting thither to preach, I asked the churchwardens whether they had so done or no. They answered, that sir John’s man had carried it away into his house; and they could not have it, nor break it. Also, in a sermon that I made at a marriage, shewing how fit and necessary it was that children should not contract without the consent of their parents, bringing the saying of Evaristus, a bishop of Rome, *Matrimonia tunc sunt, cum expetuntur a parentibus; alioqui non matrimonia, sed stupra sunt*; i.e. Marriage is that which is sought by parents; otherwise it is not marriage, but whoredom. This doctrine sir John depraved; labouring thereby to discredit my preaching.

“Besides, I sending for divers of his parish, to detect faults and disorders in my visitation, he detained them back, and would not suffer to come. All these displeasures and inconveniences I suffered, lest I should seem to revenge old displeasure, and to work upon affection.

“But the cause of his chief grief towards me rose upon this occasion. Two ministers’ wives, who be both honest and sober, (the one a gentlewoman,) were going over Severn in their own boat. My lady Bourn, her eldest son, and divers servants, entered into the boat. Sir John Bourne’s eldest son, blaspheming and swearing, said, Now you are among papists. As for you, Mrs. Avyce, you are a shrew. And, Mrs. Wilson, your husband is a good

fellow: ye can want no help; if ye do, send for me. It is no mervail if sir John Bourne's son use such talk; for he himself calleth ministers' wives whores. One of the serving men rushed on Mrs. Avyce's shoulders with his buckler, and tear her coat almost a foot long, and pierced unto the skin, and hurt her; and put them both in great fear. Upon this occasion a servant of mine, being cousin to Mrs. Wilson, as he reported, was offended, and meeting with one Jones, sir John Bourne's servant asked him, Is not thy name Jones? Yea, said he, what wouldest thou with that? Marry, thou art a knave, and hast abused a gentlewoman, a friend of mine. Whereupon they drew their weapons, and my man smote the sword out of his hand at the first blow. After, bade him take it up again, saying, I might kill thee if I would: but fight, if thou darest. My brother, being my receiver, going on hunting with others, came and ended the fray. This servant is called Kilkow, although supposed to be a coward: for his master going in the streets of Worcester, a serving man met him, and forgot to put off his cap: whereupon sir John Bourne called him knave: and this his man, (as should appear and was reported,) at his commandment, went and found the serving man in a shop, and cometh behind him and smiteth him, that he was in great danger of death hereby. Anthony Bourne, son and heir of sir John Bourne, offended herewithal, sent his sword to the cutlers, to make it sharp; and came soon after himself, with three or four men, near unto my palace gates, and called, Where be the bishops boys? Tell them that Anthony Bourne is come. Hereupon my men went forth, and they buckled together with their weapons, and had made a fray upon my men, if the bailiff had not parted them, I being in my consistory all the while. At the length making an end of matters, and repairing home into my house, having but one man left with me, coming into my palace, my porter seemed to be troubled: and I asked what the matter was? Said he, Anthony Bourne and divers of his father's servants called out your men to fight with them. Whereupon I hasted to the street, where I found them newly set asunder. I went with the bailiffs into the town-house, where the parties were also called. I required the bailiffs, that if any of my men had offended, to punish them most extremely, to the example of all others: and when they had done, I would expel them my house. But as for young Mr. Bourne, use your discretion. And so I departed, leaving the examination to the bailiffs. And of any quarrel

between my men and sir John Bourne's men before that, of my honesty I never knew nor heard. And of all this I minded never to have complained.

"Within two days after, I having occasion rode to Ludlow, to my lord president, [sir Henry Sidney.] And he asked of Worcester matters. I told him of the disorder that was like to have been at Worcester. Whereupon he wrote to the bailiffs to examine the matter truly, and to send unto him the examination. Which they did. Anthony Bourne, with some others, was sent for by letters: and he, after sharp rebuke, was bound to the peace against me and all my folks. Whereupon it may appear where the fault was. All this notwithstanding, when I perceived that sir John Bourne a little before Christmas came into the country, with my lady his wife, and minded not to keep house, I required my chancellor, who is his friend, to tell sir John, that if he and my lady his wife would keep Christmas with me, they should be welcome.

"After I had received a commission from your honours, directed to me, sir Thomas Russel, Mr. Blount, Mr. Hawks, and Mr. Foliot, for the disorder made at St. John's by Thomas Bourne and others, as we were together reading the same, and directing forth precepts for the parties to appear, sir John Bourne sent me a letter, which your lordships have seen. I read it presently to the said commissioners, and immediately after sent my man to sir John Bourne, who was in the city, praying him to dine with me. As they all disliked the letter, so they mervailed I would send for him. He refused to come: if he had come, truly I had cast the letter into the fire. "And these be the dealings which have been between sir John Bourne and me. Hitherto I have not accused him; for I take that to be the worst part. Neither will I, except I be commanded; although I have to say against him such matters which I would be loath to utter.

"This was my whole talk. I minded to have answered certain objections against me, made by sir John Bourne, concerning his brother, Mr. Arden, Mr. Norfolk, Mr. Cecil, and certain whom he termed his servants: but that with kneeling down, and crying, All was false I had said, he interrupted me. And your honours, being long troubled with our talk, ordered that we should article in writing."

This was the bishop's speech to the privy council. Then followeth his answer to sir John Bourne's declaration. Which being very long, I was in some suspense about inserting it, inclining to abbreviate or wave it wholly: but considering how many notable historical remarks there will be found in it, of matters relating to religion and the state of men and things in those times, and proper to illustrate the life, spirit, and acts of this worthy bishop, and vindicate one of our chief reformers, and withal to preserve an authentic paper of state; I will take the pains to transcribe it, and hope the reader will find it worth his time to peruse it.

An answer to the declaration of sir John Bourne, knight, which he hath made to my answer uttered before your honours. The said declaration being indeed a new and untrue accusation.

First, The said sir John Bourne misreporteth my words uttered before your honours, as may appear by my repetition thereof now made in writing according to the truth, as I trust ye do remember.

To the first article which he nameth I answer. I say that every sentence in the same contained is most vain and untrue: and he proceedeth against me maliciously, with manifest untruth in the residue of his book.

The said sir John saith, that I was not prisoner in the Tower. I answer, that I was there prisoner under the custody of sir Edward Warner and sir John Brudges, knights, lieutenants of the said Tower, twenty-nine weeks. Some of your honours know I say truth, and did see me there. Immediately before Mr. Wyat's apprehension, I was by order removed into the Marshalsea.

Further, he saith, I was in the Marshalsea for treason. I answer, that I neither was, nor by the law could at any time be charged with treason: for the matter objected against me was, for words uttered in my sermon at Cambridge: which were not within the compass of any law of treason.

He saith likewise, I made a sermon at Cambridge, (for which I was imprisoned,) not commanded by the nobility or the university, and without the advice of the learned men there. I answer to that, that the duke's grace of Northumberland, and others of the council then there, both commanded me, and gave me instructions. Divers of the masters and heads of the colleges both conferred with me, and consented to my doings, which were not in such sort as malice hath reported them.

He moreover saith, that I spake that which became me not, of the birth of the queen's majesty that now is. Thereunto I answer, that I neither spake of her birth, nor made any mention of her highness in my said sermon; saving only that according to my bounden duty I prayed for her, as I have already sufficiently declared before the queen's majesty, and to some of this honourable board, in that behalf: and yet am not to prove the same by good and certain testimony:

He saith also, that he never hindered my pardon. Truth it is, my friends never sued for my pardon, but only for my delivery and discharge of imprisonment: which he a great while by untrue and dishonest surmises stayed; as sir Tho. Holcroft and others, then suitors for the same, reported to my friends.

He furthermore saith, that corrupted means were used for my delivery; and that he is sure that I was discharged by no plain order; and as he heard say, I conveyed myself away by breaking of prison, with the aid of sir Tho. Holcroft or his men. I answer, that I never promised nor assented to give, or that any of my friends should give for my deliverance, any one groat. I was delivered by queen Mary's warrant, signed with her own hand, and subscribed with the hands of divers of her privy council, as the bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor of England, the right honourable the earl of Pembroke, my lord Hastings of Loughborough, then master of her highness's horse, and others. I had also the said council's several letters directed to the sheriff of Westmerland, to the bishop of Peterborough, and to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge; commanding them to restore my goods which they had seized. That I brake not prison, Mr. Waye, yet keeper of the said Marshalsea, who brought me forth of the same by the authority aforesaid, and set me at liberty, can well testify.

Where he chargeth me with many foul and unfitting terms spoken by me of queen Mary, when I used to make mention of my pardon, (which I could not do, because I never had any of her;) as the assertion is most untrue and odious, so shall he never be able to prove it. And thus may your honours evidently perceive the great impudency of my accuser, and the manifest untruth of this accusation; and that in every sentence of this article.

In the second article he misreporteth my words uttered before your honours. Yet for answer to his arguments of displeasure, I do not remember that any of this honourable body ever put any servant to me, nor that I put away any such servant. At the request of my lord Grey of Wilton,

I received one Colyng, who had served the lady Chandos: whom for brawling with one of his fellows, named Adam Twidall, and giving him a blow, I discharged out of my service, according to certain orders prescribed and kept within my house. That he praised any to me, or that this Colyng was ever his servant, truly I cannot remember. One Dyer served me, till I heard an evil report of his life; but that he ever served sir John Bourne, before now I never heard. Davys being discharged of sir John Bourne's service, offered his service to the steward of my house; who being received into the stable upon further liking, and misliking, his labour, my steward discharged him again. John Fisher hath been servant to sir John Bourne; and by surviving his father, with whom he was joined in a copy and a patent, is now my tenant, and my bailiff and woodward of my manor of Hallowe and Grymley. And because there is some controversy between sir John and me, for certain tenements or rents, parcel of my said manor of Grimley, my officers thought he could not truly serve us both; and thereupon required him to leave sir John's service, and to serve me, or else to take the fee, and to leave the execution of the office to some other honest man during the time of the said controversy.

Touching Mr. Thomas Cecil, being a man in his youth well brought up in learning, and also in good religion in Cambridge; and after that, serving Mr. Goodrick; because he obtained not his purpose in a suit, he upon displeasure departed from Mr. Goodrick, and revolted in religion, as I heard it credibly reported. Coming to Worcester, he hath shewed himself a most obstinate papist, and adversary to the gospel; and hath there professed and practised both the temporal and spiritual law, being sufficiently instructed in neither: wherefore, and for his frivolous delays and dishonest shifts daily by him used in defence of evil causes, being, charged therewith by me, by my chancellor I discharged him of my consistorycourt. And for these causes only, and for no respect of sir John Bourne's familiarity with him, I so did. The like before removed the same Thomas Cecil out of Bristow, as I was then credibly informed. He is brought in here for his name's sake, not for his virtue sake.

Mr. Bourne may allege the like arguments as these, of my displeasure; for that I deprived Arden and Northfolk, two obstinate papists; and for that I have punished many notorious offenders: whereof many be of his acquaintance and great familiarity, and as it is said, the more stubborn by his supportation. For answer to the third article, I say, that my lenity and softness was such, that as I was not willing to touch him, so I laid not

watch for his doings, which I might easily have found out, if I had used diligence therein according to my duty. But it is very true, that it was commonly bruited in Worcester, and yet is, (and that of honest men,) that he had mass in his house divers times after my coming into the country; and his fool spake it: and fools often speak as truly as they who would seem to be wise.

To the fourth article, where he saith, that I charged him before your honours, that he favoured not priests' marriages; how untrue it is, your honours can remember; and likewise for his not coming to the church. These are his own, because he hath pleasure to talk in them. So likewise much of the rest was not spoken by me. But to answer his article.

He saith, he hath been oftener at the church than I; for the intent to pray. He setteth forth so much his own holiness, and so much chargeth me with want and negligence of my duty, that he forceth me to speak that which otherwise I would not utter. I may safely thus much say, that there hath not six days passed me, since I went first to Worcester, but I frequented common prayer either in mine own chapel with my family, or in churches abroad in my diocese, or elsewhere. And those six days, sickness made me keep my chamber. I can moreover safely say, that there hath passed me neither Sunday nor holyday, saving two only, (and then let as before,) wherein I preached not once or twice, besides my visitation sermons and workday sermons: and I never came in church, nor never preached, but I prayed. And for proof thereof I shall be able to bring sufficient testimony.

Where he supposeth, that Harwel told me, how he depraved my doctrine. Truth it is, he depraved my doctrine; which was told me by as worshipful a man as sir John Bourne is himself, and one of much more credit. He bringeth in my wife to speak evil of her, if he could; that I should be offended with him, because he drank unto her. I would gladly know how he understood it, by word or countenance? I need not fear sir John Bourne of all other men: for he misliketh all priests' wives, and dare call them whores. And I suppose none of them have great cause to favour him. In calling her lady, which is not her name, neither ever was so called, either before or since, (and he then did it to mock her,) I told him that therein he abused us both.

Where he heard but three sermons, it declareth what good will he beareth to God's word. Where he misliked the last, and a learned man called it pernicious, I would pray that that learned man may be named. I preached at

a marriage, and so had good occasion to speak of matrimony; which I wished to be made by consent of parents. Among many other scriptures and authorities for that purpose, I also brought in that saying of Evaristus, *Matrimonia tunc sunt, cum expetuntur a parentibus; alioquin non matrimonia, sed stupra sunt*: not precisely affirming, but only alleging his opinion: neither minding thereby to make dampnable, or of no validity, any matrimony so made according to the order of law received, as by him I am charged; but only to persuade how convenient parents' assents be. To make equality between matrimony and virginity I never did. I am not so ignorant in the scriptures and writers. Marry I said, that neither matrimony nor virginity deserve heaven: for that was the free gift of God, attained by a lively faith in Christ Jesus. That I called all contracts without consent of parents damnable; or that I cried, Marry, Marry, it is most vain and untrue.

And where also he chargeth me, that I said five or six priests were detected of whoredom; of my truth it is a most vain fable: for neither did I speak it, neither was there any one priest in my diocese detected of whoredom: and therefore I could punish none.

Where he allegeth the law, what I ought to do in detection; this shaft cometh out of a lawyer's quiver; who helped him to pen this vain book.

Where he saith, he never reasoned with me, nor none of mine; it is very untrue: for he reasoned with me in defence of transubstantiation, and condemned Peter Martyr's doctrine and learning in comparison of Dr. Gardiner's, late bishop of Winchester. He at that time said, he would never agree with me in religion. The like he spake to my chaplain, Mr. Wilson: and also took upon him to defend transubstantiation at my lord president's table. This man taketh liberty to deny and say what he listeth.

Concerning the discourse which he maketh against the marriage of ministers, I think it not necessary to be answered by me, but leave it to the judgment of your honours, to whom, as he saith, he hath therein declared his opinion. What he liketh or misliketh, it maketh not much matter: for he misliketh the gospel, true religion, and these our times. But he ought of right most of all to dislike himself.

I was never charged before with covetousness: for it is a sin far from me of all others: for my greedy getting is such, that I am in debt a great sum. His further vain talk needeth no answer. Where he allegeth that he never called priests' wives whores, it is untrue: for three women going through his

park, wherein is a path for footmen, he, supposing they had been priests' wives, called unto them, Ye shall not come through my park, and no such priests' whores.

Where he calleth himself a beneficiary of the college of Worcester, your honours may well perceive how well he requiteth them for their benefits; who now accuseth them before you, the parties being absent. Indeed the college hath benefited him with some part of his living, and it benefited his father before him; who was an officer in the same church. But I have not heard of a courtesy used by him towards them. If he have to charge the dean and prebendaries of the said college, they have age, and can answer for themselves.

To the fifth article, I say, that his answer is most untrue and slanderous. I commanded process to be given forth for that woman whom his brother had polluted. When she appeared not, I charged with that fault my register. Who answered, that sir John Bourne sent unto him to stay, and said that he would satisfy me. And this my register shall not deny. I shewed such favour unto his brother, that I caused him to do open penance, and also to pay four marks to the poor. How sir John hath misliked his brother, it doth well appear, since the beginning of this matter: for in his brother's quarrel he wrote this undiscreet letter, [which was brought before the council, and he received a rebuke for it,] and proceedeth to rail upon me, and slander me, as your honours may perceive. And where he saith, that my chancellor put me in remembrance of goodfellowship, as he calleth it, wherewith he saith, I am said to be acquainted in my youth in such causes; I humbly beseech your honours, that my chancellor may be examined in that behalf: that if it shall appear that he used no such talk to me, it may be evident how slanderously this is invented and forged of himself.

And further, I shall most humbly pray your honours, even for the love that you bear to innocency, that sir John Bourne may be put to a further trial and proof of his hearsay, and I cleared of so heinous a slander. My life hath never been impeached nor blotted since I was born. How I have lived from my youth until this day, I have good testimony since I was twelve years of age. My lord of London for the most part hath known my conversation, as one with whom I have ever lived familiarly: except between thirteen and eighteen years of age, we have ever to this time lived as brothers together. His testimony I shall pray may be heard. Besides him, Mr. Secretary, from eighteen years till that I was twenty-two, can tell of my life. It pleased him

to use me familiarly. After that time, until I came from Cambridge, my lord of Canterbury, [Dr. Matthew Parker,] Mr. Dr. Haddon, sir Thomas Smith, and Mr. [Peter] Osburn, with many others, can report of my conversation. I passed through all the degrees in the university orderly without any dispensation. I was chosen to all the offices of the university which were bestowed upon students: I was scrutator, I was taxer, I was proctor, and I was vice-chancellor. If my life was so lewd as sir John reporteth, the university would not thus have preferred me. And my rowme was to be master of a college. When I was in prison, no malice could or did charge my conversation. My life beyond the seas, I pray your honours that it may be testified by my lord of London, my lord of Salisbury, sir Anthony Coke, and sir Thomas Wroth. And since my coming home, I report me to the world. Having this testimony of my honest life, I trust ye will not suffer sir John Bourne thus impudently to slander me with hearsay.

To the sixth article I say, that the article is untrue. The altar-stone remaining in the church I commanded to be broken. At my coming thither it was removed out of the church, but not broken. The churchwardens openly affirmed, (which they cannot deny,) that sir John Bourne's men had carried it into his house; and they durst not let it out, nor break it. What his good devotion is of late, I know not; but sure I am he hath devotion to pull down church and chapel, as hereafter I will remember unto you.

To the seventh article I say, that in the same he untruly slandereth me, my chancellor, and apparitor. We never called any without just cause, and worthy of correction. Those that were appointed to appear, were appointed by the discretion of his unlearned parson, and altogether by sir John Bourne's direction. Those appointed were his tenants, and not well affected towards religion, and durst do no other than he commanded. I sent for other two which favoured the gospel, that they might detect his unlearned parson; who in the pulpit moved the people to auricular confession, as a thing necessary to salvation, as the auditors did report. These two men the said sir John so used that they durst not come; and so I could not orderly proceed to the correction of the priest.

To the eighth article he reporteth my tale very untruly in divers points, as may appear by my own repetition. To his declaration in this article I answer, that my former words be true. And Mrs. Gervys, whom he allegeth for a witness, will affirm the same, I doubt not, if she be examined upon her oath. I termed not my man a gentleman; and yet his brother may

dispend one hundred marks by year, as I hear; and sure I am he himself might spend twenty mark in land: his name is Acres. And that I should not offend sir John Bourne after the examination of that affray, I put him out of my service; who from me went to serve at New Haven: and being come over again from thence, he returned thitherwards with sir Thomas Fynch, and, as I hear say, is drowned. The wife that had her coat torn almost a foot long, (and not down to her skirts, as sir John reporteth,) was no gentlewoman, yet an honest woman. The other was a gentlewoman whom his son used with so vile talk. And this will be deposed.

Whose servant he was that sir John's man smote, truth is, I know not. But whether be meet that sir John's servant should smite in peril of death all such as will not put off their caps when sir John Bourne passeth by the common streets of a large city, I refer to the consideration of your honours. My brother came to the parting of that fray made between my man and his, as I credibly was informed; and neither procured it, nor called any man knave for it. Whereas sir John reporteth my brother called him knave: all that I know I will truly say, not to defend my brother's evil, but to report a truth. Sir John met my brother riding towards Oxford; who put off his hat to him. Sir John, disdainfully looking at him, saluted him with these words; Farewell, sir knave; (for it is to be noted that it is common with him to term many honest men so.) My brother answered, Sir, you are no less. Whereat one of sir John's men buckled to fight with him: but sir John stayed his man. It was some time after I heard of this. When I heard it, I earnestly reprov'd my brother; and six weeks after never spake unto him. And for these his uncomely words used to a knight, I put him out of my house and service: for I will keep none that either will brawl, or abuse his tongue towards any man of worship.

Where sir John chargeth me, by hearsay, that I should speak the like words in effect, he doth me great wrong: for I have used no words of reproach towards him: and my brother never offended me so much in any thing as in that. I suppose it is some correction which I have used, and will make him smart. But whether it be fit for sir John to give such occasion as then he did, and as in his letter and in his book also he doth, I refer it to your wisdoms. More than these there passed no words that ever I heard of.

In the ninth article sir John reporteth my tale made before your honours far otherwise than I spoke it. But that it is true so far as I reported it before your honours, I will refer me to the testimony of my lord president: that his

son came near to my gates, and said as I before reported, I can prove by good witnesses. That the examination, and my report to the said lord president was all one, I refer me also to the said lord president. That I laboured the bailiffs in that examination, or that I either spake with the town-clerk, and set forth with him or the bailiffs, that is most untrue. Wherein I refer me to the report of the said town-clerk. Indeed my lord president gave commission to the bailiffs to bind a conjurer to answer before the queen's commissioners at London. The town-clerk made the bond, and appointed no day, nor what commissioners. Which bond was of no effect; wherewith I found fault. And this conjurer is one of sir John Bourne's friends: for whom he laboured earnestly with my lord president.

In the tenth article he uttered more untrouth. As he began, so he continueth. I hearing by my chancellor that he and my lady, his wife, were comen from London, and would not keep Christmas at their own house, but with some friend; I required my chancellor to pray him and my lady, his wife, to keep Christmas with me. Which thing, I trust, my chancellor will witness. Where he saith, he kept house and hospitality, it is untrue. For he made his abode with Mr. Michael Liggon, who is his brother-in-law. What his number is, I know not. Sure I am, he may by report spend more than I. Yet I trust my housekeeping will be better reported than his. As the gentlemen and I which were in commission were reading your honour's commission, and making out precepts for the parties, I received his letters; all they will bear me witness. So your honours may see how true sir J. B's reports be.

To the eleventh article I answer, I mervail what moveth sir J. B. to enter into my parentage. It is not pertaining to this matter. He reported, that I was neither gentleman nor honest man. I friendly told him of it, and said, I would not contend for gentry, but would defend my honesty. My father was an honest man, and served the king, and was a justice of peace in his county; and, I suppose, was much better known to divers of your honours than sir J. B's father was. What sir J. B's father was, I will not call into question. They which list to inquire may soon learn. Where he aceuseth me for giving the arms pertaining to divers families, whereof I am not issued, he doth me wrong. For those I have, the herald sent me, as due unto me. And that this is true, here you may see his testimony, for my arms, house, and descent.

Here was enclosed a certificate of Hervey, alias Clarencieux, with bishop Sandys' coat tricked. Which was or, a fesse indented gules, between three crosses crozlets fitch of the same: being the bearing of Sandes of St. Bees in the county of Cumberland.

In the twelfth article he chargeth me with phrensy: and bringeth for his author the duke of Northumberland; who, if he lived, would teach him another lesson, than so impudently to report so manifest an untrouth. It went hard with that noble man, when sir J. B. was become his examiner. The duke was so far from being offended with me, that he gave me hearty thanks, and commanded me to write the sermon, that it might be put in print, as Mr. Lever can report. And when he retired to Cambridge, he sent for me; was careful for me; and sought by many ways my safety. If sir J. B. hath heard by report of others this untrouth, I trust your honours will cause him to bring them forth. Those to whose testimony I referred my life can also declare, how vain, malicious, and scandalous this report is. I think it too much to be borne of him, except he can prove it, considering whereunto this slander tendeth.

To the thirteenth and last article I answer, that concerning his brother, I never reported any such matter against him, as sir John reporteth. Which thing shall evidently appear, when the matter cometh to the trial. His brother hath entered an action upon the case against me: and I have to answer; viz. there cometh two quarrellers unto me, and abused me with words, and gave me the lie thrice. Against the one, good abearing is granted, and he is fled the country. The other contemned the council of the marches letter, till proclamation went forth against him. They were both of late Mr. Dr. Pate's [late bishop of Worcester's] men: and now be without living or service; earnest adversaries to the gospel. They termed by occasion Thomas Bourne an honest gentleman. I said, If whoredom were honesty, he might be honest. And moreover, I said unto them, If he and you bear rebellious minds towards the queen's majesty's proceedings, thereunto, I trust, you shall answer another day. This was all I said; and being ordinary there, and of the commission for the peace, I supposed I might use quick words against vice, and sharply rebuke such stubborn fellows: and not to be called to answer such actions of the case, as by procurement of the said sir John he hath taken against me. The said Thomas for his tumultuous disorder is now attendant before your honours, and in his country bound to the good abesring for his lewd behaviour.

He saith, he is sorry for those letters he wrote to me in his warmness. He may appear in his long book, made at good leisure, and not without learned advice had of his friends, how sorry he is, that from undiscreet writing of a private letter hath proceeded to slander me most despitefully and unjustly, before the face of so noble a council, only upon his malicious mind; to the intent to put into your hands an evil opinion of me. I trust your wisdoms will consider, what he will do at home, that dare do thus much before your honours. And thus I have truly answered.

And because sir John hath in this book spotted me with many slanderous reports: for which I can have neither action upon the case, nor libel of defamation, (as I do learn,) the same being exhibited against me before your honours: and for that also he hath craftily uttered them in his book, not directly affirming them, but adding hearsay, or such like words thereunto; to the intent to put me without remedy in law for the same: and also because I do suppose he hath delivered copies of the said slanderous and untrue book to many of his fautors, or at least shewed it unto them; (as I am sure he did shew the copy of his undiscreet letter to divers of his friends:) therefore my most humble and earnest suit is unto your honours, (and that for the better preservation of my credit in that office and function wherein the queen's highness hath put me,) that it may please your honours at this honourable board openly to hear and determine these matters betwixt him and me, in such order as shall be thought meet unto your honours: lest if they should be otherwise ordered, I shall not seem to the world sufficiently purged thereof. From the popish dealing with this bishop may be collected the spirit of popery in those times against the gospel, and especially the chief ministers thereof.

That which followed in this affair was, that by order of the council sir John Bourne was committed to the Marshalsea; and remained six or seven weeks there, as some punishment for his evil dealing with the bishop. Notwithstanding, after this, he received so much favour, upon pretence of having some great accusations to exhibit against the bishop for wronging of the bishopric, that he was allowed to bring in what complaints he would against him: still shewing his rancour of mind was not abated. Accordingly he with his counsel drew up one paper concerning the doings of the bishop of Worcester; and another long scroll of the abuses of the dean and chapter. First, Concerning the bishops' doings in prejudice of his revenues; as how the queen had delivered unto him in lands and tenements a thousand pounds by the year, to maintain the estate of him and his

successors. And, among other things, how she had assigned these bishops for their habitation and access, four houses, that is, the palace at Worcester, the castle of Hartlebury, the house of the manor of Grimley and Hallow, and the manor house of Northwike. That the said house of Grimley, built in the third year of king Henry VIII. (in which the late archbishop of York, [Heath,] and Pates, the late bishop there, kept their households, and left the same sufficiently repaired,) this present bishop suffered to go down for lack of repairs, and took a great quantity of bricks and other stuff, parcel of the said house, and made therewith at his palace a washing house, necessary for the women's laundry. [Sir J. B. is ready to interpret any thing to shew his odium against the wives of the bishops and clergymen.] And that the bishop minded, as it was said and feared, to pull it down, and to sell the brick, lead, iron, glass, tile, timber, and pavement of it; which would make a good portion of money. That the manor house of Northwike (built in the beginning of Henry VII. his reign) he had already pulled down, and razed from the bottom of the foundation: and having sold the hall, and the most part of the matter and stuff unto his friends, making thereof a great piece of money; with some part of the rest had raised at his palace a pretty building, which he called his nursery; to which it was also put, his wife being of good fecundity, and a very fruitful woman, [flinging again against the bishop's married estate.] And that for the furniture and finishing of the said nursery, he had likewise razed and pulled down a fair long vaulted chapel of stone, standing within his said palace.

That his wife being thus fruitful, he had for one of his children procured, in his brother's name, one lease of the parsonage of Flodbury: which benefice was yearly worth 400 mark, and better; being one of his own patronage, having a goodly mansion, and a goodly demean: whereof was wont to be kept great hospitality. It is too long to set down the rest of this gentleman's cavils; as, that another of the bishop's sons had got a lease of Wharton, another parsonage in Lancashire. That at one place the said bishop had sold his common woods; and in another place had offered sales of his timber. That he had granted reversions of farms and leases, divers of them after forty years and more to come. That his officers had moved his copyholders, to take reversions of their tenements. And lastly, that the bishop's long tale to the privy council against him was most untrue and vain; only he confessed his misliking of priests' marriages, and especially his, as being a thing that shewed their covetousness, wantonness, and

carelessness to do their office. All which, no question, the bishop replied unto, as well as he had done to the rest.

Then followed sir J. B's scroll of the abuses of the dean and chapter, and of their wives. As, that the petty canons served cures, some two apiece, whereby the quire there was oftentimes unserved, and the service sung in haste. That the singingmen were chosen out of such as had little or no skill in music. That divers of them were tailors and craftsmen, and served the dean and prebendaries, and had no other wages. That the pipes of a great pair of organs, which cost 200*l.* the making, (being one of the solemn instruments of this realm,) were molten into dishes among the prebendaries wives; and the case had made them bedsteads. That the silver plate was divided among the prebendaries: and likewise that it was intended to divide the copes and ornaments; and that they had so done, had not some unmarried resisted. That divers of the almsmen were lusty, and men of wealth, and lay abroad by sufferance. That the places of scholars were not always bestowed gratis. That the wives of the prebendaries married (their husbands keeping no hospitality) sold the grain allotted to their portions; not in Worcester market, but at the dearest in the best market for the seller. That money appointed to highways was not bestowed. That the great cloche, or steeple, called the leaden steeple, which king Henry III. built, and the charnel house built by that nobleman, Walter de Cautelupo, sometime bishop of Worcester, and son to the earl of Hereford, for reposition and preserving dead men's skulls and bones, as a miroir, wherein Christen men should behold their mortality and frail condition, being two of the goodliest monuments of that part of the realm, (the lead whereof was worth 500*l.*) were lately appointed to be pulled down; the steeple by the dean and chapter, if order to the contrary had not come from this honourable board, or her majesty, as it was said: the charnel house by the bishop, if the dean and chapter had consented. That stock in money they had little or none, whatsoever need the queen, the realm, the church should have: all fines, perquisites, profits of corn, &c. being once a year divided between the dean and prebendaries, and put into their private purses; wherewith they decked their wives so finely for the stuff and singular fashion of their garments, as none were so fine and trim in that city. Which fashion of habit (as he maliciously and jeeringly said) was called the demure and sober habit. And as by their habit and apparel you might know the priests' wives, and by their gait in the market and the streets, from an hundred other women; so in the congregation and cathedral church they

were easy to be known, by placing themselves above all other of the most ancient and honest calling of the said city, &c. Thus did this virulent popish gentleman detain the queen's most honourable privy council with his impertinencies.

But in fine, he was adjudged by them to make his submission in writing to the injured bishop; and was left to draw it up himself. Which he did after such a sort, that he strove still in some things to justify, and in others to excuse himself. So that the form of his submission, brought before the council, some one of the bishop's friends made several exceptions against. As, that in one place of it, by a protestation he justified himself in those things which the bishop had charged him with; and did burden him to be the first occasion-giver, and an offerer of injuries and ungentleness towards him and his: which seemed rather as a defence of himself, and an accusation of the bishop, than a submission. Wherefore the bishop's friend desired the privy council, that that protestation might be left out, or otherwise reformed, or at least somewhat expounded, by adding after the word injuries, these words, as I did then take it. Which would, he said, much satisfy the bishop. Further, he had not particularly recited all the matters wherewith he had charged the bishop. For he had omitted, presumptuous giving of arms, dissolute life in youth, preaching against the queen's majesty that now is, preaching of unsound and erroneous doctrine. He added, (addressing himself to the council,) that the bishop had already humbly submitted himself to such order as it would please the lords to make; that therefore, if they would direct their honourable letters to his lordship, he would gladly accomplish the same. That as he was sure the bishop was in perfect charity with sir J. B. so he knew he would be well contented to shew the same by any reasonable ways or means. And therefore he moved their lordships to direct their letters to the bishop with the submission enclosed; and to appoint that sir J. B. should deliver the same to the bishop. Which he supposed would well satisfy the bishop; and besides be an occasion, that privately between themselves they might fully be reconciled. And this I suppose was done, and so this discord seemingly ended.

Sir John Bourne from the Marshalsea wrote this humble and submissive letter to secretary Cecil, acknowledging his fault, calling himself a naughty wretch, and terming his late dealings towards the bishop of Worcester, his folly and ill behaviour.

“Right Honourable,

“I durst not be bold to crave of your goodness and benignity, were [it] not your good nature, having indeed smally deserved any fruit of it. Yet as you have graciously begun with my poor wife, so for the love of God shew further of the fruit thereof to her comfort and mine. You may do me good; and I, a naughty wretch, much need the same. And therefore, as I am necessitate to crave it for relief in this affliction of my poor house, only proued by my folly and evil behaviour, which I most humbly and unfeignedly confess and bewail with all my very heart, so let me not be forced to sue too late for favour. And my sad wife, children, and servants, and we all shall pray for you and yours, to continue and increase in virtue and honour. Your honour’s woful orator to command, “From the Marshalsea, the 21st of April. Jo. Bourne.”

But in what terms the bishop stood afterwards with this knight, may be seen by this passage in a letter of his to the secretary some years after, that is, anno 1569. “But I have at hand a constant and cruel enemy, who desires nothing more than my destruction. He daily molesteth me, and maketh me weary of mine office. He will, if he can, work my woe. None love him for himself, but for his religion many like him.” And the uneasiness in this good bishop might hasten his translation to another see; which happened soon after, viz. that of London.

CHAPTER 36.

Some remarks of Coverdale; Fox; Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich; and bishop Guest, the queen's almoner. The emperor writes to the queen in favour of the papists. Dr. Richard Marshal subscribes. Sir Francis Englefield. The queen's spy at Rome. Councils there. State of the churches abroad. Council of Trent ends. A godly and necessary admonition concerning, the decrees of that council.

AND these are some of the main matters that passed in this church hitherto. Now let us take up some other historical notices falling out about this time, relating to some other bishops, or eminent fathers of this church. Miles Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter, (he that with Tindal and Rogers, since Wickliffe, first translated the Bible into English; he that assisted at the consecration of queen Elizabeth's first archbishop of Canterbury, and was one of the exiles that returned home upon that queen's happy access to the crown; but had remained without any preferment from that time hitherto: the reason whereof was, because he could not, or cared not to comply with some ceremonies and habits enjoined to churchmen; which was the cause that at the consecration of the archbishop he wore only a plain black gown.) This reverend man, being now old and poor, the bishop of London committed to his charge the church of St. Magnus, at the bridge foot. But the first-fruits being 60*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* ob. he was not able to pay: which made him, in the month of January, address a letter to the archbishop; as he did likewise to the bishop of London, and to his friends, the lord Robert Dudley, and secretary Cecil; that they, setting his age and his poverty before the queen, would prevail with her to forgive him that debt. Which favour was at length obtained for him.

And this year the said father Coverdale went out doctor of divinity in one of our universities; which degree he had obtained long before in the university of Tubing in Germany. And the same degree in divinity this same year did Barkley, bishop of Bath and Wells, take per gratiam. Coverdale, after two or three years, deceased (viz. May 20, 1565,) at the age of eighty-one; living (as he promised the archbishop) quiet, though not coming up probably to the uniformity required; and was buried in St. Bartholomew's church behind the Exchange: and these Latin verses wrote upon his grave-stone, viz.

*Hic tandem, requiemque ferens finemque laborum
 Ossa Coverdali mortua tumbus habet.
 Exoniae qui praesul erat dignissimus olim,
 Insignis vitae vir probitate suae.
 Octoginta annos grandaevus vixit, et unum,
 Indignum passus saepius exilium.
 Sic demum variis jactatum casibus, ista
 Excepit gremio terra benigna suo.*

To this father I join another grave, learned, and painful divine, viz. father John Fox, who as yet also was without preferment. He seemed most of all to desire a prebend at Norwich; partly, I suppose, that he might be near his friend bishop Parkhurst, his fellow exile, and partly, that he might be near the duke of Norfolk, his great patron, and whom he had once instructed as his preceptor. Therefore attempts were made to remove some prebendary thence to other preferment, to make way for Fox. Concerning this, he wrote to the bishop of Norwich for the remove of one Fowles. And of this the bishop wrote these words:

“That as touching the prebend, what I with other your friends have done in that behalf, I am sure you have heard. Howbeit the success is not such as we hoped at Mr. Fowle’s hands.” But he added, “that there was one Mr. Smith in Cambridge, that had another prebend; who, as he heard, could be content to part from it upon reasonable conditions.” And to comfort this deserving man, all this while unprovided for, he added, “Good Mr. Fox, appoint you to come down as soon as conveniently you may; and doubt you not, God will provide for you either that or some other thing as good. Whereunto there shall want nothing in me that I am able to do.”

But his lot was afterwards to obtain a good prebend [viz. Shipton under Wichwood] in the church of Sarum, which continued to his heirs.

This year the illustrious duke of Norfolk buried his wife in Norwich, I suppose in the cathedral church. The duke’s council appointed the dean of Christ’s-church [Sampson] to preach at the interment of the duchess. But the bishop hearing of it, for doing the greater honour to the duke, sent his letter to the council, offering his service in that behalf. For although, as he said, the other could do much better than he, yet he thought it his bounden duty to do all things that he might, to God’s glory, to do honour to the duke’s grace. Therefore the dean buried her, and the bishop made the

sermon Jan. 24. Her burial was very honourable; and yet without the popish ceremonies of carrying lights and crucifixes. Of this the bishop certified Mr. Fox by letter, who was related in service to that family; telling him, after his jocose way, "All things were done honourably, sine crux, sine lux, at non sine tinkling. There was neither torch, neither taper, candle, nor any light else, beside the light of the sun; ringing there was enough;" [according to the old custom of ringing the bells at funerals; which was now thought to be superstitious.]

Gesner, that great learned man of Zurich, was minded to publish the ancient ecclesiastical authors from good copies. For which purpose he sent here into England to his acquaintance, the bishop of Norwich, (with whom he became acquainted, as it seems, in his exile,) a catalogue of books of that sort, that search might diligently be made in all our best libraries for MS. copies of them. The bishop was very diligent in carrying on this good design; and accordingly sent to his friends in both universities to search their libraries, and to Fox to search the queen's library. An account of what the bishop did in this matter may be seen by this extract of his letter to Mr. Fox, conversant in MSS. to whom he sent also Gesner's letter.

"I have sent you here enclosed a letter written to me from D. Gesner, and two catalogues, the one for you, to search by that the queen's library, according to D. Gesner's request, and to ask of other learned men concerning the same. The other, I pray you, send to Mr. Sampson, or Dr. Humphrey, that search may be made in Oxford also. One I have sent to Mr. Beaumont, in Cambridge, [master of Trinity college,] that he may do the like. I would rather be negligent in other things, than in setting forth old ancient writers. And yet, to say the truth to you, I like no old writers worse than Dionysius. The which, although he be somewhat ancient, yet I am persuaded, that it was not Areopagita ille de quo Act. 17. I pray you certify me of these things as soon as you may. And if a bloodhound or twayn might be sent to Zuric according to D. Gesner's request, I would rejoice not a little, and would be content to pay for the charge thereof. I write this unto you, because you be so good a hunter, and have plenty of dogs. [Fox being now probably with the duke of Norfolk, at his house at Rygate in Surrey.] I pray you, when you have perused D. Gesner's letters, that you will send them again forthwith to me, that I may make answer to the same against the next mart. Commend me to Mrs.

Fox, to Mr. Day [the printer] and his wife, and thank him for the book of the Relics of Rome, which he sent me. I will thank Mr. Beton, [the author,] which dedicated the same to my name, another time, if God so will. If you see the bishop of London, the dean of Paul's, Mr. Whitehead, and other of my friends there, I pray you salute them in my name.

Your John Norwic."

A lawsuit happened this year between Guest, bishop of Rochester, and Allyn and Chamberlyn, sheriffs of London. The case was this. This bishop was lord almoner to the queen. She had, as it seems, allotted for her almoner (according to the custom of former princes) such goods and chattels as should be forfeited to her from persons laying violent hands upon themselves. There was now a citizen that had mortally wounded himself. But before this fact, there came into the hands of these sheriffs 330l. ready money of this person's; whether he were their prisoner or otherwise, I cannot tell. But upon his death the bishop required this money of them, which they refusing, claiming it as theirs, he sued them, and recovered it for the queen's use. In July, the council wrote to the sheriffs for account to be made to them of the goods of this person deceased. Whereunto they gave this answer.

"Of the person mentioned in your most honourable letters, before the hurt to hym happened, came to our hands 330l. in ready mony, which mony the reverend father in God, Edmond, bishop of Rochester, high almoner to our gracious sovereign lady the queen's most excellent majestie, by reason of his office, received of us, after suit therefore against us made by him; as by the acquittance of the said almoner for our discharge concerning the same to us made ready to be shewn, (if case so require,) may and doth more fully appear. And other or moo goods of his came not to our hands, as knoweth the Holy Ghost, &c."

I find the like case happening in the year 1489, when one Roger Shavelock, citizen of London, slew himself; for whose goods there was contest between the king's almoner and the sheriff. But the almoner recovered them. And I read in Dyer's Reports, that king Edward VI. granted the office of almoner to Dr. Coxe, *durante beneplacito*; and after, by letters patents, granted him, in *augmentationem eleemosynae suae, omnia bona et catalla felonum de se tam infra libertates*

quam extra, infra regnum Angliae habend. quamdiu in officio praedict. steterit.

Ferdinand, emperor of Germany, wrote this year two letters to the queen in behalf of the Roman Catholics, her subjects. The one was in behalf of the bishops imprisoned, and others professing the same religion as himself did; that she would not prosecute them too rigorously, if they would not nor could not with a safe conscience comply with that which she and the states of the kingdom had established about religion; that is, in making such liable to be punished as traitors, that refused swearing the supremacy. To which request of the emperor she gave so grateful an answer, that in another letter to her he commended her modesty, gentleness, and clemency; virtues truly worthy a queen and a princess. In Sept. 24, the same emperor wrote again to her, that she would rather favour and cherish her Catholic subjects, than to prosecute, banish, or oppress them. He requested, moreover, that they might be allowed a church in every city, and have the free use there of their religion. Of this letter many copies were secretly dispersed. See this letter in the second Appendix.

As to his first request, the queen in her answer, dated Nov. 3, from Windsor, shewed him,

“how favourable she was to her popish subjects in suspending punishment, though they did that which was very dangerous to the commonwealth, in acting so openly against the laws. And the chief of them such, as in the reigns of her father and brother, by their sermons and writings, propounded to the people that same doctrine which they did now so much oppose. But as to the second, to grant them churches where they should celebrate their own service without impediment, she could not do it, being against the laws of her parliament, and so highly dangerous to the state of her kingdom, and having many difficulties attending it. That it would be to sow various religions in the nation, to distract the minds of honest men, to cherish parties and factions, and to disturb religion and the commonwealth in that present quiet state wherein it was. That it was evil in itself, but worst of all for the example of it, and not very profitable and safe for them for whom this favour was desired. And lastly, that she and her subjects followed not any new or strange religion, but that very religion which the ancientest fathers did indeed approve and practise.” This excellent letter I

found among Fox's Collections. It is preserved in the second Appendix.

Being entered upon popish matters, I shall mention something concerning two eminent persons under queen Mary, falling within the compass of this year: the one a churchman, and a chief member of her university of Oxford; and the other a statesman, and a chief officer of her court, viz. Richard Marshal, D.D. late dean of Christ's-church, and sir Francis Englefield, knt.

Dr. Marshal was a violent promoter of the papacy, and enemy to all opposers of it in his university, under that queen, where he reigned tyrannically. Which was the more noted, because under king Edward he seemed as forward the other way. He watched narrowly to have caught Jewel, when he fled from Oxford. One act that shewed the man, was his digging up the body of Peter Martyr's wife out of her grave in Christ's-church, where she had been some years buried, and casting it into his dunghill. This and other doings of his in the former reign made him to be the more watched in this. He lurked about in the north, and had been with the earl of Cumberland; but was at last taken up, and being brought before the council, he was committed to the bishop of London in custody. And on St. Thomas day made this formal subscription:

Ego Richardus Martialis, sacrae theologiae professor, olim ecclesiae Oxonien. decanus, ad respondendum de negotio fidei coram reverendo in Christ. patre, dno Edmundo Londinensi episcopo, ex mandato illustrissimorum clarissimorumque virorum, ac dominorum meorum, sacrae regiae majestatis consiliariorum postulatus, deliberatione matura satis habita, paucis hoc responsum volo; atque per scriptum praesens, cujus tenor subsequitur, plane respondeo.

Articulis omnibus ac singulis, de quibus in synodo Londinen. an. Dom. 1562, ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, et firmandum in vera religione consensum, inter reverendiss. patres, DD. archiepiscopos, episcoposque utriusque provinciae, necnon universum clerum convenit: quibus omnibus articulis sereniss. regina nostra D. Elizabetha Dei gratia, Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae regina, fidei defensor, &c. regium suum praebuit assensum: Ego Richardus Martialis praefatus ultro volens consentiensque mea manu subscripsi. Datum Londini in aedibus

reverendi in Christ. patris, D. Edmundi Londinensi episc, superius nominati, 12^o calen. Januarias, festo D. Thomae apostoli.

Richardus Martialis mea manu scripsi.

On the back side of this paper is writ by the bishop of London's hand, Copie of D. Marshall's subscription. To which the said Marshal would have given a more public testimony by word of mouth in St. Paul's, had not his death prevented. For thus a writer in those times tells us: That Marshal made a public retractation under king Edward; returned to his vomit under queen Mary; and under queen Elizabeth he played the vagabond: but afterwards was taken and examined at London. Then again he changed his opinion, and this third time sung another song. And if he had lived longer would have again testified it in Paul's pulpit. I suppose therefore he died in custody, and not in Yorkshire, as a late author writes. The other gentleman I am going to mention was more steady, viz.

Sir Francis Englefield, privy counsellor to queen Mary, a great man with her, and master of her wards and liveries, not complying with the change of religion under this queen, in the year 1559 fled abroad with some few others. And now his lands and goods were seized to the queen's use, for his disobedience in not coming home after the queen's revocation of him, and for consorting with her enemies. Whereupon, August 18, he wrote the privy council a large letter, expostulating and apologizing on the account of his conscience:

“That he was rather an unwilling offender, than a malicious; and that his cause was not unworthy of their honours' accustomed commendation unto her majesty's clemency. That where he was charged with adhering to her majesty's enemies and rebels, he answered, that he never yet had been in place where any one so shewed himself, nor was so manifested, that he might know him for such. That where he was called once, though not often, and commanded to make a speedy return, he granted he did not perform it. But he prayed them to call to mind of what faith and conscience they had known him always to have been in religion, consonant to that he had been taught and bred up in, and the present orders, proceedings, and laws in England so dissonant and varying therefrom. Which two laid together did shew how hard a choice was left to him, viz. either in following the laws to wrest and strain his conscience, or by not obeying them to offend his prince.

And therefore to shun these two most sharp and grievous, he yielded to embrace a third, and to sequester himself unto a private life in some other place. That his conscience was not made of wax. That many of their lordships had tasted largely of the invincible force of conscience, and her untractable nature, on which side soever she take. She might, he said, be crazed and cracked by things infinite that seemed but small: and being once forced to fail in the least, that canker was never curable after. But to change and alter she could not be framed by man's power or policy, till God pleased to draw her, being once firmly fixed. That though that little he was threatened to lose could not draw him presently to the offence of his prince, yet what lack and necessity might hereafter do, he dared not warrant, nor take on him to say. He prayed their lordships therefore to be means unto her majesty's clemency for him in this cause; that he might be spared, as hitherto, to enjoy that small portion of living yet left him. And he bade them to reject his suit, if he sought to find more favour now than heretofore, when his lot served, he was willing to shew, or than by his help others had enjoyed. That if the place or company where he lived did offend, he should be always willing to change the same, and to conform himself to the queen's devotion."

This was the sum of sir Francis's letter. Where we cannot but observe his great argument for himself is conscience, (and a very good argument indeed,) and so was it commonly urged in this reign by papists, as we have seen before: and yet in the last reign, when it was urged by others, what little regard did they give to it themselves!

But to let the world see how favourably this gentleman was dealt withal, notwithstanding his complaint, let me bring in another part of his story, though it happened three or four years after; when I find him still in Spain, and greatly esteemed by king Philip there: who, in his behalf, had moved Man, the English ambassador at that court, to solicit the queen to allow him the income of his estate, and to live abroad where he listed: and so had the Spanish ambassador also here dealt with her for the said Englefield. Hereupon the queen commanded her said ambassador in a letter wrote to him in the latter end of the year 1567, to give her answer to the said king about this matter. Whereby it appeared, that sir Francis's servants to that time received the rents of his lands, which there was no doubt were disposed of according to his will; except some small part of the same

reserved for the maintenance of the lady Engle-field, his wife, upon her petition. And as to his conscience, there were many papists then living under the queen in England, without any disturbance for their opinion in religion, carrying themselves peaceably under the government; such was the mildness of a protestant ruler.

For these were the queen's instructions to the ambassador;

“That she perceived by sundry his letters, and by the Spanish ambassador's frequent treating with her, what earnest means sir Francis Inglefeld used toward the king there, and others of his council, for the obtaining of her grant, that he might enjoy the profit of his lands, to live thereupon, and contrary to her laws, where he would, in any part of Christendom. In which matter she thought it good, that the king her good brother should understand her doings; what mercy and favour she had used towards him; and how far otherwise she thought surely the king would use any subject of his in such like case. First, how he had been required to repair [home.] That it was well known how he might live here at home, being disposed to quietness, without molestation of his conscience, which the example of her clemency towards a great number, his inferiors, might well teach him. And that yet upon his often refusal to return, though the profits of his lands were stayed by order of her laws, to be answered unto her, yet she never received unto this day, neither did dispose to any other person, any part thereof; saving only that she directed to his wife, upon her lamentable petition, (being an heir, and by whom the said sir Francis had a great portion of living,) a small part to maintain her, in a meaner degree than belonged to his wife. And the rest of all his living had been, for any thing she knew, disposed by his friends and servants to the use of the said sir Francis, as he appointed. So as, the matter being well considered, he had no cause to complain of any thing past.

“And that seeing her clemency had been such to him, and yet, as it seemed, he had made complaint of her usage, she trusted the king would forbear to press her any more, or otherwise, in this matter, than he would have her do, if the like case were for a subject of his. And this she told her ambassador she would have him declare concerning this matter of sir Francis Ingleroid, to the king her good

brother. Whereunto he might add, that if the queen were disposed to give ear to such reports as were made unto her of the misbehaviour of the said sir Francis at sundry times, contrary to his loyalty and duty, she should, instead of this clemency and lenity, shew some severity without breach of justice.”

There was a paper, that some way or other fell into the lord treasurer Burghley’s hands in the year 1574, containing a list of English men and women in Spain and the Spanish dominions, that were the king of Spain’s pensioners, wrote by this Inglefield, and sent by him to the duke of Feria; who, though he had married one Dormer, an English woman, and lived in England in queen Mary’s time, yet hated Elizabeth from the beginning of her reign, and had stirred up pope Pius IV. to excommunicate her, and the king of Spain to be her enemy. By Inglefield’s correspondence with such a man, and by being able to draw up such a list, one may conjecture how well he was acquainted with queen Elizabeth’s traitors; and that he must be little better than the rest himself. This list was as followeth:

PERSONS PROVIDED FOR HERE.

The Countess of Northumberland	200
Mr. Markenfeld	36
Mr. Tempest	40
The earl of Westmerland	200
Mr. Bulmer	30
The lord Dacre	100
Mr. Danby	30
The lady Hungerford	100
Mr. Francis Norton	36
Sir Francis Englefeld	84
Mr. Thwing	30
Sir Christoph. Nevyl	60
Mr. Chamberlain	60
Sir John Nevyl	60
Mr. Ligons	40
Mr. Dr. Parker	50
Mr. Standon	50

Mr. Rich. Norton	56
Mr. Mocket	30
Mr. Copley	60
Mr. Hugh Owen	40.
Mr. George Tyrrel	30
Mr. Jenney	30
Mr. Titchburn	30
Mr. Geo. Smith	30
Mr. Bach	30
Mr. Rob. Owen	30
Mr. Powel, priest	10
Mrs. Story, widow	16
Mr. Olyver	8
Thomas Kinred	16
Mr. Nolworth	40

PERSONS GONE TOWARDS SPAIN TO SUE FOR PENSIONS

My lord Edward Seymour

Mr. Southwel

Mr. Carew

Mr. Harecourt

Mr. Francis Moore

Mr. Blackstone

Mr. Pridieux

Mr. George Moore Williams

John Story.

But the queen and kingdom, notwithstanding the fair pretences of the fugitives, had cause to be suspicious of them; the popish faction endeavouring to do her mischief by her own subjects of that persuasion, which they had with them at hand, to instil into them their dangerous instructions. And she knew well how enraged the pope and his church would be at the reformation she had established; and being apprehensive what dangerous devices they would meditate against her, she and her secretary made use of a diligent man, one E. Dennum, sent over to Italy about 1562 or 1563, to send her majesty intelligence of foreign

conspiracies and contrivances: and having made use of money, got several notices of the pope, and what he was doing in his privy cabals and councils. A list whereof he sent from Venice, together with a letter to secretary Cecyl, April 13, 1564. A copy of this paper fell afterwards into the hands of that diligent antiquary, sir James Ware. But the original was kept private in the queen's closet, among other papers of secrecy. The contents thereof were these:

I. That pope Pius had consulted with the clergy of Italy at an assembly which he had called; when it was voted, that the immunity of the Roman church, and her jurisdiction, was required to be defended by all princes, as the principal church of God. And to encourage the same, that council voted, that Pius should bestow the queen's realm on that prince who would attempt to conquer it.

II. That there was another council ordered by way of committee; containing three of the cardinals, six of the bishops, and as many of the order of the Jesuits, who daily, now increased, and came in great favour with the pope.

These did weekly present methods and ways and contrivances for the church of Rome. And these were prepared for a great council to be holden afterwards, whose business was how to order all things for the advancement of the Romish see. Some of these contrivances were as follow:

First, To offer the queen to confirm the English liturgy, some things being altered; provided she do acknowledge the same from Rome. But if denied, then to asperse the liturgy of England by all ways and conspiracies imaginable.

Secondly, A licence or dispensation to be granted to any of the Romish orders, to preach, speak, or write against the new established church of England; to be done among protestants in other parts, on purpose to make England odious to them. These persons so licensed and indulged to be seemingly as some of them; and not to be either taxed, checked, or excommunicate for so doing. They were also to change their names, lest they might be discovered. And they were to keep a quaternal correspondence with some of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and others of the chief monasteries, abbeys, &c.

Thirdly, For the preventing of any of these dispensed persons from flinching off from them, or falling from this correspondence by some good reward, there should be several persons appointed to watch the parties so licensed, and to give intelligence to Rome of their behaviour. And these parties were to be sworn not to divulge to any of the persons so licensed or indulged what they were, or from whence they came, but to be strange, and to come in as one of their converts.

Fourthly, In case any of the hypocritical ministry of England should become as those who had these licences, it was deliberated what was then to be done. The bishop of Mentz answered, that that was the thing they aimed at; and that they desired no more than a separation among the heretics of England; and the more animosities there were among them, there would be the fewer to oppose the mother church of Rome, whenever opportunity served.

Fifthly, A pardon to be granted to any that would assault the queen, or to any cook, brewer, baker, vintner, physician, grocer, chirurgeon, or of any other calling whatsoever, that would make her away. And an absolute remission of sins to the heirs of that party's family, and a perpetual annuity to them for ever, and to be of the privy council to whomsoever afterwards should reign.

Sixthly, For the better assurance of further intelligence to the see of Rome, licences were to be given to dispense with several baptisms, marriages, and other ceremonies of the church of England, to possess and enjoy any offices, either ecclesiastical, military, or civil; to take such oaths as should be imposed upon them, provided that the same oaths be taken with a reserve for to serve the mother church of Rome, whenever opportunity served. In which case the act of council passed, that it was not sin, but meritorious; and that when it so served for Rome's advantage, the party was absolved from his oath.

Seventhly, That the Romish orders cherish all adherents to the mother church. And whenever occasion served, to be in a readiness at the times appointed; and to contribute according to their capacities for the promoting the Romish cause.

Eighthly, That the Romish party shall propose a match for the queen of one of the catholic princes.

Ninthly, Excommunication and a perpetual curse to light on the families and posterity of all those of the mother church, that will not promote or assist, by means of money or otherwise, Mary queen of Scotland's pretence to the crown of England.

Tenthly, Every Roman Catholic within England and Ireland to contribute to those Romish bishops and parish priests, that were privately, or should be, sent over to them; and to pay all the church duties, as if they were in possession: and this upon pain of excommunication to them and their posterity.

Eleventhly, The see of Rome to dispense with all parties of the Roman faith to swear to all heresies in England, and elsewhere. And that not to be a crime against the soul of the party; the accused taking the oath with an intention to promote or advance the Roman Catholic faith.

And all these aforesaid articles were decreed and ordered by the pope's council.

And now let me subjoin the state of the foreign churches in France, Italy, and Switzerland; which at this time was very sad, and the gospellers that lived in those countries were under great apprehensions of extreme calamities to befall them, by means of the council of Trent, that studied nothing so much as the ruin of the reformed, and the house of Guise active with the pope to bring the same to pass. Some brief account of this Bullinger gave to John Fox in a letter from Zurick, writ in March, 1563. *Dolemus nos vehementissime casum florentissimi regni Galliae, quod Guisiana domus sanguinaria, domus Achab, hoc anno propemodum (quis credidisset?) evertit; ac calamitosissima subinde veremur. Orandum est ergo Dorainum, ut is nostri misereatur, et fratribus in Gallia pacem restituat, ac tranquillitatem. Ex Italia nuntiatur, Lotharingum cardinalem, qui Italiam praetextu concilii Tridentini adeundi ingressus est, commovere ad arma principes Italiae contra fideles. Consilia et auxilia communicat caput omnis mali Antichristus papa. Molitur mira concilium ipsum Tridentinum. Ut si Deus non dissipaverit cruenta illorum consilia, sicut hactenus fecit, vix absque bello simus hac aestate futuri.* That is,

“We do extremely lament the misfortune of the most flourishing kingdom of France, this year well near destroyed (who would have believed it?) by the bloody house of Guise, that house of Ahab. And ever and anon we fear worse still. Let us therefore beseech God to

have mercy on us, and to restore peace and quietness to the brethren in France. The news is from Italy, that the cardinal of Loraine, who is entered Italy upon colour of going to the council of Trent, stirs up the princes of Italy to take arms against the faithful. Antichrist the pope, the head of all mischief, contributes his counsels and his aids. The council of Trent itself is contriving strange things. That if God do not scatter their bloody purposes, as hitherto he hath done, we shall hardly escape war this summer.”

And what the same party was doing here in England, as well as elsewhere, to undermine religion, and to bring in the old rejected superstitions, we saw afore: and what odd councils were hatching at Rome for that purpose.

This popish council, beginning anno 1545, concluded this present year 1563, which this state and church of England utterly disowned, and therefore would send no representatives thither; whereat the papists were angry: which one of that party, soon after the conclusion of it, expressed in print in a taunting way. For thus we find Dorman telling dean Nowell,

“That it was fear to be vanquished in their heresies, that they durst not come to the late general Trident council, where they were called; and that therefore, like cowardly yeomen, fearing the war, they caused their wives to bind clouts about their heads; and then their kerchiefs being sick, must need tarry at home forsooth.” To which thus Nowell replied in his own language; “But who could fear any vanquishing at your councils, who, after so long sitting at Trident, hatched us out such a sort of goodly decrees, worse than addle eggs, as any popish lad meanly learned, sitting under a summer’s hedge, might in two or three afternoons right well and as well have written, as they are written and set forth by your worthy council. No, sir, your prelates sat not there about conning of articles of religion, or to dispute with heretics to vanquish them. A few lousy friars, whom no man would fear but in his pottage or egg-pie, did serve that turn well enough: and your great prelates devised the while, by that long consultation, how by sword and fire they might most cruelly murder all true Christians, whom they call heretics; and now do labour to put in execution such their bloody devices.”

Yet to fortify and arm our people against the decrees of this council, and that it might have the less regard taken of it here in England, there came

forth seasonably now a book, entitled, *A godly and necessary Admonition of the Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent, celebrated under Pius IV. Bishop of Rome, in the years of our Lord 1562 and 1563*. Written for those godly-disposed persons' sakes, which look for amendment of doctrine and ceremonies to be made by general councils. It was translated out of Latin; and imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, the 19th of February, 1564: no name of the author, but it seems to be done by archbishop Parker, or his special order. The method of the book is to set down the decrees in convenient paragraphs, and then to subjoin observations and answers to each. Near the beginning, the author writes thus, That if we diligently weighed a few words, viz. "that the council must be celebrated according to the form and letters of our holy lord Pius IV." we should easily understand, that the bishop of Rome, with his council of Trent, mocked and dallied with all Christendom.

But what further our church and kingdom could say, for their not coming or sending to that council, and disowning it utterly, we may have recourse to a letter of Scipio, an Italian gentlemail, wrote to bishop Jewel, formerly his acquaintance at Padua, (where Jewel formerly went to study,) and the answer which he gave to the said Italian.

Scipio wondered that the realm of England alone had sent no ambassador to that general council, summoned by the pope for the settling of religion, when all other nations were there assembled: no, nor so much as excused their absence by any message or letter; but that we had altered, without any council, all the form of the ancient religion: the former arguing a proud stubbornness, the other a pernicious schism. That it was a superlative crime to decline the pope of Rome's sacred authority, or to withdraw themselves from a council, being by him called to it. That it was not lawful to debate controversies about religion otherwise than in such assemblies: since there were the patriarchs, and the bishops, and the learned men of all sorts; and from their mouths the truth must be required: that there was a light of each church; anal there was the Holy Ghost. And that all godly princes still referred any doubt arising in God's worship to a public consultation. That Moses, Joshua, David, Hezekiah, Josias, and other judges, kings, and priests, did not advise concerning the matters of religion, but in an assembly of bishops. That Christ's apostles and the holy fathers held their councils. And Arius was vanquished; and Eunomius, and Eutyches, and other heretics. And by the same means the distractions of the world might be composed.

And how shall the bishop of Sarum answer all this specious discourse; as much as could be said surely on this point? It is worth reading the answer he made, which I proceed to rehearse from his own epistle to that nobleman.

“That it was not for him to take upon him to answer in the behalf of the realm of England, by what advice every thing was done, seeing the counsel of kings were secret and hidden; and so ought to be. And yet because of their old and intimate acquaintance, and because he saw Scipio desired it so earnestly, that he should briefly shew what he thought, and doubted not but that it would satisfy him, he proceeded thus: asking him, Why should he wonder, that no ambassadors came from England to that council, since not Englishmen alone come not thither? That he himself, who was a public person, and employed in the affairs of his commonweal, was not present at it. Why did he not as well wonder, that neither the three patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria were there? nor presbyter John, nor the Grecians, Armenians, Persians, Egyptians, Moors, Ethiopians, and Indians came not? For many of them believed in Christ, had their bishops, and were baptized Christians; nor had any ambassador come from those parts of the world. Or rather well would he see, that the pope did not call them; and that his ecclesiastical decrees took not hold of them.

“That it was more to be wondered at, that the pope should call such men to a council, whom he had before condemned of heresy, and openly pronounced excommunicate, without hearing either them or their plea. The bishop said, he would fain be resolved, whether the pope’s meaning were, to advise with them in the council whom he accounted heretics, or else that they should plead their cause at the bar; or either change their opinion presently, or out of hand be condemned again. The former was denied heretofore by Julius III. to those on our side: the other was ridiculous, that the English should come to the council, only to be indicted, and plead for themselves; especially before him, who long since was charged with heinous crimes, not only by our side, but also by their own.

“Nor did England alone seem thus stubborn: for where were the ambassadors of the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and the princes of Germany, the Switzers, the Grisons, the Hanse towns; those of the

realm of Scotland, and the dukedom of Prussia: nay, the pope himself came not to his own council. And what a pride was it for one man, at his own pleasure, to assemble together all Christian kings, princes, and bishops when he listed, and require them to be at his call, and not to come himself. But perhaps Pius IV. the present pope, might remember what happened heretofore to John XXII. that came to the council of Constance pope, but returned cardinal. Therefore the popes had provided for themselves in the rear, and kept home, and had withstood all councils and free disputes. That above forty years before, when Dr. Martin Luther was cursed with bell, book, and candle, because he had begun to preach the gospel, and to reform religion out of God's word, and had requested that his cause might be referred to a general council, he could have no audience: for pope Leo X. might see well enough, that if the matter should have come to a council, his own state might come in danger.

"That indeed the name of a general council carried a fair show; so it were assembled as it ought; affection laid aside; all things referred to the rule of God's word; the truth only aimed at. But religion and godliness be openly beaten down; tyranny and ambition established; if men studied faction, gluttony, lust; then was nothing more pernicious to the church of God.

"That this that he had hitherto spoken, was as if that council subsisted somewhere, and were indeed a council, which he thought absolutely to be none, or surely very obscure. For we could by no means learn what was done there: what bishops were met, or rather whether any at all were met. That twenty months ago, when the council was first summoned by pope Pius, the emperor Ferdinand much disliked the place; Trent not being commodious enough seated for so many nations, nor able to receive so great a multitude of men as were likely to meet at a general council: and the same answer was returned from other Christian princes. Therefore that we believed, that all these things, with the council itself, were vanished away into smoke.

"Next, he questioned the power of pope Pius to call a council, more than another bishop. That while the empire flourished, it was the proper right of the emperor of Rome to do it; but now, since the

empire is lessened, and kingdoms by succession share part of the imperial power, that power was communicated to Christ, an kings and princes. That if the annals were searched, the memorials of antiquity laid together, the ancientest councils, the Nicene, the Ephesine, &c. were called by the Roman emperors Constantine, Theodosius, &c. And the popes of Rome, when Ruffine had alleged a certain synod against Hierom, he asked, Tell me what emperor caused it to be called? And accordingly bishop Jewel demanded, what emperor caused the bishops to be called at this time to Trent? And that therefore this triumphant council was not lawfully called. That pope Pius had done nothing rightly or orderly. And that in so saying, no man could justly find fault with our absence.

“Then he went on to mention the wrongs the popes of Rome had done us. That they had, as often as they pleased, armed our people against their sovereign; pulled the sceptre out of our kings’ hands, and the crowns from their heads. They would have the kingdom to be theirs, and held in their name. That of late years they stirred up against us sometimes the French, sometimes the emperor. That it was needless to rehearse what the intention of Pius himself had been towards us: what he had done; what he had spoken; what he had practised; what he had threatened: nor by what course he made himself pope: by corrupting of cardinals; buying of voices; underminings, and ambushes: that he cast cardinal Carotta into prison, and there murdered him. And did he [Scipio] wonder that we came not to a man of blood, that purchased voices, that denied to pay his debts; to a simoniacal person; to an heretic? That it was not the part of a wise man wilfully to run into a place infected; nor to consult of religion with the enemies of religion.

“That it was fit, that councils should be free; and that every man may be present that will. That in the Nicene, Ephesine, &c. councils, princes then were not called together in such a slavish manner, that if any one of them stayed at home, or had not sent ambassadors to the council, presently every eye was upon him, every finger pointing at him. That the popes in those times were so patient, as not to condemn them of contumacy. That this tyranny of popes was not yet grown up. That it was lawful then for holy bishops and fathers, as it stood with their convenience, to stay at home without prejudice. That Athanasius the bishop, though the

emperor summoned him to the council at Caesarea, yet would not come: and in the Syrmian council, when he saw the Arians were like to prevail, presently withdrew himself, and went his ways. Chrysostom came not to the Arian council, though the emperor called him, both by letter and message. That the bishops that met in a council at Constantinople, being called to a council at Rome, refused to come: and their excuse was, that they were to intend the charge and reformation of their own churches. “What if our bishops, added Jewel, gave now the same answer: that they could spare no time from their own sacred function: that they were wholly employed in setting up again their own churches: that they could not be absent five, six, seven years; especially there, where they should be able to do no good. For that our bishops were not so idle as those at Rome, that frolicked it in their palaces, danced attendance upon their cardinals, and hunted after livings. That our churches were so miserably wasted and ruined by them, that they could not be repaired in a small time, or with ordinary diligence.

“That the pope did indeed but make a show of a council, and meant it not: and that he did nothing sincerely or truly. That that see was wholly supported by mere hypocrisy: which the less natural strength it had, so much the more colour it needed. That if the pope thought a general council so effectual for removing of schisms, why did they defer a thing so necessary so long? Why did they sit quiet thirty years together, and suffered Luther’s doctrine to take root? Why did they assemble the Trent council with such reluctancy and unwillingness? more by the instigation of Charles the emperor, than of their own accord; and that they had been at Trent well nigh ten years, and had done just nothing. That the popes in truth were not in hand to keep a solemn council, or to restore religion, which they made a mock of: that which they intended, and sought, and laboured for, was to elude the minds of godly men, and the whole world, with a pompous expectation of a general council.

“That they saw their wealth had been now a pretty while sinking; that their tricks did not find the same credit now as heretofore; that an incredible number of men did every day fall from them; that men did not now run to Rome in such troops; that there was not nowadays so high an estimation, or so dear a price for indulgences, blessings, absolutions, and empty bulls: that their mart of

ceremonies and masses were slighted: that a great part of their tyranny and pomp was shrunk; that their revenues were slenderer than they were wont to be: that they and theirs were laughed at every where, even by very children: that their whole rest lay now at stake: that this was the force of God's word; this the power of the gospel; these the weapons by which was overthrown every fortification raised against the knowledge of God: and this doctrine should be preached through the whole world, in despite of them all.

"The merit-mongers' shops waxed cold now at Rome: their wares, as if Porsenna's goods were put to sale, were very low prized, and yet could scarce find a chapman. The indulgence-broker trussed up and down, and found no fools. Thence grew their grief; and this vexed the pope. They saw that this so great light broke forth from one spark. What was it like to do now, when so many fires were kindled in all places of the world; and so many kings and princes acknowledged and professed the gospel? And therefore councils were summoned, the abbots and bishops called to make a party. For this they thought the cunningest plot to spin out the time for some years, to hold men's minds in suspense with expectation; and many things, as it useth, might fall out in the mean time. Some wars might be raised: one of these princes might die, &c.: men's minds might wax cool..... That nowadays the intent or scope of councils is not to discover truth, or to confute falsehood. But this hath been the only endeavour of popery; to establish the Roman tyranny; to set wars on foot; to set Christian princes together by the ears; to raise money, sometimes for the Holy Land, sometimes for the building of St. Peter's church, sometimes for other uses, I know not what, or rather abuses all: which money was to be cast into some few bellies in gluttony and lust, &c.

"That the abbots and bishops, upon whose fidelity, learning, and judgment the weight of this whole council, the discussing of questions must lie and rest, they were indeed grave persons, and had fair titles; but take from them these titles, the persons they bear, and their trappings, and there would nothing that belonged to an abbot or bishops remain in them: for they were not ministers of Christ, dispensers of the mysteries of God; applied not themselves to reading, nor to preach the gospel, nor to feed the flock.... but entangled themselves in secular businesses. They hid the Lord's

treasure: they took away the keys of the kingdom of God; they went not in themselves, nor suffered others. They slept, snorted, feasted, and rioted: clouds without water, stars without light. That they would not hear any of our men speak.

“That in the last convention of the council of Trent, ten years before this, the ambassadors of the princes and free cities of Germany came thither with a purpose to be heard, but were absolutely refused: for the bishops and abbots answered, that they would not suffer their cause to have a free hearing, nor suffer controversies to be discussed out of the word of God. And that our men were not to be heard at all, except they would recant: which if they refused to do, they should come into the council upon none other condition, but to the sentence of condemnation pronounced against them. For that Julius III. in his bull of indiction of the council, declared plainly, that either they should change their opinions, or else be condemned for heretics, before they were heard: and that Pius IV. that had now a purpose to reassemble the council, had already prejudged for heretics all those who had left the Roman church, (that is to say, the greatest part of the Christian world,) before they were ever seen or heard. That they said, and said it often, that already all was well with them; and that they would not alter one jot of their doctrine or religion. Was this, said the writer, to restore the church to her integrity? Was this to seek the truth? Was this the liberty and moderation of councils?

“Further, that whereas the world complained of the papal pride and tyranny, and believed that nothing could be amended in the church of God until he [the pope] were reduced into order; yet all things were referred unto him, as unto a most conscientious peacemaker and judge. He [Jewel] would not call him an enemy to the truth, ambitious, covetous, proud, intolerable ever to his own followers: that they would make him a judge of all religion, who avouched, that he could make injustice to be justice, and who commanded all his determinations to be of equal value with those of St. Peter himself: and that he said, in ease he carried a thousand souls with himself to hell, yet no man ought to reprehend him for it: and whom some of his own followers, viz. Joachimus Abbas, Petrarch, Marsilius Patavinus, Laurentius Valla, &c. did clearly pronounce to be the Antichrist: that all was referred to the judgment of this man

alone. So that the same man is the party arraigned, and the judge: the accusers were heard from an inferior place, and the party accused sat in his tribunal, and pronounced the sentence concerning himself.

“And that therefore Scipio at length (as the bishop applying to him concluded) seeing all things were most unjustly handled, nothing sincerely and fairly carried in council, he needed not wonder, that our men had rather tarry at home, than take so long and so idle a journey; in which they should both lose their labour, and betray their cause.”

And whereas he had said,

“It was not lawful to make any change in religion without order from the pope and council,” the bishop replied largely to that. As, “That the state of God’s church was most miserable, if there being so many errors, so generally spread, so gross, so blind, so foul, and so perspicuous, and yet nothing could be done without the whole world should meet in a general council: the expectation whereof was very uncertain, and the event much more. That, as for our part, we did not fear and fly, but desire and wish for a council, so it were free, ingenuous, Christian; so that men did meet as the apostles did; so that abbots and bishops were freed from their oath, by which they were bound to the pope; and our men modestly and freely heard, and not condemned before they were heard; and one man might not have power to overthrow whatsoever was done. But seeing it was impossible, as the times then were, that this should be obtained, we, said the bishop, thought fit to provide for our churches by a national council... And that for themselves they had done nothing, but with very good reason; and what they saw to be lawful, and to have been practised by the fathers of the primitive church, without any reprehension at all. That therefore they had called a full synod of bishops; and by consent of all sorts purged this church of those excrements, which either the negligence or the malice of men had brought in. That they had restored all things, as much as possibly they could, to the ancient purity of the apostolical times, and to the similitude of the primitive church. And this, he added, was justly in their power to do: and because they could do it, they did it boldly.”

And much more excellent matter of our reformation, and in vindication thereof, did this learned bishop's letter contain. Which is deservedly preserved at the end of father Paul's history of that council; printed in English at London: worthy every protestant's diligent perusal.

CHAPTER 37.

The kingdom and church vindicated against Osorius, a popish writer. Dr. Haddon writes in answer to him; and so doth John Fox. Osorius printed in English: and Musculus' Common Places. The Bible and other church books published in Welsh. Some miscellaneous matters. A strange effect of joy. The queen at Windsor this winter reads much.

THIS year came forth a state-book; being a necessary quarrel of this church, and defence of this country, writ in answer to Hieronymus Osorius, a Portugueze, who the last year published a malicious libel against England, and the reformation of religion here, by way of letter to the queen; intending to persuade her to return to the Roman catholic faith, as hath been mentioned already. The answerer, who seems to be pitched upon for this work by secretary Cecil, was Dr. Walter Haddon, master of requests to the queen, a man of great abilities in learning, and experience of the state and affairs of this nation, and withal had an excellent Ciceronian style: to be even with the said Osorius, whose Latin was the only thing that recommended his book. But his treatment of the queen, and her kingdom and people, was so rude and uncivil, and his arguments so weak and childish, that the said Haddon gave this short character of him, "That he was a most perverse, overthwart brawler, who besides a commendable facility in the Latin tongue could profit the public nothing at all."

Haddon framed his answer in a letter to him, entitled, Gual. Haddonus Hieronymo Osorio Lusitano S.D. Therein answering all the trite objections of papists, then tossed up and down against the late proceedings of England, and clearing the steps that were taken by the queen and her council and parliament. And therefore very well worthy to have some account given of it in this place; having been drawn up by great deliberation, and overlooked by the secretary and sir Thomas Smith; and serving for a public vindication of this nation: the like to which I know none as yet set forth, except bishop Jewell's Apology the last year. This choice letter remaineth among Haddon's Lucubrations, published in the year 1567: but being out of the hands of most, and in Latin, I will give some brief account of it.

He told Osrius, the reason he wrote this letter to him was, to correct (yet without offence or bitter difference) his mistake of the state of England, taken up from false surmises and reports, and to rectify the opinions of others, which perhaps his writings had prejudiced. That whereas Osorius had ascribed the public decrees, made for reforming religion, to a great many uncertain obscure men, and excluded the queen from this transaction, it was to be attributed either to his dissimulation, or his ignorance of our customs. For the custom of England is, that no laws are made, to which the whole state is obliged to submit and obey, but by the assent and consent of the common people, the nobility, together with the approbation of the prelates of the church, and the command of the prince. Therefore, if any thing else had been told him, it was a lie in the author of it, and in him too much credulity.

He observed, how Osorius began with a terrible complaint, that a multitude of men, he knew not who, had estranged themselves from the truth of apostolical religion, and had brought in a new one, unknown before, but boasting much of pleasure and liberty: but that in truth that religion was most pestilent, and abounded with floods of innumerable evils. Then he assaulted the authors of this new religion; against whom he thundered out thick and horrible flames of reproaches, and that nothing could be thought more detestable than they. Then he roared out against the religion itself; that it was to be accursed, avoided, abhorred: and that the authors of it were murderers, sorcerers, over-throwers of commonwealths, enemies of mankind. But to this, Haddon challenged him to come to particulars, and to shew who these were, and wherein this religion came to have such a character. That for his part, he could not but lift up his hands to Almighty God, most heartily thanking him, that he had dispersed the deep darkness of the former times by the sunshine of the gospel. By the want of the knowledge whereof first, and afterwards the trusting in superstitions, we wallowed securely in the sink of sin; believing that, whatsoever wickedness we had done, to have it pardoned by the lead of the pope's bulls, and by muttering over of prayers not understood. But the authority of the holy scriptures at length sounded in our ears, and so terrified our consciences, that, laying aside and casting away the inventions of men, we took refuge in the free mercy of God only; in like manner attending to that which was commanded by the prophet, to conform our manners to holiness and righteousness.

And whereas, in a long address to her majesty, Osorius advised, that she and all princes should provide and take care they were not dethroned by this new and hitherto unknown sect; Haddon shewed how she flourished in all prosperity, loving her subjects, and being beloved by them, and not perceiving the least air of those tumults vainly prophesied of by him. It is true, there had been some danger of a French tempest; but that was now pacified: and whence it first blew, it was easy to tell. [He means, not from the professors of religion, but from the Guisians, a bigoted popish faction.]

Then Osorius mentioneth a sort of men lately come in, who were to purge the church from all the dregs of the errors of the schools, and to reduce it again to the sincerity of the institution of the apostles, and to represent to the Christian world the truth founded in the gospel of Christ, long since oppressed by gain and ambition: that the glory of God, obscured by the dreams of men, might be advanced by the clear and broad light of the holy scriptures. These men, whom he had thus scoffingly described, sometimes he makes sport with, sometimes shews his stomach against, and sometimes declaims and exclaims upon them: and this new sect was the enemies, which (as pests of this realm) he would have cut off from the queen's majesty, and cast away. But Haddon, on the other side, esteemed these professors of the gospel to be the servants of God, sent from heaven to us, to awake us out of our sloth in these dangerous times of the declining world; that these men quickened our lingering, refuted our errors, and rebuked our impieties: and then biddeth Osorius see how wide his opinion of these men was from his.

But now Osorius begins to take the persons of the chiefest reformers to task; and asketh, if they were more perfect in all the praise of piety, than Athanasius, Basil, Ambrose, Hierom, and Augustin. Haddon replied, that these reformers, many of them, were of excellent learning and most blameless manners. But, not to make odious comparisons between worthy men, he asserted, in behalf of these modern doctors, that they did conspire with those venerable fathers, that they went the same way with them, and delivered the same sum of religion as they did: and if so, comparison between persons that agree was idle; if not, he bade Osorius shew wherein they differed. That Augustin complained, that in his time they were overwhelmed with floods of ceremonies, that the condition of Christians was almost worse than that of the Jews. Hierom wished the holy scriptures (which from the Romanists' churches were wholly thrown off and hidden) might be learned by women and children. Basil employed all his leisure in

learning himself, and teaching others, the holy business of divinity: and if monks had lived according to Basil's institutions, not a man had touched them so much as with their finger. That Athanasius's creed had a just veneration, nor was there any question between him and us. But Osorius had only named these ancient fathers barely, and no more.

He passed on to reprove our later reformers: beginning with Luther; whose ghost he tore with evil speeches, reproaching him for a bold, for a popular, nay, for a madman. That man of God, said Haddon, whom you thus miscall, rendered a sound and sober account of his faith in an august assembly before the emperor Charles; that madman stood safe against the wisest patrons of your church thirty years, however they raged against his safety. As for Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, they, by the great goodness of God to this island, were brought over hither. Let all their enemies lay their heads together; and then let us see what envy itself can lay to their charge, as to the lives of those reverend fathers. O golden pair of aged men, of most happy memory! Whose books by them made were the witnesses of their doctrine. And had as many approvers of their manners, as they had men that lived with them and knew them.

Then Osorius skippeth to our doctrine. And therein he disapproveth of our urging the holy scriptures only; and that we admitted only the holy scriptures to be our counsel, rejecting all human authors. If it were so, said Haddon, we should in that but follow the practice of our Lord Jesus Christ, the custom of the apostles, and of the ancient fathers in the first times of the church. But it was otherwise: for we made use of the opinions of the approved interpreters of all times, as our books testify, which openly confuted this calumny of his.

Next, Osorius played with our perfection, which some of ours, as he gave out, boasted of in their lives; and yet he said they were convinced of wicked deeds daily. But Haddon said, It was false that they arrogated any thing to themselves above the condition of human nature: and it was a slander to defame their conversations.

He found great fault, that such companies of virgins and monks, shut up to celebrate the glory of God, and defend the chastity of their bodies, were sent forth by us, and exposed to lusts and all licentiousness of life: and their houses disposed of for gain; and that laws were made that religion should not hinder lust. Haddon freely confessed those dens of wickedness were demolished by the good advices of some among us. Into which places

tender maids were thrust, and poor boys, with so great a violation of manners, as his modesty would not suffer him to declare. That those workshops of wickedness had almost nothing else but pharisaical daily prayers in an unknown tongue; the rest of the things performed there within might be resembled to the old bacchanalia of Rome. And that therefore God had stirred up the minds of our people, who piously advised, that such numerous companies skulking in most corrupt corners should be called out from vices to virtue, from copulations not fit to be spoken, to honest wedlock: and the houses were disposed to the use of schools, universities, hospitals. And it was provided by laws that the sows should not again wallow in such filthy mire. This, he added, was a great and extraordinary favour of God; whereby more were drawn out of the dark kingdom of the Devil, than by all the little constitutions of the popish church heaped together.

Osorius then lamented the taking away of images and pictures, and such like monuments, out of the churches; which being gone, there remained nothing whereby the mind might be raised to the meditation of divine things. But, replied Haddon, our nation, remembering the blindness of the late times, was much afraid of the phrensies of idolatry: against which there was an express command of God. And the gospel bade us take heed of idols. But though this fear were not, yet the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ ought to have the highest authority among Christian men: whereby it was pronounced that God is a spirit; and they observe the right manner of praying to him, who worship him in spirit and in truth; and that God the Father sought such worshippers. And that this was the safe manner of praying, if we weighed whence it came, [i.e. from the inward man,] and whither it ought to return, [i.e. to Almighty God alone.] Nor did prayer want the help of outward things, by which it might ascend to the throne of God. Yea, that our outward man while it was too much busied in these shadows of holy things, the inward sense of the mind grew cold; and taking in the unwholesome nutriment of a too gaudy religion, lost the true fruit of celestial meditation. He said moreover, that the ancient church of the apostles and martyrs had nothing of these monuments; but in the declining of sincere religion, pictures by little and little crept in; and that former heat of religion glowing in men's minds grew languid; and at last a degenerate school-divinity, deformed with superstition, came in: and presently all was stuffed with pictures and images: and that outward veneration of them, when in all places it increased, the inward worship of God fell off.

Osorius goes on, and writes, that in short all sacred things, ceremonies and sacraments, were overthrown from the foundation by us. Haddon smartly answered, This was too impudent an hyperbole: and proceeded to shew how false this imputation was, by giving account briefly of the divine worship and observance of rites in this nation. And first, because faith came by hearing, we had teachers of the holy scriptures sent forth to all the borders of our country to instruct the common people in all the offices of piety, and to teach them the true worship of God. Then we had a public form of prayer, collected out of the scriptures; strengthened by authority of parliament, (so we call the consent of the three estates of this realm,) whence we did not suffer any to depart, providing in both as well as we could, that the command of the Holy Ghost be obeyed, that saith, That he that speaketh in the church should use the words of God in it; and then, that all agree in one. Further, that we took care that the sacraments were, as near as might be, administered according to the precept of holy scripture, and the example of the ancient church, as our Lord Jesus Christ himself with his apostle instituted them. That all these things were propounded in our own tongue: because it would be a great madness to blatter out that before God which one knows not what it is: and which opposed manifestly that wholesome doctrine of St. Paul, with all the ancient examples of apostolical churches. Furthermore, that we performed the imposition of hands, the celebration of wedlock, the bringing of women lately delivered of child to church, the visitation of the sick, the burial of the dead, with solemn and public offices, composed according to the truth of scripture. And to these we added so much of ceremony, that all things were done in the church conveniently and in order, as we knew we were admonished to do. That of times, places, days, and other circumstances, there was in effect no change made with us. Nor in the whole of our religion was there any thing new, unless what before had either evident absurdity or express impiety. So that [whatsoever the other had most rashly and falsely affirmed] our church was not spoiled, neither of holy things, nor sacraments, nor ceremonies; but in every kind so much was kept, that he would treat us too injuriously, who should slanderously give out, that there was nothing of these remained, when nothing of them was wanting, needful to the true worship of God.

Another charge of Osorius upon us was, that we had skaken off the yoke of the pope. True, said Haddon; for it was too heavy for us or our fathers to bear. Nor did we acknowledge any superior bishop, unless our Lord

Jesus Christ, to whom the holy scripture assigned this peculiar honour. Nor did we rend Christ's coat, as Osorius had said; but we only picked a hole in the Roman bishop's cloak. Neither opened we a way to sedition by casting off the pope, as he had said, but we shut up the way that led down to the greatest perverseness of manners, by the means of his licentious leaden bulls.

Osorius then fell upon the manners of the people of England, reproved their pride, their impudence; to which he joined their robberies, conspiracies, and all manner of wickedness. And that the former wholesome discipline was wont to correct men's manners; but that in our times was gone, and therefore that divinity that was void of good fruit ought to be rejected. But Haddon answered, that this was false which he had taken up concerning the perverseness of our people. And were it true, he could never make out what he collected thence. Tares had always been mixed with the harvest. He led Osorius home to his own church, and demanded of him, if they of his communion were not guilty of sins enough. And that therefore he might throw away his argument; which was either of no force, or was of equal force against him and his own church: nay, of more force: for if our people were to be compared with theirs, or our doctrine with theirs, we were ready to make the comparison as soon as he would. That as for our doctrine, he might most truly defend it to be the same with the apostles', derived from the gospel itself. He required Osorius to shew him his church, and desired this might be the controversy between them, whether church was nearer to the apostles in sincerity of manners and truth of doctrine? And if he would accept of this challenge, he would presently join issue with him.

Then Osorius falls to exclaiming against our gospel, uttering all manner of evil speaking here. But Haddon bade him roar as much as he would or could, yet he should never effect it, but that the truth of the ancient and pure gospel would be preached to all by us. And that when we should come to stand before the dreadful tribunal of Christ the judge, and an account required of our faith, it would not be out of the decrees and decretals which Osorius so vehemently embraced, nor out of the Julians and Bonifacians, in whose authority their people acquiesced; but out of this very gospel which he had so pleasantly derided; the gospel, which their church had buried so long, but was restored publicly from heaven by the intervention of some of our pious and learned men. He shewed further, how the people of Osorius's church had, instead of the gospel, some

sermons preached by friars, who made declamations to the people after their manner at certain times, and at all other times were silent. And for the most part they used such tedious and trite forms of exhortations, as might invite the auditors to sleep, rather than regard what was said. In the holy things and the sacraments the people enjoyed their ease; nothing for them to do, and the priests performed the whole business by themselves in an unknown tongue. They went to mass, wherein they would have the very substance of religion placed: the priests indeed were very busy, but the people had no part therein but to look on. Nor did the gospel in the mean time come in to trouble them, and all exhortations out Of it were wholly silent. Once perhaps in a year they went to the Lord's table, more in solemn ceremony than in a contrite heart. Nor was that done which the institution of our Lord Jesus Christ required, that his death be shewed forth until he came. Again, how much soever the people defiled themselves with sins, there was no public medicine of souls applied. They transacted all privately by whispers in the priests ears: and if the impiety were of a greater size, it was redeemed by lead, [i.e. the pope's bull.]

Such a various, manifold, and vast provision of ceremonies, that a greater outward pleasure of the senses could scarce be invented, while the amending the inward temper of the mind was little or nothing at all. And this was their service.

Then Haddon went on to shew what our divine service who professed the gospel was. First, there were among us constant sermons grounded upon the gospel: the authority whereof either brake the stubbornness of sin by the terrors of the law, or allured to virtue by the greatness of the prraises. And in case any men neglected or cared not for these spiritual things, the magistrates caused them to be present at the holy services; wherein they heard not so much the interpretations of men, as openly perceived God and Christ sometimes thundering out threatenings against their sins, and sometimes offering their treasures of mercy. These recitations of the prayers were accompanied with variety of psalms, hymns, and lessons out of the books of both Testaments. So that he must needs be a most unhappy man, that could reap no private benefit to himself, when the word of God sounded so much about him. Then followed the sacrament of the holy table of the Lord, which was constantly used on the festival days. The minister of God called all publicly to come forth, who had agreeably prepared themselves for so divine a banquet. Some came forth, and kneeled humbly upon their knees, being alone by themselves, and left in the midst of the

church; and when it was due time, they, in the eyes and ears of all, did openly declare their abhorrence of the naughtiness of their lives; and with one voice beg God's pity and forgiveness. The minister bespake them with chosen places of scripture, partly declaring threatenings against sin, and partly opening the abundant fountains of God's mercy. So that those who were to partake of the holy table did often tremble, and after being refreshed with the hope of pardon, were revived again. Such as had given a dangerous example, either by slandering of others, or by some profligate deed, were struck with anathema, [i.e. excommunicated,] that shame, and shutting them out of communion with others, might call them back to their duty again.

Thus Haddon laid the matter open in particulars, for every one to judge which of the two forms of religious services tended most to edification. He added one thing further, that there was more of sighs and groans in one access of ours to the table of the Lord, than in six hundred of their solemn masses.

Osorius insisted again upon the infinite wickedness of our reformed people, and quoted the old prophets who cried out against the impiety of the backsliding Jews, applying their words hither. But Haddon averred, that the greatest part of ours lived by most upright statutes; and many companies of people joined themselves to the true worship of God; and were as far distant from those impious courses of life which Osorius mentioned, as his speech was from all shame and modesty: and that if he would do any thing to purpose, he bade him compare the darkness of their times with the light of our gospel; and then consider what a difference there was between the one and the other, since in laying wickedness to our charge, he did urge their own reproach, and his own slandering practice, too common throughout his epistle.

The last charge of Osorius was, that we were divided into sects; and that we were entered into consultations together how to destroy all God's religion. So far from that, saith Haddon, that there was a perfect consent and agreement among us: which if he doubted, he required him to have recourse to the Apology, which the church had placed openly in the eyes of the Christian world, as the common and certain pledge or token of our religion. And bade Osorius refute it, if he could. But he could not, (he said,) nor could any of their party do it; however of late there was one, as well as he could, barked at it. And as for our plotting the destruction of

religion, that was not possible to be done by us, who most steadfastly believed the immortality of souls. That that was an accusation he should lay upon some nation that doubted of that, if he could find any such in the Christian world. And to satisfy him further, he bade him remember, how firmly our nation had espoused the true worship of God and the sincere doctrine of the gospel, not only by their tongues and writings, but by their banishment, their hunger, their nakedness, by their blood, and life itself.

When Osorius towards his conclusion had writ, that he was longer than he intended, our answerer added, and more indeed than was decent too; especially in the learned ears of the queen's majesty; whose sharpness and judgment he had been afraid of, if he had considered with himself, how much strength of reason and understanding she was endued with; that she read the holy scriptures much and often; that she compared the best interpreters together; that she collected every where the sentences of the most learned divines; that of herself she excelled in the knowledge of tongues: and that as she was of a prompt and sharp wit, so she added so much wisdom to it, as was scarce credible in that sex. And in a word, that she came to sermons; and that in these things her senses were so exercised, partly in reading, and partly in hearing, that she could as well teach him as learn of him. And then he demanded of him, whether he could have any hope, that this most religious and learned princess could be corrupted by his praises, or circumvented by his flattering speeches. And he told Osorius roundly, that those, whosoever they were, that had suborned him to be the accuser of the English nation, especially before the queen's majesty, had grossly abused his easiness.

Osorius yet again rubs upon the fruits of our doctrine, and bids others take a view of them; and required religion to be esteemed by its fruits. But what fruits, said Haddon, would their church have, which was less fruitful than all others? But to comply with him; Let England then be considered, said he, in the condition wherein it was before, deformed with the filthy traditions of men; and be compared with England as it was afterwards, living according to the institution of the gospel. Let our annals be searched: let recourse be had to the monuments of our own memory: and let the queen be judge, and the times compared. Let her give sentence. But if that pleased not, he bade Osorius, if he had not heard it before, learn it of him, what the present condition of England was, that he might hereafter give no credit to the infamous stories of our enemies. We had, he said, a princess presiding over the kingdom, in every respect without compare; her court

wanting no ornaments, either for the honour of her majesty, or for the safety of the commonwealth. The archbishops and bishops took upon them the office of preaching in their own persons, [a thing not practised in the popish church.] And being present in their dioceses had the care of all the churches. The nobility of the land did well accord among themselves; and the common people every way dutiful. And a very great tranquillity there was throughout all the realm. Others perhaps had related these matters to him otherwise; but he put him in mind of what his master Tully admonished, "That many men spoke many things, but it was not necessary to believe all." And that our ill-willers told not what they knew to be true, but that which they would have to be so; because their eyes were in pain to see the extraordinary felicity of our state.

At last Osorius pretended great compassion for England; and that because his country Portugal and ours were neighbours and friends. But, said his answerer, if we were their neighbours and friends, why did he so load us with false crimes? Why did he say, "that we had drawn away the people from the most ancient and most holy religion; which was ratified in the blood of Christ, and remained to this very day, and carried them over to another cursed and dreadful religion?" He asked him closely, whether he himself believed what he said. He knew he did not: since in the first and best times of the church, there was neither popedom, nor buying of sins by leaden seals, nor the bargains of purgatory, nor the adorations of images, nor the wandering visitations of saints, nor sacrificings for the living and the dead in masses, and the like: for these disgraces of religion, in what times and by whom they crept into the church, he could not be ignorant, but dissembled all the while, basely to serve the ears of those of his own party.

And whereas Osorius would fain have persuaded the queen, "to relinquish the religion received by the common consent of the state, and to take up his; and that the way was easy to do it; that the glory of it would be eternal, and the whole world would applaud her;" Haddon said, it was a question whether this exhortation had more folly or impiety in it: for should the voice of a Portuguese, the epistle of one Hierom Osorius, break through and overthrow the sacred doctrine of the gospel, continually for more than thirty years (except the late turbulent six years) remaining among us; in which doctrine her royal majesty had led all her life; in which she had found God so favourable to her; in which she had enjoyed already a peaceable five years' reign, flourishing in the greatest prosperity; in which

had been the fullest consent of all the states; in which very excellent laws had been made and established: should this single stranger, by a few rhetorical words writ to the queen, supplant this true and sincere worship of God, so carefully on all hands fenced and fortified by her majesty?

And if he hoped for any such success of his pains, he did but unwisely to entertain any such confidence. He might, if he would, write thousands of philippics; all the queen's enemies might flock together, and all that envied and hated her, the great number whereof Osorius pretended to know. [For he had used it as an argument to the queen to forsake her religion on that account, because the papists in her kingdom were more than her subjects that professed the gospel.] Yet as God oftentimes before snatched her out of the hands of her enemies, so he still would preserve her from their malice, and would confirm her in the truth of the gospel, as he did daily; and finally would grant her everlasting glory, for her enlarging the glory of Christ by the gospel.

And whereas Osorius had by way of epilogue adjured and beseeched her again and again to banish from her the authors of this pestilent novelty, (as he called pure religion,) and to betake herself to his church, where, with a great deal of elegancy of speech, he placed the quire of all virtues; Haddon told him his labour was in vain: for what he called novelty of error, her majesty knew to be antiquity of truth; and that she humbly gave God continual thanks for it; and determined not to lay it down but with her life. And that as for him, she thought him a mere stranger in the gospel, if he knew not all this before.

This notable responsory letter was sent by secretary Cecil (as it seems) into France to the learned sir Thomas Smith, the queen's ambassador, to peruse it, and then get it printed there, as Osorius's epistle had been. That such as had read that calumniatory writing might also read this; that right and justice might be done to the English nation. The said ambassador accordingly applied himself to the chancellor of Paris for liberty to print it. But he shifted it off, pretending that Osorius's epistle was printed by stealth without any permission of theirs. Nay the original copy had like to have been quite lost: for it having been put into the hands of Henry Stevens to print it, by some wile it was got out of his hands. And great difficulty there was, and application to the chancellor of Paris, by the said ambassador, before it could be retrieved again. In fine, at last it was printed anno 1563, either in France or elsewhere.

The censure which the foresaid ambassador gave of this book to Haddon himself the author, was, "That nothing could come from Haddon, which was not good Latin in the words, neat and smooth in the speech, and grave in the sentences. And that there was but one thing that he approved not of in that work; which was, that he had to do with an adversary that he so much overmatched who brought nothing but a bare imitation of Cicero, and was ignorant of the matter he handled"

But Osorius, nettled with this answer of Dr. Haddon, not long after (being now become bishop of Sylva or Arcoburge) gave a reply to it in three books, which was all nothing else but a further and more bitter invective against England; wherein he would seem to post over (as Haddon told him) his whole malice against Luther and his associates: yet he did notwithstanding indict and accuse England; by express words rail on our bishops with most foul and false accusation; condemn the subjects in general of stiffnecked crookedness; our temples, our ceremonies, our laws, and our whole religion, with a shameless tongue and most insolent invective, did deride, condemn, and slander.

Here was work again for our learned apologist, who thought in honour he must not leave this cause of his country and the English church. But it is remarkable how he was dissuaded from it by some foreign Englishmen, and desperately threatened what danger and what work he would draw upon his own head, if he did not stop his pen, and let Osorius have the last word: for, (to continue our account of this controversy,) in the year 1565, one Richard Shacklock, M. A. of Lovain, set forth in English this letter of Osorius with high commendations in the preface, preferring it as far above Haddon's answer, (except that he vouchsafed to call him a man of handsome eloquence,) as the light of the sun was before a link. It was printed at Antwerp, March the 27th the said year, with the title of, A pearl for a prince; which title the French translation had given it before. And it had the allowance of Cornelius Jansenius, professor of divinity of Lovain. And in the conclusion of this book is an address to Mr. Doctor Haddon from Antwerp, trying to affright him from proceeding any further against Osorius: for they tell him,

"How Nazianzen witnessed, that Valens the emperor, poisoned with the Arian heresy, after he had written with his own hand many words concerning the banishment of St. Basil, yet could not finish those writings, for so much as the pen did three times refuse to

yield ink. However, being obstinate in his proposed malice, did not leave off to write that wicked decree, and to subscribe unto it, when it was written; till a great cramp or palsy came into his hand, which did strike such a fear and terror into his heart, that with his own hand he tore that which he had writ. And then Mr. Dr. Haddon was bid, for the love of God, to remember this fearful example. And whereas he did not fear to write against Osorius at the first, because peradventure either he knew it not, or else had forgotten it, now seeing he did know it, and had it fresh brought to his memory, he was warned not to despise it. And that it should be a warning to him, whether he were moved of his own head, or pricked forward by the suggestion of others; whether he were in his own private parlour, or the public parliament house; to say nothing, write nothing, subscribe to nothing pertaining to the defacing of the truth; lest such a cramp took him in the hand when he should write, or such a palsy come into his tongue when he should speak: and so become a spectacle to all men. Further, they bade him enter into an humble confession of his own imperfection: and that in humanity he could do very commendably; but when he came to declaim in divinity, he could no more bestir himself than David in Saul's armour."

But that if he would not cease, they assured him, "That he should stir up so many adversaries against him, that whereas he was master of the requests, and for that cause ought always to be at leisure to hear petitions when suitors came to him, he should be fain to make them this answer; I pray you trouble me not, I must go answer Osorius in Portugal, I must answer Hosius in Polonia, such a man in such a country, &c. And that, if he would not make them such an answer, yet his brains should be busied with so many books and letters from his betters, that his mind should not be upon his charge. And so he would be put out of his place for negligence, or else sent from the court to Cambridge for pity, that he might have more leisure to answer his adversaries, which he would not well like of. Wherefore they prayed him to follow their former counsel: to stay himself; and to recompense his troublesome eloquence with charitable and quiet silence. And because he was master of requests, they prayed him to grant them this request; that he increased not his old fault with a new offence, nor made any new

resistance against ancient verity. And that he might be the more afraid to abuse his hand in writing against Osorius, or any other catholic, they prayed him to turn the book named *Symbola Heroica* into English; where, among many other pictures, he should find a shaking hand with a pen leaping out of it, and this poesy written over it, *Uterius ne tende odiis*; i.e. Proceed no further in hatreds. And this heroical device they trusted would terrify him from the like vice.”

But notwithstanding, all this counsel, (childish enough,) such was Haddon’s zeal in answering the second angry and malicious book of Osorius, that in the beginning of his answer he said resolutely, “He stood in the defence of his country, and would persist therein so long as breath was in his body.” And indeed in this quarrel he ended his life: for he died when he had not gone half way in his confutation. Whether he had any foul play, I cannot tell; but by the warning given above, it may raise a suspicion; especially since he was at Bruges in Flanders, anno 1566, the last year of his life. He treated his adversary now more smartly than he had done before; but yet used him like a scholar. But with what success he dealt with him, John Fox will tell us, “that he so handled his matters with arguments and reasons, as he seemed not only to have confuted Osorius, but also to have crushed him all to pieces.” Where he left off, the said Fox was thought the fittest, for learning and divinity, as well as an excellent Latin style, to go on with the work: and so at length he finished it, by adding above three parts more than Haddon had writ to it; swelling to a pretty large book. And at last it was turned into English by James Bell, and printed by John Day, anno 1581, in 4to. Wherein are fully answered the malicious slanders and misreports raised in those times against our religion, and what was done in the reforming of the church of England justified. And to every thing that was writ, I make no doubt secretary Cecil was privy, and all went through his hand, and the writer had his directions, since the work was of such a public import, and he had concerned himself with this controversy from the beginning. Fox’s style was sharp, and oftentimes witty, (for so Osorius was to be dealt withal,) but he shewed also a great deal of good learning and knowledge in ecclesiastical and other history. And thus much for this state-book of Haddon’s, with the history of it.

To this let me add another book of good use that came forth this year, printed by Reginald Wolfe, viz. Wolfgang Musculus his *Common Places*, translated out of Latin into English by John Man, provost of Merton

college, Oxon, with an epistle dedicatory to the archbishop of Canterbury, who had lately placed him, in spite of popish opposition, in that college. It is a large folio, containing a good body of practical divinity, profitably and plainly handled, for the use and help. of the unlearned, not only laymen, but clergy, (of which sort there were many in these times,) as there were many translations of learned protestant foreigners' writings now printed and published in England, very seasonable and useful: this book, among the rest, being judged by the learned to be of good service, for them that needed by orderly instruction to be taught the principal articles and rules of Christian religion, as they might easily conceive them, and faithfully keep them. It was the work of ten years, written with good advisement, tempered for their measure for whom it was prepared, as the preface shewed. As for Musculus himself, he was public reader of divinity at Berne in Switzerland; a man of most godly life; trained up in learning by the space of near sixty years; occupied in continual reading and expounding of scripture; having achieved thereby to such an excellency, as, the translator saith, he might be numbered amongst the most profoundly learned doctors that have written in the church of God.

Care was taken for Wales, the people whereof were very popish, very ignorant, and very sinful: for the redress whereof, and for the introducing among them the knowledge of true religion, the Bible was translated, or ready to be translated, into their mother tongue, and also the Book of Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and the Book of Homilies. And for the printing of these books, or any other in the Welsh tongue, tending to the setting forth of godly doctrine, the queen granted a patent for seven years to William Salisbury of Llanraost, gent. and John Waley of London, printer, and to their heirs and assigns, with a prohibition to all others; the bishops of Hereford, St. David's, St. Asaph, Bangor, and Landaff, or any two of them, having knowledge in the said tongue, first perusing and allowing them.

Let me add these scattering historical notices of affairs that fell out within this year by way of brief journal.

In May the bastard son of the king of Navarre came into England from Guien, to see the queen and this country. But some thought it was partly for refuge, fearing displeasure there, because of ill usage of Ferdinando de Toledo.

In August the plague raged in London. So that by the 30th of that month there died about a thousand in a week.

The earl of Hertford, and the lady Katharine, daughter of the late Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, that were both put into the Tower for their clandestine marriage, (she being of royal blood,) by reason of the plague were this month removed thence: he to remain with his mother, the duchess of Somerset, as prisoner; and she with her uncle, the lord John Grey, at Pyrgo in Essex; where not long after she died with grief.

September the 2d, William Whittingham, (sometime an exile, of whom much is spoken in the Troubles at Frankford,) now dean of Durham, preached at court. In November, the Portugal ambassador, lately in London, being gone thence for France, the queen writ him a letter thither, both of thanks and of excuse; and sent it to sir Thomas Smith, her ambassador, to deliver it to him: and withal she commanded him to tell him, that because he did desire, when he was here, to see her majesty write, she had subscribed her letter with a few other words; which as she wrote them, so, she said, she meant to perform the sense of the same.

November the 27th, the death in London was decreased to three hundred the last week.

The term was appointed to be kept at Hartford castle, because of the plague at London.

December the 29th, the French having elected the earl of Leicester to be of their order of St. Michael, with a companion, there had been great debate at court sundry times, whether he should accept of the said election: and sometimes it was intended he should accept it alone, and sometimes with a companion. And for that companion, sometimes the lord marquis of Northampton was nominated, and sometimes the earl of Sussex, and sometimes the duke of Norfolk: but, in the end, the queen herself meant to declare all. This variation cost near twelve days. But it seems the queen thought fit to have it refused at this time; notwithstanding, when, two years after, this honour was offered again by the French king after another manner, namely, that she might bestow the ensigns of that order upon any two whom she pleased, she then bestowed them upon the duke of Norfolk and the said earl.

The cold was now so great, that it gave both the queen and her secretary Cecil a disease called the pooss, which affected the head. Upon the

secretary it was so much, that he could not see. The queen was cumbered with pain in her nose and eyes, so that she could not sign any letter nor do any business; otherwise in good and perfect health.

Perpetual frosts from the 16th day of December to the 29th, and how much longer I know not, so that men ordinarily passed over the Thames on the ice; which they had not done since the eighth year of the reign of king Henry VIII. which was almost fifty years ago.

In the month of March died the lady Poyntz, whose husband had been a great officer and favourite with king Henry VIII. Her death I should not have mentioned, but because somewhat happened very strange but a little while before her departure She had married one Dyer, a second husband, whose carriage to her was so inhuman, that it brake her heart with sorrow. While she lay sick, he allowed her not the necessary help of physic. And to add to her grief, she seemed to lie also under the queen's displeasure. However, her majesty, hearing of her great sickness, took pity upon her, and sent her a kind letter, and 50l. to buy her apothecary's stuff; together with which came another letter of comfort from the queen's secretary: with all which she sent Santon, her messenger, to Wells, where the said lady then lay. The messenger came to her, March the 21st, when she had almost lost her hearing, her sight, and speech; and on which day she died. But as soon as the messenger had delivered his message from the queen, and her letters, together with the secretary's, were read to her, she presently recovered perfect hearing, perfect sight, and a perfect voice; which continued with her till her breath failed. She appointed in what order her majesty's letter and the secretary's should be answered; and after she had put her hand to them, and with her own hands taken and kissed and delivered those letters, she presently died, with memory, speech, sight, and hearing perfect, until the last: as sir Nicholas Pointz, her son, gave account in his letter to the secretary.

The queen abode this winter at Windsor, where she had retired a good while before, for avoiding the danger of the plague in London. Here she still followed her studies in a constant course with her schoolmaster Ascham: who was so extremely taken with his royal mistress's diligence and advancement in learning, that once he brake out, in an address to the young gentlemen of England,

“That it was their shame, that one maid should go beyond them all in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tongues. Point

forth, as he made the challenge, six of the best given gentlemen of this court; and all they together shew not so much good will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge, as doth the queen's majesty herself. Yea, he believed, that beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she read there at Windsor more Greek every day, than some prebendaries of that church did read Latin in a whole week. And that which was most praiseworthy of all, within her walls of her privy-chamber she had obtained that singularity of learning, to understand, speak, and write, both wittily with head and fair with hand, as scarce one or two rare wits in both the universities had in many years reached unto."

And he added in this his transport, that among all the benefits that God had blessed him withal, next to the knowledge of Christ's true religion, he counted it the greatest, that it had pleased God to call him to be a poor instrument in setting forward these excellent gifts of learning in this prince: whose only example, said he, if the rest of the nobles would follow, then might England be, for learning and wisdom in nobility, a spectacle to all the world beside.

CHAPTER 38.

Matters between France and England. New Haven surrendered by the English. Motions for peace between the two crowns. The rudeness of the French ambassador's men in Eaton college. Matters with the Low Countries. The duke of Wirtenburgh to the queen about marriage. Matters with Scotland. The Scotch queen's marriage.

NOW we shall proceed to continue our relations of matters between France and England this year. March the 29th, the court still meant to make sure at New Haven. Neither had they any apprehensions or fears, that any sudden force should there prevail against them.

Matters with France now stood thus. The prince of Conde, head of the French protestants, had made firm promise, not to agree to any peace with France without consideration of the queen: and his ambassador here was advised to put him in remembrance that she looked for the same. A certain nobleman ratified the accord of the prince; and it was also consented to by fifteen other principal noblemen that were in Normandy, that the first accord should be kept; which was, to make no peace without the queen's majesty's consent.

But Conde having now made peace with the French, (besides the former difficulty,) the French required him to procure the English to leave New Haven. And this he did now endeavour, together with the French ambassador, as though they had not put it into the English hands, to detain it till the French had restored Calais to them. The queen's principal secretary, therefore, the better to instruct the English ambassador to treat with that prince, sent a copy of the treaty with the said prince; which had been stayed some time out of tenderness to him, that it might not fall into the hands of his enemies: but now (that prince being as he was) the ambassador had it sent him speedily. And the secretary told him, he might be bold to say, that he and the admiral had especially covenanted, that New Haven should not be delivered until Calais was restored; and that the queen meant not so to be abused. In April, monsieur Bricquemault came ambassador from

the prince of Conde, to propound offers for the surrender of New Haven, upon other terms than the delivery of Calais; and the last day of the month departed. And having taken leave of her majesty, he went to speak to the lord Robert Dudley apart; and with great asseveration said, that if the queen refused the offers he had made, and would of herself devise no others, he knew certainly that she should never have better. The French ambassador also privately sent the secretary the like message. But the court took all this but for good French brags.

As yet we were prosperous at New Haven, having met with fifty-four merchant ships, coming out of Britain and Guien, laden with wine and salt, and gave them stabling (as the secretary wrote to the English ambassador) in New Haven. The lading of those ships were very meet for the victualling of that place; and therefore would be demanded. Some other adventurers had likewise met with five or six other of like sort, and brought them to Plymouth and Portsmouth. These last were stayed, for that the French had stayed a number of English ships at Bourdeaux. But the French ambassador shewing the copy of letters from the queen-mother to Monluc, the governor of Guien, for the delivery of the same, and another letter from Monluc for the discharge of the English ships, order was given from the English court for the delivery of the French ships which were in England.

The French ambassador about this time privately sent the secretary word, that if the English dealt after that sort, they should look to have the siege afore New Haven within fifteen days after his advertisement. But the secretary could not tell whether to believe it or not.

Some little time ago the queen set forth a declaration in English, in justification of her doings in France. This declaration the French had used their pleasure in varying of; and so set it forth in French: but very false. Upon this, two copies were sent to the English ambassador there, by which he might certainly avow all others, published contrary, to be mere falsehoods. And so he was ordered to signify to them where he was.

In May, certain Frenchmen were sent to New Haven, to set the ships on fire, that had been taken; but these were taken, and confessed the whole matter. Whereupon the English sent for some of the ships from thence. Others also were taken there, that had a determination, which they also confessed, to have betrayed the town. Whereupon the earl of Warwick, the governor, joining thereto a late proclamation made at Paris, for victualling the camp, to expel the English out of New Haven, had by honest means in

like manner expelled all the French out of New Haven; and was stronger hereby by 2000 men, that is, (I suppose,) hereby making room for so many more English soldiers.

The fortification at New Haven was now so advanced, that the English did but desire to receive some honour by repelling the Frenchmen, if they would but assault them.

July the 6th, the French made proclamation to license all Frenchmen to invade the English, during the time that the English should keep New Haven. And July the 13th, a proclamation was issued out from the queen, to notify the French proclamation made the 6th day, with a like licence for England, while the French should keep Calais.

In July, the mortality was in New Haven; and the French made their approaches two ways. And yet had the death not been so great as it now was in the town, they should repent them (as the secretary wrote) of all their travails. But new succours were daily sent: and the English admiral was now upon the seas, to bid the enemy a good breakfast.

But notwithstanding all the English resolution hitherto, with all their confidence, provisions, charges, and successes, on the first of August came the news of the surrender of this place; seeing it was not possible to be kept longer by reason of the plague. And since (as the secretary wrote to sir Tho. Smith) it pleased God Almighty to visit it with such incurable infection, being, as it seemed, a den of poison, it was well bargained to part with it. This plague was brought into England, and the latter end of August raged in London, about a thousand in a week dying.

The same month sir Nicolas Throgmorton, the queen's ambassador in France, was put under restraint. And the queen, to be even with the French for this injurious dealing with her ambassador, lodged the French ambassador at Eaton in sir Thomas Smith's old lodgings, very commodiously, but under restraint; indeed, better lodged than ever he was in England, and at liberty to walk and ride whither he would. And so he used to ride much abroad.

In this plague the French hostages were put to some custody abroad; but not as prisoners: two of them sent to sir Rich. Blunt's house near Reading; the other to Mr. Kenelm Throgmorton and Mr. Caroo.

Divers attempts were now made against the isles of Jersey and Guernsey. For the preventing of any danger thereby, the English sent thither ships and men.

In November, sir Tho. Smith, still in France, had orders to conclude a peace with that crown.

On St. Stephen's day, a new ambassador from France for peace had audience. He laboured also for delivery of the hostages. After his being with the queen, he had discourse with the lord marquis, lord admiral, lord chamberlain, the secretary, and Mr. Wolley. He used a long harangue of half an hour to move them to peace; not omitting therewith to set forth the power of France, the union of all their faction, and so forth: and concluded in an article, that he with sir Thomas Smith, the queen's ambassador, had allowed. On the English side, by order of the queen's majesty, it was answered, that they allowed very well of peace, and had a long time thought thereon; that they saw no other means more reasonable, for the honour of both parties, and continuance in amity, than to have the same treaty renewed which was made at Cambresy, between king Henry and the queen; the ministers whereof were known to be the best counsellors for both the realms, all being yet alive, saving one. And concluded peremptorily, that no other manner of peace could be honourable or sure for both parties.

The French ambassador lodged in Eaton college, near the court at Windsor: where it happened that he and the provost of the said college had a great falling out. The provost was a little before commanded to keep his gates shut, according to the order of the house. Malvisier, an agent from France, being with the ambassador half an hour after eight, and the gates shut, the ambassador sent to the provost for the keys: who answered, that he would not break the orders of the house. But after a multiplication of language on both sides, Malvisier departed to the back gate, and climbed over, to go to his lodgings. Two or three others, disposed to do the like, came back to the provost's door with the ambassador's servants, and brake open his door upon him per force with a form; and the ambassador, with a sword in his hand, though not drawn out of the scabbard, was the first that entered, and Du Bois, his secretary, with another sword; and took the provost violently out of his chamber, having but one young scholar in his company, and took the keys, and opened the gates at their pleasure.

In the morning the ambassador sent two of his servants unto the secretary, to complain of the provost, fashioning a tale of the provost's refusal: with a remembrance, by the way, that they were forced to break open the door. The secretary answered, that he would send for the provost, and hear him also; and if it should appear that he used himself otherwise than became him, he should bear the blame. Which speech of his they liked not; but said, he was partial to the provost, and suddenly departed. Being scarcely gone from the chamber, they met the provost coming to the secretary to complain, as he had cause. And the Frenchmen passing out of the castle, [of Windsor,] met with two of the provost's men, whose hearts, as it seems, did rise against them for misusing their master; and so they fell to some quarrelling, and drawing of their swords. But there was no hurt on either part. Upon this the Frenchmen came back to the secretary's chamber with another cry; and finding the provost with him, who knew nothing of the matter, the secretary sent for the knight marshal, to examine the matter; and if he saw cause, to commit the provost's men to prison: which though the marshal found no great cause, yet it was ordered so to be. After this fray, the ambassador sent to have audience, alleging, that he desired to speak with the queen before Malvisier should depart: and perceiving that it was but about that brabbling matter, he was deferred until Monday, considering the festival days of Christmas. Wherewith he was nettled, and sent Malvisier away.

Upon this it was meant, that the ambassador should be removed from Eaton, and be taught to provide his lodgings with his own money, as the English ambassador did in France.

Thus these haughty French spirits could not restrain their rude and turbulent behaviour in a strange country; and that even when they came to make peace. It was but a little before this disturbance, in this same month of December, that such another instance of these Frenchmen's heats and indiscretions appeared. Which was thus:

The queen had sent one Steukley with a squadron abroad to the seas for Florida: who afterwards, in November, came to the court with certain French captains, whom he took coming from thence, by some of his ships, which he sent out against the French. Steukley put the chief of these French captains, his prisoners, to liberty upon his faith, conditionally, that he should speak with no Frenchman. But yet the prisoner stole to Eaton, to speak with the ambassador there. Steukley hearing thereof, sent for him,

and beat him. Whereupon the ambassador hearing thereof, sent to the secretary to complain. And the secretary rebuked Steukley roundly, although the other did reasonably justify what he had done. The day following, the ambassador's secretary came to know what the secretary had done: who told him how he had rebuked Steukley, and what his answer was. Well, said the Frenchman, my master will, advise the king, who will revenge it. What? replied the secretary, you are too hot; you speak herein but foolishly; using the word sottement. Why, quoth he, call ye me a fool? No, said the secretary, but I tell you what I think of your words. Hereupon he departed fumingly. And so the ambassador conceived much offence against the secretary. We shall pursue these French affairs when we come to the next year. It was likewise chiefly upon account of the alteration of religion, that Spain and the Low Countries were ready to pick quarrels with England. Somewhat whereof I will relate, as I find in some letters of state that now passed.

The regent and estates of the Basse countries in the month of December commanded, that none of the English cloths should come into the country before Candlemas, for fear of the plague, as was alleged. And they spread there very evil rumours against the English nation for pretended lack of justice, for pillage of their ships, and such like maritime affairs. And, indeed, some cause they might have in this time, when the adventurers and privateers of the English haunted the seas so much, and missing of French vessels, might seek for French goods in Flemish ships. But surely their complaints were augmented by malice and fraud, to sow division between the English and the king of Spain; and especially by the Esterlings, and such as would have had our merchants less favoured in Antwerp. Hereupon it was thought meet to appoint an extraordinary commission, to hear and determine their complaints summarie; and also to send Dr. Lewis or Dale with a report of all the orders and judgments given in their favour, since the death of the bishop of Aquila, the late Spanish ambassador. And there was an intention of sending an ambassador to reside in Flanders, instead of Spain. For now in December sir Thomas Chaloner, being dangerously sick, without hope of recovery, but by returning, was revoked; yet upon the consideration and offer made to that king to send another thither, or into Flanders. And here it was judged more needful for an ambassador to be.

Towards the latter end of December, Dr. Dale, a civilian, departed towards Flanders, to make answer to the clamorous complaints of that country

against this, for lack of justice, and for depredations. And further, a commission was made to Lewis, Weston, Huick, Mouse, learned doctors of the laws, to hear and determine such kind of complaints summarily. And the last day of the said month arrived a secretary from Flanders, named Detorre, with matters of expostulation for spoil upon the seas: which indeed was hard to avoid in that time, considering the Flemmings did so continually colour the Frenchmen's goods. And but two days after, this secretary was heard.

But on new-year's-day the intercourse of trade opened; the order of the regent aforesaid being it seems revoked, that forbade the intercourse till Candlemas.

The duke of Wirtenburgh, a German protestant prince, had lately friendly offered his service to the queen, in case she were minded to marry. To which, January 27, she gave him this courteous and princely answer:

“That although she never yet were weary of single and maiden life, yet indeed she was the last issue her father left, and the only of her house: the care of her kingdom, and the love of posterity, did ever counsel her to alter this course of life. But in consideration of the leave that her subjects had given her in ampler manner to make her own choice, than they did to any prince afore, she was even in courtesy bound to make that choice, so as should be for the best of her state and subjects. And for that he offered therein his assistance, she graciously acknowledged the same, promising to deserve it hereafter.”

Now something of the matters of Scotland. The security of the affairs of England, both of religion and the civil state, depending very much upon the assured friendship of that neighbouring kingdom; hence it was one of the queen's great cares to look to that quarter. The queen of Scots was popish, and the dauphin of France's widow, guided much by the Guisian faction in France, a fatal enemy to queen Elizabeth and the reformed religion. Therefore, as an ecclesiastical historian, I shall give some brief notes of the queen's endeavours and practices with that queen and state, to countermine France. And these notes are not vulgar and common, but the more to be esteemed and depended upon, being taken out of papers of state and ambassadors' instructions. During the affairs at New Haven between the French and the English, the French began, (as well in respect of the death of the duke of Guise, the Scotch queen's uncle, (the bond of

her affection,) as for the discourtesy she and her subjects had received lately, by the detention of her dower, degrading Hamilton, duke of Castelheralt, from the duchy, and taking from her nation their places in guard,) to suspect her falling off from their alliance to the English. Therefore now in their letters they made her liberal promises; press her with the memory of ancient amity, and solicit her by La Croch (sent from her uncle of Lorain, the cardinal) to match with the duke of Austria, on whom the emperor would bestow the county of Tyrol for her dowry; seeking by these means to work her and the catholics of Scotland a party in their quarrel.

But this revealed to the queen of England by their own instruments, and the Scotch queen's directions, Randolph was sent forthwith from hence to that queen of Scots: the end of whose service was to hinder the marriage treated of by the house of Guise for her, with that person of the house of Austria.

In the mean time, the queen, who took great care of securing her frontiers against Scotland, being jealous of the French's invading her that way, in the month of July made the earl of Shrewsbury, a man of great power and influence in those northern parts, her lord lieutenant in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Darbyshire. And when Cecil, the queen's secretary, sent him down the commission, he let him understand, she did it out of her singular confidence reposed in him. She also at the same time signed him a bill to retain an hundred persons. When she also licensed the lord Robert Dudley (afterwards earl of Leicester) to retain the same number.

About the same time she constituted the earl of Bedford lord lieutenant for the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and the bishopric of Durham. This earl was governor of Barwick, and the queen's chief general there.

And in August, the queen, on pretence of better securing that her piece of Barwick, appointed the earl of Shrewsbury to levy two thousand men; whereof sixteen hundred to be raised in Yorkshire, and the remaining four hundred to be raised in the bishopric. Which when the said earl had signified to the earl of Bedford, he forthwith conferred with the high sheriff of the county palatine, and other worshipful persons of the same: who told him, that it was never heretofore seen, that the bishopric should be charged with the sending forth of any, since the same was the strength and refuge appointed wholly and altogether to come to aid this piece of Barwick upon

any necessity, and the unpeopled frontiers there; and that in taking any away from them, they did so much decay and diminish their own force.

Randolph, the queen's agent, (as was said before,) was now stayed at Edenburgh, or rather committed to sure keeping; and Mr. Tomworth at Dunbar. The earl of Bedford therefore, August the 20th, desired the earl of Shrewsbury to get his sixteen hundred men ready at all times, and to be by him commanded. For that the queen had commanded him to have all things in a readiness to provide for war, and yet to preserve good peace.

And now we proceed to give some particulars of Randolph's message to the Scotch queen. He was sent to advise her about her second marriage;

“Her sister of England desired her to take such a person as might content herself, love her people, and continue the amity with England. The two first were left to the direction of herself and council. But as to her marrying with that foreign prince before said, that queen Elizabeth disliked of it; since it was the work of the cardinal of Lorain, an enemy to her. And that such a match would endanger the private amity and concord of the two nations, and the advancement of the Scotch title to succeed to the English crown. And that the states of England had upon the rumour of this endeavoured to have somewhat concluded against her. And therefore queen Elizabeth advised her not to hazard the nowamity and the future expectation. But if she inclined to marry, to elect some such of noble birth within England, as might, in respect of his country, give assurance to the nobility and the commons of future tranquillity: and so by that means to advance herself to succeed. Which the queen promised she would further. And that therefore she, the Scotch queen, would not respect only the content of her own affection, and the honour of her uncle, that in her first marriage, and by his advices then, had hazarded her best hopes; but have regard to the peace of her people, and the amity with her next neighbours; from whom she had the fairest expectations. Which must be done by choosing her an husband within this isle, and not a stranger.”

She seemed to receive this friendly counsel with fair acceptance; and the further consideration hereof was left to her own care and secrecy.

But she cleared her uncles and herself from any purpose to match with the house of Austria; and desired to know, what person the queen of England liked, or which not. And then, how she meant to proceed to declare her title to succeed to this crown. To which the queen, in her second instructions to Randolph, answered, that she liked such as might be fittest to increase and continue amity; and that must not be a stranger. For with Spain, Austria, France, would be the like jealousy as afore. And that for declaration of her title, it depended upon her marriage; which effected to the queen of England's content, she, the queen of Scots, should be satisfied with all reason in the other.

For the English agent had forthwith gone back to England for more full instructions both of the quality of the person, and declaration of the Scotch queen's title, intended by her sister upon the marriage. He had scarce returned the foresaid answer of his sovereign, by which she desired the eye of her sister (the better to endear her to the affections of her people) to be cast upon some noble person of England; and that withal she should be declared by parliament either sister or daughter heir to her majesty, deceasing issueless; but the French queen and her uncle, understanding this project by Du Fois, the French ambassador here, dissuaded her from it, as a match too base and dishonourable for the height of her parentage, estate, and their alliance: and knowing that with women counsel prevaileth much less than bounty, they offered her by the lord of Schelton (so she would observe the old and mutual respect with them, against their common ancient enemy) new assurance and present payment of her dower and pension; wines for her provision without impost or custom; arms and artillery, when she should need; the band of men and guards to be restored to her nation; her merchants to enjoy their privileges enlarged, and her servants (more than before) admitted to their suspended pensions.

In this court of faction and want, no sooner was this offered, than enforced to that height, that the queen was almost distracted amidst the importunity of so many private ends, profit, liberty, and revenge. Some said, the queen's spirit could not descend to match below herself; and to move her from her dignity was unfriendly, suspicious, and in a subject dangerous; and respects of profit in princes not so fit, as of honour. But should she yield to marry an English nobleman, it must be for the best; and that *best* being the man her sister queen Elizabeth so much esteemed, it would be strange she should part with him, (for by this time they had some inkling of the lord Robert Dudley.) And for him to be divorced from that worthy

room wherein his affections were already placed, it would but match him either to disloyalty or dislike: and therefore that these improbabilities proved it rather a show of good-will in queen Elizabeth, than a good meaning. And for strength of her title by parliament, alas! said they, what one will establish, another may revoke: but her disparagement by such a match would be without repair. Whereas to marry in her own rank would increase honour and alliance, such as might make her neighbours fearful to offer indignity; and enable her to retain her own, and recover her right, if it should be opposed. That therefore this new offer from Austria, or the renewed suit from Sweden, by his ambassador then at court, were not to be neglected.

Such opposite counsels had queen Elizabeth to encounter. But the Scotch queen, for all this, as yet stood firm to be directed by her sister; referring over this business to a conference at Barwick the year ensuing. These Scotch matters were earnestly pursued by both queens the two following years; as shall be shewn in due place.

But this year a treaty for order of justice for the marches between both kingdoms was concluded, by the commissioners of the queen of England, Henry lord Scroop, warden of the west marches, and sir John Foster, of the middle marches; sir Thomas Gargrave and Mr. Rookley, doctor of the law; John Maxwel, of Terraglish, warden of the west marches, sir John Ballendine, and justice Clark, commissioners for the queen of Scots.

Randolph was still the queen's agent in Scotland; and in the latter end of December wrote a letter to the English court, wherein this was one part of his news, that the lord treasurer of Scotland was put to open penance for getting a wench with child.

CHAPTER 39

The second book of Homilies. The queen at Cambridge. The disputations and speeches. Mr. Fox's letter to her. Harding and Dorman their books. A book in English against the council of Trent. A convocation; prorogued.

THE first book of Homilies the church of England had enjoyed ever since the year 1547, abating the five hard years of queen Mary's reign; and at the end of that book a second volume was promised. Which this year, 1564, came among the curates and ministers of the parishes, to be read (as the first book) every Sunday and holyday, where there were no sermons through the inability of the curates. For though' this second volume were printed the year before, and finished the year before that, yet all the churches hardly came to be fully supplied with them till this year, as I find by a journal of a minister of London of that time. This second book was prefaced with a serious admonition to all ministers ecclesiastical;

“That they above all things behaved themselves faithfully and diligently in their so high a function; that is, to read the scriptures aptly, plainly, and distinctly, to instruct the youth in their catechism diligently, to minister the holy sacraments gravely and reverently, and prudently to choose out such homilies as were meet for the time, and for the more agreeable instruction of the people committed to their charge: and where the homilies were too long, to divide the same; and to read one part in the morning, and the other in the afternoon, &c. That so their prudence and diligence in their office might appear, that the people might have cause, to glorify God for them, and the readier to embrace their labours.”

Among other things the curates were here admonished to do, this was one, that when they should find less fit lessons appointed out of the Old Testament to be read in their order, for Sundays or holydays, they should, according to their discretion, choose more edifying lessons taken out of the New in their stead. By which passage it may seem that this admonition, and consequently the whole second book, was wrote and finished before the queen's first parliament. For in the act of uniformity then made, this was then provided for, and the alteration of the lessons for the Sundays, as it was in the old Common Prayer Book, is taken notice of in that act, as one

of the alterations confirmed by that act. So that I wonder that clause was not left out of the admonition, printed after the Sunday lessons were corrected.

Yet I must not conceal, that Dr. George Abbot (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) did reckon this liberty granted in the said admonition to be in force even in his time; and that by virtue thereof ministers might change some lessons of the Old Testament (and especially in the Apocrypha) for others out of the canonical scripture to read to the people, when they happened to be appointed to be read on Sundays or holydays; saying,

“It is not only permitted to the minister, but commended to him, if wisely and quietly he do read canonical scripture, where the apocryphal upon good judgment seemeth not so fit; or any chapter of the canonical may be conceived not to have in it so much edification before the simple, as some other parts of the same canonical may be thought to have. For the words will very well carry both these.”

Upon what subjects the second book of Homilies should treat, the several titles at the end of the first declared: yet upon divers of them there be no homilies at all; as against Covetousness, Anger, Envy, and Malice. But to make amends, there be some other homilies added: and in the year 1569, on occasion of the popish rebellion in the north, were six other homilies framed and joined, against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion; with a prayer for the queen, and a thanksgiving for the restoring peace and quietness upon the ceasing thereof.

In the queen’s progress this year, she visited the university of Cambridge on the 5th of August, remaining there five days, entertained with speeches and disputations, and in taking her view of the colleges. As proper questions were prudently prepared for the queen to hear at the disputations now to be held before her, so the ripest and most learned men were selected for the disputants. On the third day a philosophy act was kept by Thomas Byng, then of Peter-house, afterwards master of Clarehall: who gave these two political questions;

*Monarchia est optimus status reipublicae.
Frequens legum mutatio est periculosa.*

The opponents were, first Thomas Cartwright, sometime fellow of St. John’s college, then fellow of Trinity, (who afterwards made himself more

known by his avowed opposition to the established government of the church of England.) The others were, Chaderton, fellow of Queen's, Tho. Preston, and Bartholomew Clerk, fellows of King's. Reports have commonly been spread, that the cause of Cartwright's setting himself so openly against the hierarchy as he did soon after, (to the great disturbance of the peace of the English church,) was from a disgust he took at this time; as though the queen shewed more countenance to the other disputants than to him. But by the *Relation* of the queen's reception at Cambridge, (now in the hands of a learned member of that university,) there appears no clear ground for any such discontent. For the queen is said there to have approved them all; only that Preston pleased her most; and was made her scholar, with the settlement of a yearly honorary salary on him.

The divinity act, which was kept on the fifth day by Mr. Hutton, public professor of divinity, was upon these seasonable questions, for the justifying of the reformation of religion lately made;

*Major est scripturae quam ecclesiae auctoritas.
Civilis magistratus habet auctoritatem in rebus ecclesiasticis.*

To the former question were these doctors and heads of the university opponents; Hawford, vice-chancellor, Pern, Pory, Baker, and Newton. The doctors Stokes and Beaumont opposed upon the second; and should have been joined by the doctors Goodman, Kelke, and May; but night coming on, and the queen being to speak to the university, there wanted time for them. Hutton acquitted himself to admiration. The great strength of the opposition lay upon Dr. Perne; who yet gave the queen some offence, by pressing the church's power of excommunicating too warmly. After the disputations were finished, Cox, bishop of Ely, determined on both questions. Whitgift, that great divine, being not yet doctor, bore no share in this day's solemnity.

At the queen's parting, she made them an elegant speech in Latin,

“Encouraging them to study, promising them that she would, as well as her ancestors, do some work, while she lived, to express her esteem of them; but that, if she died before she should accomplish her promise, that she would leave *aliquod opus egregium*, i.e. some glorious work, to be done after her death; whereby both her memory might be celebrated to posterity, and that she might excite

others by her example, and make them, the scholars of that university, more cheerful to apply their studies.”

The university orator, William Masters, in his speech had an expression to recommend that university to her, the rather, by reason of the great antiquity of it, being, as he said, much ancients than the other of Oxford; meaning thereby no offence to that famous university, but only to commend to the queen’s esteem the university where she now was; as having no mean or obscure beginnings, but high and illustrious, nor lately shot up, but founded many long ages ago. But this passage, howsoever, was illy taken by some of the Oxonians. So that two years after, when it fell out the queen visited them, a little tract was presented to her majesty by them, entitled, *Assertio antiquitatis academiae Oxoniensis*; wherein it was endeavoured to be proved, that the university of Oxford was much ancients than that of Cambridge. This soon after (that I may here briefly touch this little piece of the history of learning) stirred up John Caius, a learned antiquarian, of the other university, to write a treatise, *De antiquitate Cantabrigiensis academiae*, in two books, which came forth in the year 1568. And this was answered again by Brian Twine, of Oxford, in a book called, *Apologia antiquitatis academiae Oxoniensis*.

I shall say no more of the contention occasioned by the orator’s speech: but as for the queen’s speech to the university, copies of it were gotten; and one of them came to the hands of John Fox, who intended to enter it into some history of her, and of the beginning and progress of her happy reign, which he was then preparing. But on occasion of this speech, and her gracious visit of that university, and her countenance shewn to learning and learned men; and considering also upon what good grounds both religion and the public state were established by her happy and wise government; that learned and good man, in a very elegant Latin epistle, entertained her to this tenor; (whereby may be seen in what good condition England now was, and how happy the queen by this time had made her people:)

Ut vulgaria illa praeteream, quod in ipsis statim felicissimi regni tui auspiciis, tot periclitantes cives, et homines extorres ab exilio revocaveris; quod patriam ipsis, nec solum ipsis, sed patriam quodammodo patriae reddideris, Angliamque jamjam paene expirantem luci ac vitae suae restitueris; quod pacem tuis illis auspiciis partam pergas quotidie studiis ornare et artibus; bonis legibus suum vigorem revocas, noxias tollis,

salutares sufficis, nocentes et otiosos in ordinem redigis, latrocinia et praedonum agmina, quibus regnum tuum foedis modis hodie exundare dicitur, compescis, miserosque exaudis, collapsa restauras, nec monetam solum depuratam, sed mores hominum multo magis deformatos, repurgas; postremo, cuncta *suo*, et plusquam suo, nitori restituís, ac caetera id genus permulta. Quae, etsi per se beneficia levia non sint, et permagna etiam in aliis monarchis videri queant, tuarum tamen laudum nescio quo pacto, nondum satis magnitudinem exprimunt.

Certo multo majora haec, omniumque maxima sunt, quod inclyta tua celsitudo rem ecclesiasticam non minus quam publicam, propugnans tam fortiter; quod religionis curam atque defensionem in te suscipis tam clementer; quod saevas persecutionum faces extinguís, conscientiis diu interclusam libertatem apperis: templum Dei et evangelicae doctrinae gloriam illustras et provehis; videlicet, modis omnibus hoc agens, ut profligatis sensim veteris superstitionis reliquiis, sincera evangelii veritas ad nativum suum nitorem redeat. Declaravit id nuper egregia vox illa ac responsio majestatis tuae ad quorundam preces reddita theologorum, de modo videlicet vestiendi. Qua voce quantam uno in die universae ecclesiae pepereris faustitatem, quantum piorum omnium animis solatium, quantum posteritati beneficium, quantum omnibus temporibus lucem, tum tuo insuper nomini quantum quamque immortale decus, quovis aere perennius, attuleris, vix aestimari poterit. Ingratae omnium Anglorum linguae ac literae futurae sunt, si patiantur tam divinum hoc, caeteraque multa tuarum virtutum trophaea, ulla temporum vetustate abolescere.

Accedit ad hunc cumulum singularis porro majestatis tuae erga literarum studia favor; in quibus excolendis provehendisque nunquam tam propensam te declarares, nisi quod ipsa in eisdem exulta tam eleganter, et perpolita fuisses. Sensit id nuper felix Cantabrigia: nec dubito quin olim et Oxonia nostra idem expectatura sit. Persensimus praeterea et nos, etiamsi illinc abfuimus, ex oratione majestatis tuae Latina Cantabrigia tum habita, quae nuper ad manus meas inter caetera historiarum rerum monumenta, pervenit, non indigna, ut mihi videtur, quae transmittatur posteritati: atque etiam transmittetur, siquidem tua patiatur sublimitas. Interim hoc unum mihi dolet, quod cum plenam quandam historiae tuae descriptionem meditemur, multaque habeamus congesta, at multa rursus desunt, quae adhuc nobis incognita, non nisi per tuam ipsius majestatem sciri possunt. Etsi possent, nullius possint melius quam tuo ipsius commentario describi. Quod utinam ab excellenti ingenio tuo per hoc vitae tuae tempus et spatium

possit impetrari. Sed de his excellentiae tuae praeconiis alias (volente Christo) nobis videndum erit.

This letter of Mr. Fox, affording a pleasant retrospect view of the queen's reign hitherto, and other matters belonging to her, may deserve an English translation of it, for the sake of vulgar readers, though it reach not the elegance of the language wherein the author composed it.

“To let pass (most noble queen) those commonly known things, viz. that presently at the very beginning of your most fortunate reign you saved so many good men at home *in* great danger of their lives, and called back so many *more* abroad from their banishment; that you restored *their* own country to them, and not only to them, but the country in a manner to itself; and England, then almost *at* the very point of expiring, to its light and life again: that at your said first happy beginning, having procured peace, you do now every day improve it in good studies and arts; to the good laws you give again their force, the bad ones you take away, and supply their room with such. as are wholesome; the mischievous and the idle sort you, reduce to order; robberies and the bands of spoilers, wherewith your realm is reported at this day in a foul manner to swarm, you restrain; the afflicted you give an ear to; what is fallen and gone to decay you build up; and not only money embased, but also the manners of men much more corrupted, you purify and refine. In a word, you restore every thing to its own brightness, nay, more than its own: and many other things of this kind you do: which although of themselves they be not ordinary benefits, and such as in other monarchs might seem very great, yet, I know not how, do not sufficiently express the largeness of your praiseworthy deeds.

“But assuredly these things that follow are much greater *still*; and of all the greatest, that your excellent highness defendeth so vigorously the ecclesiastical state no less than the commonwealth; that you take upon you so affectionately the care and protection of religion; that you quench the direful flames of persecution; that you open a liberty to consciences so long shut up; that you illustrate and promote the temple of God and the glory of evangelical doctrine; that is, by all means endeavouring, that the remainder of old superstition by little and little be destroyed, the sincere truth of the

gospel return to its native brightness. This was lately declared by that excellent voice and answer of your majesty given to the petition of some divines concerning the habits.” [Which being this year more strictly enjoined the clergy, had occasioned certain of them to make some address to the queen.] “By which words then by your majesty spoken, it can scarce be thought how great prosperity you did in one day bring to the whole church, how great comfort to the minds of all godly people, how great benefit to posterity, how great a light to all succeeding times; and moreover to your own name how great and how immortal an honour, more lasting than any monument of brass. The tongues and learning of all Englishmen would be stained with ingratitude, should they suffer as well this godlike thing, as all the other trophies of your virtues, by an antiquity of time to be abolished.

“Hither must be added your majesty’s singular favour towards learned studies. In the adorning and furthering whereof you would never have shewn yourself so inclinable, had you not been so exquisitely furnished and dressed *yourself* with them. Happy Cambridge lately perceived it; and I doubt not but hereafter our Oxford also will look for it. And further, we all, though absent thence, well perceived it, by your late speech delivered there at Cambridge; which is come to my hands, (among other monuments of historical matters,) not unworthy, methinks, to be transmitted to posterity: and so it shall be transmitted, if your highness give way to it. In the mean time this only grieves me, that when I am preparing a full account of the history of you, and have many collections serving thereunto, many things are wanting, which are yet unknown to me, and cannot be known but by your majesty. And if they might, they could not be described better by any than by your own commentary. Which I heartily wish might be obtained by your most excellent wit in this time and space of your life. But of the commendations of your excellent parts I shall elsewhere (God willing) have occasion to speak.”

Had not Mr. Fox been some way or other stopped in this labour which he designed, who had, no question, great advantages of setting forth queen Elizabeth, and her proceedings in this great and noble work of the reformation, and the progress of it, there had been no need of this performance of mine.

The English papists, among their other endeavours to bring in their religion again, exercised their learning in writing books in English, to confute, as well as they could, the established religion; and to reconcile the people to a better opinion of theirs. One of these writers was Dr. Harding, whose book against Jewel came this summer into England from Lovain; and falling into the hands of Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, four days after, being the fourth Sunday after Easter, while he was preaching the Paul's Cross sermon, he read some passages of it, and confuted them in the pulpit. Which he thus related himself afterwards; "That finding therein certain notable untruths and absurdities, he did bewray them to the auditors, willing them by that example to give less credit to the rest. Wherein he had good reason, as he said, seeing the papists, who had not read the book, in corners magnified it above the stars. Whereby he (as he suggested himself) did in effect give neighbours warning to beware of a thief." We shall hear more of this book of Harding's under the next year.

Dorman also now set forth a book entitled, *A Proof of certain Articles in Religion, denied by Mr. Jewel*. Which the said dean Nowell answered.

The articles which this author took upon him to prove against Jewel's negative were these four, as they are set down in the front of his book, viz.

- I.** That the bishop of Rome is the head of Christ's universal church here in earth; and that within the first six hundred years after Christ's departure hence, he was so called and taken.
- II.** That the people was then taught to believe, that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally, in the sacrament.
- III.** That the communion was then ministered under one kind.
- IV.** That there was mass said at that time, although there were none to receive with the priest. And in the conclusion he assigned no less than twelve causes, whereby he acknowledged himself to have been stayed in his old Catholic faith that he was baptized in, wishing the same to be made common to many for the like stay in these perilous times; as it ran in the titlepage. The book was printed at Antwerp, and dedicated to Tho. Harding, D.D. and dated at Aquicinctum, the seat of his banishment, as he called it.

And this year came forth, Feb. the 13th, from John Day's printing-house, an useful book, (though of no great bulk,) in quarto, being a consideration of those things that were concluded in the late council of Trent. It bore this title; *A godly and necessary Admonition of the Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent, celebrated under Pius IV. bishop of Rome, in the years of our Lord 1562 and 1563. Written for those godly disposed persons which look for the amendment of doctrine and ceremonies to be made by general councils, lately translated out of the Latin.* The design of this book was to open the eyes of many good people, who out of a veneration of general councils were apt to adhere with an implicit faith to the determinations of this council of Trent. The method of the author (who is unknown) was first to set down the decrees, the canons, and other things, as he received them from Trent; and then his own distinct answers or animadversions. In the preface is taken notice of the specious pretence of that pope in calling again a council of cardinals, bishops, and monks, at Trent; wherein he with great glory and magnificence promised both the purging of doctrine from all error and heresy, and also a speedy amendment of manners, and such as should be worthy of the gospel, as well in the clergy as laity. And to amuse the people the more of their good intent, they of the clergy accuse themselves of dissolute life, and make themselves guilty before the whole world, as the fountains and authors of all evil, as the acts of the council declared. And now, who would not to his power help so godly and holy an enterprise? But, saith the writer, if the canons and decrees, that came at length out of the council, were examined, every Christian man should easily perceive, that these good holy fathers intended nothing less; yea, rather, all their labour was only to this purpose, to oppress sound doctrine; and that being oppressed, stubbornly to defend idolatry, superstition, and abuses, which had been brought into the church of God. And hence the author declared his purpose to be, that seeing many men hung in doubt and suspense by expectation of this council, and the authority thereof, and earnestly hoped for a simple, godly, and plain determination of the controversies of religion; he thought he should do a worthy act briefly and perspicuously to declare by the word of God, what was to be judged of their disputations, decrees, and canons, and what was to be hoped for of the event of this council; namely, that all Christians were called to it by Pius, not as lost sheep, to be sought and healed of the pastor; but the safety of the faithful to be laid in wait for, and the sheep of Christ like to be torn in pieces, even as it were of wolves in sheeps' clothing.

The convocation met this year, October the 6th, in king Henry the Seventh's chapel, by authority of the queen's brief to the archbishop of Canterbury. And Dr. Yale, by the archbishop's commission to him, did continue and prorogue the present convocation in the state it then was in, to the first day of May next, and to that place, with further prorogation of days and places, if need were, to be made in that behalf.

CHAPTER 40.

A diary of various historical matters of the court and state falling out this year, John Hales's book. The Scotch queen's match with Leicester. Spanish and French matters.

LET me take this place to insert a diary of various historical matters, taken chiefly out of advices and private letters sent from the secretary of state to sir Thomas Smith, ambassador in France, containing several intrigues of court, and transactions of moment in the state.

April the 22d, the treaty with the French took place: and this day it was proclaimed in London. And the 23d day, a sermon was made at St. Paul's on the occasion, and *Te Deum* sung. And the same day it was published at Windsor in the queen's presence, going to church; having with her the French ambassador: so as nothing wanted to shew contentation. Yet her majesty inwardly to the secretary, and other her counsellors, shewed much misliking; especially, as the said secretary guessed, because the money was no more for honour's sake; [which was to be paid for Calais, I suppose;] Camden therefore thought fit to conceal the sum, and saith only, "*a certain sum of money;*" and upon payment of 620,000 crowns, the hostages to be delivered.

On the said 23d day, being St. George's day, the French king was chose of the order, and so was the earl of Bedford and sir Henry Sydney. And the earl of Hunsdon was to bring over the order into France; and so was to have commission to require the oath jointly with sir Tho. Smith, the queen's ambassador resident there. And the same joyful day the French hostages were put to liberty at Windsor; where she challenged Nantoillet [one of the hostages, as it seems,] for his practices in Oxford; provoking evil subjects to be worse in popery than they were. But she right wisely and nobly thus concluded her reprimand, that she would wrap up all such matters with oblivion, because of peace. And as soon as the treaty was engrossed and ratified, sir Nic. Throgmorton, the queen's joint ambassador with Smith, [who was kept in some durance, for meddling too much,] was to be returned. And therefore all the haste possible was made therein for his sake.

Malvesier, the French ambassador, in this treaty, had a chain given him weighing threescore and odd ounces of gold, and was well used in England.

The 29th of April, the two treaties of peace with France were sealed with the queen's ratification, and delivered to the ambassador in formal sort by the secretary, according to the advice of Dr. Wotton, an old ambassador; and with the testimony of a public notary. Together with the treaty, the queen wrote a letter to the French king, signifying that she had chosen him of her order, and that the earl of Hunsdon should come with it; and that he should be joined in commission with sir Tho. Smith, her ambassador resident, to require the oath.

John Hales, clerk of the hanaper, a learned and active man, and an earnest protestant, had secretly made a book in the time of the late parliament. Wherein he had taken upon him' to shew no small matter, viz. the title to this crown after the queen; having confuted and rejected the line of the Scottish queen, and made the line of the lady Frances, mother to the lady Katharine Gray, only next and lawful. He was in this month of April committed to the Fleet for this boldness; especially, because he had communicated it to sundry persons. The lord John Gray was also in trouble for this business. Besides, the said Hales had procured sentences and counsels of lawyers from beyond seas, to be written in maintenance of the earl of Hertford's marriage with the said lady Katharine. [For which they were both put into the Tower.] For this dealing offended the queen very much: the secretary, after he had related all this in a letter to sir Thomas Smith, made this prayer: "That God would give her majesty by this chance a disposition to consider hereof; that either by her marriage, or by some common order, they her poor subjects might know where to lean and adventure their lives, with contentation of their consciences."

In the beginning of May, Hales's matter came to be examined and inquired into by the secretary; a business he had no great mind to be concerned with, and could have been well contented to be delivered of. But yet he told his friend, sir Tho. Smith aforesaid, that he would go uprightly, neither *ad dextram* nor *ad sinistram*. He himself was not free of suspicion, by reason some of these persons engaged in this business had access to him in their suits. But as for Hales, he was found after examination to have first made and procured books in defence of the earl of Hertford's marriage, [which was no more than a contract by their mutual assent,] and likewise,

in approbation of the title of succession for the lady Katharine. And in this matter he so dealt, that both himself and others were like to find trouble. He was committed to the Fleet, and narrowly escaped going to the Tower. Nudigate, another in this business, was committed to custody to sir John Mason. And the lord John Gray was in custody in court. We shall hear more of this by and by.

One article in the late treaty of peace with France created some trouble to the court, namely, that *commerce should be free*. There had been a stop made of the *intercourse*, that is, the trade betwixt this kingdom and the Low Countries; wherein the English traded chiefly with the clothing manufacture. The French merchants at this juncture would have struck into this trade by some means or other. And the French king instructed the French ambassador residing here, to make strong and earnest motion about it: which he did in the month of September. This motion was by no means liked by the English; and the queen wrote a letter at large about it to Smith, her ambassador in France. The sum of the French's demands in this point was, to exact by the treaty, that although the English had and did forbid both their own merchants, and those of the Low Countries, the trade of the Low Countries, [as the duchess of Parma, governess of those countries, had forbid English cloths to be brought thither,] yet the French might now enter into the trade, wherein they never heretofore did meddle; but now, partly to pleasure them of the Low Countries, partly, or chiefly, to procure a gain by monopoly, they would exercise that negotiation. This made this court think it necessary now to return to the trade of the Low Countries, [the English having lately upon this prohibition removed their mart to Embden in Friesland:] for though it were to great purpose to divert some part of their trade from thence, and was seen to be possible; yet the matter was not so foreseen, considering it fell out upon a casualty, that our country should be presently able to endure the holding out. One of the greatest lets was the lack of the revenue of the customs for the queen. The second was the sudden stay of the people here at home, that belonged to cloth-making; as the secretary in private letters signified the politic considerations of the state about it.

And therefore now upon the return of the queen from her progress in the north, the court thought to come to some conclusion with the Spanish ambassador concerning the affair of the *intercourse*. Which ambassador began the motion for it before the said progress: now upon her return he renewed it again, and required a new communication. Which accordingly

soon began this month of September, between the Spanish ambassador, for the Flemings, and sir William Petre, sir John Mason, and secretary Cecil, on the English part.

In this month of September, upon the death of the emperor, the queen intended to send some person thither to condole and congratulate. And reports were whispered in the queen's privy chamber, who should be sent in this employ. Some said that sir Henry Sydney was to be the person; some, sir Nicolas Throgmorton; some, sir Nicolas Throgmorton and Cecil the secretary should go together. A few said, that sir Nicolas Throgmorton and my lord Robert should go. But more was meant than condolence or congratulation. It was an intention for marriage. But the secretary, for his present sickness and affairs at home, was excused; and Throgmorton would go with none but the secretary. So he was laid aside. And in October sir Henry Sydney was named again; but being in Wales, he must spend much time before he could be ready. So, as it was the secretary's advice, time being so far spent, it was thought convenient to stay the ambassade, and to condole only; and to send hereafter to congratulate the coronation.

September the 23d, the emperor being dead, it was resolved his funerals should be here honourably celebrated within six or seven days hence. And so they were, the solemnities beginning October 1, and ending the 3d. The mourners were, the lord treasurer, the earls of Sussex and Huntingdon; the lords Strange, Darnley, Herbert, Lumley, and Hunsdon; Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, secretary Cecil, Mr. Sackville, and Mr. Throgmorton. And the bishop of London preached: who made so good and discreet a sermon, that it was resolved it should be printed both in English and Latin. The queen was at great charges with these exequies of the deceased emperor.

In October the lord Robert was made earl of Leicester; and his preferment in Scotland [to match with that queen] earnestly intended.

And Randolph, the queen's agent in Scotland, was instructed to shew the Scotch queen, that her majesty's kind dealing with the earl of Lenox [in letting him peaceably pass into Scotland at this juncture] gave such general distaste, that she was fain to adjourn the parliament, [which should have met about this time,] against the opinion of her council and commons; lest they should in this time of offence question the queen of Scots' title, and press the queen of England to conclude somewhat against it. Which, by

some good courses to content the English, might be altered against their next sitting. And to work this, she had given order to the earl of Bedford at Berwick, to meet with the commissioners of Scotland to treat the marriage for the earl of Leicester, whom she had made an earl on purpose.

November the 18th, the earl of Murray and lord Liddington met at Berwick, and treated with the earl of Bedford for the said marriage: but differed upon the matter of his advancement: and they writ to know, whether the queen of England meant it truly or no.

In November, the Spanish ambassador and the secretary, with some others, agreed upon articles of *intercourse*. November 19, they were sent to the duchess of Parma. But the English court began to find, that the English commodities would be well enough uttered, though the *intercourse* should not be opened for the Low Countries: for they found the strangers ready to carry all our cloths. But the inconvenience was, that all our own merchants should perish.

In this month the lords of Murray and Liddington were upon the frontiers, treating friendly with our wardens for border-matters. But that was thought but a colour to deal upon another matter; namely, to commune concerning a marriage for the queen [of Scots with the earl of Leicester, as it seems.]

And this month also the Rhinegrave was on his way from France hither, with the order [of St. Michael] for the earl of Leicester.

To this month of November the queen continued her displeasure to John Hales, for *his foolish* attempt (as the secretary called it) in writing that book, so precisely against the queen of Scots' title: he remained still in the Tower, and in some danger for a particular passage. The lord keeper also [concerned in that business] was kept from the court, and from intermeddling with any other thing but the chancery. Whereof surely, said Cecil to his correspondent, the [state] affairs took great harm; and he [the lord keeper] himself not void of peril by heaviness of mind.

November the 21st, the lord John Gray [another under a cloud for meddling in the matter concerning the queen of Scots] died at his house at Pyrgo. Of whom men reported, that he died of thought; but his gout was sufficient to have ended his life.

In this month the lord Arundel [lord high steward of the household] remained as a prisoner in his own house. His offence was, that being miscontented with sundry things, as he said, of interruption in his office, he surrendered his staff, with sundry speeches of offence, to the queen's majesty. Whereof he was afterwards sorry. "But," said the secretary, "I wish he had better thought thereon before."

Since his committing he offended again, by using his house too openly for the resort of strangers to him, But afterwards he used his imprisonment circumspectly, and made all means to crave favour; but his suits were heard slowly, because he did not acknowledge himself a fault.

This month the earl of Hertford [who had for some time remained a prisoner in the Tower for the business between him and the lady Katharine Grey] remained prisoner with sir John Mason; and the said lady Katharine [who had been removed from the Tower to the lord John Grey, her uncle] was now with Petre [secretary of state.]

December the 9th, the queen fell perilously sick. Her distemper came to that which they call *diarrhoea*. They feared a flux. But the 15th day, though she was somewhat weakened, but in health, she would attend her affairs. The 16th, she was very well. But for the time she made the court sore afraid. The pious reflection the secretary made upon it was, "Thanked be God for both: for of both we take good. Warned by her sickness, and comforted by *her* recovery."

December the French ambassador coming from his master with offer to the queen for two of her courtiers to be admitted to the order; on Saturday, December the 16th, or on Sunday the 17th, he had his answer concerning the queen's acceptation of that king's offer for the two rooms of his order.

Secretary Cecil, December 16, writes by order of the queen to Murray and Liddington, to hinder the matter of Darnley with that queen; and that her title should be declared by parliament upon her marriage with Leicester, after the queen of England was married herself. And so her desire granted, to be declared either *filia adoptiva*, or *soror reginae*, i.e. adoptive daughter, or sister to the queen.

December the 29th, being Sunday, the Spanish ambassador presented the queen a writing, signed with the hand of the duchess of Parma. And the 31st, he received the like from the queen. So as by calculation the *intercourse* was made on new-year's-day. And the English commissioners

were to be ready at the sea-side about the 26th of January; viz. the earl of Sussex the chief, Mr. Doctor Wotton the second, and Mr. Haddon the third.

In the same month, great suit was made by them of Bruges to have our merchants to keep their fairs there. The count of Egmond sent and writ hither for that purpose. And our merchants, upon a stomach against Antwerp, were well disposed to the said place, and the haven was now also made, and would serve very well. But the trade to Embden not to be forsaken, *ne forte Romani*, &c.

December the 29th, the French ambassador was with the queen, to deal in two principal matters. The one, to know her pleasure for the offers made of the king his master, to choose my lord of Leicester, or any others to be named by her, to be of the French order. Whereunto the queen signified, that she resolved to have the earl of Leicester to be chosen for one; but for the second place she would hereafter advise the king herself. The second matter was to know her pleasure in the former suit made, that the French king's subjects might resort with commodities from the king of Spain's Low Countries hither. Wherein about ten days past he had a long debate with the council, and would not be therewith satisfied; although they shewed him what sir Thomas Smith, ambassador with the French king, had written; and how the said English ambassador found the king and his council satisfied with his answers made. But now the council had a very ready answer for him; that is, because they had not prohibited the French but for a season during differences with Flanders. But being now at an accord with them, he should see that liberty should be given shortly to all persons; and then the French might do their pleasure. This knowledge given him of this accord of the English seemed to answer him fully; and he said he was thereof fully glad.

In the same month, means were now made, that sir Nic. Throgmorton should go to the French ambassador with report, that upon instance made by my lord of Leicester, her majesty would name my lord of Sussex for the second party [to enjoy the French order.]

A parliament was lately in Scotland; wherein nothing was done, but the restitution of the earl of Lenox: for, for my lady's claim to Angush, by reason of the greatness of the earl of Morton, being chancellor, nothing was attempted.

The earl of Lenox's friends wished, that the lord Darnley might marry with the Scottish queen. And there was a device to bring queen Elizabeth not only to allow thereof, but also to move it to the queen her sister. But there was however no disposition thereto in our queen: but she rather continued her desire to have the earl of Leicester preferred that way: for which purpose the earl of Bedford the last month met at Berwick with the lord Murray and the lord Liddington: but yet the meeting covered with other matters: but now of late it was from thence renewed; to know with what condition the queen's majesty would prefer him. Wherein at present no full answer was given. She was very desirous to have this earl placed in that high degree, to be the queen of Scots' husband: but when it came to conditions which were demanded, then she was remiss of her earnestness.

December 30, the proclamation was made for the opening of the *intercourse*. But the frost now was so violent, that it was feared, that weather would so shut it up, that no ships should pass or repass.

The queen now fully recovered of a great cold, the same 30th day came abroad; and would sign letters formerly drawn up to the French king, and her ambassador sir Tho. Smith.

The queen's displeasure continued still towards my lord of Hertford and the lady Katharine. And the lord keeper remained yet (as he did before) absent from the court. And Hales remained in prison. The earl of Arundel now at liberty to go whither he would, and to be visited by whom he would. But yet he could not come to her majesty's presence; although he was in hope so to do shortly.

Ditto, sir Thomas Chaloner, ambassador in Spain, was now to be called home. Which was intended a twelvemonth past, but prolonged hitherto upon the differences risen for stay of the *intercourse*. Which things were now come to some calm. He was to leave a secretary behind him, until one might be procured to go thither. Which was found hard to do, principally for the difference of religion. For else Mr. Henry Knolles should go. But the present thoughts among the privy counsellors was of sending Mr. John Hastings, or some such like, if they could find out a person of better estate. If they might, they could be content to have their ambassador resident in the Low Countries, and none in Spain. For there nothing was negotiated at all.

Chaloner writ over concerning the ringing of a bell in Melilla in Aragon, without knowledge by whom, but of itself.

In the Christmas holydays the Spanish ambassador meant to feast the court, who had been long in beginning so to do; having example sufficient in the French ambassador; who very often of late had invited the earl of Leicester, and such as had accompanied him.

Such great amity was now between the French ambassador and Throgmorton, as was strange to see, considering the hate that Throgmorton had borne him.

CHAPTER 41.

Contest about ministers' apparel. The queen's letter thereupon. Ministers cited before the commission. The advertisements. Sampson and Humphrey of Oxford cited to Lambeth, with some ministers of London.

THE contention about wearing the apparel prescribed to ministers by the queen's Injunctions began early, namely, the gown, the square cap, and the tippet to those that were qualified, and, in their ministration, the surplice. Many well meaning men, chiefly such as had lived in the churches abroad, (where they were not used,) utterly refused these habits, upon these grounds, that they were popish, and used by the priests in the idolatrous church of Rome, and invented by the pope, and a note of Antichrist. That they defiled the priesthood of Christ, as if it stood in need of shadows, when it was light itself. That they did not edify, but obscure the priesthood of Christ. That they increased pride and hypocrisy. That the commandment of garments and days was a tyranny. That they gave occasion to pomp. That they were an human invention. That Polydore in his book derided those garments. That Paul commanded nothing concerning garments, when he mentioned the things required in a bishop. And that our Saviour saith, *In vain do they worship me by the commandments of men*. These were the sum of their arguments that first opposed the habits, as I collect them from some MSS. of secretary Cecyll's. A few years after, Thomas Cartwright improved the arguments against the lawfulness of wearing them, viz.

“That they were unmeet for a minister of the gospel to wear; and the surplice especially more than the other two, [i.e. cap and tippet,] because such hurtful ceremonies were so much more dangerous, as they did approach nearer the service and worship of God. That the papists had superstitiously used them, nay abominably abused them. That they had no use nor profit. And that they were hurtful, being monuments of idolatry. And some had taught, that pollution did stick to the things themselves; and that the wearing of them had power to pollute and make unclean the wearers.”

These charges and accusations of the habits enjoined, as they caused great wrangling and breach of peace among the clergy themselves; so the lay

people were growing into an abhorrency of those that wore them, and of the service of God ministered by them. Insomuch that soon after, numbers of them refused to come to the churches or sermons, or to keep the ministers company, or salute them: nay, as Whitgift in his Defence writes, they spit in their faces, reviled them in the streets, and shewed such like rude behaviour towards them; and that only because of their apparel.

The queen understood these quarrels, and was much offended at this disobedience to her Injunctions, and the great disorders among the ministers on this occasion. Whereupon she wrote a letter, dated the 25th of January this year, to the archbishop; to take away all diversity among the clergy, as breeding nothing but contention and breach of common charity; and that he should peremptorily see order in the habits observed by all ecclesiastical persons throughout the churches of his province. And a letter of the like tenor she wrote to the archbishop of York for the other province.

Her letter was large and earnest: first setting forth how diversity, variety, contention, vain love of singularity, either in the ministers or the people, must needs provoke Almighty God, and was to her discomfortable, and brought. danger of ruin upon her people and country: that her earnest care and desire had been always to provide that her realm might be directed and governed by good laws and ordinances, both in ecclesiastical and civil polity, by public officers and ministers, following, as near as possibly might be, one rule, form, and manner of order: and directing her people to obey humbly, and live godly, according to their several callings, in unity and concord, without diversities of opinions, or novelty of rites and manners. But that to her no small grief she heard, that in sundry places of late, for lack of regard given thereto by such superior officers as he, the archbishop, and other bishops of his province, with suffering of sundry varieties and novelties both in opinions, and especially exterior ceremonies, there was crept and brought into the church by a few persons, an open and manifest disorder and offence to godly, wise, and obedient persons: the inconvenience like to grow from place to place as by an infection, to the annoyance and deformity of the rest of the whole body; and to impair and deface Christian charity and unity.

That she had a good while heard sundry reports thereof; but did hope all could not be true, but mistrusted the adversaries of the truth might increase the report. And she thought that he, being primate and metropolitan, would

have had regard thereto according to his office, with the assistance of the bishops his brethren; they having received charge of her for the same purpose, to put a stop to these differences, tending to schism and deformity. But that she had observed very lately, that the same began rather to increase than to stay or diminish. That therefore she, considering the authority given her of God for the defence of public peace and truth in the church, meant not any longer to suffer these evils thus to proceed, spread, and increase in her realm; but certainly determined to have all such diversities and novelties among the clergy and people, (breeding nothing but contention and offence, and being against the laws, good usages, and ordinances of the realm,) to be reformed and repressed, and brought to one manner of uniformity through the whole realm. That her people might quietly honour and serve Almighty God in truth and concord, peace and quietness.

Therefore she did by her letters require and enjoin, and straightly charge him, being the metropolitan, according to the power and authority that he had under her over the province of Canterbury, (as she would order the like for the province of York,) to confer with the bishops, such as were in commission for causes ecclesiastical; and also all other her officers and persons, having jurisdiction ecclesiastical, both in the universities and other places, exempt or not exempt; and to understand what varieties there were in the clergy, or among the people within every jurisdiction, either in doctrine or in ceremonies and rites of the church, or in the manners and behaviours of the clergy themselves: and thereupon, as the causes should require, to require reformation; and to proceed by orders, injunctions, or censures, according to appointment of laws and ordinances provided by act of parliament, and the true meaning thereof: and in time to come, charging him straightly, to provide and enjoin in her name, in all places of his province, that none hereafter be admitted into any office, cure, or place ecclesiastical, but such as should be found well disposed to common order; and before their admittance, should formally profess to use and exercise the same office, room, and place, to the honour of God, edification of the people under his charge in truth and concord; and also to keep and maintain such order and uniformity in all external rites and ceremonies, both for the church and for their own person, as by law and good usages were already allowed and well provided. And that if any superior officer were hereafter found disagreeable hereto, and so the archbishop's authority not serve to reform them, that he should duly inform her thereof; to the end

that she might give indelayed order for the same. For she would have none that maintained the same to remain in authority. And so the sovereign authority should be violated.

And she required him to use all expedition, as to such a cause was necessary, that hereafter she might not be occasioned, for lack of his diligence, to provide such other further remedy by some other sharp proceedings, as should percase not be easy to be borne by such as should be disordered; and withal impute to him the cause thereof. See this letter of the queen's to the archbishop at full length in the Appendix to Bishop Parker's Life, Book II. No. 24.

It was time for the archbishop, by such a letter as this was from his sovereign, to follow this cause. So within two days, he by his own letter to the bishop of London acquainted him with her commands: and charged him to signify the same to the rest of the bishops in his province, for the laws and ordinances established to be without delay executed: and that they should send up such of their clergy as would not comply with the habits and the other rites of the church. And to the said bishop of London he gave a particular charge for London; there being in that city and the suburbs the greatest number of ministers refusing the apparel, and they of the best learning of that sort.

In the mean time the archbishop, and the other bishops that were ecclesiastical commissioners, viz. London, Ely, Winchester, Lincoln, and others, sitting at Lambeth, had several of these refusers before them, and some of them of the universities. They argued gently with them, exhorted them to obey the orders of the church, and threatened them with deprivation in case of their standing out. But this business went on heavily among the bishops in their several dioceses, but especially in London; those here that opposed wearing the habits well knowing, that they had the earl of Leicester, sir Francis Knolles, and some others, their friends at court and council.

But at last, about the latter end of March 1564, the London ministers, together with those of the archbishop's peculiars in the said city, and those of Southwark, were all cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners that sat at Lambeth. And there they were all peremptorily required to promise and subscribe conformity to the habits prescribed; which were, a long gown, close at the hands, and without any falling cape; dignitaries to wear tippets of sarcenet when they went abroad; and a cap, and no hats, but

when they were in a journey: and likewise to the rites of the Common Prayer, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the queen's Injunctions; or to be deprived within three months. And as most did subscribe at that time, so about thirty stood out, and were suspended. But many of these, within the three months, came in. The rest were actually deprived.

And in pursuance of the queen's letter beforementioned, commanding the conformable behaviour of ministers, the archbishop, and some more of the bishops, especially those that were commissioners, drew up a book for all ministers to subscribe to; partly for due order in the public administration of the holy sacraments, and partly for apparel of all persons ecclesiastical. It consisted of these articles: I. For doctrine and preaching. II. For administration of prayers and sacraments. III. For certain orders in ecclesiastical polity. IV. For outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical. V. A form of protestation to be made, professed, and subscribed, by them that should be hereafter admitted to any office, room, or cure, in any church, or other place ecclesiastical. Which is the same with what was enjoined to ministers, anno 1560. All this book was signed and subscribed by the composers, the aforesaid metropolitan and bishops: whereof four were commissioners ecclesiastical. They designed this book should have been enforced upon the clergy, by getting the queen's ratification, and as a book of decrees proceeding from her, by their advice and assent. But the queen declining to sign it, (however she had, in her foresaid letter to the archbishop, commanded him, with others of the commission ecclesiastical, to proceed by orders and injunctions, and in her name to enjoin them,) this labour of theirs lost much of its power and efficacy. But she was persuaded not to add her own immediate authority to the book by some great persons at court, because, upon their suggestion, she said, the archbishop's authority and the commissioners alone were sufficient. And so instead of calling them *articles* or *ordinances*, they only named them *advertisements*. They are set down in bishop Sparrow's Collection.

These orders, (called now *advertisements*,) by the metropolitan and some ecclesiastical commissioners drawn up, if the queen had established them, would have had the strength of the law, by a proviso in the act for the *Uniformity of the Common Prayer and Service*: viz.

“That if there should appear any contempt or irreverence to be used in the ceremonies or rites of the church, by misusing of the order appointed in that book, the queen might, by advice of her

commissioners ecclesiastical, or the metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites, as might be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of his church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments."

By virtue of this clause, I suppose it was, the metropolitan framed these orders, in expectation of the queen's interposing her authority to ordain them; which, without it, proved afterwards but weak and languid.

But by this spur to the bishops given them by the queen, as was shewn before, and by reason of the great need there more and more appeared to be, to look more narrowly into churchmen's uniformity, for peace and order sake, both they and their officers did now examine more carefully into the behaviour of their inferior clergy; and laid upon them the obligation of divers oaths and subscriptions, especially in London: besides letters that often came from the queen, her council, and the archbishop. And in each parish, besides ordinary officers, were other officers appointed under oath to inquire into the carriage and conformity of the ministers and parishioners, and to give in their presentments, when required, as at visitations of the bishops, archdeacons, &c. Which notwithstanding created an uneasiness among the ministers; as may be seen by these two papers following: written by a minister in those times.

Note, That every man that hath cure of souls is infolded by his oath to keep and obey,

- I.** The sacred canonical word of God.
- II.** The statutes of the realm.
- III.** The queen's majesty's injunctions, and formal letters patents.
- IV.** The letters of the lords of the privy council.
- V.** The metropolitan his injunctions and articles.
- VI.** The articles and mandates of his bishop.
- VII.** The articles and mandates of Mr. Archdeacon.
- VIII.** The mandates of chancellors or commissaries, sompnors, receivers, &c.

IX. The comptrolment of all men with patience.

The other paper sheweth the state of a parish. To every parish belongeth,

I. A parson, or vicar, or both, or a curate under him.

II. A clerk, to read, write, sing, and say.

III. A sexton, to sweep the church, shut the doors, &c.

IV. Two churchwardens to gather money, and order matters for reparation.

V. four or eight jurats for offences given and taken. [These seem to be a kind of censors or spies upon the manners of priest and people.]

VI. Two collectors, to gather for the poor, and alms *pro hospitio Christi*. [Probably for Christ's hospital in London.]

VII. An assistance, being thirteen persons, to consist of such only as had before been churchwardens and constables.

VIII. A vestry, of the whole parish, being a public assembly of all, young and old.

IX. Two constables for the peace, both of the church and parish. But now let us return, and see what was further done about the habits.

Among those that were sent for up before the commissioners at Lambeth, as refusers to wear the habits, were two very eminent men of Oxford, Sampson and Humfrey, heads of the chief colleges, the one of Christ's church, the other of St. Magdalen's. They appeared about the beginning of March, together with some London ministers. The archbishop then persuaded them to comply, urging the queen's letters, and the great inconvenience of these varieties: and withal he shewed them the judgment of two great learned foreigners for wearing of these habits, viz. Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr: both whose letters may be read in Dr. Whitgift's Defence. But all could not prevail: for upon their next appearance they remained immovable in their opinion. They wrote also a letter to the commissioners, shewing their reasons of their refusal; and so earnestly petitioning to be dismissed, and that they might go home to their charges.

But they were forced still to wait on the commissioners; till in fine they were told by the archbishop, that they must depart their places.

While they thus stood out, Horn, bishop of Winchester, notwithstanding, presented Humfrey (whether by that way to persuade him to conform, I know not) to a living in the diocese of Sarum. But Jewel, the bishop, would not admit him. And on this occasion wrote to the archbishop a letter about it, dated December 22, 1565; “That in respect of his vain contention about apparel, he thought best to make a stay, till he understood his grace’s pleasure: and that unless he should otherwise advise him by his letter, he minded not in any wise to receive him: adding, that his long sufferance bred great offence.” For Humfrey was connived at for a good while, till he at last consented. But Sampson was deprived this year, and succeeded by Tho. Godwin, D. D. of Magdalen college, in June, 1565.

But Sampson’s judgment in king Edward’s days differed from his present judgment; as may appear in his epistle to the professors of Christ’s gospel, the parishioners of Al-hallows, Bread-street, London, where he was once pastor, wrote from Strasburgh, the year after his flight out of England: exhorting them in that epistle (among many other good admonitions) to submit to the ceremonies; which they were with humbleness to receive. But his converse, now he was abroad, with Calvin, and some other reformers, changed his judgment. For in his foresaid epistle these are his words and counsel:

“As for traditions, customs, and (by and for the order of the church) ceremonies received and used, which be not matters of faith, they may be admitted and altered at the discretion of them that have the rule of the church under Christ, according to the necessity of the time and the disposition of the people: so that in them be nothing else but true edifying to unfeigned godliness: and such are of the people with humbleness to be received.”

By which it seems he meant to direct these pious men to distinguish the ceremonies of the church reformed under the late king Edward from those that were required under the then reigning queen Mary. The former he recommended to them; the latter he forewarned them against.

But we have several things more to say concerning this controversy with these two learned men. Which will considerably unfold this history of the habits; a matter that long after kept up disturbance in this church.

CHAPTER 42.

Several letters between Sampson and Humfrey, and Bullinger and Gualter, divines in Zurick, about the habits. Fifteen questions propounded concerning them. Horn, bishop of Winchester, writes to those foreigners upon the same argument. Their answers. Humfrey writes to the queen.

THE, archbishop, as was said before, had urged against them the judgment of two foreign divines of great note, viz. Bucer and Martyr. In like manner, that they on the other hand might leave no stone unturned, no means unused, they laboured to obtain on their side the judgment of two other foreigners, of great note also. And for that purpose both of them wrote distinct letters not long after, viz. in the year 1565, to Bullinger and Gualter, the chief pastors of the church of Zurick in Switzerland; with whom they had formerly been acquainted when they were exiles: thinking to gain under their hands their disallowance of these habits; and hoping that they, being persons of very reverend esteem with many of our bishops, would interpose their letters and supplications to them, to forbear their present proceedings.

Several letters passed to and fro, writ by these learned men upon this argument, in the years 1565 and 1566. In the month of August, 1565, Gualter sent them his mind and opinion at large. Which was to this tenor:

“That as he was troubled to hear of the queen’s ordinance for wearing the cap and surplice, considering the need there was of reformation of other things; so on the contrary he could not advise ministers to give over their office because of it; to prevent papists and Lutherans from coming into their places: who might bring into the church many abominable and idolatrous ceremonies and false doctrines. His opinion therefore was, that they should first make their humble suit to the queen, declaring their mind in this matter: and if they found she would not condescend to them, then to strive no longer against it, but to take upon them this order; withal protesting, that they did it in pure obedience to the queen’s majesty, and not that any should, upon account of this clothing, have the sacrament in any more reverence, or seek salvation therein. And he hoped in time it would be laid aside. He said, these habits might be

counted indifferent things; as circumcision was to Paul. But if the meaning of them should be, that preachers should behave themselves as members of the Romish church, it were better to suffer death, than to administer any such occasion. And that, because some Lutherans probably had put the queen upon enjoining this, therefore they should have the more consideration, and use discretion, lest her majesty should be clean drawn away from the protestant doctrine and religion. That it was not unknown to him, how the Lutheran divines did rail upon them, and say, they were a people without understanding, despising the sacrament, and not regarding rulers. The which sayings they must prove to be lies by their deeds.”

One of these two, Sampson I suppose, writ again to Gualter, August 28, concerning the same subject. To which he returned answer November 3, following. Therein he said,

“It was not needful to be troubled any more about it. And that he could hitherto find none otherwise by himself, than that no man for outward things, that do not touch or trouble the conscience, shall leave his office in the ministry, and give place to open wolves, that shall tear and devour the poor sheep, [meaning by the wolves, the papists or Lutherans.] And that it was not good, for such causes, to let the church come into confusion, whence might arise great persecutions to the good Christian. Especially considering it was openly set forth, in the queen’s commandments and ordinances, that the same clothing was not for any holiness, or for conscience sake, but only for a certain difference, to be had and used, between the ministers of the church and the common people.”

The 10th of November, Sampson, or Humfrey, wrote again to the said learned man; informing him that several of the bishops had been satisfied with what he had writ concerning his mind and opinion, that, it seems, were not satisfied before; not so much, I suppose, to use the apparel themselves, as to press others thereunto; but that some were yet unsatisfied: he desired also, that Gualter would appoint this question to be brought into their schools. To this he gave his answer in March following. Wherein he declined the discussing this controversy in the schools, saying,

“It was not their use or custom to dispute such things. And in his judgment it needed not much disputation, if men would with

earnest minds look to the matter that might be most for edifying: and that no man of self-will should forsake his charge and people, that he thereby make not an entrance for a more wicked thing.”

As for Bullinger, he also wrote his letters to Sampson to the same purport; and soon after to Humphrey briefly and closely. The brevity whereof Humphrey in his next letter complained of to him, as though he had not thoroughly understood the case, or had answered it too slightly. To which, in another letter, dated in May 1566, to both of them, (for I will lay these things together, though they belong to the following year,) Bullinger replied, “That he was so short, because he saw not then, nor yet afterwards, any reason to be more copious. For he found he was able in few words to give answer to the question the other had asked him, which was only, what he thought of the controversy of the habits. And moreover, because he knew that the matter had been excellently well despatched before by a very able divine, viz. Peter Martyr; who, both at Oxford, and there at Zurick, had often more largely delivered his sense upon this argument.” To whom he referred them, for he had nothing more to add. They had propounded the question in such ambiguous terms, that Bullinger at first seemed to have mistook the garments; and thought they were enjoined to wear a popish habit, used by priests when they said mass. Which caused him thus to distinguish, “That he never should approve of it, if the command were to execute the ministry at the altar, with the image of a crucifix on it, and in a mass garment: that is, *in alba et casula*, i.e. in an albe, and another vesture over that, which on the back bore the image of the crucifix.” But by other letters from England he understood there was no contention about such a garment; and that the question was, (and so propounded, I suppose, by Horne, bishop of Winton, who had written to him also about this matter,) whether gospel ministers might wear a round cap, or a square, and a white garment, called a *surplice*; whereby a minister, so habited, might be discerned from the laity: and whether one ought sooner to forsake the ministry, and his sacred station, than to wear these garments.

To urge the learned man to declare his mind more largely and distinctly in these controversies, Sampson and Humphrey, in their second letters, propounded divers particular queries to him, desiring his solution of them: some given by Humphrey, more by Sampson. All which were as follow:

I. *An debeant ecclesiasticis leges praescribi vestiariorum, ut iis distinguantur a laicis?*

II. *An ceremonialis cultus Levitici sacerdotii sit revocandus in ecclesiam?*

III. *An vestitu cum papistis communicare liceat?*

IV. *An qui libertate sua hactenus acquieverunt, vi edicti regii, hac servitute implicare se, salva conscientia, possint*

V. *An vestitus clericalis sit res indifferens?* These were Humphrey's questions. To which, after Bullinger had answered, he proceeded to answer those of Sampson. Which were these following:

VI. *An vestitus peculiaris, a laicis distinctus, ministris ecclesiae unquam fuerit constitutus: an et hodie in reformatae ecclesiae debeat constitui?*

VII. *An vestitum praescriptum congruat cum Christiana libertate?*

VIII. *An ullae caeremoniae novae, praeter expressum praescriptum verbi Dei, cumulari possunt?*

IX. *An ritus Judaeorum antiquatos revocare, religionique idololatrarum proprie dicatos, in usum reformatarum ecclesiarum liceat ferre?*

X. *An conformatio in caeremoniis necessario sit exigenda?*

XI. *An caeremoniae cum a perto scandalo conjunctae retineri possint?*

XII. *An ullae constitutiones ferendae in ecclesia, quae naturae suae impiae quidem non sunt, sed tamen ad aedificationem nihil faciunt?*

XIII. *An quicquam ecclesiis a principe praescribendum in caeremoniis, sine libero consensu et voluntate ecclesiasticorum?*

XIV. *An consultius ecclesiae, sic inservire, an propterea ecclesiastico munere ejici?*

XV. *An boni pastores jure, ob hujusmodi caeremonias neglectas, a ministerio removeri possunt?*

To all these questions this reverend man, at length in May 1566, gave brief, but very proper and clear answers; all of them in favour of conformity. And that partly out of the obligation of obedience to the magistrates' commands in things indifferent, and partly to avoid being rejected from the ministry of the gospel, lest wolves, or unfit persons, should succeed them. But he did not like that matters should be thus nicely wiredrawn into a multitude of questions, and to be intangled with more knots than needed. The good man concluded,

“That he would neither urge *nor* ensnare any man's conscience, and left what he said to be examined. He admonished, that no man should frame a conscience to himself *ἐκ φιλονεικίας* *out of a love of contention*; and exhorted all by Jesus Christ, the Saviour, head and king of his church, that every one would honestly weigh with himself, by whether of the two he should more edify the church, either for order-sake to use the garments, as an indifferent thing, and as making for concord, and the profit of the church; or for the sake of garments to forsake the church, and to leave it to be seized upon by wolves, or at least very unfit and evil ministers.”

And all this he wrote in his own and Gualter's name; as Gualter had before made his to be Bullinger's sense, as well as his own. This letter well deserves reading; and therefore I have placed it in my Repository.

This letter was so considerable, that I find Whitgift using a passage out of it against Cartwright, to prove that the distinction of apparel was appointed for ministers before the pope's tyranny; which Cartwright would not allow of, and therefore questioned whether in these days it ought to be enjoined in the reformed churches. The said passage consisted of quotations out of certain ancient ecclesiastical authors, which mentioned a particular fashion used by priests in those days, as the *pallium*, and the white garment in their ministration; and St. Cyprian had his *birrhus*, and his *dalmatica*, his *cap*, and his *garment with long sleeves*: and John the apostle, before him, his *petalum*, *i.e. a thin plate*, like to a bishop's mitre. For which allegations, when Cartwright had reflected somewhat severely upon Bullinger, either as to his integrity or understanding, using these words; “That a man would hardly believe that master Bullinger should use these places to prove a distinction of apparel among the ministers;” it may be worth reading Whitgift's vindication of the said learned man in this matter.

And thus we have given a large account of the application of the two leading dissenters here to those two eminent divines of the church of Zurich. And as they had made their epistolary addresses, so some of the bishops also in the commission thought it not unadvisable to write for the judgment of these very men upon the same subject, that they might proceed in this matter with as fair a correspondence as might be with other reformed churches. For Horne, bishop of Winchester, in the name, as I judge, of the rest, writ both to Gualter and Bullinger: and each returned their distinct answers this year.

In Horne's letter to Gualter, dated from Farnham, July 17, 1565, he signified,

“That when the law was made for wearing the square cap and surplice, it was inserted expressly, that they were to be worn without any opinion of superstition. And that at the time it was enacted, they themselves were no bishops, and had therefore no authority of making or abrogating laws. And being then enjoined, there was no dispensing with it. And that for their parts they did use them, that the adversaries might not enter upon the Christian function, which they would, if they should desert it. And he added, that he hoped surely, the next parliament, part of this act would be repealed. He grieved at these contentions, considering how the papists made a great clamour upon occasion of this controversy, triumphing (said he) against us, that there is not that agreement in faith amongst us that is pretended; and that we are driven into different parties, and stand not in one opinion. The bishop also desired this learned man's judgment, that in case they could not prevail the next parliament to repeal that part of the act about the garments, whether they should leave the ministry, or continue still in it, that they might thereby keep out the adversaries of the church. And whether they might do it with a safe conscience. And that it was at present their judgment here, that they ought however to abide in their ministerial function.”

This is the sum of bishop Horne's letter; but he that is pleased to read it may have it in the Appendix.

Gualter wrote an answer to this reverend father November the 3d; (at the same time he had wrote to Sampson;) wherein, as he delivered his judgment to be, that the ministers ought to give their consent to the

wearing the garments, rather than to depart from their charges; so he seemed to have used his earnest endeavours with this bishop and the rest, not to urge a matter so ingrateful to many, and that they would persuade the queen not to stand so rigorously upon it, for fear of the ill consequences of it to the good estate of religion. A copy of this letter Bullinger afterwards sent, enclosed in his own, to Sampson and Humphrey, to let them see, no question, that they were not wanting to intercede on their behalf. And because Park-hurst, bishop of Norwich, possibly had written about this time to Gualter upon the same argument, when upon another opportunity he sent over a copy of his former letter; for fear of miscarriage, he ordered it to be first conveyed to the said bishop to peruse, and thence to be despatched to Horne.

Not long after, Bullinger also wrote his mind to the said bishop of Winchester; wherein he repeated to him briefly the words of Peter Martyr, epitomizing, I suppose, his letter to bishop Hoper; where that excellent man had spoken fully to this controversy. This letter of Martyr, having been mentioned two or three times already, I had once thought to have cast into the Appendix; but it is somewhat too large, and is already extant in print, at the end of that author's Common Places, among his epistles, whither he may have recourse who is minded to read it.

This Bullinger was a right prudent, peaceable, well-weighed, and learned man; and therefore as he had given the aforesaid answer to all the questions of Humphry and Sampson, so he thought it convenient to let the bishops know what had passed between them; that as he strove to satisfy one party, so he might not give offence to the other, as though he were a meddler in the regulating other churches, and thrust his sickle into another man's corn. Therefore he sent a copy of that letter to three bishops, Horne, Grindal, and Parkhurst.

“That ye might understand,” saith he, “that we would do nothing with the brethren without the privy of you, the primary ministers; and that in all things ye seek the peace of your churches, according to your power. Exhorting them nevertheless to have a respect to these their dissenting brethren, being faithful ministers and learned men. He acknowledged they had their affections; and therefore the apostle admonished, that we should bear one another's burdens. He told them they could do very much by their authority with the queen; and that they should use their interest with her for the

reconciling and restoring them. He desired the bishop of Winton, that this his letter might be communicated also to bishop Jewel, bishop Sandys, and bishop Pilkington.” This letter was dated May 3, 1566. And I have laid it with the rest in the Appendix.

I add here, that Humfrey, to the rest of his endeavours to obtain friends in this extremity, both among the bishops and the courtiers, addressed to the queen herself, in a well-penned Latin letter, petitioning,

“That she would abrogate, or at least suspend her edict for the habits. He was assured, as he told her majesty, such was her clemency, that that counsel of Tubero to Caesar, *cave ignoscas, cave credas*, was hateful to her; and that she was rather endued with the kind spirit of Vespasian, to send none away sad from her. She knew, as he proceeded, that the silver of the gospel was intrusted with her, to deliver it over to posterity, pure and purged, without dross. She knew, that kings, moved with the zeal of God’s house, removed all remainders of superstition; and how that was the perfect form and idea of reformation, when all spots and blemishes were taken away; and when nothing in religion and rites was received from the truth’s enemies. And lastly, she well knew, that in indifferent things contended about, it was lawful for every man to use them or not to use them, when it might be done without prejudice and offence, and that the liberty of consciences ought by no *means* to be restrained. That whatever was reported to her majesty against them, he prayed her to remember that saying here, *Take heed how you believe*. That as for his own mind and obedience to her, not only his word, but his book of Nobility, and that likewise of Cyrill’s commentary upon Esay, by him translated, both which he dedicated to her, would amply shew it. And the same might be truly said of his brethren. That since therefore what they required was honest in itself, and that which was commanded was dubious, and that they who petitioned were her most loyal subjects and ministers, he asked her, why her mercy should be shut to them, which was wont to be open to all. Did she say, she would not yield to subjects? Yet, said he, she might of her clemency spare miserable men. She would not rescind a public decree? Yet she might relax and remit it. She could not take away a law? Yet she might grant a toleration. That it was not fit to indulge to some men’s affections? Yet it was most fit and equal, not to force the minds of men. And

therefore he earnestly beseeched her majesty to consider seriously the majesty of the glorious gospel, the equity of the cause, the fewness of the labourers, the greatness of the harvest, the multitude of the tares, and the heaviness of the punishment.” But the letter itself remains among the monuments in the Appendix, to have recourse to.

CHAPTER 43.

Some account of Humfrey and Sampson.

HAVING had occasion to say so much of Humfrey and Sampson, the chief **ὑπερασπισταὶ** (i.e. champions) of those they *styled puritans*, that is, such as refused the habits, and who bore the brunt of that controversy before the ecclesiastical commissioners; it may not be out of the way to inquire a little more diligently after them, and to retrieve here a few memorials of them.

Dr. Lawrence Humphry was one for his learning much esteemed by sir William Cecyl, the secretary. He was exceedingly beloved of the university of Oxon, (whereof he was public divinity-reader,) insomuch, that when, in the year 1574, a confident rumour was spread there, that the queen had nominated him for a bishop, to fill some see, now vacant, (the ground whereof was, that Cecyl, now lord Burghley, had lately moved the queen to prefer him to that dignity,) it created exceeding joy among the scholars; which added a new spur to their studies, as one Dr. Cradock, an eminent man of that university, writ in a Greek epistle to the said lord, that so admirable a man, and so learned a scholar, was to be preferred.

“When the report went, said he, of the queen’s advancing Dr.

Humphrey to a bishopric, **Βαβαὶ ὡς ἀνυπέρβλητοι**

ἀγαλλιασμοὶ ὅσαι χάριτες ἐπηκολούθησαν πόσος ἐντεῦθεν

πόθος τῶν περὶ πάντα τὰ κάλλιστα ἐπιτηδεύματα

διατριβόντων, (ὑπερ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ προσώπῳ οὐκ ἀδήλως

ἐπιδείκνυνον) παραχρῆμα ἥρξατο. *It was strange to observe*

what exceeding rejoicing there was; what thanksgivings followed;

what a desire and love, presently upon this, began towards such as

employed themselves in all the best studies; as they did not

obscurely, by their words and countenances, declare.”

Nor was this the last time the lord Burghley moved the queen for preferment for him. For in the latter end of the year 1576, he did Humphrey the honour to write to him, signifying as much to him; and hinting withal, that his nonconformity seemed to be the chief impediment; the queen, and some other honourable persons at court, considering him as forgetful of his duty, in disobeying her injunctions. This imputation stuck somewhat close to the learned man, together with the mild persuasion of

this his honourable friend. Which at last had this effect upon him, that in the month of February 1576 he conformed himself to the habits; which hitherto he had not done, not so much out of an absolute persuasion in his conscience of the unlawfulness of them, as of some particular dislike thereof. The respect that was generally had of him, and of his usefulness in the university, procured him a toleration, or at least a connivance: which he made use of till this time, when he submitted himself to the ecclesiastical orders. The reason moving him thereunto, and the reason he held off so long, he gave himself in a letter to the aforesaid honourable person.

“That therefore he had yielded, that no further surmise of any wilfulness should be gathered. And that he would have done the like heretofore, but that having a toleration, he was glad to enjoy it; and that he hoped still for some points of redress. And that in these he had been no open intermeddler, but only a private solicitor, and humble suitor to her majesty and the lords. And that it was a remorse to seem, by sundry apparel, to sunder himself from those brethren, whose doctrine and life he always loved and liked. And he protested to his lordship before God, that his standing before, and conforming now, came of one cause, viz. the direction of a clear conscience, and tended to one end, which was edification. And whereas he understood there would be a proclamation set forth for apparel, if one clause might be added for ministers and students in the university, and a plain signification given, that it was enjoined, not so much for an ecclesiastical ceremony, as for a civil policy and ordinance, he thought it would satisfy more in conscience.” This letter, as it deserves preserving, I have put into the Appendix. He lived many years after, dying dean of Winchester in the year 1589.

He was so fortunate as to create five bishops doctors in divinity together; which he did at London, in the month of Oct. 1566, by commission from the university of Oxon. A greater honour than scarce any of the public professors, in either university, either before or since, ever partook of. These bishops were, Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich; Downham, bishop of Chester; Bentham, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield; Richard Davies, bishop of St. David’s; and Best, bishop of Carlisle.

His great learning appeared by those many books he wrote and published, which I shall here set down.

Optimates, sive De Nobilitate, ejusque antiqua origine, natura, officii, disciplina, &c.

Libellus de conservanda vera religione. Consensus patrum de justificatione. Interpretatio linguarum.

Jesuitismi pars prima, sive praxis curiae Romanae, contra resis, ad principes. Ac praemonitio ad Anglos.

Jesuitismi pars secunda. Puritano-Papsismi, seu doctrinae Jesuiticae, contra Edm. Campianum, et Jo. Duraeum, assetrio et confutatio. Item Pharisaismus vetus ac novus, concio ad Oxonienses, anno 1582.

Orationes Woodstochiac habitae.

De vita et morte Johannis Juelli: ejusque verae doctrinae defensio, cum refutatione quorundam objectorum, Hardingi, Sanderi, Copi, Osorii Lusitan. Pontaci, Burdeg

Originis Liber de recta fide contra Marcionistas Latine donatus: cum praefatione in eundem doctorem.

Cyrilli Commentarius in Esaïam Prophetam Latine redditus.

Index in Forsteri Lexicon Hebraicum.

And in English he wrote a book, *Of Civil and Christian Nobility*. To which is added a treatise by Philo of the same argument, which is but the same with his *Optimates* translated. He published also seven sermons against treason, on that text, 1 Samuel 26:8, 9, 10, 11. *Then said Abishai to David, God hath delivered thine enemy into thine hand this day: now therefore let me smite him, I pray thee, with the spear, even to the earth at once, and I will not smite him the second time. And David said to Abishai, Destroy him not: for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless? &c.* These sermons were printed in the year 1588. Thus much of Humfreys.

The first mention I meet with of Thomas Sampson in public employ is, that in king Edward the Sixth's days, when there was difference between the Scots and us, and the lord Russel had charge of the army, he was preacher to them. He married Hugh Latimer's niece, and together with Bradford received holy orders in the year 1550, from bishop Ridley, and was known

to and esteemed by him and archbishop Cranmer. And when he took the ministry on him, he excepted against the apparel: which both those reverend prelates dispensed with him in, according as himself relates in one of his own letters to secretary Cecyl, saying, that by them he was permitted and admitted. And what a value Ridley had for him appears from a passage in a letter of his out of prison, in answer to one from Grindal, which acquainted him with the good estate of Scory and Cox, and others then at Frankford. Whereupon that good bishop wished, that it had come into his mind also to have said something of Cheke, of Turner, of Lever, and Sampson; trusting in God that they were well.

In the three first years of queen Elizabeth, he made the rehearsal sermons at Paul's Cross; repeating *memoriter* the Spital sermons preached at Easter: and also is said to have preached the first sermon at the Cross after the said queen's access to the crown: but that is a mistake. And in the queen's royal visitation he accompanied her visitors in the northern parts, as preacher. In king Edward's time he was dean of Chichester, and rector of Allhallows, London.

In the year 1560, the college of Christ's-church, Oxon, understanding that their present dean, Mr. Carew, would part with that dignity, did in most earnest manner solicit the lord Robert Dudley, master of the horse to the queen, in confidence of his love and care of that college, that he Would prevail with her, that Mr. Thomas Sampson might succeed in that place; adding high commendations of him. They said,

“That their college was as it were the eye to the rest of the university, which gave light to the other parts thereof, as the eye doth to the body; and therefore that their dean ought to be some person of great eminence. That as for Mr. Sampson, after they had considered and well pondered the whole stock of learned men in this island, they found none to be compared with him, both for his singular learning and piety: having the universal praise of all men; *that it might well be doubted, whether he were a better man, or a greater linguist, or a completer scholar, or a more absolute divine.*”

To this letter, dated in January, was subscribed the hands of twenty-two of that house; whereof divers were persons of great learning and eminence in that university; as namely, James Calf-hill, the subdean; Lawrence Humfrey, the king's professor of divinity; Thomas Francis, the king's

professor of physic; Giles Lawrence, the king's Greek professor; Herbert West-phaling, after bishop of Hereford; John Godwin, and others. This letter the college hastened the rather to the said lord, to prevent the promotion of Dr. Fr. Babington to this deanery, who in queen Mary's reign was fellow of All-Souls, and kept in all that time, and was well affected towards popish religion still: a man of mean learning, and of a complying temper; whereby he was now rector of Lincoln, and Margaret professor.

In the year 1563, in the month of December, the secretary had some communication with him about the apparel prescribed, exciting him earnestly to comply with it. For the said secretary, however he is wont to be represented as a favourer of the puritans, certainly was a person that now urged the use of the apparel, and other rites ecclesiastical, that were enjoined; conceiving how much conformity herein tended to the preservation of peace and unity. Hence it was, that one Prowde, parson of Burton upon Dunsmore, a puritan, in a letter he wrote to him, anno 1579, took the confidence to tell him, that he was, as it was then commonly said, one of them, that at the first maintained that, for the which many good men lost their livings. In the aforesaid communication the secretary told Sampson, "that he gave offence by his disobedience, and that obedience was better than sacrifice."

To these persuasions of the secretary, he thought fit, being now at Oxford, to make a more deliberate answer by letter: wherein he gave his reasons why he could not conform to the apparel. The sum whereof was,

"That in the law God commanded to destroy all idols, with all the ceremonies which the servers of them used in their service; prohibiting, as the idols, so the use of their ceremonies and fashions. Accordingly the godly kings of the Jews did deal with idols, idolatry, and the appurtenances. And that the Lord threatened vengeance for retaining such ceremonies and fashions in a time of reformation. That Christ did not communicate in any tradition with the Pharisees, by them devised; but reprov'd them, and warn'd the apostles to take heed of them. That there were constitutions made by some primitive fathers of the church, that forbade such ceremonies as were devised and used by idolaters and heretics. According to which rule he thought all ceremonies and fashions, devised and used by the idolatrous popish sect, ought to be destroyed, forbidden, forsaken, and rejected. And if men in

authority would think and command otherwise, yet he supposed, that he, which followed God's mind thus delivered, did yield the obedience which is better than sacrifice. That the primitive Christians, refusing to use such things, had their defence. That some of them in their conversion, changing their array, as they did their minds, did neither precisely appoint themselves, nor prescribed to others, to take the habit of such, whom in religion they did forsake. For that the change of habit had been taken among heathens and Christians, that the changer changed himself from them whose array he left. That to do otherwise, and wear the habit of papists, was a show of relapse; which ought not to be given to the godly, nor any face of victory, to the enemy. Again, that it came out of the corrupt state of the church since Christ, to prescribe a singular form of uniform array to the ministry. That all reformation ought to be framed after the first sincere state. And if the reformer will not admit this, but will determine contrary, he saw not how this could bind him, which knew and desired sincerity. He told the secretary moreover, that he could give the probation of each thing he asserted. And these were but some of the reasons, not all, that moved him in this cause to do as he did. That he put not herein a law to the consciences of other men, whom, in their standing and falling herein, he left to the Lord. And so he desired to be left. Neither did he stand upon point of credit, or regard among men, but upon this stay which now and ever he had. And that now he had his old stay increased, as well by some reading as by sight of churches reformed, [which he had visited in his exile,] he did most humbly pray, not to be clogged with that, from which he had been ever freed; and which with a quiet mind he could not admit."

Though he were put out of the deanery of Christ's-church, yet he was allowed to officiate in another place without conformity. For I find him, anno 1573, (but how long before I know not,) master of an hospital in London, called Whittington college; where he read a lecture every term, for the yearly stipend of ten pounds, given him by the company of clothworkers. Here he was very instrumental to the good estate and settlement of that foundation, by the interest he had with the lord treasurer Burghley: who both undertook and finished a *dangerous cause* of the hospital, as Sampson himself acknowledged it to the said treasurer: for the which all the poor there, he told him, prayed for him. In the latter end of

the year 1573, he was taken with the numb palsy on one side, which deprived him of half the use of his limbs. But he lived above half a score years after with good sense and understanding; though he called his disease, at its first seizure of him, *evangelium mortis*. He did frequently, by his letters, urge the lord treasurer to promote a reformation in the government of the church, and heartily recommended Bucer's book, *De regno Christi*, for a pattern: which he supposed favoured that church government, which was according to his model. After his lameness, he left his hospital, and retired to the hospital at Leicester, where he lived a great while after.

But first earnestly endeavoured to leave Mr. Dering, another zealous puritan, to succeed him. But the archbishop would by no means admit of it.

In the year 1583 he drew up certain petitions relating to the reformation of the church in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, and sent them up by his son, John Samson, to the lord Burghly; and the year after prepared them in some more distinct method to be presented to the parliament. It was entitled, *A Supplication made to be exhibited to our sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, to the honourable lords of her most honourable privy council, and to the high court of parliament*. This book laid down at large that model of church government, which the men of this faction in those days so much required, and were so fond of. I think it was printed. I have by me the very original copy that Samson sent to the lord Burghly, as appears by these words inscribed on it by that lord's own hand, December 1584, *A supplicatory book to the queen's majesty and the parliament for matters of the church*.

Besides this book, there were divers others, which were published by him or his friends at divers times, viz. Letters to the Professors of the Gospel in the parish of Alhallows, Bread-street, London; having been minister there in king Edward's days. These were printed at Strasburgh, 1554. Warning to take heed of Fowler's Psalter; printed 1578.

Brief Collections of the Church, and certain Sermons of the same; printed 1581. Prayers and Meditations Apostolic: gathered and framed out of the epistles of the Apostles; printed 1592.

Dr. Samson died in the year 1589, being the same year wherein his great companion and brother in the habit controversy deceased also, viz. Dr. Humfrey.

It must be mentioned to his commendation, that he earnestly solicited the lord treasurer in behalf of a merchant, who had consumed himself greatly by his former liberality towards the poor English exiles in Strasburgh and Frankford, in queen Mary's reign. This man was in company and trade with Mr. Tho. Heton, of whom Humphrey, in the Life of Bishop Jewel, speaks well, in regard of his favour and money yielded to the exiles in Germany. This partner of Heton, as in trade, so in charity was he, for whom Sampson mediates with Burghley. He was now grown old, and fallen into decay, and his piety planted in his heart had kept him, as Sampson had said, from such courses as some had to their worldly enriching. Sampson owed him much, as himself acknowledged, and so did many others, who were better able to repay than he; but they would not, or cared not, though they knew as much of him, and his need, as Sampson did. Between these two there was a long and great endearment. These considerations of gratitude and friendship put him upon writing to the lord treasurer to be good to him; and that the queen's majesty would please to give this her good subject liberty to transport three, four, five, or six thousand of English cloths without paying custom. And that his lordship, if he liked the suit, when it should be moved by some other, would give it his favour and furtherance, and give his advice how it should be moved.

Let me add this yet further concerning Sampson; that upon his deprivation, which was executed by the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, he was restrained of his liberty too at London, by her order, that he might be an example of her displeasure to the rest. He had now two things to do, viz. to get his liberty, and to obtain some favour at Christ-church, where he had been dean. For both which he applied himself to the archbishop of Canterbury by his letters to him: who forthwith gently and readily wrote two letters in his behalf; the one to the dean and chapter of Christ-church, "praying them to shew Dr. Sampson all favour, and particularly in what he had or should request at their hands; especially having been a man that had for his government well deserved of them and the college;" the other to secretary Cecil, on the instance of the earl of Huntingdon to him, to intercede with the queen for Sampson's liberty, in order to provide for the future subsistence of him and his family. Which the secretary soon yielded unto; but required the archbishop's letter to him for that purpose, thereupon to build his mediation with the queen. For which end the earl sent a messenger to the archbishop; and Sampson sent his own letter withal to him: therein thanking him for the favour he had already done him with

the college, and for commending his cause to the chapter; which had, he said, with them just regard: and then requested his favourable letter to the secretary, to move the queen.

The very next day, which was June 4, the kind archbishop wrote very affectionately to the secretary accordingly;

“That her majesty’s pleasure being thus executed upon him, for example sake, might yet be mollified to the commendation of her clemency. And that his honour should do a right good deed in his opinion, to be a suitor to the queen’s highness for him.”

Backed and authorized by so venerable a name, the secretary’s intercession, no question, soon prevailed. But I crave the reader’s pardon for this digression.

CHAPTER 44.

Disturbance in Cambridge about the habits. The chancellor of the university his letters hereupon. A letter to the chancellor to dispense with the habits. A book set forth by the London ministers against the habits. Beza's concern for the dissenters, A volume printed of divers learned foreigners' judgment of cap and surplice.

A SUBMISSION to wear the habits by those concerned, notwithstanding all that hitherto was done, could not yet be effected, especially as to the surplice; but more resistance and abhorrence thereof appeared among many. This garment had many adversaries in the university of Cambridge. The fellows and scholars in St. John's college there, chiefly the younger sort, (to the number of near three hundred, some said,) about the beginning of December, 1565, or sooner, threw off the surplice with one consent, however they had worn it before in the chapel: and many in other colleges were ready to follow their example; as in Trinity college about the same time, all except three, by T. Cartwright's instigation. Such a persuasion of the superstition of it had some of their guides (one whereof was Mr. Fulk, a young preacher) beat into the heads of the younger; for the elder were generally more steady.

The particular of the matter was this; Longworth, the master of the college, being absent, (and as it seems on purpose,) the most part of the college company came into the chapel one festival day without their surplices and hoods, according to the ancient practice of the college; and withal made some diversity in the manner of the administration of the communion; and so continued to do: and this, the said master, upon his return, allowed, without complaint to any magistrate, or endeavour to restore the former ancient usage, established by the queen's laws and injunctions. The news of this soon came both to sir Will. Cecil, that university's high chancellor, and a special patron of that college; and likewise to the bishop of Ely, in whose diocese Cambridge was, and who had a peculiar jurisdiction over some of the colleges there.

Cecil, extremely moved hereat, sent speedily both to the college and to the vice-chancellor. To the college (many members whereof had humbly writ to him, that their consciences might not be forced to receive the ceremony they had laid aside, nor that that bitter yoke of servitude of conscience

might be again laid upon them) he wrote, charging them in this unadvised doing with vainglory, and affectation of popularity, and contempt of laws, and a desire of innovating. He admonished them to return quietly to the use of the ceremony, as they had used it before. But they on the contrary assured him, that it was nothing but reason (and not any other cause) moved them to do what they did: and that God was their witness, that what they did was, first, that they might enjoy the quiet of their consciences before God; and next, that the true and sincere worship of God might be promoted among them.

Cecil, as chancellor, wrote one or two letters to his vice-chancellor, as well as to the college. In the latter letter, which bore date December 10, he let him know, that he had acquainted the queen with this disorder, though as favourably as he could. And that her majesty was very much moved, requiring him to have it severely punished; and had offered him her princely authority to chastise those that were guilty, for an example: but that his regard to the sacred fame of the university was such, that he had neither expressed to her majesty the greatness of the fault, nor seemed to have need of further authority than he had already, as chancellor. But yet he set out this misdemeanour to the vice-chancellor in very high terms, viz. as a manifest invading the authority of the prince, by a willing breaking of common order in the university; and a lewd leprosy of libertines; riotous shaking off the yoke of obedience and order. And therefore he required the vice-chancellor to call together the heads of the colleges, and other grave graduates, whom that leprosy had not touched, and to recommend his most hearty and earnest desire to every of them, that as they intended the honour of God, the preservation of Christian unity, the good name of that honourable and famous university, the favour of their sovereign lady the queen towards the same; and lastly, (which was, he said, of least estimation,) as they regarded his poor good-will towards the whole body, and every good member of the same, (whereof he had given some testimony,) so they would persist and continue in the observation of uniform order in these external things, which of themselves were of none other value but to make a demonstration of obedience, and to render a testimony of unity; which being broken and neglected, argued a manifest disobedience, and gendered occasion of no small offence to many good and godly *men*, to the decay of the estimation of the ministry; as it was daily seen in what sort the estimation of the ministers of the church did decay.

And to the intent there might ensue by all their concurrence a plain way to withstand those schismatical devices, he thought it good, under their correction, that such as of late had, in place of preaching, riotously railed against these orders, should be plainly inhibited for some convenient time, by good authority, to preach or read publicly: and that all such as had been *vantcurrors* in private colleges to enter into this apostasy, should have some reasonable time to reform themselves, upon pain to be excommunicated out of the university. Which two means, if they should seem to him, [the vice-chancellor,] and his associates, too dulce, then he allowed very well of any shorter means, whatsoever they should devise. For besides the offence committed against the law and against her majesty, he thought sundry of them might be manifestly convinced of perjury, in breaking the peculiar statutes of their colleges. And, thirdly, he thought it good, that as many as would voluntarily, or upon gentle admonition, reform themselves, should be gently used and borne withal: for that he thought many were carried with the course of the stream of a hasty company.

And as for St. John's college, he required his vice-chancellor to give warning to the president, (to whom he had also written,) that those of that college that would not reform themselves, should find no comfort to persist in their wantonness.

Besides this charge to the vice-chancellor, he sent for the master to come up to him; and likewise for Mr. Fulk, by a special commandment, with whom he meant to proceed himself. And if the vice-chancellor thought meet any other should come up and appear before him, he required him to enjoin them, in his name, so to do. Cecil in all this professed, that the attestation of his own conscience moved him to take up these austerities in the beginning; being also straightly charged by the queen, in no wise to permit her authority to be in this sort violated, which the civilians would term *crimen laesae majestatis*, as he said.

When Longworth, who had been summoned up, appeared before the said chancellor Cecil, he charged him, in the queen's name, with breaking certain ordinances and injunctions, given by the queen's majesty to the said college: and, among other things, certain external rites, to be retained in certain ecclesiastical actions, for prayer and administration of sacraments; and for maintenance and sufferance of the fellows and scholars in the manifest breaking of the same. And moreover, he was charged in her

majesty's name, to endeavour to reform the foresaid disorders. The result was, that the said master of the college recanted before the chancellor, in a form of words drawn up; wherein he both confessed himself, faulty, in suffering the fellows and scholars to continue in their innovations; and promised that he would do his utmost to reduce the college to a conformity to the queen's injunctions, that were in use before the said innovations; and that he would make declaration of the same immediately after his return to the college. He also then subscribed a paper, wherein he promised, that he would both himself to his uttermost keep all the laws and customs within the college as master of the college, or as graduate of the university, commonly used since the last visitation of the university, in the first year of the reign of the queen; and that he would endeavour to cause all others to do the same. These submissions were made about the 14th of December.

This recantation, or *declaration*, (for the chancellor was willing it should go under that more favourable name,) the said Longworth did make; but, as it appeared, sore against his will: for he read it out of his own transcript, which was in many things different from the copy delivered to him by the chancellor; as may be seen in the said declaration.

The visitation of St. John's college pertained to the bishop of Ely. To him also at this time did Cecil earnestly write about these disorders in the college, and desired him to exercise his jurisdiction, for the correction and stay of these misdemeanours, if there should be further need. He wrote,

“That he would please to consider, how needful it was, in this time, to stay the rashness of such as by heady, sudden, and daily changes of lawful rites in the church, did procure great slander to the whole ministry and ecclesiastical state of this realm. That among the which, he was very sorry of late to understand of a notable disorder in the college of St. John's; whereof his lordship, he said, was, by ordinary authority, the visitor, and he, by bringing up, an old scholar. That the particularities of the same should be declared to his lordship by the president of the same house, either by himself or by his letters; to whom he had written, both as chancellor of the university, and as one affectionated to that house; that he should first attempt, by ordinary means, in the absence of the master, to reform the said disorder; and that if he could not, then he should send these his letters to him [the said bishop.] With the which he did recommend unto him the afflicted state of that good and divine

college; most earnestly requiring him, *per oranes charitates*, with speed to send his commission, or other direction, thither, for understanding the truth of the disorders; especially of that which had been committed in the general wanton throwing away of surplices in that college, and of the singularity and variety begun in the administration of the holy communion. And further, to enjoin straightly, under sharp pain, the observation of the laudable customs therein limited, and lately appointed by the queen's majesty's injunctions. That in this matter nothing was more requisite than speed and severity. For surely, my lord, (as he proceeded,) I am inwardly afraid, that if fear shall not stay this riotous insolency, these rash young heads, that are so soon ripe to climb into pulpits, will content themselves with no limits, either in the church or in the policy. *Ita delectantur verborum monomachia;* [i.e. so are they delighted with word-combat,] as I doubt not but your lordship can mistrust by other attempts intended in other places."

He added, "That if cause should be that this his letter should come to his lordship's hands, he prayed him to advertise him of the success; since he had partly imparted this matter to the queen for his own discharge. And that by her he had been straightly commanded to see reformation had with speed and severity: and so he had promised her majesty to do; although, he said, he would seek it first by ordinary means. But that if it should otherwise fall out, he would be glad, for his discharge, to refer the whole to her supreme authority, whereupon must needs follow cause of repentance to the authors of these garboils. Lastly, he prayed God to give them the spirit of humility, and to taste of the fruits of concord and unity; and to sharpen their tongues against the *idols* [as they, it seems, had called the habits and other rites] of pride, and malice, and unmercifulness, with their complices: wherewith the temples of men's souls were daily defiled and fully possessed." This letter was dated from Westminster, the 13th of December.

The bishop of Ely, as I mentioned before, had an account given him of these innovations in other colleges also, and the proceedings thereupon; and that from his college of Peter-house, by writings, and a messenger sent to him to Downham for that purpose. And the right reverend father sent back his grave advice, in a letter to the master and fellows of that house:

“That he hoped, after this unseemly storm in the university, there would follow a godly calm. He was glad to hear that none of Peterhouse was of that disorder. That, considering the time, so far as his authority would extend, he earnestly required them all to be present at service in their quire, at times usual, in their surplices and hoods, meet or agreeable to their degrees; partly for example of others, and partly, to declare themselves conformable to their most gracious sovereign’s request: and to consider, like wise men, and persons thankful to God’s infinite goodness, what a jewel God had sent of such a princess, under whom they lived *in omni pietate et tranquillitate*. Touching the doubt of *their* statute, whether thereby they were bound to wear surplices or not, (so that they used them obediently without any further business,) he meant not at that time to make any resolution, for fear of some inconvenience, which perchance might rise: but promised that hereafter, upon further conference, he would do as should be thought best.” This letter bore date the 15th of December.

But notwithstanding all this care to extinguish these flames about the habits, and the discountenance given to those that would have them laid aside; yet, in this same month of December, they presumed to draw up among themselves two letters, and that in very unbecoming language; the one to the queen, the other to their chancellor, whereunto many were ready to subscribe their names: but others, more wary and wise, refused to do it; fearing, lest, by that to the queen especially, the whole university might have incurred her great displeasure: and so means were found that both the letters, having as well rashness as untruth in them, were stayed. And in the room of both, a third letter was written to the chancellor, with more mitigation; and subscribed by a great many members of the university, and, among the rest, by Rob. Beaumont, D.D. master of Trinity college: which he did, that by this means he might overthrow the other letters before mentioned. This letter was more submissively composed, petitioning for moderation and liberty to tender consciences in these points. But the chancellor was very angry to see the name of a head of a college subscribed to a matter contrary to the orders he had so lately sent down, to be strictly observed. Dr. Beaumont therefore forthwith writ a submissive letter to the chancellor: the substance whereof was,

“That for himself, he weekly wore the surplice; and for other appointed apparel, he not only lived in order himself, but procured

it in others as much as he could, and saw offenders punished, as far as local statutes permitted: that that letter was subscribed not by them that sought to subvert civil order, but by humble scholars to their head and chancellor, for avoiding of greater inconvenience; which then, as it seemed, could not otherwise be superseded. But the thing being disliked, he professed his sorrow for it: and that he was bent to continue in order without change; and also, that he would see to others which he had to do with, as he might.”

King’s college, in this hubbub among the rest of the colleges about the habits, remained obedient and quiet in the wearing of them. But some whispering in the chancellor’s ears their disaffection also, they speedily vindicated themselves by their letter to him, dated December 17, and shewed him how they employed themselves in matters of greater moment than such external things came to: thus writing to him; *Controversia illa vestiaria, &c.*

“That this contest about the habits (which they feared might occasion some prejudice to a cause they had in hand, by the private slanders of some persons) had not at all disturbed them in this tempest. But that, since they most willingly submitted themselves, as well to their own private and domestic statutes, as the queen’s law, they were at the furthest distance from any suspicion of it. But their minds were set upon greater and weightier concerns,” &c.

This was signed by eleven of the fellows; of which number were Roger Goad, Tho. Hatcher, Abraham Hartwel, and Nicholas Colpotts.

But (to go a little further with this university matter) the graver men, who were more in number, and of better learning, did by no means like of these contentions about wearing the surplice, cap, &c. but condemned them. One of these was Bartholomew Clark, LL. D. of King’s college, and afterwards official of the arches: who in the midst of these disturbances, as it were in vindication of himself and many others in the university, wrote a letter to the chancellor, dated the 12th of this busy month of December: wherein he styled these contenders *fanatici superpelliciani et galeriani*; [i.e. *surplice and hat fanatics*;] and these their contests *ineptiae*, i.e. mere trifles; or rather *φιλαυτίαι*, i.e. matters of self-love, or self-admiration. And he complained what an impediment these contentions had laid in the way to all useful and learned studies. That these men had by their counsels so disturbed all things, that the time which was wont heretofore to be

employed in good arts and sciences, was now spent and consumed in trivial janglings *de lana caprina*. That those who brought in among them the first seedplots of these things, though otherwise they might be good and religious men, yet in this they were partly unjust, though more obscurely so; and partly openly ungrateful, without any dissembling or covert, in that they rashly opposed the will of a most noble chancellor, and feigned to themselves laws of conscience, and had infected many with their poison, not to say *anabaptism*: that they had cast an infamy upon the university: that the pretence of conscience served some of them to conceal somewhat else. And then he mentioned a sophister of one of the colleges, that lately came into the quire, and placed himself among the thickest of the rest of the company, all with their surplices on, but he alone without one. And when the censor of the college had called him, and questioned him for this irregularity, he answered modestly, laying the cause upon his conscience, which would not suffer him to let loose the reins to such things: when at length the true cause was known to be, that he had pawned his surplice to a cook, with whom he had run in debt for his belly. In conclusion, this learned man beseeched the chancellor to remedy these gross follies: and that whereas the pulpits and schools now for a good while had sounded with little else than those empty paradoxes, they might flow henceforward with the most pure fountains of the gospel. And that he would put a final end, if possible, to these controversies, or rather dotages.

And so we leave the university, and return back to London, to take some further observation of the ministers there, who scrupled wearing the apparel. While the controversies about it were so hot, and many ministers in the said city displaced for the refusal thereof, as hath been already related, among the rest of the books set forth on this occasion, there came forth a little treatise in their justification, written and published by themselves in the ensuing year, viz. 1566, entitled, *A brief discourse against the outward apparel and ministering garments of the popish church*: but the running title was, *The unfolding of the popish attire*. And the title which stood on the first page, where the discourse began, was different from them both, and more particular, viz. *A Declaration of the doings of those ministers of God's word and sacraments in the city of London, which have refused to wear the upper apparel and ministering garments of the pope's church*. Beginning,

“Considering how hurtful a thing to a Christian commonwealth it is to have the ministers of God's word despised, and brought into

contempt, we have thought it our duty briefly to declare in writing, and to be set forth to be seen of all men, some part of the reasons and grounds of our doings, in refusing to wear the outward apparel and ministering garments of the pope's church," &c.

So that this book, containing the general sense of them all, as being sent abroad by their common consent in vindication of themselves, may be concluded to shew the full strength of their objections against these habits: and therefore not unworthy to be read. The contents whereof I shall impartially lay down. One ground of their refusal was this: that the power that God had given to his ministers was given them, that they should thereby edify the church of Christ, and not destroy it or pull it down. They therefore, knowing that they had received power to edify, and not to destroy; and that a day would come wherein they should be sure to receive at his hands, whose builders they were, according to their doings, either in building up or pulling down, or in staying and hindering of that which should have been builded by others; dared not be so bold as to admit the outward and ministering apparel of the popish church, till it might manifestly appear unto them, that the same might help forward and not pull down, stay or hinder the building up of the Lord's temple, which is his church or congregation. That they would not therefore in these days refuse them, if they might but conceive a hope, that the use of them might help forward with the Lord's building. But forasmuch as they saw plainly the contrary, they might in no case admit them.

They granted that of themselves they were things indifferent, and might be used or not used, as occasion should serve. But when the use of them would destroy or not edify, then ceased they to be so indifferent. And this hinderance of edification by these habits was proved, both in respect of the simple Christians and of the stubborn papists.

First, the simple Christians were by these things so grieved, that when they saw them receive the habits, they sorrowed and mourned in their hearts. And such among them as were not so strong, but that they did somewhat depend upon their example and doctrine, those were beaten back to superstition; from which they were before making haste to fly. And unless God did by his Spirit stay them, they should by their example, in revolting to those things which they had taught to be superfluous and superstitious, take occasion to think, that there was no truth in any thing that they had

taught; and so cleave to the false religion, whereof these indifferent things were relics and remnants, and so utterly forsake the true religion of Christ.

Secondly, the blind, stubborn, and obstinate papists, whom they ought by all means possible to draw out of the dark dungeon of ignorance, superstition, and error, should, by their receiving these things, be encouraged, not only to continue in ignorance, superstition, and error, but also to increase in the same; being more confirmed therein by their returning again to those things that they had both by doctrine and example disallowed and forsaken, than they could have been by the persuasion of many of their own opinion. For they must needs think, that they [the ministers] which had so earnestly refused and spoken against these things, would never have received them again, unless it had been made manifest unto them, that without them their ministry was sore defaced, and almost utterly profaned.

Then they took notice of the answer that was given to this in the bishops' Advertisements, where it is thus expressed: "It shall be lawful for all ministers to teach and to protest, that they do not use these things as things without the which the ministration should be profaned or defaced, but only for decency and comely order, uniformity and obedience to our prince;" as the same was plainly set forth in the Advertisements. To which they reply, that this wisdom and policy passed the wisdom of God: and that it was much like the wisdom of them that would have images in churches, not to worship them, but by them to exercise their strength in refraining from the worshipping of them. But the wisdom of God, who knoweth what we are, and how ready to abuse even his good creatures which he hath made to serve our necessities, hath plainly forbidden his people the having images, and commanded them to destroy them, and all the furniture of them. And in things not commanded nor forbidden, he hath said that his people shall not follow their own fantasies, in adding any thing to his commandments. But by the mouth of his prophets he hath utterly disallowed their additions; saying, *In vain do they worship me, which teach things that are but the commandments of men.*

The wisdom of God said, *Take heed that ye offend not one of those little ones that believe in me.* And, *Wo unto them by whom offences come.* A wise shipper, that knoweth where dangers do lie in the sea, will not on purpose sail so near those dangers, as he may possibly not escape: but contrariwise he will hale aloof, and be sure, if the weather will suffer him,

not to fall upon those dangers. Yea, and if he see that the weather will not suffer him to hold the strait course without danger to fall upon the rocks or flats, he will rather run upon another point, where he is sure to find sea-room enough. And shall we, that be Lord's men in the ship of Christ, to try our cunning, creep so near the flats or rocks, that we put our whole charge in danger of perishing by falling upon them? God forbid.

Then they proceeded to answer an objection, viz. that princes had authority in things neither commanded nor forbidden; to command them to be used, or not to be used. In refusing therefore to use them at the commandment of the prince, they did not only resist the ordinance of God themselves, but they did also fall under that inconvenience which they would so fain seem to be afraid of; that is, they became stumblingblocks to the simple subjects: who, seeing their disobedience, were encouraged to think that it was none offence at all to disobey a prince: and so seeming to fly from the gulf, they were upon the most dangerous rocks. To this they answered thus: the things which they did refuse were such as God had neither commanded nor forbidden, otherwise than in the use and abuse of them. And therefore princes had no authority either to command or forbid them otherwise than so. That if the prince shall take in hand to command them any of those things which God hath not commanded, in such sort that they might not leave them undone, (unless they should run into the penalty of the law,) when they should see that in the doing thereof they could not edify, but destroy; they must then refuse to do the thing commanded by the prince, and humbly submit themselves to suffer the penalty: but in any case not to consent to infringe the Christian liberty; which is, to use filings indifferent to edification, and not to destruction. And if the prince should forbid any of those things to be done which in their own nature were indifferent, so that when we should see, that the leaving them undone should destroy, or not edify; then might they not leave them undone, but do them to the edification of the church; and submit themselves lowly to suffer, at the hand of the prince, the execution of that penalty that the law did appoint, for doing that which the prince should in such case forbid to be done.

And this was not to give example of disobedience, but by example to teach true obedience, both to God and also to man.

Considering therefore that at this time, by admitting the outward apparel and ministering garments of the pope's church, not only the Christian liberty should be manifestly infringed, but the whole religion of Christ

would be brought to be esteemed no other thing than the pleasure of princes; they thought it their duties, being ministers of God's word and sacraments, utterly to refuse to shew their conformity in receiving those things that then were urged and enforced; and yet willing to submit themselves to suffer whatsoever punishment the laws did appoint in that case: and so to teach by their example true obedience both to God and man; and yet to keep the Christian liberty sound, and the Christian religion to be such, that no prince or potentate might alter or change the same. They hoped therefore, that their prince and all good men would like well with this their doing.

Then they went on to shew how unnecessary it was for ministers of God's word to be known from other men by any outward apparel, or by any such difference as they were then required to admit: and afterwards, how unmeet it was to admit the garments then enforced: and that by considering whence they first came; how they had been used; what opinions men have had, and still have of them, and what should happen unto them [the said ministers] if they should then receive them.

For the first, that they were partly Jewish and partly heathenish. Secondly, idolaters, conjurers, and sorcerers, did nothing without these garments. For the third, the obstinate papists supposed, that without these things no holiness could be in aught that they did. The weak papists, that were contented to be partakers with them, did find none so great fault with them, as that they ministered without their ministering garments. And the simple gospellers supposed, that they ought not to communicate with those that used those garments. And therefore that the ministers themselves, although they knew the indifferency of these things in their own nature, yet considering how these three sorts did esteem them, could not be persuaded, that they should be meet to occupy the place of pastors in the church of Christ, if they should now use them. Then they quoted Bucer, Martyr, Ridley, and Jewel.

Fourthly, as to what should happen to them, if they should use them; namely, it should happen to them as it happened unto Moses, if he should have consented to bring the Hebrews back again into Egypt, after he had brought them out of that land and through the Red sea. That they had by *doctrine* brought many out of the Romish slavery of idol service, and now by example had begun to go before them in the utter abolishing of all those chains of darkness, wherewith they had been long held in miserable

captivity. And were it meet, that they should now afresh bind themselves and them with the same chains? Fearing therefore to lose themselves with the loss of so many souls, besides themselves, they had chose to venture the loss of worldly commodities, rather than to hazard that which no earthly treasure could buy: trusting that their prince, and others in authority, would favour their just cause, and not mislike with them, because they feared God more than man; and were more loath to lose the heavenly kingdom than earthly commodities. They hoped, that all wise men did see the mark the earnest solicitors of this matter [i.e. the enforcers of the habits] did shoot at. They were not, neither were at any time, protestants; but when time served them, they were bloody persecutors; and since time failed them, they had borne back as much as lay in them. Should we think then that such did seek the advancement of God's glory in the setting forth of his true religion? No, no; their purpose was in them, silly wretches, to deface the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus.

Besides this declaration, they framed a prayer to be used at this time; wherein they confess, as some of God's judgments for their sins,

“that those in power neglected that they ought to have done, to the hinderance of the course of the gospel; and that the relics of Romish idolatry was stoutly maintained; and that they were bereaved of some of their pastors, who by word and example sought to free the flock from these offences; and that this was the joy of Antichrist his limbs:”

reflecting too severely and uncharitably upon the government, and those that were in authority in the church.

Near about this time another book, proceeding from the same discontent, came forth. It had been suppressed for some years, upon hopes of reformation; [that is, of things by them supposed amiss in the church;] but now, after many ministers were deposed for their noncompliance with the orders of the church, the author set forth his book, bitter enough, and full of scoffs and taunts, bearing this title, *A pleasant Dialogue between a soldier of Berwick and an English chaplain: wherein are largely handled and laid open such reasons as are brought for maintenance of popish traditions in our English church. Also are collected, as in a short table* [no less than] *one hundred and twenty particular corruptions remaining in our said church; with sundry other matters to be known of all persons.* It is prefaced with a letter of the author's,

“To his reverend fathers and brethren in Christ, Mr. Coverdale, Mr. Turner, Mr. Whittingham, Mr. Sampson, Dr. Humfrey, Mr. Lever, Mr. Crowley, and others, that laboured to gather out the weeds of popery: exhorting them, to whom God had given greater gifts, and whom he had called in greater rooms, to be (as they were most bounden) zealous for God’s glory, with godly jealousy to present the church and spouse of Christ under their charge a pure virgin to Christ her husband. Nothing doubting of their zeal and diligence, who, being in authority, were first called to the battle, to strive for God’s grace, and the edification of his people, against the Romish relics and rags of popery.” The book begins in this sarcastical strain, where Miles the soldier speaks thus to Bernard the priest, “But Bernard, I pray thee tell me of thine honesty, what was the cause that thou hast been in so many changes of apparel this forenoon, now black, now white, now in silk and gold, and now at length in this swouping black gown, and this sarcenet flaunting tippet; wearing also more horns upon thy head [meaning the square cap] than ever thy father,” &c.

To which let me add the mention of another book against the habits, that came forth the next year, printed at Embden, entitled, *The mind and exposition of that excellent man Martin Bucer upon those words of St. Matthew, Woe to the world because of offences, Matthew 18. faithfully translated into English, by a faithful brother: and certain objections and answers to the same.* In the same book also follows the *Judgment of the reverend father Henry Bullinger, pastor of the church of Zurich, in certain matters in religion being in controversy in many countries, even whereas the gospel is taught.* The author in this book seems to make use of some passages in the writings of those great foreign divines of the reformation, to favour the refusers of the habits in England; perverting their sense and judgment in these controversies plainly and evidently by them expressed and declared elsewhere in their letters.

While these dissensions about the ceremonies of ecclesiastical habits were in this fermentation, the dissenting brethren sent letters to Beza, (as they did also to the learned men of Zurich,) laying open to him the present state of the church, with as much disadvantage as they could. According to which, Beza soon after wrote of it to Bullinger, as we shall see by and by. They also craved his advice in two things:

I. By what means the queen and bishops might be admonished of their duty?

II. What they might do in this juncture with a good conscience?

Beza seriously deliberating with himself, and knowing the queen had no great esteem for the church of Geneva, and that she and the bishops had an honourable respect for that of Zurich, resolved to write to Bullinger, the chief pastor there, and to give him an account of the state of the church of England, and to excite him earnestly to send Gualter into the said kingdom to the queen and the bishops, to intercede in the behalf of the refusers, and to persuade to some further reformation in the church. And this he thought would happen very seasonably, a parliament being at hand, wherein matters of the church would be transacted. So he wrote a private letter to the said Bullinger, wherein he told him,

“How the miserable brethren craved the counsel, comfort, and prayers of those churches, by whose charity they were once relieved, and hoped again to be so. He confessed that some of them were somewhat morose: but in such miseries, he said, it was hard to keep due bounds; and since their aim was good, his opinion was, that their importunity was to be excused. That by the accounts of the ecclesiastical affairs of England, as he further told father Bullinger, popery was not cast out of England, but rather transferred to the queen’s majesty; and that nothing else was drove at, than that what had been lately taken away, might be by little and little restored again. He thought, he said, that the business had been about caps, and such external matters; but that the controversy was much different, he afterwards understood, and that with exceeding trouble and sorrow of mind. That when the outward calling, the examination of doctrine and manners preceding, done not by any one person, but the whole company of the brethren, was as it were the basis and foundation of the ecclesiastical ministry, what was baser and more irregular, than that liberty the bishops took, to ordain at their own pleasure, not those that were called, but those that came of their own accord? And presently, without any place appointed them, they approved them fit either to *serve*, as they called it, or to teach. And at length they called whom they pleased, and set them over what churches they pleased, giving them a certain instrument for a price, and interposing an oath for two

things, viz. that they should acknowledge the queen's majesty for the supreme head of the church next under Christ, and that they would follow the laws of the kingdom, and especially the book of the reformation [meaning the liturgy] and all the rites, and to disallow of nothing therein.

“As for the ecclesiastical discipline, that it was not otherwise than was in the papacy; that in the place of a presbytery lawfully chosen, they had their deans, chancellors, archdeacons, officials, who, according to their wills, and as it useth to be in the civil courts, pronounced excommunication *jure canonico*, even for pleas of money and such like. Which sentence the bishop, or his official, sent to the minister to be read in the church; and this to hold valid, until they come and agree with the judge. And the same course was taken in absolving as in excommunicating. How little were they distant from the law of celibacy, who might not marry wives without the express letters of the queen, and the assent of the bishop, and two other justices of the peace? And being married, they were forbid to bring their wives into colleges, or within the bounds of the cathedral churches, as though they were unclean. That not only the revenues of the benefices were left to papists, but the ecclesiastical offices themselves, yielding only an oath to observe the reformation. Insomuch that the godly brethren were placed under many unlearned priests, and such as were most bitter enemies in their hearts to religion, and were forced to be subject to their jurisdiction. That in the archbishop's court were publicly set to sale dispensations for nonresidence, pluralities of benefices, choice of meats, marrying out of the appointed times, for a child to hold a benefice, and other things of that nature; than which Rome itself had not any thing more filthy and unworthy. That baptism by women was allowed of in case of necessity. That of those few that were pure preachers of the gospel, some were put out of their livings, some thrust into prisons, unless they would promise to approve of all these, and not to gainsay them in word or writing, and resembled the priests of Baal, by wearing square caps, tippets, surplices, and the like. Nor was this all, but that whatsoever hereafter the queen, or the archbishop alone, pleased to appoint, change, or take away in the rites of the church, should be holden

firm and good. This, he said, was the state of this church, which to him was miserable and intolerable.

“His judgment was, that though God alone could cure this evil, yet that some trial should be made, rather than it should be endured that such a building should by suffered insolence fall down. That as for their church of Geneva, he left him to judge how it was hated by the queen, in that she had never by the least word signified that his present to her of his annotations was acceptable. That the cause of her hatred was twofold. One was, that they were esteemed too severe and rind, which especially displeased, he said, such as were afraid of being rebuked. The other, that heretofore, while queen Mary lived, two books were published at Geneva, yet without their knowledge; one against *the government of women*, by Mr. Knox; the other of *the right of the magistracy*, by Mr. Gudman. But when they knew what was contained in both these books, the French church was displeased at them, and accordingly they were forbid to be exposed to sale. But the queen nevertheless cherished her conceived ill opinion. And that their church therefore was not fit to send either messenger or letter to the queen, for the regulation of these disorders. But he did, earnestly desire, that some might be sent from Zurich; for that theirs was the church alone, by whose authority both the queen and the bishops did seem to be moved. And therefore that by the authority of the magistrate, or at least by their permission and connivance, somebody might be chose out of their congregation, who should go into England for this very cause, and sue to the queen and bishops for a remedy against all these evils. That this would be a truly heroical fact, worthy of their city, and highly grateful to God. That they had a good way through France to Diep by a land journey, which they might despatch in eleven days; and from Diep into England, with a good wind, in ten hours: and that in their way they might salute and confirm many French churches, and take one or two of the learned of those churches with them. And finally, he pitched upon Rodulf Gualter, in all respects, as the fittest to manage and despatch this matter. So that he might seem to be one sent thither by God’s own voice, to refresh the poor brethren, and to preserve the kingdom. Or at least, if they declined this, to send their letter at large both to the queen and bishops, to admonish them to their duty. And he doubted not

but a message so godly and charitable would be well taken both by the queen and the godly bishops at least; who, he heard, with the lord keeper, sought for a fit occasion to move for a redress of these things.”

These are the contents of Beza’s letter, which, having so many historical remarks in it, I have put in the Appendix. This counsel Beza urged again the next year, as we shall hear in due place. But with what modesty, deference, and wisdom those Helvetian divines interposed in this church’s differences we have seen, and shall perhaps see more hereafter.

I shall end this habit-controversy at present with the mention of a book, that, as it seems, about this time was set forth, the better to satisfy the minds of the scruplers, out of a deference to the judgments of the learned, grave, and chief heads of the protestant churches abroad; collected and published by the archbishop of Canterbury, and others, as I suppose, of the ecclesiastical commission, on purpose to bring these contentions to an amicable and peaceable end. It was a thin octavo, consisting of several pieces, both letters and discourses, concerning the ceremonies of cap and surplice, &c. The first was a tract handling this question, *Whether it be mortal sin to transgress civil laws, which be the commandments of civil magistrates*: being the judgment of Philip Melancthon, in his epitome of moral philosophy. Then follows another discourse of the same author upon the 13th chapter of the epistle to the Romans, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*, &c. Next is Henry Bullinger’s letter to the reverend fathers in Christ, Dr. Robert Horn, bishop of Winchester, Dr. Edmund Grindal, bishop of London, and Dr. John Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, his most honourable lords, and most dear brethren in England. In which letter that learned man enclosed his letter to Mr. N. and Mr. M. [i.e. Sampson and Humfrey,] those godly and learned men, and his worshipful friends. Next is Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, his letter to Dr. Martin Bucer at Cambridge; beginning, “After my hearty commendations, right well-beloved Master Bucer, I have read the book which you have sent to Dr. Peter Alexander, concerning the controversy betwixt Master Hoper and the bishop of London,” &c. Then follows Bucer’s answer to the foresaid letter: then comes Hoper’s letter to Bucer: and Peter Martyr’s to the same reverend and learned father, John Hoper, bishop, written from Oxford, November 4, 1550. The next letter is from Bucer to A Lasco, concerning the same controversy of the habits; beginning, “The Lord grant unto us in these troublesome times of the church, to begin and finish all

things, *that* offences and dangers be not increased, *Amen.*” In the same volume follows a treatise, entitled, *A brief and lamentable consideration of the apparel now used by the clergy of England: set out by a faithful servant of God for the instruction of the weak.* This book came forth upon occasion of certain pamphlets, which the dissenters to the habits had published, as an answer thereto. This I verily think to have been writ by archbishop Parker himself, or by some other person by his order, and wherein he had an hand.

CHAPTER 45.

The controversy between Jewel, bishop of Sarum, and Harding of Lovain; and between Horn, bishop of Winton, and Feckenham, late abbot of Westminster. His confessions. A visitation of the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry. Dominicus Lampsonius, sometime servant to cardinal Pole, his letter to Cecil.

As controversies happened this year between the bishops and the protestant dissenters, so others happened also between some of them and certain papists, who were not wanting to bestir themselves. T. Harding, late of New College, Oxon, was one; who, under king Edward VI. had been a great hearer of Peter Martyr's lectures at Oxford, and a very zealous protestant; but under queen Mary came about, and was as hot the other way, being preferred under her to a prebend of Winchester, and the treasurership of Sarum.

This heat continued in the man under queen Elizabeth, flying beyond sea for the profession of his last chosen religion, and now remaining at Lovain. Here he wrote a book against bishop Jewel's challenge made to the papists, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, mentioned before; which book came out 1564, printed at Lovain. In May 1565, the bishop, preaching at Paul's Cross, took occasion to make some observations upon some authorities in Harding's book; wherein were alleged with much vaunt, spurious authors; and among the rest, Amphilochius. Which author, Jewel said in that audience, that he had bound up in an old parchment book with St. Thomas the popish martyr. He mentioned also, it seems, out of that book, with some sport, a tale of angels singing prick-song to St. Basil's mass. He spake there also,

“How he believed Harding did inwardly allow the gospel; that he was but a translator of other men's books; that he had made learned lies, used false allegations, depravations, wrestings, dreams, &c. That his proof of private mass stood upon old men, women, and boys.”

This came soon to Harding's ears, being now at Antwerp; and he presently, in a letter in English to the bishop, whom he styled barely Mr. John Jewel,

(which letter, for the more public boast, he also printed in Antwerp,) with a great deal of confidence required,

“To let him have his whole sermon, as he would stand to it; for that he had only some abstracts of it. And this, he said, he required of him, if his mind were indeed to have the truth known to the people, and not under his gay rhetoric to abuse them in *error*. And then Jewel should see, whether he [Harding] would shew substantial matter in learning for his authors, which Jewel, in his pleasant devices, made so light of.”

And at the conclusion of his vapouring letter, he gives the reason why he made the said letter common, viz. because the matter was common, and pertaining to the charge of souls: and therefore he wrote this letter in public, the more, he said, to force the bishop to grant his request. This was dated from Antwerp, 12th of June, 1565.

And then at the bottom of this letter to the bishop, he bestows another to the reader, that every reader might see his request to Mr. Jewel, touching the true copy of his sermon. And prayed the reader,

“That since the matter of their controversy was come to such issue, that Jewel had replied to Harding’s answer of his challenge, and that reply was then in print, that he would for a time suspend his verdict in the cause, and ground not too peremptory a judgment upon what Jewel said, till he [Harding] or some others should make a rejoinder: and that by such abstracts of his late sermon as had come to his hand, he saw already what manner of pelf must be the stuffing of his huge work then in the press.”

And by this ostentatious letter, he would make the world believe, that he could and would do mighty things; and woe be to poor bishop Jewel This letter to the bishop, with his address to the reader, as it was printed in a large sheet of paper on one side, is exemplified in the Appendix.

But if the reader please, let him take an account of Harding’s quarrel with Jewel, from Jewel’s own pen, as he writ it in a letter to Bullinger.

“Our fugitives of Lovain began the year past in great numbers to be moved, and to write most bitterly against us all, and me only by name. And why so? you will say. I know not, unless because they know me alone the most unapt for fight, and the weakest to resist.

Yet six years ago, when I preached at court before the queen, and spoke concerning the antiquity of the popish religion, I remember I said this among other things, *That our adversaries, when they charge our cause with novelty, do wrong us, and deceive the people. For they, instead of old things, approve of new, and condemn those things as new, which are most ancient: for the private masses, and half communions, and natural and real presences, and transubstantiations, &c. (in which matters all their religion is contained,) have no certain and express testimony either in the sacred scriptures, or ancient councils or fathers, or are of any antiquity at all.* This they took heinously, barked at in corners, called me an impudent, a confident, an insolent, and a frantic man. Four years after, out comes one Harding unlooked for, formerly an auditor and admirer of Peter Martyr, and an earnest preacher of the gospel, now a vile apostate, and well known to Julius our friend; and he refutes me out of Amphilochius's, Abdias's, Hippolytus's, Clement's, Victor's, spurious Athanasius's, Leontius's, Cletus's, Anacletus's, the decretal epistles, dreams, and fables. I answered him the last year the best I could. But I had scarce finished it, but presently flies abroad a *Confutation of my Apology*; a great and laborious work, and stuffed with reproaches, slanders, lies, and falsehoods. Here I am again pelted at; and I must answer."

And this at length produced his admirably useful, learned book, entitled, his Defence. His said letter to Bullinger remains still in the archives of the library of Zurich.

And as bishop Jewel had this work with Harding, so Horn, bishop of Winton, was fain to write a book in his own vindication against Feckenham, late abbot of Westminster. The occasion whereof was this: about the year 1564 Feckenham wrote his *Declaration*; copies whereof were secretly spread abroad among his friends, entitled, *A Declaration of such scruples and stays of conscience, touching the oath of supremacy, as Mr. John Feckenham by writing did deliver unto the lord bishop of Winchester, with his resolution made thereto.* This bishop Horn hearing of, was somewhat nettled, and in April 1565 got a copy. The book, in truth, was writ while Feckenham was in the Tower of London, in the time of the parliament, holden Jan. 12, anno 5, of the queen. The true reason of writing which book was, because he and his Tower-fellows, hearing the

bill, moved for the assurance of the queen's royal power, should pass and be established, did conceive, that immediately after the same session of parliament, commissioners should be sent unto them to exact the oath. Whereupon he, to be in some readiness to withstand and refuse it, not without the help of the rest, as was conjectured, devised his matter contained in the book, and committed the same to writing, and purposed to have delivered it for their answer, touching the oath of supremacy, to the commissioners, if they had come. This appeared by the title of the book, which Feckenham first delivered to Horn, viz. *The Answer made by Mr. John Feckenham, priest, and prisoner in the Tower, to the queen's highness's commissioners, touching the oath of the supremacy*. In this book there was no mention of *scruples and stays delivered to the bishop of Winchester*, but of *answer to the queen's commissioners*. The bishop was not once named in the title, nor yet in the book, nor was there one word as spoken to the bishop, although in the book set abroad Feckenham turned all as spoken to him.

From that time to October following, in the year 1564, he was delivered to bishop Horn's custody. At his first coming, the bishop told him, and many times after, that he was welcome, being sent of the council; and he found it so. And from that time to the end of January, there was daily conference between Feckenham and the bishop in matters of religion; but chiefly touching four points, which he termed *scruples and stays of conscience*; and that by word of mouth, not by any writing. In all which points he was so answered, that he had nothing to object, but seemed resolved, and in a manner fully satisfied. Whereupon the bishop made relation afterwards to certain honourable persons of the good hope he had conceived of his conformity. But when a friend of his standing by, and hearing what the bishop spake in his commendation, shortly after reported the same unto Feckenham, he much disliked it; doubting his confederates should understand his revolt: which they ever feared, having experience of his shrinking from them at Westminster, in the conference there, the first year of the queen's majesty. After that, the bishop found him much more repugnant and contrary to that which beforetime he seemed in a manner thoroughly resolved; and also to go from that he before agreed to.

Thenceforward in debating, Feckenham used many shifts, and quarrelled with sophistication of words: whereat the bishop desired him to write his positions and assertions in form of propositions. Which Feckenham would not do, but still stood uncertainly in granting and denying at his pleasure.

The bishop then drew out in form of assertion such things as he had gathered out of his own mouth to be his opinion, and gave them in writing to Feckenham; but he would in no wise stand to them, nor rest in any one, but still used his accustomed wrangling and wandering at large. Which so misliked the bishop, that he charged him with inconstancy; saying, that he would sometimes deny that which before he granted, and grant that which before he denied. After this, being much pressed herewith, and perceiving that his quarrelling with the words of the statute could no longer cover his ill meaning, at length he required, that the bishop should put in writing the words of the oath, with his sense and interpretation added thereto; that he thereupon might devise the form of his propositions, whereupon they might afterward debate.

After this, in February, certain persons of worship resorted to the bishop's house, partly to see him, and partly to hear somewhat between Feckenham and the bishop. At this time, after they had reasoned in certain points touching religion, wherein Feckenham seemed openly to have little matter to stand in, but rather yielded to the most in substance that the bishop had said; being afterwards withdrawn in some of their companies, although he did seem openly to consent and agree with the bishop in that which he said, yet, said he to them, *the matter itself is grounded here*, pointing to his breast, *that shall never go out*. Which being told the bishop, he did vehemently challenge him for his double-dealing and colourable behaviour, and said, that he thought he did not that he did, out of conscience at all, and therefore counted it but lost labour further to travail with such an one, as had neither conscience nor constancy.

But Feckenham, to shew that he did all out of conscience, shewed him both what he had suffered for the same in divers manners, and also how the same was grounded in him long before. For proof whereof, he offered to shew the bishop a book of his, that he had devised in the Tower, and did shortly after deliver to the bishop, not as his scruples and doubts to remove at the bishop's hands, but only to declare that the matter had been long before settled in him. And this was the only and mere occasion of the delivery of that book unto the bishop. All this above written, I have taken out of the bishop of Winchester's answer to Mr. Feckenham, printed this year.

But to go on further with this relation: Feckenham being now in the Tower, secretary Cecil hearing of the writings that had passed between the

said bishop and him, touching the oath of the queen's supremacy, intimated to the lieutenant of the Tower, that he should acquaint Feckenham, that he, the secretary, desired to have them sent unto him to peruse: which, in the month of March, Feckenham accordingly did, together with a letter to him.

“And therein he humbly beseeched his honour, that while he read them he would observe how slenderly the bishop had satisfied his expectation; who, in requesting of his lordship to be resolved by the authority of the scriptures, doctors, general councils, and by the example of like government in some one part and church of all Christendom, his lordship in no one part of his resolutions had alleged any testimony out of any of them; but only had used the authority of his own bare words, naked talk, and sentences; which in so great and weighty a matter of conscience, he said, he esteemed and weighed as nothing. And that if his lordship should at any time hereafter (and especially at his honour's request) be able to bring forth any better matter, he, the said Feckenham, should be at the sight thereof, at all times, in readiness to receive the said oath, and to perform his promise before made in the writings. But that if the bishop should be found (notwithstanding his honour's request) to have no better matter in store, he should, for his duty sake towards the queen's majesty, considering the degree and state her highness hath placed him in, abstain from that plain speech which he might justly use, (his lordship first beginning the complaint,) yet that notwithstanding, his honour must give him leave to think, that his lordship had not all the divine scriptures, doctors, general councils, and all other kind of learning, so much at his commandment, as, he said, he had oftentimes heard him boast, and speak of.

“And thus much to write of his own secret thought, either against him or yet any other, it was very much contrary to the inclination of his nature. For he, as he proceeded in his letter, being a poor man in trouble, was now, like as at all other times, very loath to touch him, or any man else. But that whenever it should please his honour by his wisdom to weigh the matter indifferently betwixt them, he should be sure to have this short end and conclusion thereof, that either upon his lordship's pithier and more learned resolutions, his honour should be well assured that he would receive the oath; or else for lack of learned resolution, his honour should have certain

and sure knowledge, that the stay so long time on his part in not receiving of the same oath, was of conscience, and not of will stubbornly set; but only of dread and fear to commit perjury, thereby to procure and purchase to himself God his wrath and indignation; finally to inherit perpetual death and torment of hell fire; and that remediless by a separation-making of himself from God, and the unity of the catholic church: being always after unsure, how, or by what means he might be united and knit thereunto again. That the upright and due consideration of this his lamentable estate was all that he did seek at his honour's hands, as knoweth our Lord God, &c. From the Tower the 14th of this present March.

Subscribed, by your poor orator,
John Feckenham, priest."

And so indeed Feckenham reported in his Declaration before mentioned, that he should join that issue with his lordship; that when he, the bishop, should be able, either by such order of government as our Saviour Christ left behind him in his gospel and New Testament; either by the writing of such learned doctors, both old and new, which had from age to age witnessed the order of ecclesiastical government in Christ's church; either by the general councils, wherein the right order of ecclesiastical government in Christ's church had been most faithfully declared, and shewed from time to time; or else by the common practice of the like ecclesiastical government, in some one church or part of all Christendom; that when he should be able by any of those four means to make proof that any emperor, empress, king, or queen, might claim or take upon them any such government in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes; then he should herein yield, &c. And in his letter above to the secretary, he tells him in effect that the bishop was not able to resolve him by any one of these proofs.

But on the other hand, let us hear the bishop in his answer to Feckenham, who there asserts, that he had often and many times proved the same that he required, and by the self-same means in such sort unto him, that he had nothing to say to the contrary. But notwithstanding, the bishop added, he would once again prove the same after his desire, as it were by putting him in remembrance of those things, which by occasion in conference he had often before reported unto him. And then he proceeded at large upon all

those four heads. The bishop withal reminded him, how he well knew, acknowledged, and confessed this supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical to be in king Henry VIII. and his heirs, when he surrendered his abbey of Evesham into his hands; and so taught and preached during that king's reign. And that the same knowledge remained in him at the time of king Edward.

While Feckenham was in the Tower, his charges were borne by certain men, and sent him weekly by his servant, that he might continue constant in his popish opinion and doctrine. For when he perceived the oath of supremacy was not like to be tendered to him and the rest, then he sent copies of his book, devised for his answer touching the oath, abroad to his friends, to declare his constancy and readiness to refuse the oath. Whereby they might be the rather induced to continue the good opinion conceived of him; and also pay his charges weekly in the Tower, sent unto him every Saturday by his servant; who wrote and delivered the copies abroad, as he told bishop Horn himself.

After he had been a winter with the bishop, and no compliance wrought on him, and was returned to the Tower again, he perceived his friends had some mistrust of his revolt, as he gave them just cause; and wavering in constancy, whereby his estimation and fame was decayed, he devised to set forth the self-same book again which he did before, and to the self-same ends; altering and changing nothing at all, saving that he gave it a new name and title, and seemed as though he spake to the bishop; when as in very deed there was never any such word spoken or written by him. And in the book delivered to the bishop, his speech was directed to the commissioners.

But to look upon him still in the bishop's family, before he was sent to the Tower again. Feckenham's obstinacy here grew at length to be so much, that through his disorderly behaviour the bishop was forced to restrain him of his licentious talk, and sequester him from conference with any, having so much before abused himself, and especially in the bishop's absence; meaning by that stoutness to recover his credit, which his inconstancy had so impaired among his friends. For at first he seemed so well persuaded by the bishop's arguing with him, that there was a rumour spread abroad by the bishop's servants, that he had subscribed to certain articles, ten in number: and another rumour, that he would recant, and that the time and

place were appointed, namely, the parish church of Waltham, where the bishop then abode.

There was one Mr. Denny sojourned with the bishop, when Feckenham did. Between them happened words, partly by merry talk, and partly stirred up by some unseemly language of Feckenham, in the bishop's absence: and he complained Mr. Denny had abused him. But one day Feckenham and Denny at table together were somewhat hot upon one another, the bishop being present, when Feckenham called Denny *epicure*, for that he fasted not. The bishop, fearing that Mr. Denny, like a young man, should give ill words again, willed him to say nothing, and that he would answer the matter for him. The bishop's answer was,

“That he marvelled why Feckenham should call him *epicure*. For,” said he, “if ye so thought, because he did eat flesh and never fish, he might as well fast with flesh as with fish: but if it were, that he used not abstinence, in that Mr. Denny did more than you. For where you have every day in the week your three meals, Friday and others, the gentleman was contented three days in the week with one meal, and never did eat above two.”

Thus as they eat together, so with this gentleman he used to play at bowls, and walk in the park, and be merry together. And yet in Feckenham's declaration, he said that Mr. Denny was unknown to him.

After the bishop had calmed the storm that seemed to have been ready to arise between them two, he entered into talk with Feckenham in matters of religion, as he was wont to do daily before. The discourse was of venial and mortal sins. A cross that came from the Jesuits gave the occasion of this communication. The bishop proved, that no sin was so venial, as it could be remitted by any ceremony. And that there was no sin but of itself was mortal, yet venial, so as to be purged by the merits of Christ only: and that all sins, were they never so much mortal, were venial nevertheless, except the sin against the Holy Ghost, that was irremissible. For this his saying, and other points which he condemned, Feckenham fell into such a rage, that he not only railed against Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, saying, that he was utterly unlearned, and that he should never be able to answer Mr. Harding's book; but also called the bishop, almost in plain terms, *heretic*; and said, his doctrine which he preached, (though he would never hear it,) was erroneous, filthy, and blasphemous. Whereupon the bishop, to stay him, said, these were unmannerly words to be spoken at his own table; and

therefore would as then say no more openly unto him there, but told him, that after dinner he would shew him more of his mind between them two.

And so after dinner he came up to him, and there called him into his gallery adjoining to his chamber. He put him in remembrance of that which he had before oftentimes admonished him of, viz. his outrageous talk in his absence used at his table, whereof he had sundry times given him warning; for that the same might breed peril to himself, blame to the bishop, and offence to others. And because he found still the continuance of that his disorder, therefore he willed him thenceforth to abstain from conferring with any man at all; adding, that he should have to his chamber all things necessary, and what meat he should competently appoint for his own diet. Which he had accordingly. But though he did restrain him from coming to his table, or to go much at large, as he had done, yet had he no other keeper than he had before, which was his own man. He had a gallery adjoining to his chamber, opening to the park; his servant a chamber by himself near to his. He had leads fair and large, on which he might walk, and have prospect over the parks, gardens, and orchards. And thrice in the week at least, while the bishop lay at Waltham, with one, by the bishop appointed, he walked abroad in those parks and gardens. This bishop Horn wrote in his answer to Feckenham's Declaration, wherein he had called this restraint *close imprisonment*.

All this that hath been said of this man may make us inquisitive to know what he formerly was: which we may take from the said bishop in his said book. He was, in Henry VIII's time, abbot or monk of Evesham monastery; which, by common consent of him and the other monks under their convent seal, without compulsion, was surrendered into the king's hands; and Feckenham, by that king's authority, reformed, forsook his vow, and many errors and superstitions of monkery, and became a secular priest and chaplain to Dr. Bell, bishop of Worcester, if I mistake not, and after to bishop Bonner. And so during the life of king Henry did agnize, profess, and teach, openly in his sermons, the king's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical. And so he did in the time of king Edward. He laid, indeed, in the Tower in his time; but it was not for any doubt he made of the supremacy, (for that he still agnized,) but for other points of religion touching the ministration of the sacraments. Whereunto he also agreed at last, and promised to profess and preach the same in open auditory, wheresoever he should be appointed. Whereupon a right worshipful gentleman procured his deliverance forth of the Tower: and so he was set

at liberty. Under queen Mary he was successively dean of St. Paul's, and abbot of the new-founded abbey of Westminster.

The last news I hear of him (to take up his story here at once) was, that he was a prisoner at Wisbich about the year 1580: when he was examined before the bishop of Ely, the dean, and several of that bishop's chaplains. And then shewed himself in a better temper than he appeared while he was with the bishop of Winton. For now he did confess:

I. That he believed that the fourteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians was to be understood of the common service to be had in the mother-tongue, as well as of preaching or prophesying.

II. That he found no fault with the book of common service used in this church. But he would have all the rest of the old service that had been taken out, to be restored; as prayers to saints, and for the dead, and the seven sacraments, &c. And then he would most willingly come thereto; and that he liked the sacrament ministered in both kinds, if it were done by authority of the church.

III. That he very well allowed the interpretation of the oath for the queen's supremacy, as it was interpreted in the queen's Injunctions: and offered himself ready to take it And,

IV. Being asked, why he would not come to the service in the church of England, when he thought in his conscience it was lawful to have it? he answered, because he was not of our church, for lack of unity. The original paper containing these acknowledgments and concessions of Feckenham, signed by his hand, and that of the bishop and dean, I have by me; and have set the true copy in the Appendix, for the more satisfaction.

Complaint had been made at court against the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, for not observing the church's good orders; for the dislike of the habits, and some other rites, seem to have spread abroad so far in the nation: whereat Bentham, the bishop, was reproved from above. And hereupon he appointed, in the beginning of this year, a visitation to be held by one Mr. Sale, [or Saul,] some dignitary of that church, commissioned his visitor. And for the better proceeding in this visitation, the bishop wrote, by his own hand, these brief instructions for him to observe.

“Imprimis, Whereas I and my diocese are accused of disorders, used of my clergy, these are to will you to charge them all to behave themselves in their ministry soberly and reverently, in all points of clerklly office, as well within the church as without; upon pains which may ensue for the transgressing the queen’s Injunctions.

“Item, To charge all and every the clergy to make presentments of those that had not communicated that Easter; and such as refused their own churches, parsons, vicars, or curates; and went to other parishes. And in what parishes they were received.

“To charge them to make presentments of all children being full seven years of age, and not confirmed.

“And to give charge in their parishes, that in Rogation-week, none go about, but such as the queen’s Injunctions do allow; that is, substantial men of the parish, with the curate.

“To learn, whether the register book be had and observed for marriages, christenings, and burials.

“All these, and such others as you shall see most meet, for faithful and fruitful service of the ministers, as in appointing taxes and such like order, I will you do not omit.

The 28th of April, 1565.
T. C. L.”

One Dominicus Lampsonius, a learned man of Bruges in Flanders, and secretary to the bishop and prince of Liege, formerly scribe and servant to cardinal Pole in England, writes a letter this year to secretary Cecil; enclosing therein a design of his for the composition of the present differences, in religion. And to introduce this, he reminded the secretary, how dear he had been formerly both to him and his lady, as well as to many other learned and good men here in England, on the account of his learning; and how he, the said secretary, had, upon the said cardinal’s death, endeavoured to persuade him to stay in England, with promise of preferment; and the like had many others done. And therefore, that he had not departed out of so pleasant a country, and from so many good friends, had his conscience permitted him to approve of that religion in all things that was then set up; and which the secretary, he said, in a very accurate discourse, had moved him to embrace, as he himself had done. Herewith he

had sent him the heads of a tract which he was drawing up; whereby he might fully understand what the reasons were that deterred his conscience from embracing that religion which Cecil approved. And when it was finished, (which he hoped would be within two years,) he would with his own hand transcribe the whole for him, to present, if he pleased, to the queen. And for the present, he prayed him to give him his judgment of this short scheme of his designed work; which he should esteem a great favour. The scheme followeth:

Scopus et finis instituti operis, &c. i.e. That the scope and end of his undertaking was to compose this grievous discord and schism in the church. And to obtain this scope and end, his judgment was, that this was the only necessary and true way, if he could shew that the church could not err in things necessary to salvation, and to declare where that church is; and that the same church might sometimes err in matters which are not of faith, and not necessary to salvation. And because the authority of the church depended, in his judgment, upon the authority of the scriptures, this seemed before all to be briefly established. And then, after all, his drift was to establish the authority of the church. And in fine, that the Roman church, and that church which acknowledged the Roman bishop for the supreme president of the church, that was the church to whose judgment we must submit in matters of faith.

CHAPTER 46.

Prayers and thanksgivings for Malta, besieged by the Turks. Books from Louvain and Antwerp. Inquisition at Antwerp. Orders for apparel; and for fencing. Correspondence between Bullinger and bishop Jewel. Caryl of the duchy dies. A pretended prophet. Massing in Yorkshire. The crucifix still in the queen's chapel. Martial's Treatise of the Cross answered. Dean of Westminster's care for the Savoy.

LET us now take up some other matters happening within the compass of this year.

Malta, after a long and dangerous siege laid against it by the Turk, was now delivered. Our church, while the infidels lay against this island, put up prayers to God in the behalf of it. And there was a form appointed to be used in common prayer every Wednesday and Friday within the city and diocese of London, for the deliverance of those Christians that were then and there invaded by the Turk. The preface to that form set forth,

“That the isle of Malta, or Melite, where St. Paul arrived when he was sent to Rome, lay near unto Sicily and Italy, and was, as it were, the key of that part of Christendom. And that it was invaded with a great army and navy of Turks, infidels, and sworn enemies of the Christian religion. And that it was not only to the danger of those Christians that were besieged, and daily assaulted in the holds and forts of the same island, but also of all the rest of the countries of Christendom adjoining. Therefore it was our part, which for distance of place cannot succour them with temporal relief, to assist them with spiritual aid; that is to say, with earnest, hearty, and fervent prayer to God; desiring him, after the examples of Moses, Jehosaphat, Hezekiah, and other godly men, in his great mercy to defend and deliver Christians,” &c.

And when the Turk, not being able to take Malta, had broke up and gone, a form of thanksgiving was also appointed, for the delivery of the isle from this invasion and long siege by the great army of the Turks both by sea and land, and for sundry other victories lately obtained by the Christians against the Turks; to be used in the common prayer within the province of

Canterbury, on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, for the space of six weeks; set forth by the most reverend father in God Matthew, by God's providence, archbishop of Canterbury. It consisted of an hymn, compiled of divers verses taken out of several psalms, and a collect, made probably by the archbishop, and was as followeth:

“Oh heavenly and most merciful Father, the defender of *those* that put their trust in thee, the sure fortress of all them that fly to thee for succour: who of thy most just judgments for our disobedience against thy holy word, and for our sinful and wicked living, nothing answering to our holy profession, (which hath been an occasion that thy holy name hath been blasphemed among the heathen,) hast of late most sharply corrected and scourged our Christian brethren thy servants with terrible wars, and dreadful invasions of most deadly and cruel enemies, Turks and infidels: but now, of thy fatherly pity and merciful goodness, without any desert of ours, even for thine own name's sake, hast, by thy assistance, given to divers Christian princes and potentates, at length, when all our hope was almost past, dispersed and put to confusion those infidels, being thine and our mortal enemies, and graciously delivered thy afflicted and distressed Christians in the isle of Malta, and sundry other places in Christendom, to the glory and praise of thy name, and to the exceeding comfort of all sorrowful Christian hearts. We render unto thee most humble and hearty thanks for these thy great mercies shewed to them that were thus afflicted and in danger: we laud and praise thee; most humbly beseeching thee to grant unto all those that profess thy holy name, that we may shew ourselves, in our living, thankful to thee for these and all other thy benefits. Endue us, O Lord, and all other Christian people, with thy heavenly grace, that we may truly know thee, and obediently walk in thy holy commandments, lest we again provoke thy just wrath against us. Continue thy great mercies towards us; and as in this, so in all other invasions of Turks and infidels, save and defend thy holy church, that all posterities ensuing may continually confess thy holy name, praising and magnifying thee, with thine own son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost: to whom be all laud, praise, glory, and empire, for ever and ever, *Amen.*”

Now were many of the English popish recusants become fugitives abroad in Flanders, and particularly in Antwerp and Louvain, and in other places in

the king of Spain's dominions. Here they employed themselves in writing very dangerous and seditious books against the queen and her government: which, when they had printed, they caused to be conveyed over hither, and privily dispersed abroad; which had perverted many of the ignorant people, and made them run into disorders. It was therefore thought time to look after this. And these writings being for the most part brought into the port of London, the queen writ her letters, dated in January, to the bishop of London, being chief pastor there, and also an ecclesiastical commissioner, to take special care hereof; and that all books that came into the custom-house should, by persons appointed by the bishop, be diligently opened and searched: and that she had sent to the lord treasurer, to suffer them to sit with the queen's customers and other officers for that purpose. And as any such should be found guilty in this regard, she enjoined the bishop to punish according to the laws of the realm. The queen's letter I have put into the Appendix.

Antwerp, before named, where formerly many professors of the gospel fled for shelter under king Henry VIII. and queen Mary, from the heat of persecution, and where some of the first editions of the English Bible was printed; this place was now gained by the Spaniards, and became a harbour for the English fugitive papists: here Harding was, and hence dated his braving printed letter to bishop Jewel; and here dwelt that imbittered, butcherly Dr. Story, that imbrued his hands as deep in blood under queen Mary as any, and still continued to do so under king Philip, whose officer he was. In this town, this year, (and one may guess, by their instigation in a great measure,) was the cruel inquisition set up: it being the king's determinate will and pleasure to be observed in the duchy of Brabant without exception, or further difficulty to be made by any of the lords, prelates, nobles, or estates whatsoever, as his letter ran.

But notwithstanding this lofty command, the commonalty and burgesses, being a free people, set up a notable supplication in January against this inquisition, directed to the burghmasters and council of the town. Therein they set forth the promises the emperor Charles V. and the present king had made; the former in Augsburg, and the latter in the town of Antwerp, in the year 1549, and more lately in Spain, made to the said town; that he would never charge the Low Countries, and namely Antwerp, with the inquisition, under any pretext or colour whatsoever. *Yet*, notwithstanding that, he had sent letters to the duchess of Parma, upon pretext of the council of Trent, to cause the inquisition to be observed, and that within

eight days she would publish the same. They shewed what piteous desolations the same might bring to the Low Countries, that it was the proper and only foundation of the overthrow of those countries, and especially of Antwerp. And considering all this, they protested openly before God and the said magistrates, and before all the world, that the publishing this inquisition was made against all reason and equity, and against the privileges of the countries of Brabant, and the promises expressly made to that town. And that if there should be any resistances made against the said publication of the inquisition, they affirmed that the resistances might not be holden for any commotion, or disobedience, or sedition. But the rest I leave to be read, by such as please, in the Appendix; being the very translated copy once belonging to secretary Cecil, to which his own hand is indorsed. Yet I cannot but add, that in this writing they enjoin the magistrate to cause this determinate will and pleasure of their sovereign lord the king, as they style him, to be notified to the justice of the chamber of the holy Roman empire, and to adjourn his majesty before the same justice, by virtue of the *golden bull* granted to the country of Brabant in the year 1349, and successively by the emperors. But to draw nearer home.

As the queen, the last year and this, took care for the habits of the clergy, so she did now for that of her other lay-subjects: who in respect of their clothes and garments which they wore, began now to run into that excess of costliness beyond their quality, that there was no difference scarce to be seen between a nobleman and a gentleman, and a gentleman and an inferior person. And the queen was exact for keeping up order among her people. And this extremity in apparel, as it tended to the confusion of the degrees of all estates, wherein always diversity of apparel took place, so it did to the subversion of all good order, and was contrary to divers laws and statutes of the realm. Whereupon the queen issued out a notable proclamation, Feb. 13: wherein, for some reformation herein, certain clauses were taken out of the statute made the 24th Henry VIII. directing what apparel should be worn according to each man's quality and condition; and other clauses taken out of another statute of that nature, made in the first and second of Philip and Mary. To which the queen added, in her present proclamation, certain orders to be observed in certain kinds of apparel, and other things thereunto belonging: also orders concerning fencing-schools, and for the length of swords and daggers. To this proclamation were subscribed the hands of many of the chief lords and

others of the queen's privy council, promising thereby, for good example sake, to see to the observing the same in their households. I have the original of this proclamation in vellum, with the said subscriptions, which shall be found in the Appendix.

A good correspondence was maintained between the churchmen of Zurich and our bishops; many of whom had been there cherished and preserved from danger under the hard times of queen Mary, and bishop Jewel among the rest. A token whereof happened this year, when Bullinger sent his learned comment upon Daniel to Jewel, and Lavater, at the same time to the same person, his upon Joshua. And at the next return, Jewel sent twenty crowns to them in token of gratitude and good-will, to be laid out upon a common supper, or to be otherwise disposed as they thought fit: and twenty crowns more he sent, being an annual pension to Julius, who was his dear friend Peter Martyr's constant servant and assistant.

On the tenth of March deceased Mr. Caryl, attorney of the duchy; a man famous for his abilities in the law, but a papist: of whom thus did John Hales write to the secretary,

“A man whose life, for his learning, if his religion had been agreeing, were to be redeemed with thousands.”

Indeed, about this time, the lawyers in most eminent places were generally favourers of popery. Hales, before mentioned, stepped in, while Caryl lay upon his death-bed, labouring with the secretary to prefer in his room George Bromley, of the Temple, a good lawyer, and as good a protestant: of whom he gave this character;

“That for his religion and knowledge of the law of God, he ought to be preferred above many. That he was no greedy man, that for lucre sake busied himself in every matter; but where in an honest cause he might do good, there did he not refuse freely to travel and take pains. Wherefore, said he, of right and conscience such men were to be remembered, and by all means to be furthered: and he knew the secretary loved such men, and was desirous to further them. Adding, that he should hereby win the hearts of a great many protestants, who, now discouraged, would *take* some hope, if they might hear a protestant lawyer bore some authority in Westminster-hall.”

About this year died one Ellys, (calling himself Elias,) who, in the year 1562, came up from Manchester to London as a prophet; but all the reception he had was, that he was committed to Bridewell, where he ended his life. His daughter married one London, a papist, who proved as very a courtesan as ever was Lais. This I take out of the recorder of London's letter to sir William Cecil, who used to give weekly the intelligence of the city to the said personage.

In June 1562 this Ellys went to the queen at Greenwich, as though he had some message from God to her. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, did then preach, and declared concerning him and his living: whereof perhaps he had particular intelligence, Lancashire, from whence the impostor came, being near his diocese. Three days after, this pretended prophet came to the bishop of London's palace, as though he had likewise some warning and instruction from heaven to deliver to him. But notwithstanding, June the 26th, he was set on the pillory in Cheapside, with a gown of gray skins; perhaps in mockery to him, calling himself Elias, and going in camel's hair, in imitation of that prophet.

In September and October this year was daily massing in certain places in Yorkshire, in order to some dangerous disturbance in those parts, wherein one sir Charles Danby, knight, among others, was concerned. He had one Thomas Lewsham, his servant, on whom he had settled 20s. annuity during his life, for services no doubt to be done by him upon occasion. But he, pretending his conscience, utterly misliking the same ungodly practices, had left his said master, and retired to Grimsby in Lincolnshire: where he had told to his secret friends, not only concerning saying the mass in several houses in the said county of York, which he could go to, but that there were conspiracies entered into against the person of the archbishop of York, lord president of the council in the north, and a rebellion near at hand, unless speedily prevented. This coming to the ears of Mounson, a gentleman of Lincoln, by a letter of the 6th of October, he informed the said archbishop of it, advising him, that if the said Lewsham were soon taken up, upon his examination he might disclose further matters than yet he had uttered, being no blab of his tongue, nor light of talk. Accordingly, the archbishop sent his letters to sir Richard Thimbleby, knt. and Tristram Tyrwhit, esq. justices of the peace near adjoining to the place where he was, to apprehend him, to be sent to York; and to the earl of Shrewsbury he also writ, desiring him to send sir Thomas Gargrave to York with speed,

being one of that council, to the intent that they might prevent such matters, if there were, or if there were any such intended.

About this time, the queen sent her letters to the earl of Shrewsbury, for the levying of men in those north parts where he was lord lieutenant, to defend her kingdom from the Scots, between whose queen and queen Elizabeth there was now no good understanding: yet she meant to keep peace with Scotland, and not to make war, unless she were provoked by invasion; and to that all her counsellors inclined. And secretary Cecil, one as wise as any, in a letter to the said earl, accompanying the queen's, wrote, that for his part, he thought it no certainty to enter into war without just cause. But this went no further; only the queen's practice was to be in a posture of defence.

December the 1st, the duke of Norfolk, the favourite now both of the court and people, departed from London towards his country, to keep hospitality there, it seems, now Christmas was drawing on: being accompanied out of the city by the earls of Leicester and Warwick, the lord chamberlain, and other noblemen and gentlemen of the court; who brought him onward of his journey, doing him all the honour they could.

There was spread now a report, and that even in the court, that the queen would marry out of hand; and the honourable person she would match herself with was Charles, brother to the emperor Maximilian. And this was the more probable, upon the displeasure she had taken with the Scotch queen's marrying with the lord Darnley, that she might weaken her hopes of enjoying the kingdom of England. But this came to nothing.

One Mr. Man, of Oxford, was now to go from the queen into Spain, to king Philip; and in that respect she promoted him to the deanery of Gloucester.

The markgrave of Baden in November departed from hence to Germany, but left behind him in the court the lady Cicilie his wife: with whose company and conversation the queen was so much delighted, as she did not only allow her very honourably three messes of meat twice a day for her maids and the rest of her family, but also gave a yearly pension of 2000 crowns to the markgrave himself, so long as he should suffer the lady his wife to reside here in England, being big with child.

The queen about this time dissolved the ancient office of henchmen; whereat some did much marvel.

After a purpose of removing to Greenwich, and that changed into another purpose to remove to Windsor, to keep her Christmas there, the queen resolved, lastly, to tarry at Westminster, and there to keep it.

The queen still to this year kept the crucifix in her chapel, as appears by a letter written to secretary Cecil by a zealous gentleman, earnestly persuading him to use his interest with her majesty to have it removed, as tending too much to idolatry. The writer was Richard Tracy, son (I suppose) of William Tracy, of Todington in Gloucester-shire, esq. remarkable for the popish severity used towards his dead corpse: which was digged up out of its grave, anno 1532, and burnt to ashes, by order of Tho. Parker, chancellor of Worcester; when, being already dead and buried, he was judicially tried and proceeded against in the convocation, and declared an heretic, because of some passages in his last will and testament, wherein he shewed little regard of having his soul prayed for after his decease; and therefore left nothing to any priest to do that office for him. But the said Parker, out of his popish zeal, going beyond his order in burning the body, when the sentence went no further than the digging it out of the grave, and removing it from Christian burial, the relations took their opportunity afterwards, when things looked more favourably upon religion, and got him fined in a great sum.

I will set down this letter of the pious son of this pious gentleman, as I found it in 'the Paper-house, dated April the 17th.

“Pleaseth your honour to be advertised, that forasmuch as God’s word, the holy scriptures, threateneth to root out all images, and saith that he abhorreth them, and commandeth his people to destroy all pictures, and to break asunder all the images of the people of Canaan, and exhorteth us to beware of the marring of ourselves, and of the destruction of our souls; and curseth the images, and the man that maketh them, threatening them to be confounded and to perish; and, in conclusion, pronounceth all them accursed that willingly transgress his commandments: all which terrible threatenings and horrible curses be easily escaped and avoided, if the queen’s majesty will destroy her images. Considering that God, of the other part, commandeth not any magistrate to have graven or molten image; ne commandeth any graven image or molten image to be set up upon any altar, which is the highest place of honour in our religion; ne to light any tapers to them; namely, because God

calleth them but deceit, which can do no good, and be vain, and profitable for nothing: I am therefore so bold to put your honor in remembrance, that these holy scriptures threaten the images, and the image-makers, over and besides them that either honour, worship, or serve them: whereby all men may know certainly, that God favoureth not any image, or the use of them in us, whose hearts be prone to evil, and very evil alway. For the avoiding whereof, your honour shall do God good service, and preserve the queen's highness from great peril of God's wrath and displeasure through the use of them. In haste, by your daily orator,

Rich. Tracy."

But I find the queen's chapel stood *in statu quo* seven years after. For thus rudely and seditiously did the Admonition to the parliament charge her chapel, viz. as *the pattern and precedent to the people of all superstition*. To which bold expression Dr. Whitgift gave to the admonitors this short answer, that that slanderous speech was rather to be severely punished, than with words to be confuted.

John Martial, bachelor of law, sometime usher of Winchester school, and now a student in divinity at Louvain, had published a Treatise of the Cross; and had the confidence to dedicate his book to queen Elizabeth, emboldened upon her aforesaid retaining the image of the cross in her chapel, terming it, her good *affection* to it. But this year, 1565, a learned answer came forth against that treatise, by scripture, fathers, and councils; written by James Calphil, B. D. of Christ's-church, Oxon, as I conjecture, though his name be not to it. Here, in his epistle prefatory to the said Martial, he thus excuseth the queen;

"That as for her private doings, neither were they to be drawn as a precedent for all, nor ought any to creep into the prince's bosom on every fact to judge on *affection*. And that this the world could well witness with him, that both her grace and wisdom had not such affiance in the cross as he did fondly teach, nor held it expedient her subjects should have that which she herself (she thought) might keep without offence. For that the multitude was easily, through ignorance, abused; but her majesty was too well instructed for her own person, to fall into popish error and idolatry."

Martial had said, in severe reflection upon the present government, that crosses had been despitely every where thrown down in highways: whereas the answerer said, that they were still seen to stand in many places, nor were people offended at all therewith; but that good order had been taken by public authority, not *private* suggestions, (as he had implied,) that roods and images should be removed, according to God's law, out of churches, chapels, and oratories. Martial further said, (and that by pretended authority of the fathers,) "That ever since Christ's death, "Christian men have had the sign of the cross in churches, chapels, oratories, private houses, highways, and other places meet for the same." The answerer, on the other hand, declared, that it should be made evident, that by the fathers' own writing, such as none should gainsay, that four hundred years after Christ, there was not, in the place of God's service, any such sign erected. And he backed his assertion by Erasmus; who writes, *Usque ad aetatem Hieronymi, &c.* i.e. Unto Hierom's time there were men of good religion, that suffered no image in the temples, either painted, or graven, or woven; no, not of Christ himself, because of the *anthropomorphite* heretics, as he supposed.

I have one note to insert before I take my leave of this year, concerning one of the chief divines in these times, viz. Dr. Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster, shewing his conscientious care in a matter of religious charity, wherein by his place he was concerned. An exchange was now in hand, of some lands belonging to the hospital of the Savoy, London, with other lands belonging to Mr. Fanshaw, remembrancer of the treasury: the dean, who was visitor there, fearing some good bargain for that gentleman, but some ill one for the hospital, (as in those exchanges, common in those times, it usually happened,) wrote an earnest letter to the secretary, that no wrong might be done to so charitable a foundation; which ran to this tenor:

"*That* albeit, as some supposed, he was not visitor of the Savoy, yet in conscience he thought himself as much bound to that poor hospital as if he were, considering the good meaning of that most noble founder. Wherefore he desired him, for God's sake, that in the bargain of exchange of lands that was towards, between the master of the Savoy and his brethren, and Mr. Fanshaw, nothing might pass to the prejudice of the poor hospital. That he had sent his letters of certificate touching the value of the lands by information, according to a message done to him from him [the secretary] by the master of the Savoy, and had included the

particular of lands in his said letter, to be considered of by him according to his wisdom. And so prayed God to continue and increase his grace and blessing in him and his, to serve him always.

“From Westminster, the 23d of February 1565.”

CHAPTER 47.

Various occurrences, and matters of state, in the court of England this summer: set down by way of journal. Scotch matters. Transactions about the queen's marriage. Irish matters. A convocation prorogued.

DIVERSE consultations were held in May, by the council of England, against the queen of Scots' marriage, before the queen of England's marriage; and of the dangers a respect hereof would have, where there is first issue; and so security by succession.

The earl of Murray had departed lately from the Scotch court, upon conceit of that queen's love to the lord Darnley, having denied to sign his consent unto the marriage; whereupon she detested him and the earl of Lenox, the said lord Darnley's father, as aspiring to the crown. And Murray being in England, upon the borders, dreaded to go home; saying, that he was in fear to be murdered: and that he was always the head of queen Elizabeth's faction there, and opposed the marriage of Darnley. Wherefore he is relieved by the said queen.

In May or June the two queens had an interview. They either satisfied themselves with their interview, or rather filled the desires of their trains. There were sundry expectations of the fruit thereof; and, as was most commonly used in princes' causes, no small things projected. Queen Elizabeth was now it seems in her progress in the north.

In June, the lord Lydington came hither, to obtain the queen's majesty's consent for the Scotch queen's marrying with the lord Darnley, having been so long trained in vain expectations by her: but he found great offence. And sir Nicolas Throgmorton was sent to declare the discontentment of her majesty, and to use means to break the match. He returned well rewarded, but could not dissolve it, although he said it was misliked of all the subjects of the realm. And she herself confessed, that if it were then to be done, she would be otherwise advised. But that she was determined, and prayed her majesty to comport with her, until she would send one of hers hither, (which should be Mr. Hayes,) to declare to the queen some reasons on her behalf.

Upon this, the lady countess of Lenox, here in England, as she was in some custody already, was to be committed to some further custody; and the lords, her husband the earl, and her son the lord Darnley, were to forfeit whatsoever they had here. And because it was likely their foundation in England was upon papists, the protestants here were to receive more comfort, and the papists more disgrace.

In this same month of June, the emperor's ambassador was not idle in his matter; but pressed for the archduke (Charles, brother to the emperor) discreetly and diligently. One great obstacle was, that the queen's majesty would needs see his person before she would marry. And how that device could be performed, if she assented either to the French king, who also was a suitor, or to the archduke, would prove hard.

She remembered the ambassador of her promise, to remain free until she had well answered the French king. So her majesty considered it meet for her honour to do. Which caused the emperor's ambassador to be without resolution: yet he found so general a liking among the great lords here, that he was in great hopes to speed. What shall follow, said the secretary, God knoweth.

The earl of Leicester furthered the queen with all good reason to take one of these great princes. Wherein surely perceiving his own cause not sperable, [of marrying the queen himself,] he did honourably and wisely; as the secretary wrote to his correspondent: adding, that he saw no nobleman devoted to France.

This month sir Henry Sidney was appointed deputy of Ireland. Shah O Neyle overthrew James Mac O Neyle, and took him and his brother prisoners. Wherein, a number of English soldiers being with him, Shah O Neyle did only gain the victory. Concerning which it was judged by the English court, that if the queen might have the possession of these prisoners, it should be profitable, otherwise Shan's victory would be dangerous for Ireland.

This month also the English commissioners at Bruges were like to agree upon all things, saving the matter of poundage, and the new subsidy for cloths. For the poundage, the duchess of Parma would send hither persons, to see our records here in the chequer. To the subsidy, the English court could not yield. And if it should, it would be with some moderation only

for strangers: whose custom was 13s. and 6d. upon a cloth; which before was but 3s. 2d.

Complaint in Flanders of an infinite number of pirates. And the treaty provided cautions; yet the demands were so great, as we must needs remedy. The complaints of justice to be done upon the persons.

Great means made for sir Nicolas Throgmorton to be of the privy council.

June 12, great talk in court of the rash intentions of the queen of Scots' marriage. The English had no cause to like it, principally for two respects; viz. for hurt of religion; and for fortifying the queen of Scots' title to this crown. But the secretary in a letter upon this added, that he trusted the queen's majesty would proceed here in such sort, as both these mischiefs would be daunted.

The earl of Murray is succoured by the earl of Bedford, as it were without the queen's privy, to avoid suspicion and blame of the Scotch queen. And the factious lords of Scotland desire no succour of men, but money this year from the queen of England.

July 19, the Scotch queen is fain to assemble at Edinburgh forces, to secure herself in the solemnization of her marriage the 20th of July, against Murray, who had gathered head at Sterling: whom in her letter [to queen Elizabeth] she calleth, her ancient enemy.

July 20, Randolph, by order from the queen, declared, that it was her majesty's pleasure, to have the lord Darnley return into England. Whereunto he answered, that he did acknowledge no other obedience but to the queen there. And said further,

“That since the queen your mistress is so envious of my fortune, as to oppose it by all her instruments here, I nothing doubt, but time may come, she may have need of me. And therefore return this answer to her, that I mind not to return: for I find myself very well here.”

Upon this marriage, was this memorial sent (as it seems from the lord Murray) to the earl of Leicester, and Mr. Secretary, to communicate the matters contained in the same to the queen's majesty.

“**Imprimis**, That her majesty, and all you of her council, do make it appear evidently to all folks, that the proceedings of the queen of

Scotland with the lord Darnley are so grievously taken and misliked, that her majesty must needs chasten the arrogance of her subjects, and revenge the indignities offered by that queen. And for the better insinuation hereof, to use all the good means you can devise, as well by publishing the sending down of my lord of Bedford to his charge, with some supply of new forces; as also, admonishment to be given by you to the wardens of all the marches, to stand upon their guards, and to be in readiness to serve in good order, when they shall be commanded: with further charge, to shew no more favour to this nation, than the forbearing the breach of peace will suffer.

“Item, To stay the earl of Northumberland above at London; and to send down sir Richard Cholmely to York, to the council there, to receive ordinary process, for his disorders there depending. Which, as I hear say, will procure him ordinary imprisonment there: and also, to command the lord president and council at York, to have a good eye to the doings of the earl of Northumberland, and the lady Lenox’s faction. And further, by no means to suffer the papists in the realm, neither in court nor out of court, to have any cause to think themselves in any credit.

“Item, To have some greater restraint put upon the lady Lenox, and some harder sequestration than she now hath: so as she may have conference with none, but such as are appointed unto her. And specially, that there be no means left unto her to have intelligence with the French ambassador: but chiefly none with the Spanish: for there the matter importeth most, as I do certainly know.

“Item, That my lady [duchess] of Somerset do find some more gracious entertainment in the court than heretofore she hath done.”

The emperor’s ambassador affirmed, that archduke Charles would come. And if he were to be liked, said the secretary, then, &c. [meaning it, in all probability, of the queen’s marriage.] But for the French marriage, the nobility could not like of it.

Occurrences of court in the month of August were these that follow:

Mr. Tomworth was sent to the. queen of Scots upon this occasion. The said queen had sent twice hither, to require queen Elizabeth to declare for what causes she did mislike of this marriage with the lord Darnley; offering

also to satisfy the same. In the mean time, troubles arose there between her and the earl of Murray, and others, who were friendly to the common amity of both the realms. Whereunto, for sundry respects, it seemed convenient for the English court to have regard. Tomworth expostulated with the queen about her marriage consummated with Darnley; and concerning the offence she had taken against Murray. To which she answered, that for the marriage, the queen her sister delayed her, and her subjects importuned her. And as for Murray, she desired the queen to meddle no further in the private causes of Scotland, than she did with England. That she well knew his ends, and, as well as she might, she would prevent them.

The duke Chastelherault, the earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothess, with sundry barons, were joined together, not to allow of the marriage, otherwise than to have the religion established by law. But that queen refused; yet in this gentle sort; that she would not suffer it to have the force of law, but of permission to every man to live according to his conscience. And herewith she had retained a great number of protestants from associating openly with the others. She sent for the earl Murray; but the distrust was so far entered on both sides, that it was the thoughts of wise men it would fall to an ill end: for she put the said earl to the horn, and prohibited all persons to aid him: nevertheless the said duke, the earls of Argyle and Rothess were together with him.

The earl of Leicester now fell into some misliking with queen Elizabeth: and he was therewith much dismayed. [The cause seemed to be, for not liking the queen's marrying with the archduke.]

The emperor's ambassador departed with an honourable answer; and himself well satisfied. And common opinion was, that the archduke Charles would come. Which if he did, and would accord with us in religion, and should be allowable for his person to her majesty; "then," said the secretary, "except God shall please to continue his displeasure against us, we shall see some success."

The answer the queen gave to the emperor's ambassador was, that she would marry with none, without sight of his person; nor with any that should dissent in religion. For the rest of the articles, they were referred to the treaty between king Philip and queen Mary. The secretary thought the archduke would come: but he thought withal, that of his religion nobody should know but her majesty; nor she, until he saw hope of speeding. The

whole nobility favoured this much: and the lord of Leicester behaved himself very wisely, now to allow of it.

Now also an “*unhappy* chance and monstrous” (as he that writ the news expressed it) fell out at court. The sergeant-porter, being the biggest gentleman in the court, married secretly the lady Mary Grey, the least of all the court. They were committed to several prisons. The offence was very great.

The next month, viz. September, produced the following affairs and counsels.

The queen of Scots now had much less number of hearts than subjects. The young king was so insolent, as his father grew weary of his government, and departed from the court.

The disaffected lords came this month with 1500 men before Edinburgh, but could not stay, by reason of the battery of the castle. The queen sent order Sept. 12. to the earl of Bedford, to send three hundred soldiers to Carlisle, to aid the lords against that queen.

Sir Thomas Smith, if he should be required by the French king, what the reasons were of this discontent between that queen and her subjects, was ordered to give this answer; that as he heard, the reasons were in this sort; that her chief disliking with her nobility was, because they had moved her to forbear the innovations which certain private men about her, being not of that country birth, neither French nor English, did daily devise, and put in execution. They, her nobles, would have had the marriage made with the consent of the three estates. They would have had it accorded by her upon her marriage, that nothing should be innovated against the laws of the land: where contrarily great numbers of things had been done, to the manifest violation of the laws, ordered for observation of religion, for sustentation of the ministers, for relief of the poor. Secondly, her husband had been proclaimed king, without consultation used with the nobility: the title of the succession established in the house of the duke, was brought in question. Yea, the lands of the duke and divers others, in open speech disposed and given away. Divers conspiracies to have murdered the earl of Murray and others, that did with him only move the queen before the marriage, to stay from any open proceeding therein, until the French king and the queen’s majesty here had been made privy thereto: so as it might have been done with the allowance of such princes; and so the better allowed and accepted

of her own people: promising at that time to employ his whole power to further it, to her contentation and honour. But upon the giving of that counsel, the young man and his faction began to lay the foundation of such rancour, as they did openly denounce mortal hatred to the said earl and others. Whereupon had followed the rest of those inward troubles: so as now there were joined together, only in defence of themselves and the laws of the land, the duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Rothess, Glinearn, and (as it was newly reported) Morton the chancellor; and of late also, the master Maxwel; who had conducted the lords to Dum-freeze, where there were sundry barons of the realm.

That queen had from the 25th of August to the 4th of September preserved them [who created these innovations] with an army of four or five thousand men. Whereof in the end she had discovered, that one half of the leaders meant to have been beholders, and not fighters. And thereupon she had dissolved her army; and was gone with certain harquebussiers to St. Andrew's and Dundee, to pursue certain burgesses, favourers of the lords; and by likelihood to gather by that means some money. And, so as it seemed, to draw out time, and weary them. In this state things did rest the 9th of this month.

The first of this month, the lords of the council were sent for by the queen, to give advice in these great matters, that might fall out from Scotland.

The 7th of this month arrived here the lady Cecilia, sister to the king of Sweden, with her husband Christopher, marquis of Baden: and were honourably conducted hither; and lodged at the earl of Bedford's house. And she being near delivery, the queen came to her from Windsor: and as it were well foreseen, the 16th day in the morning well and seasonably delivered of a son. Her coming was esteemed very strange; having hitherto no appearance, but a supernatural affection to see the queen: although, as the secretary observed to his correspondent, there might be other constructions, which he did not think to be of force.

The intrigues of court, and matters transacted in the month of October, as they were communicated by the secretary in his correspondences, were these that follows.

Sundry devices were now at court concerning the nation's inward causes. Certain made and devised talks, as though some of the council were of one mind concerning the Scotch causes, and some of another. And truth it is,

that arguments had been made contrariwise; some to aid the lords of Scotland plainly and openly, some but covertly, some not at all. But in the end, the queen resolved to use all good means, by mediation, by open countenance, to relieve them; but to do nothing that might break peace.

Sundry rumours arose at court, that the lords did not agree together. As, that my lord of Leicester should not have so great favour as he had: that my lord of Sussex and he should be in some strange terms: that the duke of Norfolk, the lord chamberlain, the earl of Hunsdon, &c. should also not allow of the said earl of Leicester: that sir Thomas Heneage, vice-chamberlain, should be in good favour with her majesty, and so disliked by the said Leicester; with such like infinite toys. But the secretary said, he trusted hereof in deed no harm should follow: for that all these lords were bent towards her majesty's service; and did not so much vary among themselves, as lewd men did report. But to tell truly what he thought was, that the queen's favour towards my lord of Leicester was not so manifest as it had been, to move him to think that she would marry with him; and yet his lordship had favour sufficient, as he heard him say, to his good satisfaction. The earl of Sussex thought the earl of Leicester might do more for him in causes of Ireland than he had. The duke of Norfolk loved the said Sussex earnestly. And so all the stock of the Howards seemed to join in friendship together. Sir Nicolas Throgmorton was much noted by speech to be a director of my lord of Leicester. But the secretary thought that lord well able to judge what was meet or unmeet; and did use Throgmorton friendly, because he shewed himself careful and devout to his lordship.

The treaty at Bruges was continued till the 15th of March. The court was now devising, how either to accord without the disadvantage of the English at the next meeting, or else to cease the *intercourse*; and nevertheless to continue traffic and amity: a matter indeed (as the secretary gave his judgment) like a maze to walk in.

A way devised at the court for the stay of frequent depredations.

Malvesier, the French ambassador, returned from Scotland; where he had been with the Scotch queen, to exhort her to compose differences between her and her subjects. But had not profited with that queen; so earnest was she bent against the duke of Castelherault and his complices.

The Scotch queen now was in field these eight days with five or six thousand men. But what she was like to obtain by it none could tell.

The lords that combined against her, were at Dumfreez without any force of importance. Their principal force was the universal good-will of the realm, saving of a few about the queen.

Sir Henry Sydney now had his commission to be lord deputy in Ireland. He was to depart within four days.

Arnold [the queen's chief magistrate there] should return, as others had done, with misliking.

The lady Cecilia lived bountifully here. Of whom also were sundry opinions. Some, that she meant to set on foot her brother's former suit for marriage: but perceiving that not to be found probable, some now said, that she would further my lord of Leicester towards her majesty. But if she should find no success thereof, then some will say, said the secretary, what they list.

Many looked for answer from the emperor for Charles's coming: and many thought still thereof to see success.

I will add further two or three memorials, however commencing the beginning of the next year; because they do so nearly relate to the former transactions. As to the Scotch matters, thus the secretary wrote to his correspondent, March the 26th, 1566.

“I am in doubt to which of the parties I should wish victory, as percase in their heats they covet. And yet I cannot think evil of the earl of Murray. I see the subjects brought to desperation, and the prince into indignation.”

All out of joint in Ireland. Full time therefore for sir Henry Sydney to go thither. The good subjects in all parts oppressed; the Irish bearing rule. But in all no peril, saving in Shah, who will, as he used to say in his drunkenness, be lord or king of Ulster. Whatsoever the earl of Kildare did before this deputy's coming, now the court was assured, that he both at present did, and would continue to do notable service against that rebel O Neyle. Against whom, because the queen and her council would advisedly proceed, Mr. Vice-chamberlain went over to confer with the lord deputy. And in the mean time they sent treasure aforehand. And there was cause to fear again, that O Neyle's boldness was fed out of Scotland.

Reports now were enough at court and city, of Leicester's absence, and of his return, and of the queen's favours to others. But they were fond, and many untrue.

"Briefly," said the secretary upon these rumours touching the queen, I affirm, that the queen may be by malicious tongues not well reported; but in truth she herself is blameless, and hath no spot of evil intent. Marry, there may lack, especially in so busy a world, circumspection to avoid all occasions."

The matter of archduke Charles, said he, was of the queen surely minded; but the progress therein had many lets. The thing was much allowed of the nobility. And the secretary shewed his sense of this grand affair by the prayer he added;

"God," said he, "direct the queen to marriage in some place: or otherwise her regiment will prove very troublesome and unquiet."
And he was a true prophet.

The convocation met again this year, May the 2d, in king Henry the Seventh's chapel. And Dr. Yale, the archbishop's vicar-general, by authority of the queen's brief to the archbishop, and his grace's letters commissionall to him thereupon, did again continue and prorogue the said convocation to the 5th day of October next, and so from time to time till October the next year, 1566, when the parliament sat again.

CHAPTER 48.

The Declaration of the London ministers answered. Disorder of the youth in Cambridge. Pope Pius his bull. Practices of the pope and papists continue. The pope's nuncio here privately. Bullinger's correspondence with bishop Sandys and bishop Jewel. This bishop's Defence. Adrianus Saravia in Jersey; for episcopacy. His letter to Cecil. One Reynolds tortured at Rome. Reformation in Scotland.

THE book lately set forth, (mentioned before, chapter xlv.) in vindication of such ministers of London as left their livings, rather than they would wear the habits required, entitled, *A declaration of the doings of the ministers of the city of London*, soon received a grave and learned answer, printed in a thin quarto, and called, *An examination*, for the time, of a certain declaration lately put in print in the name and defence of *certain ministers of London, refusing to wear the apparel prescribed by the laws and orders of the realm*. It was done by some eminent hand, and, as it seems to me, by the archbishop of Canterbury himself. In the epistle to the Christian reader, the cause of writing this answer is shewn to be the “provocation of that treatise so solemnly advouched, so confidently affirmed, and very *lately* so publicly by print divulged and dispersed.” The writer notwithstanding professed to say not half so much as might be spoken in the comprehension of the cause, nor to take so much advantage against that inconsiderate writing, as it might deserve to be charged; but briefly to put to the author's consideration, the weakness of the reasons, and the sophistication of the arguments of that discourse, unworthy of itself (to say the truth) to be once answered; as being so written as every man (but such as were either too partially bent to the cause, or for lack of learning could not expend the substance of the writing) might perceive that it must needs fall to ruin and decay of credit of itself, though no man should bend any force against it; and however (in the heat then taken) thought to be wittily, gravely, invincibly written, &c. That as for those that were learned, and commonly judged to be among this number, they could not much joy to fight under their banner, or to run with them to the mark they shot at. For that it was certain, that many whom this small rout, named *London ministers*, would have to be joined with them for their more honesty, were far from their determinations in this question, neither so

handling it, nor would so conclude in this cause as they did: howsoever, some of them, he said, did a little stay at the using of this apparel in themselves; yet were not of their judgment to condemn the things of wickedness, neither in themselves, nor in the use of them, as the ministers in this church of England be called now to wear them. And therefore, howsoever they would wish a liberty to their own consciences reserved, till they might see more in the cause, that yet they were far off from condemning their brethren, whose consciences could serve them, for obedience sake, to use them..... That therefore he must say, that they were but a very few in themselves, other than such as had been either unlearnedly brought up most in profane occupations, or as were puffed up in an arrogancy of themselves; and peradventure, chargeable with such vanities of assertions, as he would at that time spare to charge them with: praying God they fell not at last to the sect of anabaptists or libertines; as some wise and zealous men of their own friends and patrons feared they made posthaste one day openly to profess.

Then he converted his discourse to rite papists, who took no small delight to observe these discords in this reformed church; imagining that the queen, upon a displeasure at these differences, would in time change the present religion, and have a better opinion of popery. And these indeed were the fears and apprehensions of some good men. But, saith our answerer, the adversaries of true religion (meaning *the English Lovainists*) could win no great rejoice at these men's oversights; as being but a very few, and counted none of the sincere and learned protestants, however for a time they seemed to be among us. And these popish adversaries should have the whole state of the clergy in place and reputation for learning, wisdom, and gravity, concordly joined, to be wholly against them. And he shewed them how unlikely it was, that the prince would, for the disproving of a few counterfeits, dislike the whole state of the rest of the clergy, who should by God's grace be able enough to defend the true religion of the gospel: which they might hear how the prince did profess daily and openly to maintain and defend to the utmost jot of the word of God with renouncing as well all foreign authority as all foreign doctrine; and surely grounded upon this stable rock of God's word. And that they could not bewitch wise men's heads or hearts, but they could discern truth from falsehood, devotion from superstition, papistry from the gospel, tyranny from discipline, Christ from Antichrist. This was the sum of the preface,

which I give the larger account of, because a great deal of it is historical, and will let in light upon us concerning these times and things.

In the book itself, the writer undertook to weigh and examine the grounds and reasons distinctly, which had been urged in the said Declaration, for refusing the apparel and garments then used of Christ's church in England: which he doth nervously.

In the end of this book are added several notable letters translated into English, written in king Edward's days, relating to this argument of the habits; about which there were some arguings also in that reign. One of these letters was writ by archbishop Cranmer to Dr. Martin Bucer, then the king's professor of divinity in Cambridge, requiring his judgment in this matter. Another letter was from bishop Hoper, who sometime scrupled wearing the episcopal habit. Also, two letters of the said Bucer's; one in answer to the said archbishop, and the other to the honourable Johannes a Lasco, no friend to the habits. And one letter more writ by Dr. Peter Martyr, the king's professor of divinity in the other university of Oxford, to the said Hoper, for his satisfaction. The reason the author gave for subjoining these letters was, that they (the opposers of the habits) might so advisedly expend the earnest counsel of these two notable fathers, in this their purposed discussing of the cause, as at last to rest in quiet, praising God in truths and to forsake error, covered with zealous persuasion.

And lastly, in the beginning of this examination, the author thought fit to preface a very apt quotation out of St. Augustin's epistle to Januarius; which begins thus: "Such things [in religious worship] as have diversity of observations, by reason of the diversity of lands and countries, &c. all these things have freedom in observation, and certes there is no manner of discipline or usage in these things more agreeable unto a grave and prudent Christian man, than that he attemper himself to the orders of that church whereto he shall chance to resort.

For, by St. Ambrose's counsel, a man ought to observe that manner which he sees that church to use whereunto he chanceably cometh, if he will not be slanderous to any man, or any man be slanderous unto him. As for me," saith St. Austin, "when I diligently bethought myself of this sentence, I always had it in such veneration, as if I had received it as an oracle heavenly sent from God."

Troubles in the university of Cambridge about the habits and certain other rites, could not yet be pacified, notwithstanding the vigorous means used the last year, as was shewed before. The inconvenience whereof was, that good studies of useful learning were laid aside for wrangling about trifling matters; and many well-disposed people in the nation, that used to exhibit to poor students, began to withdraw their charities, or diminish them. The secretary, who was chancellor also of that university, out of his exceeding love and compassion towards it, despatches a letter in November, this year, 1566, to Dr. Beaumont, his vice-chancellor, and the rest of the heads; that they would do their endeavours to bring in peace and uniformity in their body. That we may be more fully acquainted with the chancellor's message, the letter carried this purport.

“That in the common opinion of the best, the lightness and disorder of the youth, as well in apparel as other behaviour, was a great hinderance to learning, and a token of great negligence in their overseers, both public and private. It was also a stay at this day of many men's charities; who, if these things were more moderately used and reformed, would have dealt much more liberally with the poorer sort. And so, he said, in many places sundry did affirm and pronounce. And therefore he, their chancellor, did require them all, not only in their several houses, but they also the rest, publicly to assist the vice-chancellor, to see all such lightness and disorderly behaviour repressed presently, and good order hereafter continued. That learning being joined with godliness, modesty, and the glad embracing of good order, they might reap such fruits, and profitably serve to those ends whereunto those godly foundations were first erected. And he added, that their diligence and conformities herein should move him to be in his doings more careful for their matters abroad; although in mind, he said, he could be no more.”

Let us now see somewhat of the disturbances raised this year in the church by papists, in behalf of their cause. Pope Pius V. in the first year of his pontiff, set forth a bull to anathematize and confound the heretics, and to sow discord among them. It ran to this purport:

“That whereas he had found, and daily did find, that heretics increased in several colonies, principalities, realms, and countries subject to the see of St. Peter his predecessor; and that they fell

from and deserted his jurisdiction with blasphemous and railing writings against him, his ceremonies and apostolical jurisdiction and privileges, granted him and his successors by God, and formerly generally acknowledged by emperors, kings, and princes, to be his: therefore in the name of the Holy Trinity, of the blessed mother of God, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in the name of the holy host of heaven, of the archangels and angels, of the holy apostles, saints, and martyrs, he did anathematize all heretics, living, trading, or travelling in or among the same, wheresoever dispersed over the face of the whole earth: and further willed and authorized the wise and learned of his ecclesiastics to labour, endeavour, and contrive all manner of devices, to abate, assuage, and confound these heretics. That thereby the heretics might either be reclaimed to confess their errors, and acknowledge the jurisdiction of the see of Rome, or that a total infamy be brought upon them and their posterities by a perpetual discord and contention among themselves. By which means they might either speedily perish by God's wrath, or continue in eternal difference." This was dated the 6th of the ides of May, at Rome.

Father Freke, a Jesuit of great authority in Paris, thus explained this bull, and the design of it, to Malachias Malone, an Irish friar, and afterwards a convert, that this bull dispensed with the devisers for devising of new tenents, doctrines, and covenants, and that it dispensed also with marrying by the heretical law, [meaning the laws of the reformed church of England,] provided that the device intended was to promote the advancement of Rome. And that marriage, as they, the heretics, performed it, was no marriage, but a venial sin.

Upon this bull many undertook to serve the mother church; who entered their names in the chief convents of their several orders; and in their commissions they had several names, three or four, in case they should be discovered: and that when they had intelligence, they might fly to another place, and still keep correspondence with the convents. The advantage of this was, that as it sowed heresy and schism among heretics, so it hindered uniformity in the church of England. Secondly, It prevented Roman catholics from turning away from their principles, [when they might thus in an heretical country do as the heretics, and yet keep their religion.] Thirdly, Whenever the church of Rome should have a design to destroy heresy, she

would never want intelligence; having one or more of her wise men among these several sorts of heretics.

There were directions given to those who were licensed to perform what this bull appointed. As, they permitted to marry, and that upon two accounts; viz. that they might not be suspected, and because heretical marriage is no marriage, if the matrimonial ceremonies be contrary to the Romish orders. Several of these licensed persons were to take upon them several callings according to their inclinations; and yet to preach and expound. And if they were asked, how they came by this ability, they must reply, *By the Spirit of God, by revelation, and by searching the scriptures.* If they were asked, upon what grounds they took upon them to preach, they must reply, *We preach not, but teach.* And if they should be asked, why they taught, not being churchmen, they were to say, *Because the sons of the prophets did teach.* So did Jehosaphat and his princes; and the disciples of Christ before Christ's resurrection, and divers in the church of Corinth, that were no churchmen. Because the heretics of England and other provinces were permitted to read the scriptures; therefore, before they were well grounded in their principles, it was necessary to preach variety unto them. To some, the doctrine of free-will. To others, that children should not be baptized till they come to years of discretion. To others, a monarchy of earthly happiness after this temporal life. To others, that the righteousness of man depends not upon the faith of Christ, but upon charity and affliction: and that any gifted man may either give or receive the sacrament: and all these things must be performed outwardly with great fervency: for thereby they would not be suspected or discovered. All these instructions Freke communicated unto the before mentioned Irish friar, when he went into Ireland, in the year 1564. So that it seems these tricks were used before the pope had publicly allowed and blessed them in the bull abovesaid.

This pope seeing he might not have a nuncio openly in England, yet obtained his purpose, by employing one here many years in his service, living securely in this nation under colour of an Italian factor; his name was Ridolpho; and seemed to have come hither about this year. His business was to excite the papists in England against the queen: which he did effectually; and prevailed also upon some protestants to do the like; some out of private hatred and disaffectedness, and others affecting innovation. He meddled in making a match between the queen of Scots and the duke of Norfolk, and drew in the good duke among the popish conspirators, and

made him head of that party to his ruin. And when this busy pope issued out another bull against the queen, deposing her from her crown, and exciting her subjects to rise against her, he sent the printed copies thereof to Ridolpho, to be dispersed through the realm. Whereupon followed the rebellion in the year 1569. And then he had orders from the pope to furnish the rebels with an hundred and fifty thousand crowns: which though he could not at that time perform, being made a prisoner upon suspicion; yet he distributed the money soon after. *And*, (to take up all his story together,) the conspirators, when all was ready, sent him to the pope to inform him how well prepared they now were, and, in the way, to entreat the Spanish assistance forthwith out of the Netherlands.

Ireland this year gained an eminent convert, named Samuel Mason, bred a Jesuit in Paris; to which place he came in the year 1550. Sir Henry Sydney, the queen's lord lieutenant in Ireland, was so well satisfied with his learning and the truth of his conversion, that he took him for his chaplain. And afterwards the archbishop of Dublin gave him the benefice of Finglas near Dublin. This man made a notable speech in Christ's-church in Dublin before the said lord lieutenant, the archbishop, and the mayor and aldermen of the city: wherein he said,

“It was not want drove him thither; for he might have been entertained at Paris, where he abode eight years: that for two years and upwards he dissembled with the society; such was his frailty, he confessed: but he then spent his time in learning the language of that kingdom, and searching records and libraries there, wherein he found various matters, to dissuade him from that impious way of living. That therefore he came thither to acknowledge his ignorance and perverseness, and to embrace the truth, which he had for a long time scandalized and rejected.”

This Mason soon after presented a narrative to sir Henry Sydney, declaring the strange ways and means resolved upon by pope Pius IV. for the reducing the protestants of England, and his contrivances against them: which were mentioned under the year 1560, being the first year of that pope.

Bullinger towards Christmas, or before, presented Sandys, bishop of Wigorn, with his Commentary upon Daniel, to whom he had dedicated it, accompanied with his letters to him. Sandys, in his answer writ in January, acknowledged the great honour he had done him, in setting forth a book of

such learning in his name: and that it was highly acceptable to him. He proceeded to mention his great humanity towards all the English, whereby every body was obliged to him, but he above the rest. He spake of his kind reception of him when he was a poor exile, and came to Zurich without harbour and friends. And that afterwards, when Providence had restored him home to his own country, still Bullinger continued to love him, and to do him all the honour he could. And therefore he acknowledged himself his debtor; and since he was not able to pay what he owed him, he beseeched Him to be his paymaster, who fully satisfied once for all our debts. And by Abel, a merchant and a pious man, he sent him a token. As for news, he writ him, how Christ's true religion had taken place in the realm; and that the gospel was not bound, but was freely and purely preached. And therefore, as to other things, said he, it was no great matter. That there was some contention about the wearing and not wearing of popish garments; to which, God, he said, in his good time, would also put an end.

Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, also in February writ a long letter to the same Bullinger, together with Lavater, another divine of Zurich, relating the news in England; as, concerning the matter between Harding the papist and himself; concerning the quiet state of the realm, things being now in peace; only the divines of Lovain did make what disturbance they could among us. That the queen was well, but was averse to marriage. That their old acquaintance bishop Parkhurst, bishop Sandys, bishop Pilkington, were all well in their respective dioceses; but so distant from each other, that he had not seen them in three years, [that is, since the last synod.] That the contention about the apparel was still on foot. That for their parts, they wished all footsteps of popery might be removed both out of the churches and out of the minds of men; but the queen would hear of no changes. Jewel also gave them account of the state of Scotland and France. The originals of these two letters remain in the library of Zurich: transcripts whereof I have by me; which may be read in the Repository.

This year was this incomparably learned bishop busy in writing a Defence of his Apology, which some of the English papists had struck at the last year, in a large volume, full of calumny. And in order to his answer, in March, by letter, he consulted with Bullinger, (a man whom this bishop styles, *oraculum ecclesiarum*, being esteemed of the greatest learning, and of various knowledge among the protestants in those days,) to give him information in these things following: I. Whether the Christians in Greece, Asia, Syria, and Armenia, used private masses, as the papists did: and what

kind of masses, whether public or private, the Greeks at Venice then used. II. Whereas there was one Camocensis, who had writ somewhat sharply against the lives and insolences of the popes, who he was, and when he lived. III. What he thought of that German council, which they say met under Charles the Great, against the second Nicene council, concerning images: because some said there was no such council. I have also the transcript of this letter in my possession, and think it worthy of a place in the Appendix.

There was lately a confession of faith set forth by this Bullinger and others, for the churches of Helvetia; which our church did then heartily consent to, and own. This I take from the pen of one that well knew, viz. Grindal, bishop of London. For there is a letter of his to the said Bullinger, wherein, among other things, speaking of our church's affairs, he shewed, how that many did endeavour to bring into the church a doctrine different from the pure and sincere profession, as it was embraced by the churches of Helvetia; but, *Ad hunc usque diem cum vestris ecclesiis vestraque confessione nuper edita plenissime consentimus*, i.e. that to that day they did fully consent with the Helvetian churches and confession lately published.

Something also I have here to say of another learned foreigner, who came out of the Low Countries for the profession of religion, and lived within these dominions, and was a great approver of the episcopal government of our church; his name was Adrian Saravia. This year, 1566, is the first mention I find made of him; afterwards making a good figure in this church; and chiefly known for a discourse he made and published, *De diversis ministrorum evangelii gradibus*, i.e. Of the different degrees of the ministers of the gospel: principally designed in vindication of the episcopacy of the English church, against several infamous books, which at that time were set forth, wherein the dignity of our bishops was hotly assaulted, and endeavours used to render them odious. The danger whereof was the calling in question the reformation of this church, and exposing it to the derision of the enemies of the truth: which the author maketh one ground of his taking in hand to write on this subject. But Beza, the chief minister of Geneva, wrote against this tract of Saravia: and he again, in the year 1594, writ a very learned defence of his own tract in answer to Beza; and dedicated it to Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury; Aelmer, bishop of London; Cooper, bishop of Winchester; and Fletcher, bishop of Worcester. This Saravia was born in Flanders; his father a

Spaniard, his mother one of Artois, both protestants. Flying from the troubles of his own country, he removed himself and family to Jersey, where he taught a school, and preached to his countrymen exiles there. Hither, from Ghent, he sent for his aged father and mother, and maintained them with him.

But in the year 1566, upon some hope of more quiet living in his own country, he had thoughts of returning, to do God service among his own countrymen. Hereupon Chambrelain, governor of Jersey, knowing Saravia's worth, and the great good he did in that place, that wanted learned and able men, endeavoured to prevent his going; writing a letter to secretary Cecil to use his interest with him to tarry where he was: and to encourage him so to do, that the secretary would procure him to be a free denizen of this kingdom. But the reading of Chambrelain's letter will explain this matter more fully; which was to this tenor:

He advertised the secretary, "That the alteration which that time yielded presently in Flanders, moved the bearer, Adrian de Saravia, schoolmaster there, to seek some conference about it with certain his countrymen in London. And by that means it was to be doubted, that he might be withdrawn from thence; which would be no little hinderance to his good beginnings in that isle: where he, with his father and mother, honest and aged persons, had lately repaired unto him, and were in some good stay. That, considering the lack of such a man, endued with such virtues as were not readily found, he, the said Chambrelain, wished earnestly his continuance in the said isle, as well for the instruction of youth in good letters, as also for setting forth of good and sound doctrine; whereof there was, he said, no little want there. And to that end he humbly besought his honour, that as his travail had been to further good things there, he would use all the reasonable persuasions that might be for the stay of the said schoolmaster, in the exercise of the charge which he had enterprised there; the rather, for that he was assured of no certainty elsewhere, as did well appear by his said father and mother, who had been contented, for their better succour, to seek relief at his hands there. And to encourage his disposition to continue there, if it liked the queen's majesty, by his honour's means, to naturalize him by her letters patents, he knew he would take the same in very good part; as undoubtedly he, the governor, thought him well worthy of that favour, besides much better reward. Which on his

part, Saravia continuing his good exercises there, as he had very well begun, he would not fail to consider in the best sort he conveniently might. So beseeching Almighty God to maintain his honour in prosperous estate; subscribing,

Francis Chambrelayne. From Castel-Cornet, the 24th of September, 1566."

Saravia, it appears, did still remain at Jersey; the pious reasons whereof he wrote himself to the said secretary, (whom he called *his patron*,) in a handsome, well-penned letter in February following; which, for that learned and well deserving man's memory, let me insert:

Ornatissimo viro D. Guilielmo Cecilio, patrono suo, Adrianus Saravius, S. P. D.

Nequa forte animi levitare aut inconstantia, vir ornatissime, factum putes, quod, ut statueram, ad meos Belgas me non contulerim, rationem tibi paucis exponam. Dimissionem a fratribus, qui hic sunt, impetrare non potui. Abire autem ipsis invitis cum mala ipsorum gratia, mihi res prorsus indigna visum est. Propterea ego hic habeo apud me utrumque meum parentem, quos Gandavo, cum turbæ illic inciperent, revocavi. At me, cum illis, uxore et liberis in turbulentam præcipitare tempestatem, cum quid opus hoc rerum statu patriæ meæ afferre queam, incertus sum, consilium mihi visum non est. Hi sunt trabales clavi, qui me hic affixum detinuerunt. Interea, mi domine, si tibi indignus non videar, municeps et civis vester fieri vehementer cupio. De hac gente nihil scribo, nisi quod nunquam sibi sit futura dissimilis. Vale.

Guerzea, prid. cal. Februarii.

In Naples in Italy had the gospel got considerable footing before and about this time. For which many there were persecuted: and among the rest an Englishman, named D. Tho. Reinolds, who kept for the most part about that city. And being there, was accused by some of the citizens for matter of religion to the bishop of the said city: who sent him from thence by sea to Rome, with three other gentlemen of Naples, likewise accused for religion; there to answer to such matters as they should be charged with. And the same Tho. Reinolds, being there, was cruelly tormented with the torture, called by the Italians *la trotte da chorda*, by the Spaniards

l'astrapado, to force him to impeach or accuse others of like profession of religion, whom he knew. Which torture, together with other their cruel dealings against this good man, in short time bereaved him of his life in prison, in the month of November, 1566.

Now let us look upon the neighbouring church of Scotland, which at this time was in great fermentation; but the gospel still gathered number and increase, notwithstanding that queen had endeavoured all she could to the contrary; who appointed six or seven masses to be said openly in her court, and all admitted, that would, to hear them; when before there was only one mass, and no Scots allowed to be present. And whereas, when the reformation was first set on foot, provision was made, that out of the goods of the monasteries, which were come into the exchequer, stipends should be allowed to the preachers of the gospel, she, for two years, paid nothing. She had lately expelled Knox, the chief minister of Edinburgh, out of the city, and would by no means allow his return. But yet notwithstanding, out of the court all remained as before, without any attempts towards setting up popery again. The nobility and the citizens, by far the greater part, were for the gospel, and shewed many and great signs of their constancy therein. Of these, James Steward earl of Murray, the queen's bastard brother, was the chief; a godly man, as bishop Grindal styled him, and of great authority. But the queen agreed but badly with her husband; the cause whereof was by reason of one David, an Italian, whom the cardinal of Lorrain had recommended to the queen. He was the queen's chief counsellor and confident, and of himself governed all, without consulting the king, who indeed was a man very young and light. These doings of David the king could not bear; and forming a conspiracy with some of the nobles and courtiers, one day hurried him away out of the queen's presence, upon whom he called for help in vain, and procured him presently, with many stabs, to be slain. But this act of the king the queen could not forget, though she had a son by him. All this above did bishop Grindal write to Bullinger, in a letter dated August 27, 1566.

About six months after, bishop Jewel, in a letter to the same Bullinger, giveth this further account of the Scotch ecclesiastical affairs: That some nobles of the best state and quality lived in exile in England, and others remained at home, and prepared themselves in case of violence to make resistance; and sometimes made excursions from their castles, and brought in what they could out of the fields and possessions of the papists. The queen, however fierce in her mind for papism, yet could scarce tell what to

do, and whither to turn; for she had the greatest part of the nobility and people against her in respect of religion; and the numbers still increased, as it seemed. King Philip had of late sent hither an abbot, an Italian with Spanish gold, a cunning man and framed for fraud and craft. His business was to assist that king and queen by his subtle counsel, and to fill all with tumult. The king, who had hitherto abstained from going to mass, and had of his own accord gone to the sermon, to become popular, when he heard the ship with money should come next day, being now made more confident, hereby took courage, and would no longer dissemble, but commanded mass to be said before him. Knox the preacher in the meantime, in a church hard by, declaimed loud against idolaters, and against all papistry, never louder. And in fine, as for this rich ship, it was tost by tempests and winds, and shattered; and losing her masts, and all that she had in her, and full of water, was driven into England. This, said Jewel, I make no doubts was God's doing, to let the unwise king see how unfortunate it was to hear mass.

This winter was a great dearth of corn, by reason of the unseasonable weather the winter before; but there was a prospect of plenty the year ensuing.

CHAPTER 49.

A sessions of parliament. Sanctuaries. A bill for the validity of bishops' consecrations. Address to the queen for her marriage, and the succession. Bills for religion. The queen's speech to the parliament in answer to their address.

AFTER divers prorogations, there was a session of parliament this year. The first day of their sitting was Wednesday, October the 2d. Richard Onslow, esq. the queen's solicitor, was chosen speaker in the room of Williams, dead.

The things moved or done in the houses of parliament this session, that had any respect or influence on religion, I shall briefly relate. Of which the queen's marriage and the succession were thought none of the least.

October the 5th, a bill was brought into the house of commons for the avoiding sanctuaries for debt; and read the first time. And October the 7th read again, and ordered to be engrossed; when allegations were made for the exemption of the sanctuary at Westminster out of this bill, by the dean thereof. And a day was given him to attend the house with his learned counsel, to shew cause why the said sanctuary should be exempted.

October the 16th, the dean of Westminster, according to the appointment of the house to appear that day, was present at the bar with his counsel, Edmund Plowden, of the Middle Temple, and Mr. Ford, a civilian. The dean himself made an oration in defence of the sanctuary; and alleged divers grants by king Lucius, and divers other Christian kings: Mr. Plowdell alleged the grant for sanctuary here by king Edward five hundred years ago, viz. anno 1066, with great reasons, laws, and chronicles. Mr. Ford also alleged divers histories and laws for the same. Thereupon the bill was committed to the master of the rolls, and others, to peruse the grants, and to certify the force of the law now for sanctuaries. The 31st of October, upon the said master of the rolls' report of this bill for sanctuaries, it was agreed to be engrossed. But December the 4th, this bill for taking away sanctuary for debt was read the third time; and upon the question and division of the house, it was dashed, there being with the bill 60, against it 75.

October the 17th, a bill for declaring the making and consecrating of archbishops and bishops of the realm to be good, lawful, and perfect, was read in the commons' house the second time, [the first time of the reading is omitted in the Journal,] and ordered to be engrossed. October the 22d, this bill for confirming the consecration of archbishops and bishops within the realm was read the third time, and passed upon the question: and was carried up to the lords the next day. In the lords' house this bill was read October the 26th, the first time. October the 30th, read again. October the 31st read the third time, and committed to the lord chief justice of the common pleas, justice Southcote, and the attorneygeneral. November the 6th, this bill was read again, and concluded, with the consent of the dissenting peers; these, the earls of Northumberland, Westmorland, Worcester, and Sussex; viscount Mountague; lords Morley, Dudley, Dacre, Monteagle, Cromwel, and Mordaunt. This bill went down to the commons again: and, December the 2d, it was sent up to the lords with a provision, and was read the first, second, and third time, and by common consent concluded. This passed into an act at the conclusion of this session.

That which partly gave occasion to this act was the lawsuit between Boner, late bishop of London, and Horn, bishop of Winchester: who, as before was declared, tendering the said Boner, lying in the Marshalsea within Winchester diocese, the oath of supremacy, he refused it, saying, that he was none of his diocesan; nay, no bishop at all; and so had no right to administer it to him. This reflected greatly either upon the queen's letters patents in appointing her bishops, or upon the form whereby they were consecrated. And hereupon many disaffected to the established religion, hoping it might strike at the root of the reformation, if the bishops were not legally and duly made and consecrated, uttered their minds abroad. This is expressed in the preamble to the act, as the occasion of it, viz. shewing,

“How divers questions, by overmuch boldness of speech and talk among many of the common sort, being unlearned, had grown upon the making and consecrating of the archbishops and bishops, whether the same were duly and orderly done according to the law, or not; which much tended to the slander of all the state of the clergy, being one of the greatest states of this realm. Therefore, for the avoiding of such slanderous speech, and to the intent that every man that was willing to know the truth might plainly understand the same evil speech and talk was not grounded upon any just matter or cause, it was thought convenient by this act, partly to touch such

authorities as did allow and approve the making and consecrating of the same archbishops and bishops, to be duly and orderly done according to the laws of this realm; and thereupon further to provide for the more surety thereof.”

Then the said act shewed, how in an act 25 Henry VIII. was set forth a certain order of the manner and form, how archbishops and bishops in this realm should be elected and made: and again, how king Edward, his lawful successor, set forth an uniform order of service and common prayer, and put into the same book a good and godly order of the manner and form, how archbishops and bishops, priests and deacons, should from time to time be consecrated and ordered within the realm. That queen Mary indeed repealed these laws. But in the first year of queen Elizabeth, her successor, they were again revived by parliament, and enacted to be in force, in the acts of *supremacy* and *uniformity*: and that the queen, for the avoiding of all ambiguity and questions, had, in her letters patents, for the confirming, investing, and consecrating any person, elect to the office of archbishop or bishop, used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used by the said king Henry and king Edward in their letters patents, made for such causes; and likewise had put into her letters patents such general words and sentences, whereby, by her supreme power and authority, she dispensed with all cases or doubts of any imperfection or disability, that might any ways be objected against the same; so that no doubt could or might be justly objected against the said elections, confirmations, or consecrations: but that every thing requisite and material had been done for that purpose, as precisely, and with as great a care and diligence, (or rather more,) as ever the like was done before her majesty’s time.

Wherefore, for the plain declaration of all the premises, and to the intent that the same might be better known, whereby such ill speeches might hereafter cease, it was now declared and enacted, that the said act and statute made in the first of the queen, whereby the Book of Common Prayer, &c. was appointed to be used, should stand and remain good and perfect to all respects and purposes: and such order and form for the consecrating of archbishops, &c. as was set forth in the time of king Edward VI. and added to the said Book of Common Prayer in the fifth and sixth of his reign, be from henceforth to be used: and that all acts and things heretofore done about any consecration, confirmation, or investing of any person to the office and dignity of archbishop or bishop, within this

realm, since the beginning of her majesty's reign, was and should be declared, judged, and deemed good and perfect.

There was a provision at the conclusion of this act, very favourable to Boner and the other popish bishops, that refused the oath of supremacy that had been tendered them by the present bishops. By which refusal, certified into one of the queen's courts at Westminster, they incurred imprisonment and other forfeitures. This proviso was, that no person should be impeached or molested in body, lands, livings, or goods, by means of any certificate, by any archbishop or bishop heretofore made. And that all tenders of the said oath, and refusal of it so tendered, were void and of none effect. So mercifully disposed were these times in comparison of the late days, when popery reigned; and even to those who had no mercy themselves to others. But proceed we to another grand business in this parliament transacted.

October 18th, a motion was made for the reviving of the suit to the queen, touching her declaring of a successor, in case her majesty should die without issue of her own body.

Which matter had been moved in the first session of this parliament, *anno 5 reginae*.

What the great arguments were, which the parliament used with the queen with so much earnestness, for her to appoint a successor, and to limit the succession, may be seen in a discourse of one of the members unnamed; amounting to twenty reasons, and upwards. A copy whereof remaineth in the Cotton library, with this title, *That the limitation of the succession of the crown should be to the queen's majesty's service*. For which the reader may apply himself to the second Appendix.

It was not a thing very acceptable to the queen to be put upon, to name who should succeed her: which caused some of her courtiers in the house of commons to put this by, if they could, by letting them know her intentions of marriage, to provide them a successor of her own body. Therefore the next day, viz.

October 19, secretary Cecil, and sir Francis Knolles, her vice-chamberlain, told the house, the queen was moved to marriage; and that she minded, for the wealth of her commons, to prosecute the same. And sir Ambrose Cave, chancellor of the duchy, and sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of her household, affirmed the same: and thereupon persuaded and advised the

house to see the sequel of that, before they made further suit touching the declaration of a successor. But divers lawyers (among whom were Mounson, Bell, and Kingsmill) argued very boldly; and so prevailed, that the majority of the house were for recontinuing their suit for the declaration of a successor, and to get the queen's answer. Those four privy counsellors that moved for a stay of it, did it not without her majesty's special direction; who, it is very probable, foresaw the great inconveniences that the further prosecution thereof would produce.

But the majority of the house carrying it, the same day it was ordered, that all the privy counsellors, being members of that house, with forty-four others, should meet the next morning to consult and advise in what manner they might move the lords to join with them in this matter. But the lords, it seems, did not much like this business: for though they had appointed the select number of the lower house to repair to them on the morrow following, yet the morrow being come, viz.

October 22d, their lordships desired the committees of that house to defer their coming unto them till tomorrow. The reason of which was, because the archbishop of York, and several other lords, spiritual and temporal, had been appointed first to wait upon the queen in the afternoon, to know her pleasure therein, as might be gathered from the journal-book of the lower house. It was not before

October the 25th, that the lords told the committees of the lower house, (who were sent up for to them,) that they would join with them in the foresaid suit to her majesty.

Ditto the 26th, the lords, after deliberate consultation, and advice taken, how to proceed in this great matter of succession and marriage, this day sent sergeant Carus and Mr. Attorney down to the lower house, to signify that they would have a chosen number sent up to them, for their knowledge to be had of the same.

October the 30th, lords to the number of thirty-six were appointed to have conference with a number of the house of commons, touching a petition to be made to the queen for the succession and her marriage.

October the 31st, the house of commons appointed sir Edward Rogers, sir Francis Knolles, sir William Cecil, and four more of the queen's privy council, and divers other members, to have conference with the lords aforesaid, touching those two great matters.

November the 5th, the lords sent to the commons, requiring thirty of their house to be chosen by Mr. Speaker out of their foresaid committees, with thirty of the lords by themselves appointed, to be before the queen in the afternoon, by her majesty's commandment, at her palace at Whitehall, to understand what her pleasure should be concerning the said two great businesses. Accordingly, the archbishop of York, the bishops of London and Durham, with many other temporal lords, to the number of thirty, and as many of the house of commons, waited upon her highness in the afternoon, for the said purpose. Then the lord keeper made a speech to the queen at good length to the purpose aforesaid; which is set down by D'Ewes.

The queen's answer was this in sum: touching her marriage, she gave them some hope, but excused herself in not declaring a successor, in respect of the great danger that might ensue. Her speech is set down in D'Ewes' Journal; which was not very satisfactory, and somewhat (and, as it seems, designedly) dark.

"As for her marriage, she said, *a* silent thought might serve. She thought it had been so desired, that none other trees blossom should have been *mind*ed, or ever any hope of fruit had been denied them. But that if any doubted, that she was by vow or determination never bent to trade in that kind of life, she bade them put out that kind of heresy, for their belief was therein awry. And though she could think it best for a *private* woman, yet she strove with herself to think it not meet for a prince. As to the succession, she bade them not think, that they had needed this desire, if she had seen a time so fit, and it so ripe to be denounced. That the greatness of the cause, and the need of their returns, made her say, that a short time for so long continuance ought not to pass by roat. And that as cause by conference with the learned should shew her matter worth the utterance for their behoof, so she would more gladly pursue their good after her days, than with all her prayers whilst she lived, be a means to linger out her living thread. *That* for their comfort, she had good record in that place, that other means than they mentioned had been thought of, perchance, for their good, as much as for her own surety; which if they could have been presently and conveniently executed, it had not been now deferred, or over-slipt. That she hoped to die in quiet with *Nunc dimittis*; which could not be, without she saw some glimpse of their

following surety after her grayed bones.” And this was all the answer they had to their long prepared address. On the next day, viz.

November the 6th, that the whole house might be acquainted with it, Rogers and Cecil read in writing notes of the queen’s sayings before the lords and committees of the commons; importing, that her grace had signified to both houses, by the word of a prince, that she, by God’s grace, would marry, and would have it therefore believed. And touching limitation for succession, the perils were so great to her person, and whereof she had felt part in her sister’s time, that the time would not yet suffer to treat of it. Whereat all the house was silent. Notwithstanding,

November the 8th, Mr. Lambert began a speech for iteration of the suit to the queen’s majesty for limitation of the succession. And thereupon it was strongly reasoned on both parts; insomuch, that the queen was moved; and the next day, viz.

November the 9th, sir Francis Knollys declared, that it was the queen’s express command to the house, that they should no further proceed in their suit, but to satisfy themselves with her highness’s promise of marriage. After which, secretary Cecil and Mr. Comptroller severally rehearsed the like matter. But this ended not so: for,

November the 11th, Paul Wentworth, a member of the house, by way of motion, desired to know, wilether the queen’s command and inhibition, sent the other day to the house, were not against the liberties and privileges of the house. Whereupon arose divers arguments, which continued from nine of the clock in the morning till two in the afternoon. And then all further reasoning was deferred till the next morning. And the next day, viz.

The 12th of November, Mr. Speaker was sent for to attend upon the queen at the court about nine of the clock: who therefore sent to the house, requiring them to have patience. And after his coming, which was about ten of the clock, he began to shew that he had received a special command from her highness to this house, notwithstanding her first commandment, that there should not be further talk of that matter in the house, that is, touching the declaration of a successor. And that if any person thought himself not satisfied, but had further reasons, he should come before the privy council, and there shew them. But this course, it seems, the house could not tell how to take, no more than the message she sent before.

Insomuch, that, after several days, the queen thought fit to revoke both messages. For,

November the 25th, Mr. Speaker came from the queen, and declared her pleasure to be, that for her good-will to the house, she did revoke her two former commandments: requiring the house no furtlier to proceed at this time in the matter: which revocation was taken of all the house most joyfully, with most hearty prayer for the queen, and thanks to her for the same. But now for some other bills.

December the 5th, the parliament intending reformation of many matters in religion, a bill, together with a little book, printed in the year 1562, for sound Christian religion, [the Thirty-nine Articles, I suppose,] was read the first time: and December the 10th read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed. And December the 13th, the bill for the articles of religion passed upon the third reading. And the next day this bill with others were sent to the lords by Mr. Vice-chamberlain and others. Which bill, entitled, *For uniformity in doctrine*, was read the same day in the lords' house the first time: but it went no further this session. This bill was again brought into the parliament, anno 13th Elizab. Vid. the Journal of the house of commons, May the 17th.

December the 6th, a bill for punishing offenders in swearing, drunkenness, and other such like crimes, was read in the commons' house the second time; and likewise divers other bills touching religion. These bills were, I. For the order of ministers. II. For the residence of pastors. III. To avoid corrupt presentations. IV. For leases of benefices. V. For pensions out of benefices, and leases of benefices. All read the first time. But these bills had no further progress this parliament: for it was dissolved soon after.

These bills, with that for the articles of sound doctrine, rested till the beginning of the parliament of 13. *regin.* 1571: when, upon the 6th of April, they were all again presented to the house; and a seventh bill added, which was, touching the commutation of penance by ecclesiastical judges. All these bills were then referred to committees to consider of them. And the 7th of April they were all read again. And they passed the house. But the queen, on the 1st of May, by the lords of the upper house, declared unto the committees of the commons, that she approved their good endeavours, but would not suffer these things to be ordered by parliament. Yet, however, they passed all the bills, and sent them up to the lords the 17th of May following, by Mr. Comptroller and others.

December the 12th, a bill was read the second time in the lords' house, for confirmation of the new erected dean-eries and prebends.

December the 21st, the general bill to avoid fairs and markets on Sundays, putting them off to the next day following, read in the house of commons the first and second time.

January the 2d, alms given by the said house, for the relief of the poor, amounted to the sum of 19*l.* 10*s.* to be paid to Henry Knowles and sen. Mr. Grimston, members of the house.

We must not omit the mention of the convocation that met this parliament time, though little was done in it beside giving the queen a subsidy. It had been prorogued from February the 8th, 1565, to October the 1st, 1566: on which day, being Tuesday, it was adjourned till Friday, October 4, and so from day to day, till Wednesday, October the 30th. Then the bishops being met together, after treaty and communication among themselves, the prolocutor was called up, and required to select six discreet persons of the lower house, to devise and conceive a form of a book for a subsidy to be granted by the prelates and clergy of the province of Canterbury.

December 4, sess. 11, the clergy being met at Lambeth, (to which place the convocation had been adjourned on Friday, November 22, and there continued ever since,) the archbishop caused the book of the subsidy to be read before them. And being agreed upon, December 6, was sent unto the clergy of the lower house. And December 7, the instrument of the said subsidy was presented unto the queen by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London, Chichester, Ely, and Lincoln, several of the lower house attending also, but not called in, the queen not being well. Which she read cheerfully, and rendered them thanks.

The convocation, having been formerly adjourned from day to day, ever since the granting of the subsidy, and nothing else done, or proposed unto the house, was finally dissolved by authority of a writ from the queen.

About two or three o'clock in the afternoon, January the 2d, came the queen to the house, and passed a subsidy bill, and several more, viz. thirty-four public acts, and fifteen private; and dissolved the parliament, after she had made a speech to them, shewing herself very much displeased with some of them, for meddling so much with the succession. But she told them,

“That though perhaps they might have after her one better learned or wiser, yet she assured them, none more careful over them. And therefore henceforth she bade them beware how they proved their prince’s patience, as they had now done hers. And notwithstanding, not meaning, she said, to make a Lent of Christmas, [being that present time of the year,] the most part of them might assure themselves, that they departed in their prince’s grace.”

CHAPTER 50.

Proposals of marriage between the archduke and the queen. The duke of Norfolk's advice about it. Midwives' practices. A popish cofederacy of foreign potentates. Dean Wotton dies. Dean Nowel's book against Dorman: and bishop Jewel's book against Harding. The Dutch church apply to the ecclesiastical commission. The queen's ambassador in Spain affronted. Popery in Lancashire. The queen's letter to the bishop of Chester thereupon. The church of Carlisle's leases.

THIS year was great talk of the queen's matching with Charles, the noble archduke of Austria, and son to the emperor; about the which, the earl of Sussex had been sent in embassy unto the emperor. But though the English nation earnestly desired to see the queen married, for the assurance of an heir to succeed her, yet they were very jealous of any popish prince to become her husband, for fear of introducing that religion, which they had felt enough of not long before. The archduke therefore condescended very far to satisfy the queen and the nation herein. All that he required in this regard was a toleration to exercise his own religion secretly in his chamber; and that with these conditions following, which were dated October 24, 1567, as I transcribed them from a Cotton MS. viz.

- I.** That none but such of his own which he shall bring with him, being not otherwise persuaded in their conscience, shall come to his service, upon pain to be punished as straitly as may be devised.
- II.** That neither himself, nor any of his, shall in any wise, by speech or argument, reprehend or mislike of the religion of England, nor maintain any subject of the realm to the contrary.
- III.** That if any public offence shall grow of this toleration granted to him, that he will for the remedy thereof be advised by the queen's majesty and her council.
- IV.** That he will refuse no advice and counsel, to be informed by the queen's majesty in any thing pertaining to the matter of religion, for instruction of his conscience.

V. Lastly, He will at all places and in all times accompany the queen's majesty to her divine services, and will be always publicly present at the same.

In all other things which have been moved between the queen's majesty and him for the marriage, he freely yieldeth to the queen's majesty's will. And if she shall not like of his person when he cometh, he will return, as shall be her majesty's pleasure.

This matter was in the month of December debated seriously in the privy council: and whether these conditions should be accepted or not, and whether the liberty of the popish religion should be allowed the duke of Austrich at all.

The last difficulty was, whether the archduke should not upon his marriage have the title, style, and honour of a king; next, whether after issue procreated of us, he should not be crowned king, and so remain. Which was in the name of the queen thus answered.

To the first, That if other things requisite shall be accorded, he shall not be denied to have the like title and styles in this realm that king Philip had, upon the marriage of the late queen our sister.

To the second, It cannot be by the laws of the realm granted; nor yet were it meet in reason, that any person marrying with us and leaving issue, should be crowned king of the realm. For thereby injury should be done to the inheritors of the crown; that is, to the heirs of our body, if God should give us any, or, in default of them, to the next heirs.

The duke of Norfolk being then not well, and therefore retired to his house in Norwich, was sent for to come to the council. But his want of health made him, instead of coming, write his mind, and send it to the queen and council: which he was the better able to do, having understood how that affair stood by letters lately sent him from the earl of Sussex, now ambassador with the emperor about this match. Which writing of the duke's favouring, I suppose, the cause, made several to censure him as disaffected in religion, and to be a papist: though indeed from his youth he was bred a good protestant, rather indeed bending towards the puritans than the Romanists. For he was bred up under John *Fox*, and had entertained Dering for his chaplain. The sum of this the duke wrote in a

letter to his kinsman, the earl of Sussex aforesaid, still ambassador with the emperor, viz.

“I write these few lines, good cousin, rather because I would among others of your friends you should hear from me, than that I can write any thing of courtly proceedings. And yet by the last letters I received, I did understand, that the resolution for answer to the archduke should be to satisfy all his well-willers. My state in health was such, as I was not able to repair to the court myself, although I received letters for my repair, in the afternoon, when I had received your packet in the morning before: which made me more able to know what I had to do. And therefore, instead of my own going, I did write to her majesty at some length what I thought of the matter. Which letter hath been scanned according to every man’s affection. And therefore I newly am now counted a papist: but as long as I discharge my duty and conscience to God, my prince, and my country, I am too well mortified to care for slanderous reports. Thus, good cousin, resting yours, leaving the report of the state of matters now at the court to others of your friends’ reports, who can write more certainly than I, because I heard not this eight days, I bid you most heartily farewell.

Your assured loving kinsman,

T. Norfolk.”

From Norwich, this 18th of December, 1567.

There is one thing more I shall observe under this year, namely, a licence the archbishop of Canterbury granted to Eleonor Pead, to be a midwife, with the oath she took. Whereby it may be perceived what were sometimes the disorderly practices of midwives in those days: as, laying supposititious children in the place of the true natural ones; using sorceries and enchantments; hurting the child, or destroying it, or cutting or pulling off the head, or dismembering it; baptizing the infant new born, in case of necessity, with odd and profane words, and using sweet water, or water perfumed. But behold the oath this woman took:

“I, Eleonor Pead, admitted to the office and occupation of a midwife, will faithfully and diligently exercise the said office according to such cunning and knowledge as God hath given me: and that I will be ready to help and aid as well poor as rich women being in labour and travail of child, and will always be ready both to

poor and rich, in exercising and executing of my said office. Also, I will not permit or suffer that any woman being in labour or travail shall name any other to be the father of her child, than only he who is the right and true father thereof: and that I will not suffer any other body's child to be set, brought, or laid before any woman delivered of child in the place of her natural child, so far forth as I can know and understand. Also, I will not use any kind of sorcery or incantation in the time of the travail of any woman: and that I will not destroy the child born of any woman, nor cut, nor pull off the head thereof, or otherwise dismember or hurt the same, or suffer it to be so hurt or dismembered by any manner of ways or means. Also, that in the ministration of the sacrament of baptism in the time of necessity, I will use apt and the accustomed words of the same sacrament, that is to say, these words following, or the like in effect; *I christen thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, and none other profane words. And that in such time of necessity, in baptizing any infant born, and pouring water upon the head of the same infant, I will use pure *and* clean water, and not any rose or damask water, or water made of any confection or mixture: and that I will certify the curate of the parish church of every such baptizing."

As for the state of the reformed religion at this time in this and other countries, it was now most dangerously undermined by the chiefest popish potentates: who entered this year into a secret combination to destroy it utterly, and forcing all other states and princes to enter into the same with them. The articles whereof were procured by some of the queen's spies and intelligencers, and sent to the secretary in the Dutch language. The translation whereof was as followeth:

A brief abstract of tharticles of the secrett contract and confederation or leage, made between the pope, the emperor, the kinge or Spaine, the kinge of Portingall, the duke of Bavier, the duke of Savoye, and other their confederats, and companions, or consorts: into the which contract or leage they have sought meanes to drawe in the French king, which hath allreadye consented, anno 1567.

ALL Lutherians and Calvinists, or Hugonots, which be against the church of Rome, shalbe rooted out: and in the place of those potentats, others shalbe placed at their pleasures.

And when the said contract shalbe put in execution and accompyshed, they the said confederates with generall power and force shall goe against the Turke.

The intention of the emperour is suche, that first of all there shalbe cut off from the erapyre the paltzgrave and duke Augustus. And the said cuttinge off shalbe the first metinge daie at Wormes, sodainely or they be ware thereof.

And in their place shalbe ordeigned and placed them-perors two brethren, the archeduke Ferdynando and duke Charles.

First, or at the beginninge, the goods of the dysso-be-dyent lordes and potentats, which will not consent to be comprehended in this contract, shalbe confyscated and seased upon by the said confederates.

The same shalbe, throughe the emperours power, begun at Wormes, and soforth prosecuted in all other places nede-full.

All well-willers and assisters of the church-men of Luther and Calvin shalbe displaced, banished, and condemned to deathe.

Item, By the pope shalbe made and ordeigned a patriarke over all Duchelande, to make ordynances for the services and mayntenance of the church of Rome.

And for thaccomplishment of the said matter, and to the supportinge of the charges that shall arise upon the same, the pope shall geve and paie the one half of his revenewes; and lykewise shall do all cardynalls, archbishops, and other spirituall persons in Duchelande, and other countries, to helpe to mayneteyne the church of Rome.

There shalbe constituted, ordeyned, and made, and placed rounde aboute, newe servants of the church, with spirituall ordynances and offyces, accordinge to the use of the Romysh church.

Everie man shalbe commaunded and holden to goe to masse, and that on paine of excommunication, correction of the bodye, or deathe, or, at the

least, upon losse of goods; which goods shalbe parted and distributed amongest the principall lievetenaunts and capytaines.

The kinge of Spaine promisethe withe all his power and might, to provide and bringe to passe a mariage betwene the Frenche kinge and the emperours daughter.

Callis, and other places lately belonginge to the crowne of Englande, shalbe delivered to the kinge of Spaine: and he shall helpe and assist the quene of Scotland; and restore her to her kingdome, in chasinge awaie the quene of Englande; and helpe to destroye all suche as be affectioned or make claime to the same kingdome.

The kinge of Spaine his sonne shall have in mariage the emperours daughter.

The emperour, the kinge of Spaine, and the Frenche kinge, shall, in their proper persons, be present in all suche warrs and exploits.

The duke of Bavier shall be lievetenant generall for the pope, and general capyteine for the spiritualitie, in the said exploits and wars.

And his eldest sonne shall have in marlage the daughter of the duke of Lorrayne.

The duke of Guyse shall have in mariage the daughter of the yonge duke of Bavier.

The sister of the Frenche kinge shalbe maryed to the kinge of Portingall.

And in case the duke of Florence deny or refuse to be comprised in the said contract, he shalbe dryven and chased out of his land.

The dukedome of Mylleine shalbe rendred and restored to the Frenche kinge; he shall have allso the ilandes of Corsyca, as soon as the Genevoises be from thence removed.

The Venetians shall subject themselves allso to the said contract. And yf they refuse to doe the same, then shall the said confederats make sharpe warrs against them, and their lordeshippe and lande in Italye shalbe geven from them.

The duke of Florence, for thaccomplishment of these articles, shall ryde in post to the frontiers of France, whereas the kinge and his mother sholde

also come; notwithstanding that shall take no place throughe the solycitacion don by some of the kinges counsaill to the contrary.

The causers and preferers of this contract, be the cardynall of Lorrayne, and of Graundvill, and his brothern. Which lykes the emperour verie well; the rather, for that it first tendeth to honour and riches, which the house of Austria hath allwales sought and desired.

The cardynall of Burboyn is also one of these practysers.

Nicolas Wotton, LL. D. dean of Canterbury and York, died this year. He hath a very fair monument in the cathedral church of Canterbury, with his statue in a kneeling posture. By which effigies of him he seems to have been a spare man, his cheeks falling in. The head of it is counted an extraordinary fine piece of work. The inscription being in Latin, is very large, giving a contracted history of the man. It expresseth, among other things, that he was sent ambassador twice to the emperor Charles V. once to Philip king of Spain, and to Francis I. the French king: thrice to Henry II. his son: once to Mary queen of Hungary, and governor of the Low Countries: twice to William duke of Cleves: that he was commissioner of the peace renewed between the English, French, and Scots, at Guisnes and Ardes, in the year 1546: and likewise at Cambray castle in the year 1553. Lastly, one of the queen's ambassadors at Edinburgh in Scotland, 1560.

As this dean deceased this year, so another dean of this English church, namely, of St. Paul's, London, must have some notice taken of him, for a learned book now set forth against Thomas Dorman, a papist, entitled, *A Confutation of him*. Dorman, a young forward man, now bachelor of divinity, sometime a fellow of New College, Oxon, by the help, as it was thought, of the collections and writings of Dr. Richard Smith, to whom he was executor, undertook to answer some part of bishop Jewel's challenge; and set forth a book in the year 1564, called *A Proof*, written to prove the necessity of one head of the church, who must be the pope, intended against certain articles of the said bishop's challenge, relating chiefly to this pretended head. This Proof, Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, soon answered, styling his book, *A Reproof of Mr. Dorman's Proof*. But Dorman defended his Proof, and called his defence, *A Disproof of Nowel's Reproof*; and this came forth in the year 1565. In which book he had mingled many impertinent treatises of other matters in controversy between us, to help out with the great barrenness of his first subject, viz. the necessity of one head of the church. Then, in the year 1567, the dean set forth, in answer to the

Disproof, a pretty bulky book, entitled, *A Confutation of Mr. Dorman's late book, &c. whereby our countrymen, especially the simple and unlearned, may understand how shamefully they are abused by those and the like books, pretended to be. written for their instruction.* The ground of this warning may be gathered from Nowel's complaint in his epistle to the reader, viz. how unfairly and disingenuously Dorman dealt with him, for he either wholly omitted Nowel's sayings, (which he pretended to go about to confute,) except a word or two in the beginning of them, and here and there piked what he thought good; or if he did rehearse a few lines of Nowel's book, he commonly broke off as he pleased, that the whole sense and strength of the sentence might not be perceived by the reader; and so left out that which was especially to be recited on Nowel's behalf. Things by him plainly spoken, Dorman obscured; things divided, he confounded and mingled; and commonly by putting to, or taking from, or some way altering the words, corrupted and falsified what was said, and plainly meant: so that the reader, who should understand both parties, and, by conference of both, judge of both, was either deceived or left in obscurity. And further, very ungentlely, and the better to impose upon the reader, Dorman confidently in broad words charged his adversary with no less than eighty-two lies. But the other appealed to his readers, whether he had not discharged himself clearly of them, and returned them in order upon Dorman's own head, with great accession, interest, and multiplication.

In both his books, the dean found him out to be a notorious plagiarist, in borrowing out of Harding, who was his master, and other writers, and copying out a great part of their allegations as his own. And to let this appear at once, towards the conclusion of the Confutation, he shewed in a table in one column of it, that he had transcribed allegations out of the fathers from the said Harding, in the fourth article of his first book against bishop Jewel, in nine and twenty places at least. And in another column of the same table was shewn, how they had been all answered by the said bishop, or by the dean himself. And another table he framed, that discovered ten authorities more out of scripture and doctors, stolen by the same Dorman out of Hosias, and answered by the same bishop or himself, the places and folios expressly set down.

In the body of this book Nowel vindicated himself against another adversary, and that was Dr. Nicolas Saunde: who had wrote a great book, consisting of four hundred and twenty-five leaves, entitled, *The Supper of the Lord set forth according to the truth of the gospel and catholic faith.*

Which was observed to be the largest book that any English papist had wrote in those days, excepting Mr. Heskins his Jordan. This title of Saunder's great book spake ostentatiously of a confutation of Mr. Nowel's *challenge*. And what was this challenge, but something comprised in fourteen lines of his former book against Dorman? Which in short was this: "Mr. Dorman, nor all papists with him, shall never be able to shew cause, why these words, I am *the true vine*, do not prove as well a transubstantiation, as *Hoc est corpus meum*." The dean obtaining Saunder's book from the bishop of London, who had got it, marvelled much to see the title of the book; which made him *toss* the book over, and a great while found nothing concerning himself: but after two hundred and thirty-three leaves, he found a discourse of seventeen leaves wrote against his fourteen lines. Now in his Confutation of Dorman, he thought fit to take notice of what Saunder had writ against him, and to vindicate what he had said. And to do it with good profit to the readers, he confuted, in one whole alphabet, all his causes of transubstantiation; which consisted only in these words, *This is my body*.

Let me add in the last place concerning this book called *The Confutation of Dorman's Disproof*, that it must not be looked upon as the single judgment of one private divine of the church of England, nor a book thrust hastily out into the world by himself without making any body else privy to his doing: but it was a discourse writ upon mature deliberation; having been well weighed and perused by other great and wise men; particularly the bishop of London, and the secretary of state. The former saw the sheets as Nowel finished them; and so did the secretary, at least many of them; and, it seems, corrected and added of his own to them: and in certain doubts he was consulted; and among the rest, in somewhat mentioned by Dorman from Calvin, who had made some unhandsome reflections upon king Henry VIII. and his title of supreme head of the church of England. The answer that Nowel had framed to this, he sent to the secretary to review and consider. All which appears from the said Nowel's letter to the secretary, writ in the month of April 1566: wherein

"he thanked his honour for perusing of his papers; which he sent *again* written out unto him; according as my lord of London had told him was his honour's pleasure. That *he* had sent him half a dozen leaves or more in the latter end of it, to peruse when he had leisure; which contained an answer to Calvin, by oversight uncomely and untruly *writing* of king Henry the Eighth, and the

title of *supreme head*; which Dorman had laid to our charge. And that he should be much bounden to his honour in case he would (his leisure so serving him) oversee that part. That the printer called upon him, and that he had no cause to stay, but the lack of intelligence of his honour's judgment of that part."

By this time bishop Jewel's learned answer to Harding was got into the press, and near printed in the month of September; though it came not forth till the year 1569, unless that were another edition. The bishop was now deliberating concerning the dedication of his book; and archbishop Parker and other of his friends advised him, for certain good causes, to recommend it to her majesty; especially since Harding had already adventured in an evil cause to do the like. But before he would presume to do it, he thought fit to address a letter to the secretary, to aid him with his good counsel, since he best knew the inclinations of her majesty's mind; adding, that it stood not only him, the author, but also the cause itself upon, that such attempts might have favourable acceptance. He prayed the secretary further to advertise him, what matter or matters it were most convenient to touch in his preface to her majesty. And no question he had the secretary's advice herein.

In 1568, it was near coming forth: and as it was very learnedly writ, so it had the admiration of all: and the queen herself read it diligently; and gave Jewel thanks for his said work.

This year the bishop of London, with other the queen's commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, made a decree in behalf of the Dutch strangers' church in London. The occasion this; some members of this church had carried themselves disobediently to the orders of it, and then, for avoiding the censures, had departed and revolted from it. This behaviour, too often practised, put the church upon addressing and petitioning the said commissioners, that they who without any just cause had thus gone from them, might be brought back, and obliged to a reconciliation with the church again. Hereupon they did decree, first, that the said Dutch church should continue in its first constitution, under its own discipline hitherto accustomed, and in its conformity with other the reformed churches; confirming the ministers, elders, and deacons of the same church in their ministries and administrations. And then exhorted all strangers abiding in the city of London, who professed Christ and his gospel, to join themselves to that church, and submit to its holy appointments. And further, declared

all such as had made a defection from this church, and had caused the late disturbance in it, to be unquiet and stubborn persons, until by repentance they returned and gave satisfaction to God and his church; reserving to themselves the further restraint and correction of them. This was given under their seal the 19th of December, 1567, *anno reginae* 10.

The like favour again another bishop of London long, after expressed towards this church, namely, bishop King, upon the like occasion, in an instrument of order, bearing date August the 9th, 1615, for the maintenance of this church's customs and censures; upon a petition put up to him by this church, and the Dutch church in Colchester, complaining of certain persons that offended against the government and censures ecclesiastical of their congregations. The bishop therein first specified, how king James I. had extended his gracious favour towards this congregation, as also to that of Colchester, for the continuance of their quiet residence and habitation within the said city and town, and for their successive enjoying of their ancient accustomed liberties in the government of their congregations among themselves. Which favour, as the said instrument testified, they had used with moderation, and with the good liking of the state, and his [the bishop's] predecessors, during the reign of queen Elizabeth, without any just scandal or prejudice given by them against the state of the church of England. And then the said bishop enjoined, that no member of the said churches that had offended, and thereby deserved their censures, should depart from those congregations, and join themselves to any parish church, before he had either been censured for his offence, or otherwise had reconciled himself unto his respective congregation.

Whereas mention was made above of king James's gracious favour towards the Dutch church in London; this happened in the year 1611, when this church purchased of that king the churchyard, and the houses built thereon, for 600*l*. For which the king granted them his gracious letters patents.

A thing happened this year to some English in Spain, that as it shewed the hot zeal of that people towards popery, so it gave the queen a plain indication of their ill-will towards her. For they had forbid Man, her ambassador, to use in his own house privately the divine service practised in England; and moreover, had removed him from the court, nay, and the city Madrid. His servants, though they were the queen's subjects, they compelled to be present at the mass, and threatened them, if they heard the

English service. This the queen was soon acquainted with by the ambassador's letter. This usage of her ambassador, however contrary to the law of nations it was, the queen still carried it fair with that king. But how she inwardly resented this affront, and what she did hereupon, she expressed in her answer to the said ambassador; which was to this tenor:

"That since his servant's coming, she had understood a matter very strange unto her, and not to be suffered: which was, that all his household, being her natural subjects, (his own person only excepted,) did resort to the common services of the churches there, contrary to her laws and ordinances; and were not only compelled, but also by fear restrained from the exercise of any common or private divine service within his own house, agreeable to her laws. That she found this matter so inconvenient, as, considering what impunity and privilege the king of Spain's ambassador had here for his own servants, (which also some thought he enlarged, to serve the appetites of others,) was not allowable. That she thought meet to declare unto him, the said Spanish ambassador, her great disliking hereof; and had required him to impart to the king her good brother, this misusage of the privilege that belonged to him, as her ambassador, and to procure the speedy remedy thereof. For otherwise she would not with such an inequality suffer her minister to reside there."

The Spanish ambassador in his answer seemed to be ignorant of this usage; and promised to write, and deal herein effectually with the king his master.

And the queen added, telling her ambassador, that it was her pleasure, if his servants were indeed constrained to repair to their churches, as it was said, that he should impart the same to the king, and require him to provide remedy of the same, assuring him, as he well and truly might, that if she had known thereof before, (as indeed she did not,) she would have in this sort dealt for the remedy whereof, as now she did. And she wrote to her ambassador further, that he might say to the king, that she had imparted this to his ambassador here; who could not but report how he was otherwise used; and no part abridged of his privilege. Lastly, she required him to advertise her about this matter, to the intent she might give order for his revocation, if he might not enjoy like privilege for his household servants, as the king's ambassador did here.

Religion in Lancashire and the parts thereabouts went backwards: papists about these times shewing themselves there to be numerous. Mass commonly said; priests harboured; the Book of Common Prayer, and the service of the church established by law, laid aside: many churches shut up, and cures unsupplied, unless with such popish priests as had been ejected. The knowledge of all this coming to the court, the queen sent down to the ecclesiastical commission, whereof the bishop of the diocese was the chief, (together with several others, whom she might trust,) to examine and redress these disorders, and to call before them all such as were known or suspected to have any hand in them. And to the bishop of Chester, some time after, she wrote a letter, reprehending him for his negligence in his diocese; and requiring him to be more diligent in suppressing popery, and filling the vacant churches; and that he should undertake a visitation for this purpose. But to give a more particular account of this matter, I shall subjoin the queen's letter; which ran to this tenor:

"We greet you well. We think it not unknown to you, how we, of our own mere motion, for the good opinion we conceived of you in your former service of us, to admit you to be bishop of that diocese; expecting in you that *diligence* and carefulness for the containing of our subjects in the uniformity of religion and the service of God according to the laws of the realm, as now upon the credible reports of disorders and contempts to the contrary in your diocese, and especially in the county of Lancaster, we find great lack in you, being sorry to have our former expectation in this sort deceived. In which matter of late we wrote unto you, and other our commissioners joined with you, to cause certain suspected persons to be apprehended; writing also at the same time to our right trusty and fight well-beloved the earl of Darby, for the aiding of you in that behalf. Since which time, and before the delivery of the said letters to the earl of Darby, we be duly informed, that the said earl hath, upon small motions made to him, caused all such persons as have been required, to be apprehended; and hath shewn himself therein, according to our assured expectation, very faithful and careful for our service.

"Now therefore, considering the place you hold, to be the principal minister in these causes, and such disorders found within your diocese, as we hear not of the like in any other parts, we will and charge you flirther to have other regard to your office; and

especially to foresee that all churches and cures be provided of honest men, as well learned curates, as ye can cause to be provided; using therein the ordinances and censures of the church, to the remedy of the defaults, and suffer not for the lack of your personal visitation, by repairing into the remotest parts, and especially into Lancashire, that obstinate persons having been most justly deprived, be not secretly maintained, to pervert our good subjects within any part of your diocese; as we understand they have now of long time been. And herein we have the more cause to blame you; for that besides your episcopal jurisdiction, you have had all other good authority to reform these disorders by our special commission to you and others directed, for the reformation of these kinds of abuses in matters ecclesiastical. Which you did instantly desire to have, with promise thereby to have preserved your diocese from these disorders.”

Under the next year we shall see the effect of this letter of the queen's, and the remissness of the bishop that caused it, and the prosecution of these papists.

As the queen had this business with the bishop of Chester, so the bishop of Carlisle, (another church in this northern province,) had some business now with the queen and her council. The case was this: The church of Carlisle had been greatly wronged in its revenues by the old popish prebendaries; who, taking their opportunity in absence of sir Thomas Smith the dean, had made leases without reason or conscience for their own benefits, whatsoever became of the church afterwards. This was complained of above; and a commission was issued out to the bishop and the lord Scroop among others, to inspect into these unjust doings. And a certificate what was found and done, was the last year returned by the bishop and the said lord unto the queen's privy council; having been delivered by the said bishop into the secretary's hands the last parliament time, and remained still with his clerk; but nothing done therein as yet. Now in the month of September, Scot, one of the prebendaries of that church, came up on purpose to solicit this business, and to endeavour to obtain some remedy of these horrible abuses. And both the bishop and sir Thomas the dean gave him their letters, to introduce him to the secretary; who was always ready to help the state of the church and religion.

The bishop in his letter requested his furtherance and aid in these needful suits of that church; shewing, that the evil dealing of the old prebendaries would appear to him in the certificate of the commission returned the year before. Wherein, in that busy and troublesome time of parliament, and by reason of the secretary's sickness at that time, nothing could then be done. That the church, although the present prebendaries were good husbands, was in distress, because the charges were large, as much as the revenue would bear, or more. He doubted not but that God would move his heart (as continually he did) to work herein as might stand with equity and justice, to the glory of God, and supportation of the painful preachers therein.

The sum of sir Thomas Smith's letter, which the same Scot also brought to the secretary, was,

“That the said prebendary of Carlisle was come up to prosecute a further remedy for abuses in unreasonable leases made in his [the dean's] absence: and he prayed him, that he might obtain letters from the council to the lord president of York and the council there, to take the matter in hand. He hoped to bring it to some good pass, to the aid of the poor church; which was then by those unreasonable prebends almost despoiled of all that it had. That he had drawn a draught of such a letter as Scot desired, praying the secretary to peruse it, and as he thought good to amend, and to get it signed by his own and the lords' hands.”

These were some of the cares now taken, to redress the mischiefs the popish spoilers of the church now reformed had done, as well out of malice as covetousness.

CHAPTER 51.

Orders taken with papists in Lancashire by the ecclesiastical commission. The dean of St. Paul's preaches there. Detections ode papists there. They send over money to Lovain. The see of York vacant. The queen encourageth the universities to study divinity. The bishop of Chester's commendations. His expenses. The queen dangerously sick.

IT was time for the state to look after those dangerous, disaffected men in Lancashire and the parts adjoining: and by those messages from the queen mentioned above, both the bishop of Chester and the commissioners ecclesiastical were spurred up to discharge their duties with respect to them. The bishop entered upon his visitation this summer; and many papists and their doings were detected, and most of them reduced, outwardly at least, to obedience and compliance with the laws for religion.

And first to give some account of the bishop's visitation: which proved thus, according to the relation he made himself of it to the secretary in a letter to him dated Nov. 1, 1568,

“That he had the last summer visited his whole diocese, which was of length above six score miles, and had found the people very tractable; and no where more than in the furthest parts bordering upon Scotland: where, as he said, he had the most gentle entertainment of the worshipful to his great comfort. That his journey was very painful by reason of the extreme heat; and if he had not received great courtesy of the gentlemen, he must have left the most of his horses by the way: such drought was never seen in those parts.”

The bishop also now sent up by one of his servants a true copy of all such orders as he and the rest of his associates in the queen's commission ecclesiastical had taken with the gentlemen of Lancashire: who (one only excepted, whose name was John Westby) with most humble submissions and like thanks unto the queen's majesty, and to her honourable council, received the same; promising, that from thenceforth they would live in such sort, that they would never hereafter give occasion of offence in any thing concerning their bounden duty, as well towards religion, as their allegiance

towards their prince. But notwithstanding their promises, the commissioners bound every of them in recognisances in the sum of an hundred marks for their appearances from time to time, as appeared in the abovesaid orders. And certain punishments inflicted upon some of them had done so much good in the country, that the bishop hoped he should never be troubled again with the like.

Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, London, was a Lancashire man, and was now down in that country; who, with his continual preaching in divers places in the county, had brought many obstinate and wilful people unto conformity and obedience, and had gotten great commendation and praise (as he was most worthy) even of those that had been great enemies to his religion. The bishop occasionally relating this to the secretary, beseeched him to be a means to the queen's majesty and to her honourable council, to give him thanks for this his great pains taken among his countrymen.

But now to set down particularly what had been detected and discovered among these Lancashire papists, and the negligence or loathness of the bishop to prosecute them. Information was brought in to the bishop by one Mr. Glasier, a commissioner, and another, named Edmund Ashton, that great confederacies were then in Lancashire: and that sundry papists were there lurking, who had stirred divers gentlemen to their faction, and sworn them together, not to come to the church in the service-time, now set forth by the queen's authority, nor to receive the communion, nor to hear sermons; but to maintain the mass and papistry. And after this information, Glasier advised the bishop to go to the earl of Darby, and to execute the commission in Lancashire; or else it could not be holpen, but many church doors must be shut up, and the curates hindered to serve as it was appointed to be used in the church. And that this confederacy was so great, that it would grow to a commotion or rebellion. The bishop hereupon sent for those offenders by precept, but declined to go yet to execute the commission in Lancashire.

Again, sir Edward Fytton informed the bishop, that Mr. Edmund Trafford spake of these matters before to him as a commissioner, for to have redress thereof. Whereupon Mr. Gerrard said, that if the bishop would not go to Wygan in Lancashire, or such like place, and sit to execute the commission, and move the earl of Darby to be there, (who had assured them he would sit and assist,) he knew that a commotion would ensue; and that he knew their determination was thereunto: for that his kinsman and alliance, to his

remembrance, (naming Mr. Westby,) had told him, *he would willingly lose his blood in these matters*. Also he said further, that from Warrington all along the seacoasts in Lancashire, the gentlemen (except Mr. Butler) were of the faction, and withdrew themselves from religion; as Mr. Ireland, sir William Norris, and many other more. So that there was such a likelihood of a rebellion or commotion speedily, that for his part, if the bishop would not go to execute the commission in Lancashire, he would himself within twelve days inform the privy council. And yet he had desired the bishop to deliver the commission unto him and Fytton to execute: but the bishop refused, saying, he would send for the offenders. But afterward the bishop and Gerrard signed precepts for divers papistical priests and some gentlemen, to appear before the commissioners concerning the premises.

Again, one Edmund Holme made this discovery: that there was a letter written from Dr. Saunders [Nicolas Saunders, I suppose] to sir Richard Molineux and sir William Norris; the copy of which letter was ready to be shewed. The contents of it, as it seems, were, to exhort them to own the pope supreme head of the church; and that they should swear his supremacy, and obedience to him, before some priest or priests appointed by his authority; who should also absolve them that had taken any oath to the queen as supreme, or gone to church, and heard common prayer. Hereupon sir Richard Molineux did make a vow unto one Norice, otherwise called Butcher, otherwise called Fisher, of Formeby; and unto one Peyle, otherwise called Pyck, (who reported that he had the pope's authority,) that he would do all things according to the words of the said letter. And so did receive absolution at Pyck's hand: and he did vow to the said Pyck, that he would take the pope to be the supreme head of the church. And the said Molineux's daughters, Jane, Alice, and Anne, and his son John, made the like vow as their father had done. And then they took a corporal oath on a book. And so did John Mollin of the Wodde, and Robert Blundel of Inse, and Richard Blundel of Christby, and sir Thomas Williamson, and sir John Dervoyne, and John Williamson. These were some of those popish gentlemen of Lancashire; and these were their doings. But the commission ecclesiastical roundly managed had pretty well reduced them, as we heard before.

In what form the submission ran, to which these popish gentlemen subscribed, before they made their peace, I know not. But I find this year one form offered to sir John Southworth of these parts (who had

entertained priests, and absented from the church) by order of the privy council; which was as followeth:

“Whereas I sir John Southworth, knt. forgetting my duty towards God and the queen’s majesty, in not considering my due obedience, for the observation of the ecclesiastical laws and orders of this realm, have received into my house and company, and there relieved certain priests, who have not only refused the ministry, but also in my hearing have spoken against the present state of religion, established by her majesty and the states of her realm in parliament; and have also otherwise misbehaved myself in not resorting to my parish church at common prayer, nor receiving the holy communion so oftentimes as I ought to have done;

“I do now, by these presents, most humbly and unfeignedly submit myself to her majesty, and am heartily sorry for mine offence in this behalf, both towards God and her majesty. And do further promise to her majesty from henceforth to obey all her majesty’s laws and ordinances, set forth by her majesty’s authority in all matters of religion and orders ecclesiastical; and to behave myself therein as becometh a good, humble, and obedient subject; and shall not impugn any of the said laws and ordinances by any open speech, or by writing, or act of mine own; nor willingly suffer any such in my company to offend, whom I may reasonably let or disallow: nor shall assist, maintain, relieve, or comfort any person, living out of this realm, being known to be an offender against the said laws and orders now established for godly religion, as is aforesaid. And in this doing, I firmly trust to have her majesty my gracious and good lady, as hitherto I, and all other her subjects, have marvellously tasted of her mercy and goodness.”

But this knight refused to subscribe, any further than in that point of maintaining no more those disordered persons.

Another matter discovered this year concerning the papists was, their sending over sums of money to the priests, fled out of England, and living in Lovain, and writing books against their native country, the queen, and the present constitution of the realm, and the good laws lately established in church and state. These that follow were found to be the principal contributors to the Lovainists, by the confession of Thomas Wilson, clerk, taken in the Tower of London, March 30, 1568, (the names being sent by

the bishop of London to the secretary,) viz. Rouse of Suffolk; who sent them at times 19*l*. The said Rouse was commanded, when he came before the council, to bring with him a priest named Cosyn; perhaps the same that bishop Gardiner, in the time of queen Mary, had put in master of Katharine hall in Cambridge, in the room of Dr. Sandys. Another of these contributors was Mr. Kytson of Suffolk, who sent for their use in common five marks. Another was Mr. Copley of Surrey; who sent to Dr. Harding five marks, and to Stapleton five marks. Another was William Roper of Lincoln, esq. who sent to Dr. Bullock 5*l*. I meet with the recantation and submission of this last to the lords of the council, for his relieving with money certain persons departed the realm, and remaining out of the realm without the queen's licence, and who had set forth books in print against the queen's supremacy; promising from henceforth to obey the queen's laws and ordinances in matters of religion.

Nor was this the first time these contributions were made. For in the year 1562 the council sent their letters to Grindal, bishop of London, notifying to him, how some there were in London that used private mass and other superstitious ceremonies in their houses; and not only so, but did make secret collections of money, which they sent out of the realm to the maintenance of such as were notoriously known enemies to the authority of the queen and her crown. And they required him with the sheriff to take order for the discovery hereof in certain houses suspected.

While these factors for the pope (as we have heard before) were busy in the north, the church of York was destitute of a pastor, whose influence in all those northern parts, being archbishop of that province, was now especially very necessary. Therefore Matthew Hutton, dean of York, did the latter end of this year (the see having been void even since June last) write a letter to secretary Cecil, on purpose to put him in remembrance,

“how great need they had of a good archbishop. And how it was needful that he should be a teacher, because the country was ignorant; a virtuous and godly man, because the country was given to sift a man's life; a stout and courageous man in God's cause, because the country otherwise would abuse him; and yet a sober and discreet man, lest too much rigorousness should harden the hearts of some that by fair means might be mollified, &c. and such a bishop likewise as was both learned himself, and also loved learning; that that rude and blind country might be furnished with

learned preachers. And such a man, added the dean, was the bishop of London known to be; and therefore he did wish that London were translated to York.”

And the dean shall have his wish, but he must stay near two years for him.

The dangerous increase of papists, and revolt to popery, that now appeared in the north, and other parts of the realm, was occasioned chiefly by the want of learned ministers, to fill the vacant churches, and to officiate in the respective parishes; who might be resident among them, and at hand to teach and preach to the people, and to inform their great ignorance in true religion, and to shew them the superstitions and errors of popery, and the many aberrations therein from the holy scriptures, and the doctrine of the ancient church of Christ. And this was to be done by encouraging the study of divinity in the universities; which was now much laid aside, since they saw partly how ecclesiastical places and preferments were swallowed up by laymen, and how the revenues of the church had been curtailed and diminished; and partly, how not the learned so much as the dependents upon the great men, were advanced in the church. Therefore it was thought advisable to revive the hopes of students, and to put greater numbers upon fitting themselves, by suitable learning, to enter into holy orders. And for this purpose, the queen sent a kind letter to the high chancellor of Cambridge, sir William Cecil, (and the like very probably she did to the chancellor of Oxford too,) which he forthwith sent to his vice-chancellor, Dr. Perne. The purport of the queen’s letter was her care of learning, and how she stood especially affected towards those that studied divinity; and what she would have done in that business, and the promise of some special favours to be granted them: which was,

“That such as were well learned in the knowledge of divine things, and should be commended to her for such by the university, she would from time to time take care of, and see them preferred to places in the church, both of wealth and honour; and that according to their merits. And that she would allow honorary salaries to the acute and hopeful youth, for their maintenance in their studies there. And that she would prefer none but such as either the bishops or the university should recommend to her by their testimonials.”

The benefit hereof was this; that whereas before, it was not learning so much made way to preferment, as ambition, and soliciting and waiting

upon noblemen, and depending upon the interest of the great ones of the court; the art alone wherein the university (skilful in all other arts and sciences) was ignorant and unacquainted with. Whereby it came to pass, that as any was most addicted to study, so he was most out of the way of preferment. But now (as the vice-chancellor wrote to the chancellor) by this singular benefit so voluntarily offered by the queen, there would be no further cause for scholars to be solicitous either for livelihoods or rewards, when she had taken all that care for them upon herself. And the chancellor in his letter had promised them, that he himself would further and improve (as occasion served) what was now so well begun.

The vice-chancellor answered the chancellor at large, signifying the great joy the university took at the royal letter. For by this the university came to enjoy that which they never before could hope for or expect. And he doubted not, but the studies of some, quenched and discouraged by the miserable tossings and frequent changes of the times, which the university had felt, might now easily be erected and inflamed, since so great rewards were propounded.

The vice-chancellor also acquainted the chancellor what he had done upon the receipt of his letters, together with the queen's, viz. that he had read them before all the heads of the colleges; who had communicated them to their several houses. Whereat all conceived exceeding joy, and they openly confessed, that neither in their nor their fathers' memories any such thing happened from the benevolence of princes, which might compare with the profit and greatness of this. And now all in the colleges were like cheerfully to betake themselves to the study of divinity. And he took order, that the heads of every college should make choice of such as should study divinity, and writing down their names and degrees, to send them to him, the vice-chancellor; which he accordingly sent to the chancellor. He told the chancellor, that he hoped in a short time there should be bred up many divines; and that many would leave the study of law and physic, and give themselves to divinity; and many that stuck to philosophy, would not any longer wear out themselves in those speculations, but hasten to theology. And he assured the chancellor, that never was there a greater number of learned youth there, nor with more commendation now plied their books; and wanted nothing but time and maturity to perfect them in learning. And therefore it was to be wished, that they might not be forced (as formerly) to forsake the university, and break off their studies, either for want of maintenance, or being tempted (as many were) by some present little

advantage to depart. Against which pest of good learning the queen's letters applied an effectual remedy. The vice-chancellor's letter upon so remarkable an occasion may be read in the Appendix.

The queen, of her grace, when she admitted any to the small bishoprics, usually granted them *commendams* withal, to enable them to live in port agreeable to their calling. And yet she granted those *commendams* warily, but for some years, as shewing perhaps that she favoured not pluralities. Thus it was with the bishopric of Chester. Downham, the present bishop, had *commendams* to endure seven years for two benefices, (as his next successor Chaderton held the wardenship of Manchester *in commendam*,) which were near expiring this year. But finding he could not subsist without the continuance of them, in the month of November he applied to the secretary, (at whose hands he had always found favour,) acquainting him, that if the queen were not a good and gracious lady to him, to grant him a longer term in his *commendam*, it would turn to his great hinderance and decay for the maintenance of hospitality. He beseeched him therefore, forasmuch as he had nothing else for the provision of his house, to be a means to her majesty to renew his *commendam* for the term of his life: and that in so doing, he should be able to maintain the like port that he had hitherto done: otherwise, he should of necessity be constrained to abate his household, which he would be very loath to do. He added, that he had of the bishopric nothing but bare rent, and much of it illy paid; and that it was the least revenue that any man of his calling had in the realm. That he paid yearly out of the same, as he was able to make a perfect account, above 500 marks, so that there were not much more than 500 marks for him to maintain himself and his poor family. That he kept every day to the number of forty persons, young and old, besides comers and goers; which could not be maintained with any smaller portion. That he was no purchaser of lands; that he bestowed all in housekeeping; and that he was glad to make even at the year's end; and yet, he thanked God, he was out of debt. This he wrote from his house at Chester. This may give us some account of that bishop and bishopric in those times.

This year, in the month of August, put an end to the life of an ancient bishop, viz. Barlow, bishop of Chichester, and under king Edward VI. bishop of Bath and Wells; a confessor and exile for the true religion. He had been employed by king Henry VIII. and particularly in the great cause between that king and the pope about his divorce: in which he was so active and diligent, that he gained much favour with the lady Anne Boleyn.

And the benefice of Sondridge being void, she solicited archbishop Cranmer to bestow it on him: who, in compliance with her request, presented him to Tonbridge, by a mistake of the writing, or of some that did the message, instead of Sondridge: which caused that great lady to write another letter of her own hand to the archbishop, shewing him the mistake; and that Tonbridge was of her father's advowson, and not void, but Sondridge was, and of his gift. And then begging his grace's grant of it to the said Mr. Barlow;

“and considering the pains that he had taken, she thought it should be very well bestowed. And that in so doing she should think herself much bound to his grace; as likewise for all those that had taken pains in the king's matter. And that it should be her daily study to imagine all the ways she could devise to do them service and pleasure. And then thanking him for his pains in writing to *her*; adding, that, next to the king's letter, there was nothing that could rejoice her so much.”

But both for the letter in behalf of this eminent man, and for the writer, and also for the great archbishop to whom it was writ, as I thought it worthy transcribing the whole from the original, so I think it worth preserving in the Appendix.

The queen was this year (but at what time of it I cannot tell) suddenly taken with a terrible fit of sickness, that threatened her life, and was brought even to the very point of death, in human appearance. This put the court and whole realm into a great consternation: and, together with her bodily distemper, she was under great conflicts and terrors of mind for her sins; apprehensive, that she had not been sufficiently sensible of God's singular mercies and favours expressed towards her, and was too much elated with her prosperity, not performing her duty to God so much as she should and ought to have done, in the discharge of that great office he had intrusted her with; forgetting her God, to whom she had made many vows, and being unthankful to him. This may be collected from a prayer composed for *her*, when she began to amend, by sir John Mason, a learned man, treasurer of her household; wherein petition is made to God to heal her soul, and cure her mind, as well as her body. This prayer, I suppose, was used with the rest at the accustomed times of prayer before her. And when she was pretty well recovered, another prayer and thanksgiving was made to be used on that occasion; which was composed, *I suppose*, by the

same hand, but with the correction here and there of Cecil's pen. Both which are very worthy preserving; and therefore I have put them into the Appendix.

CHAPTER 52.

Sir Henry. Killigrew sent to the prince palatine about religion. Many from France and the Netherlands come hither, persecuted for the gospel. The pope's displeasure thereat. God's blessing of plenty for their sakes. Some of these prove sectaries. Refusers of the habits in bishop Jewels diocese. Dering writes against Harding. A Jesuit pretends himself a puritan. Proclamation for fish-days; and against seditious books. A visitation for survey of coats of arms. An Englishman takes his degree of doctor at Heidelberg. Complaints from Bristol of their bishop. His vindication of himself. Some account of him.

BY the view of what hath been already shewn, we see plainly enough, how active and stirring those of the popish league, before mentioned, were, by the motions that were made both here in England and in other neighbouring countries, threatening the overthrow of the reformed religion. Therefore the queen was fully inclined to countenance the protestants abroad, and to assist them. And it happened now seasonably, that the prince palatine of the Rhine sent to her, to come into a defensive league with them of the protestant religion, and to borrow money of her for that cause. She took this occasion to send sir Henry Killigrew her ambassador to Almaine, to the said prince, the paltzgrave, to give him her favourable answer to these his demands.

First, to understand her disposition towards entering into a common league with the princes protestants of Germany (whereof she thought him to be one of the principal) for defence of the cause of Christian religion, against the invasion of the pope and his party; seeking to oppress and extirp the same through all parts of Christendom.

The second matter was to move her by divers reasons, tending to her own particular surety, to give aid to such states as were now oppressed, both in France and in the king of Spain's Low Countries, for their consciences in the cause of religion. And for that purpose to lend directly the said paltzgrave a certain sum of money, to be employed with the service of his son, in that behalf; or else to give her own assurance and credit for a sum to be borrowed of certain merchants in High Almaine, to be named by the said paltz-grave. And the same money to be employed in like manner as

abovesaid; with good assurance to be made to her, that if she would not have the same employed for any particular quarrel of her own, but to permit it to be employed in defence of the common cause of the Christian religion; then to have it repaid unto her after a certain time, following the end of the said service.

The protestants were now miserably harassed in France by their natural (may we call him? or rather unnatural) king. Edicts for the free exercise of their religion broken, their ministers banished, and much blood spilt. And those in the Netherlands persecuted intolerably by the duke D'Alva, that breathed out nothing but blood and slaughter. Great numbers therefore of them from all parts daily fled over hither into the queen's dominions, for the safety of their lives, and liberty of their consciences; and had hospitable entertainment and harbour for God's sake and the gospel's; being allowed to dwell peaceably, and follow their callings without molestation, in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, Southampton, London, and Southwark, and elsewhere.

The pope took upon him, in his bull, (which we shall hear of the next year,) to charge the queen, among other his accusations, for these poor strangers, in these slanderous words, viz. That all such as were the worst of the people resorted hither, and were by her received into safe protection; meaning the poor exiles of Flanders and France, and other countries; who either lost or left behind them all they had, goods, lands, and houses:

“Not for adultery, (as one that answered the said bull said well,) or theft, or treason, but for the profession of the gospel. It pleased God here to cast them on land. The queen of her gracious pity granted them harbour. Is it become a heinous thing to shew mercy? God willed the children of Israel to love the stranger, because they were strangers in the land of Egypt. He that sheweth mercy shall find mercy. But what was the number of such who came in unto us? Three or four thousand. Thanks be to God, this realm (said the same right reverend writer) is able to receive them, if the number be greater. And why may not queen Elizabeth receive a few afflicted members of Christ, which are compelled to carry his cross? Whom when he thought good to bring safely by the dangers of the sea, and to set in at our havens, should we cruelly have driven them back again, or drowned them, or hanged them, or starved them? Would the vicar of Christ give this counsel? Or if a king receive such, and

give them succour, must he therefore be deprived? They are our brethren; they live not idly: if they take houses of us, they pay rent for them. They hold not our grounds, but by making due recompence. They beg not in our streets, nor crave any thing at our hands, but to breathe our air, and to see our sun. They labour truly; they live sparefully; they are good examples of virtue, travail, faith, and patience. The towns in which they abide are happy; for God doth follow them with his blessings.”

And then a comparison was made between the Spaniard-strangers under the late queen Mary, and the protestant-strangers under this queen.

“You may remember (added he) what other strangers arrived within these parts not long sithence. These are few; they were many. These are poor and miserable; they were lofty and proud. These are naked; they were armed. These are spoiled by others; they came to spoil us. These are driven from their country; they came to drive us from our country. These came to save their lives; they came to have our lives. The difference is great between these strangers. If we were content to bear them then, let it not grieve us now to bear these.”

This year flesh, fish, wheat, and other provisions, bore a very cheap price; and that which gave a greater remark to this favourable providence of God to the nation was, that this happened contrary to all men’s expectations: for all had feared, but a little before, a great dearth. This was esteemed such considerable news in England, that Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, in his correspondence with the divines of Helvetia, wrote it to Gualter his friend, one of the chief ministers of Zurich; and added, that he was persuaded, and so were others, that this blessing from God happened by reason of the godly exiles, who were hither fled for their religion, and here kindly harboured: whereby in their strait circumstances they might provide at a cheaper rate for themselves and their families.

But with these came over anabaptists also and sectaries, holding heretical and ill opinions; and some also suspected to be guilty of horrible crimes, as of rebellions, murders, and robberies. And all took shelter here, under the pretence that they might have the free exercise of the Christian religion, according to the profession and practice thereof in this realm. This gave occasion to many to reproach the government, as though it were an harbour to all sorts of heresies. And indeed several opinions and doctrines

sprung from some of these foreigners, began now, if not before, to be dispersed in the nation, dangerous to the established orthodox religion, and the civil government. Wherefore orders were issued out from above to the archbishop of Canterbury, and from him to all the bishops, to make a careful inquisition in their several jurisdictions who and what these strangers were, to what churches they repaired, and after what manner they lived; and to make registers of them.

But of these men that fled over hither for religion, many, it must be acknowledged, were very pious and sober, and some very learned too. Of their wants this year compassion was had among the bishops. And I find bishop Jewel, May 3, sending up to the archbishop 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the use of the poor exiles, for his part.

In his letter then wrote to the archbishop he signified, that one or two of his clergy had lately grown *squeamish*, as he expressed it, touching the apparel, but that one of them he had reformed. To the other he had given a copy, with licence to go further from him. His Apology was now much talked of to be printed again in Latin; which the bishop hearing of, and knowing well what false grammar, and false doctrine too, the English printers nowadays, when they ventured on Latin, made the authors guilty of, beseeched the said archbishop to give strait orders, that the Latin Apology might not be printed again in any case, before his grace, or some other, had well perused it. "I am afraid," said he, "of printers: their tyranny is terrible."

Edward Dering, a puritan, in the beginning of the year, shewed his parts in a book against Harding, entitled, *A sparing restraint of many lavish untruths, which Mr. D. Harding, doth challenge in the first article of my lord of Sarisbury's reply*: dating it from Christ's college, Cambridge, April 2*d.* and dedicating it to his countryman Thomas Wotton, a person then of great learning and religion, as well as wealth, in Kent.

The extraordinary craft and diligence of the papists to overthrow the reformed religion planted in England, appeared by a remarkable instance that fell out this year. Their great project which they drove on to effect this was, to blow up and inflame our divisions as much as they could. And for this purpose, some of the craftiest of them shrouded themselves under the cloak of puritan ministers. This year one of these was discovered and taken, named Thomas Heth, brother to Nicolas, late archbishop of York, and lord chancellor under queen Mary. He was sent over by the Jesuits,

being himself one of that order, with instructions to pretend himself a preacher of the purer religion. He had an old budget full of erroneous doctrines to disseminate here, as those of David George, Theodorus Sartor, John Hutz, foreign anabaptists, Arians, and enthusiasts. And these doctrines he was warily to mix with those of the puritans. This man, after six years preaching up and down the country, applied himself to the dean of Rochester, as a poor minister, desiring some preferment. The dean gave him a turn of preaching in that cathedral. In his sermon he had some strokes that looked towards puritanism: for he said concerning the prayers that were made for Peter by the church without ceasing, (which was his text,) that they were not such prayers as were then used by the church of England. By hap, in the pulpit he let fall out of his pocket a letter writ to him, under the name of Thomas Fine, from one Malt, an eminent English Jesuit in Madrid; which conmined directions how he should manage himself in his mission. This letter being taken up by the sexton, and brought to Gest, the bishop, he examined him, and made so close an use of this letter, that he made him confess himself at length a Jesuit. Though at first he pretended, that though he had been a Jesuit, he was fallen off from that order; that indeed he was not so wholly of the episcopal party, but laboured to refine protestants, and to take off all smacks of ceremonies that did in the least tend towards the Romish faith.

After this, they searched his chamber; where, in his boots, were found beads, a licence from the Jesuits, a bull from Plus V. to preach what doctrine that society pleased, for the dividing of protestants, and particularly naming the English protestants; and in his trunk several books against infant baptism; and divers other dangerous papers, stuffed with blasphemies, were seized. In the month of November he had his sentence from the bishop, and stood in the pillory three several days at Rochester, his ears cut off, and his nose slit, and his forehead branded with the letter R, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He died a few months after, not without suspicion of poisoning himself. All this was taken out of the register of the see of Rochester.

A proclamation was this year issued out for eating fish on fish-days, and particularly on Wednesday in every week; enjoined by act of parliament in the fifth of the queen: which was not over-well regarded in most parts of the realm. But being esteemed a law much tending to the benefit of the commonwealth, the queen, by proclamation, June 24, charged her subjects to have due regard to the ordinance of that act for the keeping of those

fish-days, upon pains that might follow. And the justices were required to inquire and look after, and punish the offenders in that behalf.

The English papists abroad, following counsels now taken at Rome, plotted by all means to overthrow the government, and to sour the minds of the subjects against the queen, and the religion established; and now especially, when a rebellion was hatching, which brake out the next year. And, among other courses taken for this purpose, many books were now written and conveyed over hither, in favour of the pope's supremacy and the Romish religion; and persons were gotten to disperse them about among the people. Therefore a proclamation was sent out, March 1st, for restraining and seizing these seditious books. It set forth,

“How divers books were made, or translated, by certain of the queen's subjects, remaining on the other side of the sea without licence, containing sundry matters repugnant to truth, derogatory to the sovereign state of her majesty, impugning the orders and rites established by law for Christian religion and divine service in the realm, and stirring and nourishing sedition. And that these books were in secret sort dispersed by malicious persons, to the intent to draw the people into error, and withdraw them from their duties and allegiance due to her majesty, as their only sovereign. Therefore she charged all persons to forbear using or dealing with any such books; and that such as had any of them should present them, within twenty-eight days after the publishing this proclamation, to the bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place, and receive of him a testimonial of the time of the delivery thereof. And that without express licence in writing of the said bishop or ordinary, or some archbishop of the realm, not to keep or read any such book, upon pain of the queen's grievous indignation.”

This was not the first time this sort of books had been taken notice of. For somewhat before this time, some examples were made in the star-chamber, for correction of certain persons that were found faulty in dispersing, buying, and allowing of such seditious books. This also that follows had a tendency to good order in the realm, viz.

The queen consulting for the honour of her nobility and gentry, thought fit now to give her letters patents to Robert Cook Clarenceux, to make a visitation for survey of arms in the east, west, and south parts of the realm. The reason whereof the queen assigned was, that due order might be kept

in all things touching the offices and duties appertaining to arms; and for the reformation of divers abuses growing for want of ordinary visitations and surveys. And that the nobility of the realm might be preserved in every degree; and that every person, and all bodies politic, might be better known in their estate, degree, and mystery, without confusion. And therefore she gave Clarenceux power to enter into all churches, castles, and houses, to peruse, take knowledge, and survey all manner of coats, cognizances, crests, &c. with the notes of their descents, pedigrees, marriages; and to enter them into a register or book of arms, as was prescribed in the office and oath taken by Clarenceux at his creation and coronation. Also, to correct, control, or reform all manner of arms, &c. unlawfully usurped by any, and the same to reverse, pull down, &c. as well in coat-armour, &c. as in plate, jewels, paper, windows, grave-stones, &c. Also, to reprove, control, and make infamous by proclamation at the assizes, or other place, all manner of persons, that unlawfully, and without just authority, took upon them any title of honour or dignity, as esquire or gentleman. Also, to reform and control such as at any funerals should wear any mourning apparel, as gowns, hoods, tippets, contrary to the order limited in the time of king Henry VII. in any other sort than to their states did appertain. Also, by these letters the queen ordered, that no painter, glazier, goldsmith, &c. should take upon him to paint, grave, glaze, &c. any arms, crests, cognizances, &c. pertaining to the office of arms, in any other manner than they might lawfully do, and be allowed by the said Clarenceux. Also, she forbade any sheriffs, commissioners, archdeacons, officials, scriveners, &c. to call, name, or write, in any assize, court, session, &c. or to use in any writing the addition of esquire or gentleman, unless they were able to stand unto and justify the same by the law of arms, or were ascertained thereof by Clarenceux in writing, or by his deputies. Also, that none should meddle in any thing touching the office of arms, within Clarenceux's province, but by his special licence and authority in writing under the seal of the said office. And the queen by these her letters patents did give to the said Cook all his said power, preeminence, jurisdiction, and authority, during his natural life, in as large and ample manner and form in every thing, as his predecessors had or might do, by force of any letters patents, granted by any of the queen's predecessors. And all justices, sheriffs, majors, &c. were charged to employ their best aid, assistance, and furtherance, to the said Clarenceux.

In the university of Heidelberg, where Zanchy was chief, an Englishman this year took his doctor's degree. He offered theses to be disputed on to Boquinus, the professor, concerning which long disputes had been in England; some (according as Zanchy relates this matter to Hubert) affirming certain rites were free and indifferent, and some saying on the contrary, that they were superstitious. In which opinion was this Englishman. But when Zanchy had read the theses, he advised Boquin, that he should not permit these things to be disputed in their schools, at that time especially, and gave him some reasons why. Boquin approved his judgment: and the Englishman was bid to propound other theses; which he did. And among these, certain of them were, of the necessity of ecclesiastical discipline, and chiefly of excommunication. These, when Zanchy read them, seemed to him not only godly, (though two of them were concerning *garments*, yet more moderately propounded than the former were, however, on that account not so much approved by him,) but such which he never thought, as he said, would be seriously opposed by any pious or tolerably learned man. But the question of discipline gave occasion to some pastors to dispute earnestly against it. The disputations *pro* and *con* grew somewhat hot, and the disputants' minds were a little inflamed; yet the disputation was tolerable and modest, and without reproaches. But at last, after a second day's dispute, one of the pastors protested, that he condemned this doctrine as thwarting the word of God. After the disputation, the adversaries of discipline began to write against it, and to disperse their writings; and in one above the rest was asserted, that *excommunication could not be proved either by the Old or New Testament, and that none ought to be driven from the sacrament, no, not the most wicked and impenitent person, unless of a different judgment.* Those that were for discipline wrote nothing all this while, for this reason, because they would not make disturbance in the churches, and because they expected the prince elector (who was for discipline himself) would constitute something herein. And all this was occasioned by this Englishman's disputation.

Cheny, bishop of Gloucester, who also held Bristol in *commendam*, had given great offence to the citizens of Bristol, by his sermons preached at the cathedral there; and particularly three sermons preached in August and September this year, in vindication of himself: which some of the preachers there took the confidence to confute in their pulpits. And one of these that did this was Dr. Calfhill, in two sermons preached in the same cathedral,

the bishop present to hear himself disproved; and one Norbrook, a preacher here, was another. And this was not all, but certain aldermen and other citizens, in a letter to the lords of the council, complained of him; sending divers articles enclosed, of erroneous expressions and doctrines, collected out of those his sermons preached among them, as they had also sent them to the ecclesiastical commission. Of which this is the transcript, as I found them in the original papers.

I. “I am comer good people, not to recant, or call back any thing that I have heretofore said: for I am of that mind now as I was then, as concerning matters in controversy; and will be to the end. If I had one foot in the grave, and another upon the ground, I would say then as I do now. And therefore, good people, I give you that counsel that I follow myself. Wherefore be not too swift or hasty to credit these new writers, for they are not *yet* thoroughly tried and approved, as the catholic fathers are.

II. “These new writers in matters of controversy, as Mr. Calvin and others, agree not together, but are at dissension among themselves, and are together by the ears. Therefore take heed of them. Yet read them: for in opening the text they do pass many of the old fathers. And they are excellently well learned in the tongues: but in matters now in controversy follow them not, but follow the old fathers and doctors, although Mr. Calvin denieth some of them. As for your new doctors, it is good to pick a sallet out of them now and then.

III. “*Scriptures, scriptures*, do you cry? Be not too hasty: for so the heretics always cried; and had the scriptures. I would ask this question; I have to do with an heretic; I bring scripture against him; and he will confess it to be scripture. But he will deny the sense that I bring it for. How now? how shall this be tried? Marry, by consent of fathers only, and not by others.

IV. “In reading the scriptures, be you like the snail; which is a goodly figure: for when he feeleth a hard thing against his horns, he pulleth them in again; so do you: read scripture a God’s name; but when you come to matters of controversy, go back again; pull in your horns.

V. “I never *brought free-will* into the pulpit. I would to God it had never been brought into that place. Luther wrote a very ill book against

free-will; wherein he did very much hurt. But Erasmus answered him very learnedly. So that I am not of Luther's opinion therein, but of Erasmus's mind.

VI. "They which of long time have been exercised in prayer and study, and are aged, cannot be easily ignorant or err, or be deceived, or be without grace. Now these young men, which are of a lower vein, having not the use of long prayer and study, be not men perfect, as they seem; nor have such grace.

VII. "These matters now in controversy are as it were in an equal pair of balances, and may weigh which way they shall as yet.

VIII. "Let them not say, as here of late was preached, that the fathers had their faults; which they had indeed: but let them all bring me the consent of fathers in these matters now in controversy, or otherwise I shall not, nor will yield to them, nor be of their judgment.

IX. "A question may be asked concerning the young maid and Naaman; whether that a godly man may be at idol-service with his body, his heart being with God, without offence or sin? I say, you may, without offence or sin. And because you shall not think that I am of this opinion only, I will bring you Peter Martyr, a learned man, and as famous as ever was in our time, being your own doctor: who saith, a man may be present without offence. Whose very words I will read unto you; which are these: *Non enim simpliciter et omnibus modis interdictum est piis hominibus, ne in fanis praesentes adsint, dum profani et execrandi ritus exercentur.*" [This he seems to say, to take off an accusation laid against him by some, that he was present at mass in the last reign.]

X. "Some among you find great fault with me, and are offended, as I perceive, at my preaching; and you do murmur, I must out of doubt call back something that I have preached. Indeed, I said here, that Naaman gave to Gehazi ten thousand suits of apparel, where it was but two suits. That I call back again. Another is, that I said in this place, if any were offended or grieved with any thing I should preach, he should come friendly to me, and I would reason with him. Among all, a poor man of late came to me, being offended with my preaching, to reason with me, and I refused him. And that I call back. But for any other

thing that I have preached, I say now as I did then; and so I will do to the end.

XI. “Good people, I must now depart shortly. Keep therefore this lesson with you. Believe not, neither follow this city, nor yet 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; but follow you the catholic and universal consent. For if you will go but to the river of Rhine in Germany, and behold the cities, how they differ, and are at contention among themselves, you will wonder. At Helvetia is one religion; at Wirtenberg another; at Strausborough another; and at Geneva is another. So that there were never so many religions and errors in any men’s time, as are now among them.”

These were the informations sent up to the privy council against the bishop, together with a letter signed by two aldermen, the two sheriffs, the chamberlain, a schoolmaster, and about thirty more. But before they were sent, the bishop, by some of his friends in Bristol, (whereof he had many,) understanding the intention of his adversaries, prevented them by despatching from Gloucester two letters to the secretary, who bare him a good-will, because of his learning and old acquaintance. To him he related his case, and the matters lately fallen out between him and some preachers in the said city; apologizing for the sermons he had made, The substance of what he writ was as followeth.

That he had been lately at Bristol, and preached three sermons there, which (as he heard) many well liked; but some (*quibus nihil placet nisi novum et nimium*, as Philonius said) were grieved, and kept a great stir in the pulpit. And one Norbrook, among others that were against him, (one more earliest than skilful,) he had gently used; oftentimes calling him to his table, and talking with him privately. But what he had spoke to him in private, he uttered to Dr. Cawfield, or Calfhil: who twice, in his own hearing, confuted what was brought to him, a great deal more than needed; using therein the new coined phrase of *free-willers*. The bishop added, that he could better have liked that doctor’s preaching, if he, the said doctor, had first conferred with him; especially since he had not dealt ungently with him at his first coming, but offered him to take such as he had every meal, so long as he could tarry in the city. He offered him conference also after his first sermon. He bade him to supper after his second: but he could not have his company. And if he had come, he should peradventure have heard from the bishop somewhat out of the old church, and consenting orthodox writers, that he would not much have misliked: which writers proved by the

scriptures, that which he by other scriptures, not unknown to them, confuted. And that which he confuted was thought by them to be *dogma ecclesiae et veritatis*, i.e. a doctrine of the church and of truth; and so, he said, it was termed of some. That they saw great causes why they so wrote, as men of this time wanted not theirs. Whether sort ought to be believed, however others doubted, he doubted not at all.

What articles his unquiet and uncharitable adversaries might have gathered against him, and were offered, as was told him, to the queen's council, he knew not, but his conscience was clear; and that that poor learning he had uttered, being indifferently heard and considered, he trusted, would not be much disliked. If he were persuaded that he had preached any thing against scripture, against the holy catholic church, against orthodox writers consenting, against the best general councils; it should be his first deed that he would do, to ride to Bristol, (although at present he were not well able to ride,) and there he would humbly acknowledge his error. But if he by Norbrook and his adherents was falsely accused, and that he was able to prove what he had said by such learning as was before rehearsed, Norbrook should perceive he had not done well: who had lost already a number of his friends through his late misbehaviour.

That it was well perceived, (as the bishop proceeded,) and more and more it was spoken, that young and rash preachers did more hinder the free course of the gospel than further it; the more was the pity. That he was counselled by some well seen in the laws of the realm, to commence an action against Norbrook and his adherents, for their tho bad accusing him in the pulpit and other places; but, he said, he would end as he had begun. The accusing of any man had not hitherto cost him twopence in the law. That he loved neither to sue nor to be sued, although he had in his time met with many crooked attempts. But if he should prove his rash adversaries to grow in malice, he would trouble his friends, which, he thanked God, were many in number, as he knew he had many enemies, who said, that he was an utter enemy to the gospel of Christ. But he said, they spent their wind in vain that said so; and he would that they should think, that as they favoured the gospel, so did he.

That when such as Norbrook heard any thing they could not like, they straightway hawked at their adversaries the terrible name of the *high commission*. But, said he, if such busybodies were not punished, they

would mar all. In the mean time they hindered, and that very much, the gospel, which they would be thought to favour.

In fine, he trusted to have the continuance of the secretary's accustomed goodness towards him in the way of right. He was threatened to lose whatsoever he had at Bristol, if his adversaries might have their will. Others said lustily, that he should be put from all the living that he had. To which he only said mildly, *Fiat voluntas Domini*.

In another letter he expressed to the secretary more particularly what the causes were of the wilful attempts of his enemies, viz. free-will and the eucharist, [holding the real presence.] Not that he had given any occasion in pulpits for them to stir in these matters, more than at the length in his third sermon at Bristol, after two sermons, or rather invectives of Dr. Cawfield, when he said, he could better like the judgment of Erasmus than that of Luther, in the controversy *of free-will*; and withal asserting, that he dissented not from the fathers of this realm in that article, when it was offered him, to be subscribed in Latin, [that is, in the synod I suppose, anno 1562.]

He observed to the secretary, how oddly and unrespectfully he was used by some of his Bristol ill-willers; that at his return to Gloucester, one came thither, as it was thought, for the nonce, and in his own church there brake, at it were, the ice; and another followed him, whose scope and chief mark was to prove, that there was no *free-will*. But, said the bishop, they both, as also Norbrook, a preacher at Bristol before mentioned, and others, might seem not to have waded in the old writers, that consented in the contrary doctrine; and that they followed much, if not too much, the learned of this time, not considering what had been thought and determined in the old time: that my lord [bishop] of Salisbury, and others, being great learned men, and well treated in antiquity, well knew what had been taught of this matter in the primitive church with great consent. Their judgment he could better like than the impugnors of them in this time. Upon this he said further, that if young and hot heads should be suffered to say what they list in matters of great weight, (as no doubt certain of them did very rashly, to the exceeding hinderance of the gospel,) there must needs ensue a Babylonical confusion.

It was reported to him, that the earl of Bedford was laboured with by Dr. Humfrey and more, to bring those and other matters before the queen's most honourable council. If it were so, he said, that he trusted the truth

would by this occasion be better known: and that if he were strong in body or in purse, (as he was not,) it should be the first deed that he would do, to confer with the learned in this point of *free-will*. But now being not well able to journey, he should be very loath to be drawn to London, namely, at such men's suit and complaint as his adversaries were. And that if he were not deceived, their chief mark that they shot at was not *free-will*, and such like, but rather, *Nolumus hunc regnare super nos*, i.e. We will not have this man to reign over us. Which if they should bring to pass, they would, he said, lustily triumph: to which he only said, "God speed them in their well-doing as myself."

And thus we have seen this bishop's open declaration of his mind concerning *free-will*. Now, for the reader's satisfaction, (though the bishop himself hath nothing of it here but the bare mention,) I shall insert something of his opinion concerning the other article that rendered him so distasteful to many, namely, that of the eucharist. For which we may have recourse to the first synod under queen Mary, when he, with five more of king Edward's learned clergy, disputed openly there (amongst other points) against *transubstantiation*: which he declared himself against, although he was for a real presence. He desired the convocation patiently to hear him, trusting, he said, that he should so open the matter, that the verity should appear; protesting furthermore, that he was no obstinate nor stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason; and if by their learning they could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they said. For he would, he said, be no author of schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which was Christ's spouse. Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, liked this preamble of Cheny's well, and commended him highly, saying, that he was a learned and a sober man, and well exercised in all good learning and in the doctors; and finally, a man meet for his knowledge to dispute that common place: and bid them hear him. Then Cheny desired them that were present to pray two words with him unto God, and to say, *Vincat veritas*, i.e. Let truth have the victory. And presently all that were present cried out, *Vincat veritas*, *Vincat veritas*. Then he began with Watson after this sort. You said, that Mr. Haddon was unmeet to dispute, because he granted not the natural and real presence. But I say you are much more unmeet to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament. But Watson then told him, that he had subscribed to the real presence, and should not go away from that. And after much clamour against him, he prosecuted Haddon's argument, in

proving that οὐσία was a *substance*; and added, that it was a great heresy to take away the substance of bread and wine after the consecration. These words I leave with the reader: whereby we may conclude him not a papist, but a Lutheran rather, in his opinion of the eucharist.

That which I have further to add of this bishop is, that his enemies laboured to remove him. But he had many friends (as well as adversaries) who valued him. And the bishop of Chichester being now dead, they laboured much to get him translated thither. But the archbishop understood it, and signified his dislike of it to the secretary. And the bishop himself, upon these his troubles, shewed a desire to be quite discharged. But the archbishop (who liked him not) told the secretary, that perhaps he meant another thing, viz. to obtain a reprimand to his enemies from the court. The last thing I have to relate of him was, that at length, absenting himself from a convocation, and not appearing upon summons of the archbishop, he was solemnly pronounced excommunicate by the same: but soon absolved, because his absence was affirmed by his chaplain's oath to be by reason of sickness. More hath been said of him before under the year 1562.

Thomas Wylson, LL. D. a man of note for his learning, (as his two books of Logic and Rhetoric, and another of Usury, do testify,) was this year made master of St. Katharine's near the Tower. His circumstances were but bare, having been a sufferer in queen Mary's reign. By the means of the earl of Leicester (whose father the duke of Northumberland was his great patron) he seems to have obtained it of the queen. And while he was soliciting for a despatch, he applied also to secretary Cecil by a letter dated in August, which shewed his mean condition: signifying to him,

“That he had been waiting at Hatfield (where it seems the queen then was) to have his business done. That he had left his letter with the earl of Leicester by the queen's command, to be sent to the lord treasurer. And then follows, *interea miser languo inedia et paupertate*; i.e. in the mean time I, miserable man, perish with want and poverty. Begging the secretary to help him, according to his interest with the queen, and to get his letter to be signed speedily.”
Dated from St. Katharine's.

This person deserved this preferment, as for his learning, and supply of his need, so for some reward of his former sufferings: who had once felt the miseries of the inquisition at Rome for the cause of religion; as judged an heretic for his book of Rhetoric, that he had printed some ten years before.

For though that science carried his discourses away from the subject of religion, yet they found some strokes therein reflecting (as they interpreted) upon their church. As I conjecture this for one:

“Some one, talking of the general resurrection, made a large matter of our blessed lady; praising her to be so gentle, so courteous, and so kind, that it were better a thousandfold to make suit to her alone, than to Christ her son.” And again in another place of the book: “One being at Rome hated harlots, wherein there is by report so great plenty, as there be stars in the element.”

But of his travelling to Rome, and his being clapt up in the inquisition, and his usage there, and his wonderful escape thence, take his own account of it, two years after, in the prologue to his second edition of his Rhetoric. The sum whereof was,

“That two years past, at his being in Italy, [viz. 1558,] he was charged in Rome town, to his great danger and utter undoing, (if God’s goodness had not been the greater,) to have written that book of Rhetoric, and the Logic also. For which he was counted an heretic; notwithstanding the absolution granted to all the realm by *pope* Julie III. for all former offences, or practising, devised against the holy mother church, as they called it. A strange matter, he observed, that things done in England seven years before, [when he first set forth that *book*,] and the same universally forgiven, should always be laid to a man’s charge in Rome. But what cannot malice do? or what will not the wilful devise, to satisfy their minds for the undoing of others?_Death was present, and the torment at hand; whereof he felt (he said) some smart [perhaps the rack.] That the judges marvelled at his stoutness. For he had, as he added, as little fear as ever he had in his life, when he saw those that sought his death to be so maliciously set, to make such poor shifts for his readier despatch; and to burden him with those back-reckonings. Whereat he took courage, and was bold.

“That the judges, marvelling at this his boldness, thought to bring down his great heart by telling him plainly, that he was in further peril than whereof he was aware; and sought thereupon to take advantage of his words, and to bring him in danger by all means possible. That after long debating with him, they willed him at any hand to submit himself to the holy father, and the devout college of

cardinals: for otherwise there was no remedy. With that, being fully purposed not to yield to any submission, as one that little trusted their colourable deceit, he was as wary as he could be, not to utter any thing for his own harm, for fear he should come into their danger. For either then he must have died, or else have denied both openly and shamefully the known truth of Christ and his gospel. And so in the end, (as he concluded this relation of his trouble,) by the grace of God; he was wonderfily delivered. Adding, that it was by plain force of the worthy Romans, in an enterprise heretofore in that sort never attempted, he being then without hope of life, much less of liberty.”

The meaning whereof was, the prison happened to be on fire, and the poor prisoners all like to be burnt, and perish. Whereupon the citizens of Rome by force broke open the prison doors, to let those detained there escape for their lives: and so Wylson with the rest got his liberty, and fled.

For thus he reflected upon his deliverance:

“My mind was to shew, how I have been tried for this book’s sake, *tanquam per ignem*. For indeed the prison was on fire when I came out of it. And whereas I feared fire most, [to be burnt as an heretic,] as who doth not fear it? I was delivered by fire and sword together. I was without all help, and without all hope, not only of liberty, but also of life. And God be praised, and thanks be given to him only, that not only hath delivered me out of the lion’s mouth, but also hath brought England, my dear country, out of great thraldom and foreign bondage.”

This was writ December 7, 1560. This Wylson was afterwards preferred to be secretary of state to the queen, after several embassies.

CHAPTER 53.

Cavalierins, Hebrew professor at Cambridge. The French protestants relieved by the bishops. The queen assisteth the protestants. The secretary vindicates her doings. His letter to an Italian gentleman abroad, concerning the religion and proceedings in England. Advices from abroad. Vagabonds and rogues in the worth. Dr. Story executed. Bishop Boner dies in the Marshalsea. Boner, whether a bastard. Wrong done to the archbishop of York's widow. The queen of Scots in Tutbury castle. Bishop Jewel answers pope Pius his bull. And Crowley answers the late bishop Watsoh's sermons. Hemming's Postil set forth in English. History of the inquisition. The present happy state of the nation.

BY the means of the learned sir Anthony Cook and sir William Cecil was Rodolphus Cavallerius, or Cavelarius, or Cavalier, a French protestant, (lately, as it seems, fled from his own country,) appointed to be professor of the Hebrew language and learning in the university of Cambridge. And for that purpose, in May, the said university sent a messenger to London, to conduct him down. I find him waiting upon secretary Cecil, who was chancellor of that university, before his going, and begging his letters with him, or suddenly to follow him; "committing them to the care of the bishop of London, his friend, to convey them speedily after him. These letters he desired, because they would tend so much to the confirmation of this his vocation; and that his studies and labours afterwards in the university might be both grateful and profitable unto all, to the glory of God, and the amplification of the whole university." He also desired letters of safe conduct for his wife and family to be brought over into England. This Chevalier had been in the realm in king Edward's days; and, if I mistake not, was reader of Hebrew then in the same university. Sure I am, such favour he had then, that, in the year 1552, a patent, dated August 7, at Waltham, was granted him to be denizen, and also the gift of the next prebend or deanery that should fall void in Christ's-church, Canterbury. Which patent was made in trust to sir Anthony Cook, knight, and George Medle, esquire, to bestow the same dignity upon him by their letters of collation accordingly, when the same should fall: and also to write to the dean and canons of the same church to install him. But it was not before

this present year, January 27, that he was actually prebendary, being then admitted to the seventh prebend in that church. We shall hear of Cavallerius's death hereafter.

I add, that he was recommended also by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London to the heads of that university, for their acceptance and choice of him for their Hebrew reader; as a man formerly known to them in that university for his learning and skill in that language, and also their experience of his good exercise of that his talent, to all such as were desirous to partake of the same. And now going to Cambridge, the said archbishop and bishop sent their letters of recommendation with him, dated from Lambeth; especially, understanding the good and godly affection that divers of their university had to the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, so useful for the understanding of some part of the sacred scriptures, written originally in that language. This letter of these two great prelates must have a place among the originals in the Appendix.

This year brake out the third civil war in France between the papists and the confederate protestants, the protestants having undergone intolerable hardship; and not being suffered to use their religion, according as it was conditioned between the prince of Conde and the French king at the last peace. But the year before very many had fled away from their houses and dwellings, and dared not to come home without peril of their lives; because the catholics placed strong garrisons in those towns that were of the religion. There were also horrible murders, robberies, and other execrable facts committed upon the persons and goods of the *reformed*. As this stirred the coals to a third civil war, so it caused abundance of people to flee into other countries, and particularly ours. Which numbers made the French church in London unable to relieve their necessitous countrymen. So that the case of this church, so overcharged, was recommended, as it seems, by the queen to the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops for relief. And the said archbishop recommended their case to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, as he had done the like to other bishops and churches the year before. And the dean and chapter in the month of June bestowed their benevolence accordingly; as appears out of the register of the said dean and chapter; where this order is extant: "Anno 1569, June 8, agreed, that there shall be, at the contemplation of the lord archbishop his grace's letters, given out of the church treasury to the poor [afflicted] French church in London, towards their relief, six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence."

The queen pitied the case of the French protestants, and laboured by her ambassador with the French king, that a firm peace might be made between him and them. But both that king, and the Spaniard, and duke D'Alva, the governor of Flanders, had made a combination at Bayonne to root out the religion everywhere. This made the queen jealous of herself and her own kingdoms. And partly this, and partly her commiseration of the wretched state of the professors of the gospel in France, made her resolve to send over assistance to them, being excited and counselled thereunto chiefly by her secretary Cecil, a man very cordial to the protestant interest. The prince of Conde's agent was now at the English court, and solicited his master's business, and succeeded according to his mind: and departing home, being at Plymouth, he sent a letter to the secretary, dated June 4, wherein he acknowledged with much thanks the queen's great favour to them, and the secretary's cordial mediation:

“Owing, that the illustrious prince his master, and the whole French Christian church, were upon many accounts indebted to him, that with so great pains and study he had forwarded with the queen the business committed to him by that prince. And that all whom God the Father had exercised at that time for the purer profession of his Son, had not only their hope, but even their confidence in him. And that they looked upon him to be raised up by God in those daily extremities of the poor church, to use both his piety and his prudence in their behalf. That he for his part, as often as *he* thought on the most Christian queen's care and goodwill towards the scattered and afflicted Christians, so often he had an honourable and grateful remembrance of him; who seemed by the special will of God to be added to the queen in those most difficult times.” This was the sum of Theodore Wierus's letter.

But this step of the queen was judged very hardly of abroad. Therefore it was the secretary's business to spread a truer and fairer account hereof than was commonly taken up; and that both by public declarations and private letters. There is a letter of the secretary to this purpose to an eminent Italian, seignor Bertano, living at Rome, who held correspondence with the secretary. This gentleman, in a letter sent the latter end of the last year, had declared a great good-will to him, and especially towards the queen and this state, but disliked our religion, and assistance of foreign protestants; matters, which had been by false Englishmen with malice, in Italy or other countries, misrepresented. The secretary, that a better

information of the queen and the English state might pass in Rome, gladly took this opportunity of writing to this noble Italian. Which letter, because it giveth an account of religion, and of the queen's doings with respect to her neighbours, I shall subjoin.

"I have thought good to advertise your lordship of the receipt of your letters, dated the of February, which came to my hands about the 26th of March, by order of my friend and yours, Mr. Briskill. For the which I thank you, as containing an open declaration of your partitular good-will to me, but especially an earnest devotion in duty towards the queen's majesty and this state. And though thus I think of your good mind, yet you must hold me excused if I think otherwise of your judgment, which you do by the said letters manifest. Not that therein I mean that part of your judgment, wherein you may differ from me in some opinions of religion, wherein either of us must charitably allow of the other, and yet observe a mutual friendly disposition; but in that you are, I see, induced, by means of the place where you are, whereunto no good or true reports are brought of this country, to think of us as our evil-willers are disposed of malice to tax us. And herein I do the more bear with the fault in your judgment of us, for that I think assuredly, we cannot do so well, nor live in that order towards God or man, but the contrary will be thither reported.

"Thus much I have thought to inform you for the amendment of your judgment. Which being done, or at the least, if I may perceive by your letters, your ears are as ready and open to hear what we have to say for ourselves, as it seemeth you are what our adversaries do, then would I friendly at length by letters enter into conference with you, to answer any thing to be objected, in respect of the manifest good-will I see in you. In the mean season, I can assure you, whatsoever slanders are raised of us for our errors in religion, or for our government in policy towards our neighbours, this I dare affirm, that by no common law or order established for matters of religion in this realm, we do differ from profession of all the parts of the holy scriptures, of the articles of the common creed; yea, as for external discipline, I can assure you, our church is more replenished with ecclesiastical ancient rites than was the primitive church in five hundred years after Christ: insomuch as the church of England is by the Germans, French, Scots, and others that call

themselves *reformed*, thought to be herein corrupted, for retaining so much the rites of the church of Rome.

“As for the queen’s majesty’s dealings with the kings her neighbours and brethren, certainly she hath had that *regard* to pity their troubles, and to further the quieting of their states, as she may be thought by many wise men, in such a simplicity, to have overseen her own surety. *And* whatsoever is slanderously reported of her maintenance of any rebellion in their subjects, I can make it manifest, that the same is falsely reported. For surely she desireth nothing more than that both the kings were at good accord with their subjects. And so shall it be proved, and appear to them that may be found indifferent beholders; which is hard to be found in this age, wherein the whole state of Christendom seemeth to be *divided* into two parts. Whereof is the greater pity; and with all my heart I lament it, and beseech Almighty God to reconcile us all to his spouse and immaculate church.”

I will subjoin here a paper of foreign advices, chiefly relating to the state of religion in France, Flanders, Spain, and Germany; sent from Rome to secretary Cecil by Killigrew.

Fuere gratissiraae litetae mihi scriptae 26 Maii, et spero te jam rediisse domum ex Gallia. Scribuntur multa quae sunt fabulosa. Omalius conjunxit suas vires cum copiis fratris regis. Bipontinus conjunxit sese cum Amiralio. Quem Amiralium Galli aiunt esse mortuum. Sed non est certum, ut est mors Andelotti. Regina ex Lutetiis die 27 Maii profecta est ad exercitum filii, comitata cardinalibus Lotharingio et Borbonio. Ista omnia scribuntur ex Lugduno die 7 Junii. Galli de pace nihil omnino scribunt.

Galli mihi videntur magis valere verbis quam factis. Ego credo illis qui dicunt Bipontinum cum Amiralio cum totis suis viribus redituros in mediam Galliam. Galli videntur habere spem reginam Angliae non missuram exercitum ex Anglia: neque ex Germania venturum in Galliam novum exercitum. Et sic regem posse facile vincere Bipontinum et Amiralium. Quae vulgus dicit de Francfordiano conventu parum hactenus credo, ob eam causam quam scribis. Pontifex singulis annis consecrat in festo natalis Christi

gladium et pileum, quos mittit alicui principi, qui illi videtur bonam operam nayare rebus pontificatus. Hoc anno misit ista duo Albano, quippe qui liberavit Belgium ab Hugonottis, et ob bellum feliciter gestum adversus Uranium: et est ratio quaedam honestandi et admonendi principes, ut acrius tueantur res pontificatus. Nihil audiui de captis monachis, prothonotariis et inquisitoribus in navibus in Anglia; verum satis crediderim id genus hominum confluere ad Belgium, quibus postponantur ipsi Belgae in gubernandis provinciis, ceu corvi ad cadaver. Seditio Mauritanorum apud Hispanos adhuc viget propter multitudinem, sed non habent unde expectent auxilia. Vulgus Hispaniarum non satisfeliciter cum illis belligeratur. Opus est militi stipendiario, qui superiori mense in Hispaniis conscribebatur.

Metuendum puto, si non fallar, novos exercitus ex Anglia et Germania ituros in Galliam, si res non componuntur. Galli hic negant regem accepturum conditiones pacis. Pontifex tamen id metuit, et publicis supplicationibus ad

Deum jubet rogari victoriam adversus omnes Hugonottos. Rex Galliae petit a Genuensibus libertatem conscribendi peditum in Corsica. Quid vero respondit resp, nescio.

Rex Philippus statuit ducere in uxorem filiam Caesaris, et petit a pontifice diploma veniae propter propinquitatem sanguinis. Et certum est regem Galliae ducturum aliam filiam Caesaris, et regem Lusitaniae ducturum sororem regis Galliae. Ex Hispaniis scribitur de mense Maii ista matrimonia ease stabilita. Ex aula Caesaris scribunt, prospectum esse, ne Bipontini milites in reditu in Germaniam excitent tumultus; acsi nunc discederent ex Gallia, aut ob pacem, aut ob Francofordiani conventus jussum. Bene vale; Romae, die xviii. Junii 69.

As the queen and her council had a jealousy of certain that went about in the north, and in other parts of the nation, as vagabonds, beggars, gamesters, and such like, whereof there were now great store, the lords of the council, in the month of March last past, had sent to the high sheriff of Yorkshire, to inquire after vagabonds and common rogues, and to punish them, and to make certificate of the same. And now the second time, in the month of June, they sent a larger letter to the said sheriff and the justices of the peace, for the redress of, and taking order about, this sort of people:

enjoining this course now to be taken. First, that distributing themselves, with the help of other inferior officers, to cause a strict search, and a good strong watch to begin on Sunday at night, about nine of the clock on the 10th of July, in every town, village, and parish; and to continue the same all the night, until four of the clock in the afternoon of the next day. And in that search, to apprehend all vagabonds, sturdy beggars, commonly called *rogues* or *Egyptians*; and also all idle, vagrant persons, having no master, nor no certainty how and whereby to live; and them to be imprisoned. Directions were also given for passports, to send these idle persons home to their own countries. That the same search should be made monthly until the first of November, or longer, as they should see cause. And these orders they were to communicate to the officers of every corporate town. They were also to confer, how the statutes provided for avoiding all unlawful games, and especially of bowling, and maintenance of archery, might be speedily and roundly executed. And that if any of themselves were guilty hereof, to forbear for good example sake; and that it would be hard for them who were justices to observe their oaths, if they should commit such open hurtful offences themselves, which ought by them in their sessions to be inquired of and punished. They warned, that by no lewd practices of evil disposed, crafty persons, passing by them in the night, by pretences of watchwords, or the like devices, any raising of the people were made, as in some corners of the realm had been attempted, but stayed by the wiser men. That all tales, news, spreading of unlawful books, should be stayed, and sharply punished. And that if any of the justices should be negligent herein, the rest were required to advertise the queen's council thereof. This letter was signed by the lord keeper and many other great counsellors, containing these and other the like matters at large.

The 21st of June, that *is*, the day after the date of the former letter, the lords of the council wrote again to the lord lieutenant of the north, signifying that they had sent him the minutes of a letter written from them by the queen's commandment unto divers shires within the realm, concerning the searching for, and punishing vagabonds, rogues, and other idle and disorderly persons. And they required his lordship to cause this order to be notified by his letters unto those shires that were within the compass of his commission, with strait charge to return their certificates unto him of their doings, that he might signify the same to the council.

This was a notable search: for it was so ordered, that it was made throughout the whole realm, or at least the most suspicious parts of it, on

one and the same day. And I find it had this issue, (which is almost incredible,) that thirteen thousand masterless men throughout the nation, first and last, were taken up upon this search. Which undoubtedly very much brake the intended and attempted insurrections this year.

John Story, doctor of the civil and canon law, (of whose temper we heard something before in the queen's first parliament,) was this year seized, and brought from Antwerp, whither he was fled; and there followed his old malice against the queen and his own country, which he stirred up the duke of Alva to invade. And being brought to London, was first lodged at Mr. Wattes, archdeacon of Middlesex's house near St. Paul's; and afterwards conveyed to the Tower; and anno 1571, executed for a traitor at Tyburn. I leave other historians to relate with what craft he was caught on board an English vessel, and conveyed away; and the manner of his execution. I shall only set down what a kind of man he was, and how deservedly the judgment of God met with him, from a memorial, which, it seems, John Fox gave in against him, as to his cruel persecuting spirit, as I find in a paper written by his own hand.

"Story, by his confession, the chiefest cause and doer in putting most of the martyrs to death.

"Story caused a fagot to be cast at the face of Mr. Denley, singing a psalm in the fire; saying, he had marred the fashion of an old song.

"Story scourged Thomas Green.

"Story coming from the burning of two, at the lord mayor Mr. Curtys his table, said, that as he had despatched them, so he trusted within a month he should also despatch all the rest; saying moreover, that if he were of *the* queen's council, he would devise to torment them after another sort. And there shewed the way most cruel, which he would use.

"Story at another time, coming from the burning of Richard Gibson, and there demanded of the lord mayor, what he would do if the world should alter, said, if he were so sick in his bed, that he could not stir without hands, yet would he sit up to give sentence against an heretic, and though he knew the world would turn the next day after.

“Story was sorry [as he said in the parliament-house] that they struck not at the root.

“In *summa*, Story worse than Boner.

“Yet notwithstanding, Story is made a saint at Rome; and his martyrdom printed, and set up in the English college there.”

Together with this man, who was sometime principal of Broadgates hall, Oxon, I join another likewise of the same hall, and his contemporary; and as like him in savage fierceness against the professors of good religion as any two could be, viz. the said Boner, late bishop of London.

In September died that bloody man, that had washed his hands in the blood of so many religious men and women in queen Mary’s days. He was kept a prisoner in the Marshalsea for many years under an easy restraint; and was buried thence about September the 8th, at midnight, in St. George’s churchyard in Southwark, attended with some of his popish friends and relations. Which was ordered to be done at that season of the night, and in that obscurity, by the discretion of the bishop of London, to prevent any disturbances that might have been made by the citizens; who hated him mortally for having been the death of so many of their pastors, friends, and relations, if they should have seen him in the daytime carried with pomp and show to his burial, as many of his acquaintance had intended to do. He stood excommunicate many years, and took no care for his absolution; and so might have been denied Christian burial; but the bishop of London would not make use of that rigour. And of this, and to prevent false reports that might be carried to court of this affair, the said bishop thought fit to give secretary Cecil the foregoing account.

This man was commonly reported to be an atheist, and to have said secretly, that there was no such place of torment as hell; that he denied God, the scriptures, and any life after this; and that he used conjuring and witchcraft. This was upbraided to him in a letter by one unknown, upon his condemnation of Mr. Philpot. But whatsoever credit is to be given to all that, this that follows is matter of fact; which I transcribe out of an ancient paper among other authentic MSS. in my custody: viz.

Boner burnt Thomas Tomkins’s hand with a candle in a most horrible manner, as is evidently known. Which Tomkins, before his apprehending, dwelt in Shoreditch.

Boner put an hot burning coal into a blind man's hand; and so burnt him very piteously. The said blind man dwelt in St. Thomas Apostle's.

Boner also did beat a married man, called Mills, upon the buttocks. And while he did the deed, he caused one of his men to hold his head between his legs. Which man is yet alive, and dwelleth by Creechurch.

Boner also whipped with rods divers others in his orchard, with his own hands, being in his doublet and his hose. Whose names are to be known.

Among other his tyrannies, a boy came to his gate of eight years of age, or scarce so much, desiring to see his father, who then was kept in Lollard's tower: but the boy was gotten into Boner's house, and there whipped with rods in a most lamentable manner. And so being all in a gore blood, was carried up to his father into Lollard's tower. And afterwards, being brought down again, went home; and about a fortnight after, even the same day that the queen's majesty, that now is, came to London, the child died. The father of the child yet being alive; who then was hanged in the stocks by the heels in Lollard's tower.

Boner did also misuse a preacher, one sir Thomas Whittle, with beating of him about the face, and plucking off half his beard. That when he came to be burnt, his eyes were manifestly seen to be black with beating.

Boner had in his prison of Lollard's tower one Angel's wife; (who is now a midwife;) and was brought to bed there: unto whom he would suffer no woman to come: wherefore the child perished.

Also there was one Reynold Estland came before him the 12th day of July, the last year of queen Mary, who refused to be sworn to answer such articles as they should minister to him. And Boner condemned him the said 12th day, although they had nothing at his mouth to condemn him. And the 14th day of the same month he was burnt with six others.

Boner kept in his stocks at Fulham one Thomas Henshaw, of nineteen years of age; and gave him nothing but bread and water; and in the end whipped him in his orchard. Thus far the manuscript.

Boner is in all historians given out as a bastard, begotten of one Savage, a priest; and so have I read it in some good MSS. Yet to do him and history as much right as things will bear, I shall relate what the late honourable baron Lechmore hath asserted to me concerning him, being at his chamber

in the Temple, April 11, 1695. He supposed the world had given him out begot of Savage, because of his *savage* and butcherly nature; but that he was certainly as legitimately begotten as himself or any other: that he was born at Hanly in Worcestershire, of one Boner, an honest poor man, in a house called *Boner's place* to this day, a little cottage of about five pounds a year. And that his great grandfather, bishop Boner's great friend and acquaintance, did purchase this place of the said bishop in the times under queen Elizabeth, and that he had it still in his possession. He added, that there was an extraordinary friendship between Boner and his said great grandfather; insomuch, that he made leases to him of the value of 1000*l.* per annum, two whereof he remembered were Fering and Kelvedon in Essex. And that he had been told by some of their family, that Boner shewed this kindness to this gentleman out of gratitude, his father or some of the relations putting him out to school, and giving him his education. But as to his birth, the baron said, he thought he could make it out beyond exception, that Boner was begotten in lawful wedlock. And that he had several letters yet in his keeping between the bishop and his great grandfather, but of private matters.

The last year, viz. 1568, Yong, archbishop of York, that had been lord president of the north, deceased. He was a married man, and left a widow and children behind him. To her by his last will and testament he left all his lands in the county of Salop, or elsewhere, for one and twenty years, if she lived so long. But they were detained from Mrs. Yong after the archbishop's death by one Leigh of Shrewsbury, whom he had joined joint purchaser with him, only of confidence and trust which the said archbishop had in him. But Leigh, contrary to the trust committed to him, to the great prejudice of the 'said widow and her children, retained to himself the estate of the inheritance of the said lands; and since the archbishop's death received the profits thereof to his own use. In this distress, such was the kindness of George earl of Shrewsbury, as he sent a letter to the secretary, who was also master of the wards and liveries, acquainting him with this oppression of the widow and the fatherless;

“and that it being a matter in conscience to be weighed, and touched Mrs. Yong very nigh, and also her son, being the queen's ward, he craved at the said secretary's hands his favour and help for her and her child. And that the said Leigh might be called to the court of wards, where he, the secretary, was judge, to surrender up his estate and interest in the premises; and to suffer the same to go

according to the testament of the said archbishop, whose goods paid for the same lands; which Leigh would not, nor could deny. He added, that if either this way, or any other the secretary could think of, he would do this piece of justice, he, the earl, should think himself indebted to him for it." This letter was dated from Tutbury castle, in April 1569.

In this castle this noble earl had Mary queen of Scots in custody: which, whatsoever public allowance he had, was extraordinary expensive to him. And among other things provided, the wine only amounted to a considerable charge; for when she bathed, she bathed in wine: wherefore he thought convenient to acquaint the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, that the charges he did daily sustain, and had done all the year past, by reason of the queen of Scots, were so great, that he was compelled to be a suitor to him, that he would have a friendly consideration of the necessity of his large expenses; and that two tun of wine a month hitherto would not suffice ordinarily; besides that was used at times for her bathing, and such like uses. And therefore he desired of the treasurer, that he might have a convenient allowance of wine without paying impost, as other noblemen had for their expenses in their household; and that he might be considered in such large proportion in this cause as should seem good to his friendly wisdom. This was dated January the 15th. But it is more material to relate the cause why queen

Elizabeth did thus detain her at this great cost to herself and her subjects. She was the chief head of the Frenchified and popish Scots: by whose means the Guisian faction, that mortally hated the queen, and were conjured together to invade her kingdom, and dethrone her, and overthrow the religion established, did hope to obtain their ends. And therefore there was a necessity of keeping her in hold (though at first the queen did not intend it) for her own safety and defence; besides the long jealousies between that queen and queen Elizabeth. There is a letter of hers sent from Tutbury castle in March to the queen; wherein she doth in some places closely touch upon her in her expostulations, and even threaten her. It is too long to insert it here; but it will be found in the Appendix.

Mischiefs are now hatching in England, which were greatly fomented by a bull of pope Plus V. sent into this realm lately, to curse the queen, and to deprive her of her kingdom. But bishop Jewel soon gave answer to it in certain sermons by him preached in his cathedral. Which are printed among

his works, and called, *A view of a seditious bull*. He told his congregation, that there came to his hands a copy of a bull lately sent into the realm by the bishop of Rome,

“that he read it, and weighed it thoroughly, and found it to be a matter of great blasphemy against God, and a practice to work much unquietness, sedition, and treason against our blessed and prosperous government. For it deposed the queen’s majesty (whom he prayed God long to preserve) from her royal seat, and tore the crown from her head. It discharged all her natural subjects from all due obedience. It armed one side of them against another. It emboldened them to burn, to spoil, to rob, to kill, to cut one another’s throats. And that it was much like Pandora’s box sent to Epimetheus, full of hurtful and unwholesome evils.”

And then the learned bishop and champion of the church, went on piece by piece to confute it, as may be seen in his works.

To this I shall subjoin the mention of another book set forth this year against popery. Watson, late bishop of Lincoln, had preached two sermons in Lent 1553, before queen Mary; which he also printed soon after, the better to satisfy the people, now lately fallen under a popish prince, in two great points of the Roman religion, now setting up, namely, the *real presence* of Christ’s body and blood in the sacrament; and the *mass* to be the sacrifice of the new testament. These two sermons received an answer in print by Robert Crowley, an exile under queen Mary, and late minister of St. Peter’s Poor, and St. Giles’s, Cripplegate, London; but now living more retired in Southwark; having more leisure by God’s providence now, than at any time since his return out of Germany. The said answer bore this title, *The setting open of the subtile sophistry of Thomas Watson, D. D. which he used in his two sermons made before queen Mary on the 3d and 5th Friday in Lent 1553, to prove the real presence, &c.* There seemed to be need long before this to have those sermons answered; for they were in great vogue among many, and had prevented their complying with the religion established, (as Crowley writ in the entrance of his book.) That he had oftentimes occasion to be in place where such were as were not yet persuaded that the popish church could err, and boldly uttered their minds, affirming, that the doctrine which the protestants taught was erroneous and false, especially concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and the sacrifice of the mass. And he perceived, that these had been chiefly

persuaded and stayed by those two sermons of Dr. Watson. Crowley recommended this his answer to both the universities in a Latin dedication. There was also prefixed an epistle to Thomas Watson, D. D. the author of the sermons, assigning two reasons that moved him to take in hand his answer. One was, for the estimation he had in the pope's church; which was such, that whatsoever was known to be of his doing, was thought to be so learnedly done, that none could be found among them of the present church of England able to answer any part thereof. The other was, Watson's subtile handling of the matters he treated of; which might easily deceive the simple readers, and astonish the learned that had not seen and weighed the places that he alleged for his purpose. The subtilty whereof he had laid open.

To these books I shall add one or two more that came forth also this year 1569. One was, *A Postil, or an exposition of the gospels that are usually read in the churches of God upon Sundays and feast days of saints*. Written by Nicolas Heming, a Dane, and preacher of the gospel in the university of Hafnie. It was translated into English by Arthur Golding, a great translator in these times. These postils, which were practical sermons upon the epistles and gospels, or other portions of scripture, were now of very good use, for the help of the unlearned clergy in the countries about; who skilled not to compose discreet and profitable discourses to be preached to their people for their edification. But by making use of such postils or other homilies in their churches, (whereof several were now printed,) the people might receive instruction in true religion, and have their great ignorance in spiritual things, and their old superstitious traditions sucked in from their fathers, redressed and informed. And that this was the good end in publishing this book, the translator signified in his epistle dedicatory to sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, viz. that the two stationers, Lucas Harrison and George Bishop, well-minded towards godliness and true religion, took upon them to imprint this work at their own proper charges; and requested the translator to put it in English. Which he shewed himself the willinger to do; for that he hoped it might be a furtherance and help to the simple and unlearned sort of the ministers in England. Whose knowledge he wished to God were as great as their number.

For the fame of the man, as well as the subject of the book, we must not omit the mention of a discourse that had laid by many years, but set forth in print this year at Lovain in quarto. It was a treatise of Justification, found

among the writings of cardinal Pole, remaining in the custody of Henry Pynning, chamberlain and general receiver of the said cardinal, late deceased in Lovain. Also, certain translations touching the said matter of justification. In the preface the noble author saith, he followeth St. Augustin. And it is so writ, as though he intended to publish it himself; for he makes a preface to the reader.

Now also came forth the history of the holy inquisition, entitled, *A discovery and plain declaration of sundry subthe practices of the holy inquisition of Spain*. Set forth in, Latin by Reginald Gonsalvo Montanus: translated by Vincent Skinner, a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn, and secretary to sir William Cecil, (if I mistake not.) This was a second edition, (the first being printed but the year before,) which he dedicated to Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury. In this edition, at the latter end, were some additions. As,

I. A register of such persons as were burnt in Sevil in the years 1559, which were eighteen, and 1560, which were fourteen; and the bones and pictures of two more deceased, all in one fire. And 1563, were six more burnt in one fire.

II. A register of such as were executed and burnt; or otherwise punished by imprisonment anti confiscation of their goods in Valladolid, anno 1559; of the former sort were twenty-three; of the latter fifty-three.

The design of the publisher was, to give the people of England warning of the papists, that as they would be free of most barbarous usages and inhuman cruelties, (which this history in part let them see were exercised, where the people were under the Roman yoke,) so they all should unanimously set themselves to keep them and their religion out of our quarters. And that at this time especially, when there were great apprehensions of them. He shewed in his preface, how near us they were come with their inquisition; it being now lately brought into the Low Countries with fire and sword.

“Where was also the sudden imprisonment of honest men without process of law; where was now the pitiful wandering in exile and poverty of personages sometime rich and wealthy, the wives hanging on their husbands' shoulders, and the poor banished infants on the mothers' breasts; the monstrous racking of men without

order of law; the villainous and shameless tormenting of women naked, beyond all humanity; their miserable deaths without pity or mercy; the most reproachful triumphing of the popish synagogue over Christians, as over painims and ethnicks; the conquering of subjects, as though they were enemies; the unsatiable spoiling of men's goods to fill the side-paunches of ambitious, idle shavelings; the slender quarrels picked against kingdoms and nations."

And then he suggested, how the persons that thus suffered were our neighbours by their habitation and dwelling-place; our acquaintance by intercourse, our friends by long acquaintance; of the same household of faith, and our very brethren in Christ. And that we also had cause to fear what might follow upon us. That if we thought ourselves sure, and the storm passed, we should foolishly and dangerously abuse ourselves: for who was so ignorant (as he proceeded) of the state of these times, that knew not, or had not heard tell of the holy complot and conspiracy agreed on by the pope and his champions for the execution of the council of Trent, and the general establishing of this inquisition. And that we never knew what persecution meant, in comparison to that meant and threatened now. And therefore, in fine, he exhorted the English nation to pray for the deliverance of our neighbours, and to turn from us the same justly deserved plague; and to be strong in faith, and courageous in deed, to repel these common enemies from our country, whensoever they should offer what they had so long determined.

And now we are travelled thus far in this queen's reign, and entered even into the 11th year of it, we may pause a while, and look back upon the state of the kingdom; and make some comparison between the government of this queen, and the former government under her sister Mary.

And that I may give some' prospect of this, I shall take it from the words of one that lived in those times, and bore a great share in them.

"Let us look upon the state," saith he, "as it was before. What hunger [i.e. famine and death] was in this land! Many of our brethren died for lack of food. What cruel executions were then in London! There were few streets, where was not set up a gallows or a gibbet. In Oxford fifty-two were executed at one sessions. What diseases fell upon us! The gravest, and wisest, and richest men were taken away. Calais was lost. A stranger and foreign people had the rule over us. All things went against us, because God was not with

us. But he restored by his servant our queen those joys again which we lacked. He hath given us civil peace among ourselves, and peace with foreign nations. He hath given us health of body, and store of victuals, discharge of debts, and avoiding of strangers. He hath given us mercy, in justice abandoning all cruelty. We are now with God; and all things go well with us.”

To which his observation of the pope’s cursing and banning the queen in his said bull is apposite enough: “He accursed England, but (thanks be to God) it was never better in worldly peace, in health of body, and in abundance of corn and victuals. As he likewise accursed the princes and states of Germany; but they were never stronger. He blessed his own side, [viz. France, Spain, Venice,] but it decayed and withered. He cursed the gospel, but it prevailed and prospered. Nay, and the more he cursed, the more it prospered: for God did turn the pope’s curse into a blessing to us.”

And then in regard of the nation’s singular happiness in the enjoyment of the present queen, thus he sets it out:

“God gave us queen Elizabeth, and with her gave us peace; and so long a peace as England hath seldom seen before..... They [the papists] talk much of an unbloody sacrifice. It is not theirs to offer it; queen Elizabeth shall offer it up unto God, even her unbloody hands, and unbloody sword, and unbloody people, and unbloody government. This is an unbloody sacrifice; and this sacrifice is acceptable unto God. Oh! how graciously did her majesty commend us her subjects to the careful and wise government of her council and judges, when she spake thus unto them: ‘Have care over my people. You have my people: do you that which I ought to do. They are my people. Every man oppresseth them and spoileth them without mercy. They cannot revenge their quarrel, nor help themselves. See unto them; see unto them. For they are my charge. I charge you even as God hath charged me. I care not for myself: my life is not dear to me. My care is for my people. I pray God, whosoever succeedeth me be as careful as I am. They which know what cares I bear, would not think I took any great joy in wearing the crown.’ These ears,” said bishop Jewel, heard, when her Majesty spake these words.”

CHAPTER 54.

Great dangers to the church and nation apprehended at hand. Memorials of it by Cecil. A Portugal's offer to the queen. The rebellion in the north. The rebellious earls, their declarations. The queen's declaration against them. The earl of Sussex sent against them: his proclamation. The university warned. Further relation of this insurrection. Leonard Dacres begins another rebellion. People in other parts how affected.

THUS far of the queen's prosperous reign had she peaceably managed and brought to pass her great and good designs, in casting off the pope's pretended power over her and her kingdom, and settling a religion well purged and reformed from popery in her church. But now this year the clouds begin to gather over her head, and her peace seemeth to be much threatened by popish combinations. Which, however, was not so surprising, but her counsellors were well aware of it. They both saw the kingdom's present danger, and were providing remedies against it. I have seen a memorial of that careful and wise statesman sir William Cecil, drawn up under two titles; viz. *Perils* and *Remedies*; which he sent to the duke of Norfolk, perhaps by the queen's order. This memorial will plainly discover the dangerous state of the church and kingdom. I shall therefore exemplify it.

PERILS.

A conspiracy of the pope, king Philip, the French king, and sundry potentates of Italy; to employ all their forces for the subversion of the professors of the gospel.

The intention of the same formed to be extended against England, immediately after the subduing of the prince of Conde and his associates.

The Spaniard daily avaunts in the Low Countries within short time to possess this realm without any battle.

The opinion they have conceived of the weakness of this realm, by reason of the lack of experience of the subjects in feats of war. And secondly, for that the papistical subjects, being fled out of the realm, have made books in manner of registers; accounting in every shire and great town of the realm,

who be assured to the Roman religion; making their estimate of more than the best half of noblemen and gentlemen to be theirs.

The secret collections of money that are made in the realm by procurators of the papists.

The evident knowledge had for a truth, what the judges, the lawyers, both of the common law and the civil, are in this matter.

The danger hereof also is the greater, because the wise papists of England, as well those abroad as those at home, are by former examples taught, if ever the power shall be in their hands, never to suffer any, being contrary to them to have power: remembering that which is said in the science military, *Non licet bis in bello peccare*.

The discovery of a great number of gentlemen lately in Lancashire, that have upon persuasion forborne to come to the church; with opinion shortly to enjoy the use of the popish religion.

Lastly, to speak as my entire thoughts be by the examples of the scripture; the long tranquillity which this realm hath enjoyed, the plentiful teaching of the truth, and the general neglecting thereof, must needs provoke the wrath of God.

REMEDIES.

The principal is, to amend our lives; and to be thankful indeed for the benefit of the gospel.

The second resteth in using those means that Almighty God hath left to this realm: which consisteth in many parts, viz.

That the queen's majesty unite all her faithful subjects, that profess the gospel sincerely, both to herself, by giving them comfort and credit, and also among themselves, by removing of all partial faction.

The procuring of some aid secretly for the prince of Conde, if the French king will refuse to have the queen a moderator of peace; as presently she hath sent to offer the same: whereof as yet no answer is had. But if it be refused, then is made apparent by themselves, that their intention is to prosecute the subversion of the common cause of religion.

To view the power of the realm, and to put it in order, (and especially the countries upon the seacoast towards

Flanders and France,) by special commissioners.

To make the navy ready.

To embrace such leagues as the princes of Almain do offer for defence of religion.

I know not well what to make of it, but I must interpose here something which this summer happened from a private Portugeze gentleman, and merchant, as it seems; who pretended zealously to offer his service to the queen, to make up the breach between her and Spain her enemy, as being well known to both: whether he was secretly employed to amuse her, and render her the more secure at this juncture, when so much mischief was contriving against her, I know not. He gave out, that he came post from Portugal to Antwerp, and from thence to Calais. Where he met with one Wight, a merchant of London, who being a man to whom he found he might intrust this secret, he disclosed it to him, and withal gave him a letter to the secretary, dated from Calais, July the 14th, 1569. Wherein he gave this relation of himself and of his offer: that at Antwerp he heard particularly the troubles and unquietness that were in the countries of Flanders, and in the realm of England, the which had been so long time past in league and friendship together. That he considered and saw, that this was rather the work of the Devil than the service of God; and therefore he determined with God's help, and for his service and the princes, to offer his person and all his ability, being moved hereunto by no other person of any degree, but his own proper mind and will; since he was as good an Englishman as he was a Portugeze, and esteemed the one realm his natural country as well as the other. In consideration whereof he departed from Antwerp, and was come to Calais: from thence to give knowledge hereof to the queen's majesty and to him, the secretary. And as the thing that God ordaineth he giveth good beginning to, and better ending, so he trusted he would give it in this matter.

And for a remembrance in this behalf, he also gave this merchant a paper with these words written in it:

“Whereas Mr. Anthony Fogassa Portingal, and gentleman to the king of Portugal, and one John Wight of London, merchant, arrived by chance at Calais in one lodging, upon the 20th of June last past;

and upon communication between them of sundry matters, the said Anthony Fogassa said, it grieved him not a little to see the lack that England, Spain, and Portugal had, in not having presently the like conference and traffic as they have had commonly ever heretofore; the which cannot be but to the much disservice of God, to the destruction of the countries and their subjects: and whereas the like discord and variance about twenty-four years past chanced to be between the king of England, king Henry VIII. and the king of France; and two merchants, by name, Bartilmew Compaine and Mysere Bernard Venetian, attempted to conclude the peace between them, by their own wills, and at their own proper costs and charges; and the said Bernard finished the said peace between the said two kings: and seeing the said Anthony Fogassa hath seen so fair a precedent pass in his time, he being then in London; and now calling the same to remembrance, having no less good-will and capacity to do the like; and also being known of the queen's majesty, and of the other two princes; hopeth with his travel to do the like good. And seeing all things must have a beginning and travel before they can be brought to any conclusion or end, and a better means than this cannot be devised, to the honour of all the princes, the said Anthony Fogassa being moved by his own proper will and mind, and not being procured thereunto by any other person, for good service sake unto God, for good commonwealth's sake unto the said countries; as also for his esteem of England as his native country; and for much and many pleasures and honours that the queen's majesty hath done to him, and the honourable secretary Cecil; all these considerations have moved him to come to the town of Calais, to certify the queen's majesty and her honourable council this his goodwill in this behalf, and is ready to travel therein, knowing their pleasures. Which answer he attendeth." I leave this to the reader's contemplation, nothing coming thereof; and so pass on.

Now though there happened this year no open invasion from the popish conspired foreign potentates; yet in the latter part thereof, viz. in the month of November, happened a dangerous rebellion raised by her popish subjects in the northern parts bordering upon Scotland; abetted and encouraged, in all likelihood, from abroad. This faction was headed by two great earls, viz.

Northumberland and Westmorland. They declared at first the cause of their appearing in arms to be, to have the old religion restored.

Afterwards, (to stop the clamours of some, that the insurrection of these earls tended to the overthrow of the queen and realm, and in hopes to bring in the more to join with them,) they set forth another declaration, viz. that their gathering together in that manner was in behalf of the true succession, and for the better establishment of the crown; which was endeavoured to be hindered by divers evil men about the queen's person; and that this was a matter deliberated upon and desired by the high and mighty prince, the duke of Norfolk, and others of the ancient nobility, and many that were favourers of God's word, [that is, the queen's protestant subjects.]

Now, because these declarations are to be found in none of our historians, nor hardly any mention made of them, I shall here insert them as they were sent up from the dean of York to Grindal, bishop of London; who conveyed them to the secretary: among whose papers I had them.

The first ran in this tenor: "We Thomas Earl of Northumberland, and Charles earl of Westmorland, the queen's true and faithful subjects, to all the same of the old catholic religion. Know ye, that we, with many other well disposed persons, as well of the nobility as others, have promised our faiths in the furtherance of this our good meaning. Forasmuch as divers disordered and evil disposed persons about the queen's majesty have, by their subtile and crafty dealing to advance themselves, overcome in this our realm the true and catholic religion towards God; and by the same abused the queen, disordered the realm; and now, lastly, seek and procure the destruction of the nobility: we therefore have gathered ourselves together, to resist by force; and the rather by the help of God and you, good people; and to see redress of these things amiss, with restoring of all ancient customs and liberties to God's church and this noble realm: lest, if we should not do it ourselves, we might be reformed by strangers, to the great hazard of the state of this our country; whereunto we are all bound."

Next came abroad this declaration from them.

"Whereas it hath been, by the sinister and wicked reports of sundry malicious persons, enemies both to God's word and the public estate of this commonwealth, devised and published, that the

assembly of these noblemen, the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, with sundry of the greatest worship and credit in this part of the realm, is and hath been to the overthrow of the commonwealth and the crown; it was therefore thought good to the earls and their council, to signify to all and every the queen's majesty's subjects, the true and sincere meaning of the said earls, their friends and allies.

"Know ye therefore, that where of late it hath been faithfully and deliberately considered and devised by the right high and mighty prince Thomas duke of Norfolk, Henry earl of Arundel, William earl of Pembroke, together with the said earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and divers others of the ancient nobility of this realm, with a common consent of sundry the principal favourers of God's word; and the same, as well for the avoiding of bloodshed and utter subversion of the commonwealth, as the reforming of certain disorders crept in by the abuse and malicious practices of sundry wicked and evil disposed persons; to make manifest and known to all manner of men, to whom of mere right the true succession of the crown appertaineth, dangerously and uncertainly depending, by reason of many titles and interests pretended to the same: the which godly, good, and honourable meaning of the said nobility hath been sought by all manner of means to be prevented by certain common enemies of this realm about the queen's person; by whose sinister and detestable counsel and practice, well known to us and to the rest of the nobility, their lives and liberties are now endangered; and daily devices made to apprehend our bodies, the true remain of their virtuous counsel and intent; the which their unjust and ambitious policies and practices can by no submission on our parts be avoided, but only by the sword:

"We have therefore, of just and faithful meaning to the queen's majesty, her commonwealth, and the true successors of the same, assembled ourselves, to resist force by force; wherein we commit ourselves (seeing no intercession will help) to the exceeding mercy and goodness of God, and to all true favourers of this realm of England, resolved in ourselves, in this so just and godly enterprise, wholly to adventure lives, lands, and goods: whereunto we heartily crave the true aid and assistance of all faithful favourers of the

quietness of the commonwealth, and the ancient nobility of the same. God save the queen and the nobility.”

When the rebellion in the north was thus broke out, being about 5500 horse and foot strong, according to the account sent to the lord treasurer by sir George Bowes, or less according to Camden, the queen commanded the earl of Sussex, her lieutenant-general and lord president of her council in the north, to proclaim the two earls of Westmorland and Northumberland traitors, and all that adhered to them. And to prevent others from joining with them, and to shew all the world what sort of men the two earls were that headed the rebels, she set forth at large a declaration concerning their treasons.

“That she was about the latter end of the summer informed of some secret whisperings in certain places of Yorkshire and Durham, that there was like to be some assemblies of lewd people in those parts tending to a rebellion: which the queen at first little regarded, because the said information contained no evident or direct cause of proof. But afterwards, the reports renewed again, upon the two earls having secret meetings with certain persons of suspected behaviour. Of this the earl of Sussex gave advertisement; adding nevertheless, that to his knowledge there were nothing but lewd rumours suddenly raised and suddenly ended. But shortly after, he sent for the two earls, with whom he conferred of those rumours. Who then falsely dissembling, protested themselves free from all such occasions, offering to spend their lives against any that should break the peace. The lord president of the north, upon their oaths, so much trusted them, that he gave them leave to depart, and power to examine the causes of these bruits: but the fears of their treasons, however covered, were so great, that they newly burst out in more flames.

“Whereupon, the queen, being loath to enter into any distrust of her nobility, that the earls might be cleared from slander, and the good people that lived in fear of spoil be quieted, commanded the lord president to require the two earls in her name to repair unto her: who accordingly sent his letters to them, to come to him to consult upon matters appertaining to that council. Whereunto they made dilatory answers. And when he once again earnestly required them to come, they flatly denied. Then the queen sent her own private

letters of commandment to them to repair to her presence. All which notwithstanding they refused to come. But before the delivery of the queen's letters, they had got as considerable numbers with them as they could, which were not many. For the honester sort did refuse to associate with them. And so they entered into an open and actual rebellion, arming and fortifying themselves in all warlike manner. They invaded houses and churches, published proclamations in their own names, to move the queen's subjects to take their parts; as meaning of their own authority to subvert laws, threatening the people, that if they could not achieve their purposes, then strangers would enter the realm to finish the same. Yet they declared, that they meant no hurt to her majesty.

“But as to the reformation of any great matters, they were as ill chosen two persons, if their qualities were considered, to have credit, as could be in the whole realm. For they were both in poverty; one having but a very small portion of that which his ancestors had left; and the other having wasted almost his whole patrimony. The queen therefore saw in what sort they went about to satisfy their private lack and ambition, through the persuasion of the number of desperate persons associated as parasites with them. And she thought good, that all her loving subjects should understand, how the said earls, contrary to the natural property of nobility, which was instituted to defend the prince, being the head, and to preserve peace, had most openly and treacherously entered into the first rebellion, and breach of the public blessed peace of the realm, that had happened (beyond all former examples) during her majesty's reign, which now had continued about eleven years. An act horrible against God, the only giver of so long peace; and ungrateful to their sovereign lady, to whom they two particularly had heretofore made sundry professions of their faith; and, lastly, most unnatural and pernicious to their native country, that had so long enjoyed peace, and now by their only malice to be troubled in that felicity.

“And, lastly, she charged all her good subjects, to employ their whole power to the preservation of common peace, and speedily to apprehend and suppress all manner of persons that should by deed or word shew themselves favourable to this rebellious enterprise of

the said earls and their associates; and declared them to be rebels and traitors, and so be taken and used to all purposes: not doubting, but this admonition and knowledge given should suffice for all good subjects to retain themselves in their duties, and to be void from all seducing by the foresaid rebels." This proclamation was given at the castle of Windsor, November the 24th.

Four days after, viz. November 28, the earl of Sussex hastened abroad his proclamation, subscribed with his own name at bottom, declaring the falsehood and vain delusions whereby the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and their confederates, did abuse the queen's subjects to maintain their rebellious enterprises, as the title ran. And these abuses and delusions were, That they commanded the queen's subjects, in her highness's name, to repair to them in warlike manner for the defence and surety of her person, when their intent was indeed to maintain their own treasons, and thereby to put in peril her most royal majesty.

That they affirmed their doings to be with the advice and consent of the nobility, who indeed were wholly bent to spend their lives in dutiful obedience against them and all other traitors. That they pretended, for conscience sake, to seek to reform religion; where indeed it was manifestly known, many of them never had care of conscience, or ever respected any religion, but continued a dissolute life, until at this present they were driven to pretend a popish holiness, to put some false colour upon their manifest treasons. That they declared, that they were driven to take this matter in hand, lest other foreign princes might take it upon them, to the great peril of the kingdom: where indeed they, not contented with the good, quiet, and public administration of justice, so long continued under the queen's majesty, as the like was never before in any prince's time, had, by all the means they could, practised with foreign princes to aid them in this wicked enterprise; and thereby sought, not only the manifest peril of our most sovereign gracious lady's person, state, and dignity royal, but also to bring the whole realm to perpetual thralldom and misery, under the subjection and slavery of foreign powers and potentates. That they covered their naughty intent with a show of desire to preserve the state of the ancient nobility from destruction; where indeed it manifestly appeared, that in the whole twelve years past, the queen had such a care of preserving that state, as from the beginning of her reign to this hour there had not perished one of that flock. And they themselves, who abused the people with those slanderous devices, had most graciously and liberally tasted of her

majesty's favour, good countenance, bounty, and familiar usage, more than others did of their equals, and far above their deserts; and of whom she had conceived so good opinion, as hardy could she of long time be induced to think, that such lack of duty could enter into their hearts against her, or such ingratitude towards her, that had so liberally dealt with them, and so lovingly towards them; although she knew that some of them lived in danger of her laws: whereof she gave them to understand she had good knowledge, and did tolerate them in hope of their loyalties otherwise.

In consideration whereof, the said lieutenant-general, seeing how the ignorant people was abused by these delusions, and knowing what covenants, promises, assertions, and oaths they had heretofore made to the queen, and also to him to be reported to her highness, for the continuance of their truths and loyalties to her majesty, and seeing by the sequel, that all they had done, presently did, or hereafter intended to do, were but forepretended falsehoods; thought it convenient to notify to all her majesty's subjects their manner of dealings, whereby they might manifestly see their principal intents to be, to put in peril the person of the queen, and to sow sedition and rebellion, and to draw foreign nations into the realm, to the utter subversion and perpetual bondage of this ancient free commonwealth, to spoil all kinds of people, (whereof the whole country felt the present smart,) and to maintain and continue their licentious and unbridled affections, and with falsehood, open lies, and vain delusions to seek to abuse all kind of estates, for the furthering of their wicked intents.

Which matters, evidently appearing to the whole world, were sufficient to induce all men, that had either reason, duty to their sovereign lady, or love to their native country, and had been by these delusions abused, utterly to forsake and detest them and their wicked doings: and all such as had not hitherto been abused, to forbear to repair to them, or any ways to aid or succour them, or any of their traitorous enterprises, abominable before God, undutiful to their sovereign lady, and most perilous to the quiet and prosperous state of the realm; wherein all honest persons have lived from the beginning of her majesty's reign, in freedom of their persons, with surety of life, lands, and goods.

In the midst of these storms, I cannot but relate the careful eye of secretary Cecil upon the university of Cambridge, of which he was chancellor, lest there might arise some commotions among the scholars there; especially, many of them coming from those northern parts, or related to the earls, or

to others there in arms. Care was taken in time to inform the university with this rebellion, by a gentleman that seemed to come from those parts. And the secretary, as their chancellor, hastened his letter to the vice-chancellor and heads, with special order to keep all quiet there, and to have a careful eye to such as were justly suspicious.

“That he understood, that they were advertised by one Mr. Hall of some troubles moved in the northern parts by the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and some other gentlemen in their company; advising them to have regard to any kinsmen or children of any of them, if any such were in that university. That as he liked well of that advice, so he had also thought good specially to require and pray them to inquire and consider throughout that university, what young gentlemen there were within the same of kin to the said earls, or either of them, or sons; or sons or kinsmen of one Norton, Tempest, Swynburn, and Markhamfield, of the north, or of any other capital person that they should hear to be in company of the said earls. And generally, what gentlemen’s sons or kinsfolk of any of the north parts were to be presently found in that university. And that finding any such, he prayed them to give strait order to their tutors, and others having the charge and government of them, to see them, and every such, well looked to, that they departed not from thence. And that after they should have made such a general inquiry, he prayed them to send him in writing the names of such as they should find to be of the north, and of what place they were born; with such circumstances as they might learn of themselves, or any other, of their qualities and lines. Whereby he should be better able to judge who were meet to be regarded and looked to; and thereof to give them further advice in this behalf.”

And then concluding, by way of postscript, in these words of his own hand: “I doubt not but you will have good regard to stay lewd rumours; and in the beginning sharply to punish them. Subscribing,

Your’s assured, W. Cecil.
From Wyndsor Castle, 17
of Novemb. 1569.

This as well as many other instances shew the chancellor’s care of his university.

After this dangerous rebellion was scattered, and many came in, and submitted and begged pardon, this was the form of the oath made by them in order to their pardon:

“First, you shall swear, that yee be heartily sorry that yee have offended the queen’s majesty in the late rebellion; and that you do and shall repute and take all oaths and promises heretofore made to any person or persons for and touching the said rebellion, to be wicked, unlawful, and of none effect; also, that you have offended God and her highness in taking any such oath, or in making any promise for that purpose. And that from henceforth yee shall be true and faithful subject unto the queen, our sovereign lady Elizabeth, &c. And that you shall from henceforth obey and allow all laws, &c. not being repealed. And all the same yee shall against all persons maintain and defend to the uttermost of your power; and shall assist all such judges, justices, commissioners, officers, and ministers, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, as the queen’s majesty shall appoint for the due execution of any of her majesty’s laws, ordinances, injunctions, statutes, or proclamations.

“Item, Ye shall never hereafter during your lives make any unlawful assemblies or commotions, nor put yourselves in any number in any forcible array, at the commandment of any person whatsoever, but only at the commandment of the queen’s majesty, or her lieutenant, &c.

“Item, You shall not do or commit any treasons, murders, felonies, nor suffer any such to be done by any person whatsoever; but you shall openly bewray the same to the queen’s majesty, or to such as have her majesty’s laws in administration. And in case there shall happen any person or persons which shall utter and declare unto you privily or openly any seditious matters, or move you to any insurrection, &c. or speak any slanderous words of the queen’s majesty, or any of her counsellors; you shall likewise open and disclose the same, and shall endeavour yourself to apprehend all such persons, and so have them committed to sure prison.

“And you shall also swear, that you do utterly testify and declare in your consciences, that the queen’s highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness’s dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or

causes, as temporal; *and* that no foreign prince, person, prelate, &c. [as in the oath of supremacy.] So help you God, and the contents of this book.”

While this herd of papalins were got together in arms, they shewed their popish zeal, among other outrages, in entering into the churches, and there cutting and tearing the Bibles and the Common Prayer-books, and treading them under their feet.

In the mean time, the archbishop of Canterbury caused a sermon in six parts to be composed, and often read in the realm, *Against wilful rebellion*; and a prayer for the preservation of the queen and kingdom, to be used during this rebellion, beginning, *O most mighty God, the Lord of hosts, the Governor of all creatures, &c.* As at the quelling thereof, a thanksgiving to God for the same, beginning, *O heavenly and most merciful Father, the Defender of those that put their trust in thee, &c.* which thanksgiving, by some strokes in it, I believe was composed by the archbishop himself. This sermon, prayer, and thanksgiving were added to, and be still extant in our book of homilies. By the sermon we may understand somewhat of the practice and mischiefs of the rebels, and what sort of men they were.

“He that considereth the persons, state, and conditions of the rebels themselves, the reformers, as they take upon them, of the present government, he shall find that the most rash and hairbrained men, the greatest unthrifths, that have lewdly wasted their own goods and lands, those that be over the ears in debt, and such as for their thefts, robberies, and murders, dare not, in any well-governed commonwealth, where good laws are in force, shew their faces; such as are of most lewd and wicked behaviour and life, and all such as will not or cannot live in peace, are always most ready to move rebellion, or take part with rebels. And are not these meet men, trow yee, to restore the commonwealth decayed, who have so spoiled and consumed all their own wealth and thrift; and very like to amend other men’s manners, who have so vile vices and abominable conditions themselves?..... Let no good and discreet subjects therefore follow the flag or banner displayed to rebellion, and borne by rebels, though it have the image of the plough painted therein, with *God speed the plough* written under in great letters: knowing that none hinder the plough more than rebels, who will

neither go to the plough themselves, nor suffer others that would go to it. And though some rebels bear the picture of the *five wounds* painted, the true Christians are those who put their only hope of salvation in the wounds of Christ; not those wounds which are painted in a clout by some lewd painter, but in those wounds which Christ himself bare in his precious body. Though they, little knowing what the cross of Christ meaneth, which neither carver nor painter can make, do bear the image of the cross painted in a rag against those that have the cross of Christ painted in their hearts: yea, though they paint withal in their flags, *In hoc signo vinces, i.e. By this sign thou shalt get the victory*, by a most fond imputation of the poesy of Constantinus Magnus, that most noble Christian emperor, and great conqueror of God's enemies; a most unmeet sign for rebels of God, their prince, and country; or what banner soever they shall bear; yet let no good and godly subject, upon any hope of victory or good success, follow such standard-bearers of rebellion."

And again, speaking of the chief author of this rebellion, the bishop of Rome: "He [the said bishop] hath procured the breach of the public peace of England (with the long and blessed continuance whereof he is sore grieved) by *the* ministry of his disguised chaplains, creeping in laymen's apparel into the houses, and whispering in the ears of certain northern borderers, being then most ignorant of their duties to God and to their prince, of all people in the realm: whom therefore, as most meet and ready to execute his intended purpose, he hath by his said ignorant mass-priests, as blind guides leading the blind, brought the silly blind subjects into the ditch of horrible rebellion, damnable to themselves, and very dangerous to the state of the realm, had not God of his mercy miraculously calmed that raging tempest, not only without a shipwreck of the commonwealth, but almost without any shedding of Christian and English blood at all."

But no sooner was the rebellion of these earls quelled, but Leonard, a younger son of the lord Dacres of the north, began another in those parts next Scotland: intending, by the help of those scattered rebels and his own forces, to effect his purpose; which was (whatever he pretended more plausibly to deliver the Scotch queen) to get possession of the lands and revenues of his father and elder brother, lords Dacres deceased. But after a

battle with the lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, he was also defeated, and fled; as our historians relate. Soon after, a pardon from the queen was sent down to those rebels, as being imposed upon by that deceitful rebel, as she graciously interpreted it. Which pardon is but just named in our historian Camden, nor exemplified either in Stow or Holinshed. I have met with it; and find it so large and expressive, that thereby that part of history may be considerably illustrated; and therefore I shall here annex it.

It bore this title: *A proclamation of the queen's majesty's* pardon, granted to certain of her subjects upon the west borders; having offended by Leonard Dacres, abusing of them in a rebellion lately stirred by him. It bore date, From her honour of Hampton-court, March the 4th, *anno regn. regin.* 12; and ran in this tenor:

“The queen's majesty being informed, that in the late rebellion attempted by Leonard Dacres in Cumberland, within the west wardenry, upon the frontiers of Scotland, the greater number of her subjects that came to him were abused, and falsely allured to aid him, partly for defence of the possession which he had gotten of certain houses, wherein he pretended title, though against the order of the laws of the realm; and partly to withstand certain incursions, that he untruly pretended should be shortly made into those borders by the outlaws of Scotland, and the rebels lately fled out of the land, [viz. those headed by the two earls.] And now, since the said Leonard Dacres, contrary to his false persuasions, hath manifestly declared himself, by his false actions, to have assembled this power only to make a new rebellion against her majesty and the crown of this realm; the multitude of her poor subjects, which were by such false and traitorous devices allured to come to him in force and arms, &c. have lamentably acknowledged and confessed their errors, and with clamours and outcryings have accursed the said Leonard Dacres, as a most wicked and pernicious traitor: making most piteous intercession, by mean of her majesty's right trusty and well-beloved cousin the lord of Hunsdon, governor of the town of Berwick, and lord warden of the east marches towards Scotland; that they might be received to her majesty's mercy, and have their pardon, with full intent to be hereafter, during their lives, more careful how to be abused in like manner, to assemble and arm themselves upon provocation of any private subject, having no office nor authority under her majesty, &c..... Among these, to her

majesty's great comfort, no gentleman of blood or estimation hath been yet found to have offended.

"The queen extended her mercy in this sort following; that it should be lawful for all her subjects in this rebellion in company with Leonard Dacres, or attending or assisting him the 19th and 20th of the late month of February, to return to their habitations and dwelling-places: and as soon as they may, to give knowledge to the lord warden of the west marches, or to the sheriffs of any of the shires, where their habitations were before their offences, or other inferior officers appointed; and then no manner of officer, or other person, to molest them in their persons, goods, chattels, or lands. But they to submit themselves to such orders as should be notified, for recognition of their offences; and so to enjoy their full pardon from her majesty, whensoever they should sue for the same in chancery, &c.

"Provided, this pardon not to extend to Leonard Dacres, nor any of his brethren, nor to any that did before offend in the late rebellion with the two earls; nor to any justice of peace, constable, ryves, bailiffs of towns, or learned sergeants; nor to any that at publication of this proclamation should be detained in prison for this rebellion, or for lack of repentance unworthy of this mercy: their names to be read, and openly seen, at the market of Carlisle, or other market-town.

"And because the unworthiness of the said traitor, Leonard Dacres, may in some part the more appear, her majesty is content it be understood, that in the beginning of the two earls' rebellion she was contented upon suit made by Leonard Dacres, (notwithstanding she had heard that he had been the summer before secretly conversant with the earls,) to admit him at Windsor to her presence. Where, being privately with her, he made offers of his service against the said earls, being then proclaimed traitors; and most earnestly requested her majesty therein to commit trust to him, as to a most faithful subject and servant: using many kind speeches, not without assurances by oaths, to provoke her majesty not only to offer him her favour, but to commit to him charge to repair into the place where he now committed this treason; and there to join with her warden in service against the rebels. According whereunto he

departed in all great haste: and, as hath been since discovered to her majesty, did then immediately in his journey, coming near her rebels, renew the fore conspiracies, by secret comforting the said rebels with promises of aid of men and money; using, for more credit, the names of princes' ambassadors. And after that, conspired with them by letters and messengers, under colour of gathering of force for service of her majesty, to have traitorously destroyed the lord Scroope in the field; and to have taken the city and castle of Carlisle, and there to have murdered the bishop. And not being able to compass the same, as he desired, seeing the two earls forced to flee the realm, he sent messages and letters of his own hand (which are extant to be seen) to certain in Scotland, requiring favour to be shewed to the said earls; and professing, as soon as he could find time, to shew himself an open friend to them. And so did he manifestly and traitorously perform the same, by fortifying the castle of Nawarde [Naworthe] with men, munition, and victual, by assembling the queen's majesty's subjects with firing of beacons: and in the end, finding his power increase with a great number of Scots, did enter into the plain field against the queen's majesty's power under the conduct of the lord Hunsdon. Which, when he would have vanquished, (as he certainly accounted that he might, by reason of his great numbers,) he was forced like a traitor to flee; and all his own power vanquished by the justice of Almighty God, assisting her majesty's wardens of her east and middle marches: being in number far inferior, but in the goodness of the cause far superior; and of them, through God's goodness, very few hurt."

Many now, in other parts of the nation, however they temporized before, shewed at this emergence how well affected they stood to popery, or at least how indifferent towards religion; both magistrates as well as others. What the dispositions of men were in Worcestershire may be judged by Dr. Sandys, the bishop, his letter to the secretary, wrote in the month of December.

"This small storm maketh many to shrink. Hard it is to find one faithful. The rulers will not displease, but to serve the time, that they may be safe in all times. Religion is liked as it may serve their own turn: not one that is earnest and constant: they are all as wavering reeds. In appointing of soldiers from hence, no respect was had to religion; a matter to have been minded, in my opinion.

They well considered to spare their own tenants, and to send forth mine. [Such was their kindness to their bishop.] So that if I should need, I must stop the gap myself, saving for my servants. Wales, with the borders thereof, is vehemently to be suspected. If such a mischief should fall forth, I shall be first assaulted. *Percutiam pastorem, &c.* If I might have authority to prest one hundred of mine own tenants, to be employed in her highness's service, and for my safety, it would stand me in great stead. If you can like hereof, I must pray your help herein. Surely, sir, I am not afraid of the enemy, neither is my life dear unto me; yet wittingly to fall into danger, wise men will think folly. But this way, or what way you shall think best for me, shall well content me."

CHAPTER 55.

Books written on occasion of this rebellion; addressed to the rebels and papists. The earl of Westmorland in Flanders. Insurrection in Suffolk. Subscription required of all justices and gentlemen to the act of Uniformity, and promise of going to church. Inns of court popish. Sectaries called puritans.

IN this juncture were two books written upon occasion of this rebellion; the former in the time of the rebellion, the latter soon after. That in the rebellion was directed, *To the queen's poor deceived subjects of the north country*, drawn into rebellion by the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. That after the rebellion was entitled, *A warning against the dangerous practices ode papists, and especially the partners of the late rebellion; gathered out of the common fear and speech of good subjects*. It is worth giving some brief account of these tracts, (which though once printed, yet by this time are as rare as MSS.) which discover so much the state of those times, and the grounds those rebels went upon.

The former treatise (which, by the style, strength, and spirit of it, seems to be composed by the head and pen of sir Thomas Smith) began thus, addressing to the rebels:

“Albeit I know not by what name to call you, since you have lost the just name of Englishmen, by disturbing the common peace of England with cruel invasions and spoils, like enemies; and the queen's subjects you cannot well be named, having thrown away your due submission and obedience: and yet her subjects still must you be; and cannot enjoy the name of lawful enemies, being under her highness's authority of correction, not to be ransomed; nor by the courtesy of martial law to be dealt with as just enemies, but to be executed as traitors and rebels: Christians I cannot term you, that have defaced the communion of Christians, and in destroying the book of Christ's most holy testament [for they tore the Bibles and communion-books wheresoever they came] renounced your part by that testament bequeathed unto you. Yet I remember what you have been: by country, Englishmen; by nature, our kinsmen and allies; by allegiance, subjects; by profession, Christian men. I pity what you now are: by cruelty and spoil of the land, worse than

enemies; by unnatural doings, further from duties of love than extremest strangers; by rebellion, traitors; by blaspheming Christ our Saviour, and destroying the monuments of his religion, worse than Jews and infidels, &c..... Call, I pray you, to remembrance your matter, cause, and quarrel, and therewith the end whereto it tendeth, the shows and colours wherewith it is cloked and therein, the likelihood of those successes that you are promised, with the hope of your aids, complices, favourers, and succours, the estates and qualities of those that have misguided you; how far you be any ways bound unto them; and to whom you rather be bound; and for what causes; the manner of your own doings in following them; the power and force of her majesty; her true subjects and others bent against you; your own manifest mischief and danger, both bodily and ghostly; Almighty God's infinite mercy, and the queen's majesty's excessive clemency."

[These were the heads of the writer's ensuing discourse, which he proceeded to treat of singly in their order. Now to repeat only some passages of more remark.]

"Your very *matter, cause, and quarrel* indeed is not any enterprise for your commodity, nor meant for your benefit, no more than if ye were set a work to hang yourselves: such good-will they bear you, that thus deceive you. The very *matter* indeed is this: to alter the state and government of the realm; to overthrow her majesty our most gracious sovereign lady's crown and dignity; to satisfy the need and poverty of such your leaders as are fallen into lack, by their lewd unthriftiness and wasteful spending in most vile things and doings; to set up the ambition of most unworthy persons; to serve the turn of our foreign enemies; by whom, intending our general destruction, your misleaders are but with present means and great hopes most traitorously corrupted, to advance a reigned and false title; that hath neither foundation of right and law, nor can stand with the safety of the queen's majesty; and cannot but most manifestly threaten to the realm spoil, tyranny, alienation of honour, of sovereignty, and of necessary defence, with most grievous bondage to strangers' unjust power," [i.e. Spaniards,] &c.

Then he descants upon the two earls' declarations and proclamations:

“Your great captains, (a likely matter!) pitying the foul *disorders of the realm of England, so impoverished and decayed* from the marvellous worthy estate wherein queen Mary left it; *so far indebted*, beyond the expenses of infinite treasure that king Philip brought and left in this land; *so subjected to strangers*, that had so small likelihood to have aught to do here in queen Mary’s reign; *so troubled with foreign wars and invasions*, as we have been in the eleven years and more of the queen’s most noble government; *so defrauded of due execution of justice*, that no subject can have his right by law: whereas indeed none wanteth his right, but they and you, that yet want your due execution, but may have it time enough: *and that most lamentable case*, those good devout men, as your holy earl of Westmorland and others, in whom no kind of lewdness lacked but rebellion, which they have now added to make up their full heap of iniquity, that they might be perfectly stark nought; *being grieved, forsooth, to see God evil served in the common order of prayer, preaching, and administration of sacraments*; and, especially, in that the book of God lieth open to the people, and that God is served after God’s own teaching. To remedy all those mischiefs, these notably well-chosen men, like themselves, have called a noble parliament and convocation; that is, a rout of unlearned, rude rebels, forgetting all duty to God, prince, country, neighbours, and all that ever honest is. And in this deep, wise, and godly assembly, by the inspiration of the Devil’s spirit, whom, under the false name of the Holy Ghost, they have in abominable sacrifice called upon; it is at length decreed, enacted, and proclaimed, that your two earls, with the rest of their faction, are *the queen’s true and faithful subjects; that they have a good meaning; that the nobility hath given their faith to further it; that disordered and evil disposed persons about the queen, seeking their own advancement, have overthrown true religion, disordered the realm, and seek destruction of the nobility*. That these your good governors will, *with the help of God and good people, redress things amiss, and restore ancient customs and liberties to the church and realm, &c.*

“But wherein is the realm so dangerous, that it must have violent remedy? That it may abide no delay of counselling; no ordinary means of reformation; Northumberland, Westmorland, and

Swinborn, like Catiline, Lentulus, and Manlius, must erect a new triumvirate, to repair or new melt and fashion the decayed commonwealth of England. Sooth, many disordered and evil-disposed persons about the queen have marred all. *Disordered*, saith my lord of Westmorland; *evil disposed*, saith my lord of Northumberland; *about the queen*, say goodfellows, wight-riders, and robbers in the borders of the two realms. Oh! virtuous and holy thieves! Oh! well-meaning traitors! Oh! likely surmise! Is there any greater disorder than rebellion? Is there any worse disposition than treason? Is there any greater falsehood than thus to defame the queen's most noble government? Are you so blind not to see the queen touched, though; to beguile you, her name be spared? Come they, whom you call *disordered*, to the queen uncalled? Are they not of her majesty's council by her wise and good choice? Deal they not in the causes of the realm, to such ends and with such means as her majesty appointeth? Do they any thing without her authority and good liking, as there is good cause? Make they any laws? Require they any subsidies? Do they the greatest things without the assent of the whole realm; your own assent, by your deputies and burgesses in open parliament, whereunto her majesty's assent is had? Or in causes out of parliament, is aught put in execution without her highness's will and pleasure?..... Cease then to be so beguiled. Take that shadow away; and take it as truth is; that your earls' proclamation indeed saith, though not in the selfsame syllables, that the queen's majesty, with her nobility, parliament, and council, have done these mischiefs, that my lord of Westmorland and his fellows must redress in haste. And these, nobility and councils, your wise good rulers call *disordered and evil disposed persons*. If you know them not, will you believe, that so wise, learned, virtuous, and noble a queen calleth to her council *disordered and evil disposed persons*? Yea, more, if you know them not, will you believe, so great weakness and poverty wherein her majesty found the realm is (thanks be to God) repaired; so great quietness and peace procured and kept; so good and equal distributing of justice maintained; such amity with neighbours; such love, credit, yea, awe of her highness among foreign princes and potestates, conciled and upholden so firmly and so many years; will you believe so great things, so well done, so long continued, by *disorderly and evil disposed persons*?

“If you know them, then need I say no more. You know your proclamation is false: you know they be slandered: you know yourselves to be deceived. God give you grace to know how to recover yourselves again. But on the other side, when you remember that which you daily see, the vanities, the doltishness, the borrowing without caring to pay, the prostitute abuse without regard of chastity, that lewd unthriftiness without respect of well getting or well spending, the rashness without discretion, the ungodly life without all virtue, the glorious lustiness without fear of God, and without all foundation of honesty; the adulteries, fornications, thefts, robberies, spoils, murders, and other mischiefs, in some of your captains, professedly open, and daily exercised, even with the gay name of a jolly, stout gentleman and lusty courage; and in some of great raveny; yet, like Reynard the fox, cloaked with some more hypocrisy. These when you mark and weigh truly, (as you see them daily,) apply the words of *disordered and ill disposed persons*, as you see them deserved. Let every work have his true name, &c.

“But what have these disordered and evil disposed counsellors about the queen done? Say you, *overcome true and catholic religion; disordered the realm; sought the destructio, of the nobility. O!* shameless falsehoods! *O!* fading, false, and vain colours! Come out of darkness; open your eyes, &c.

“They *have overcome true religion*, say your seducers and false teachers. Is there any alteration of religion made so rashly as your rebellion? Or teacheth it so ungodly doings as you do execute? Or is it received from any other than from the word of God himself? If you will have any religion, I trust you will have Christ’s religion. If you will have the religion of Christ, I hope you will best believe himself to tell you what it is. If you will hear himself speak, you may not distrust his word. Even they that would deceive you most, cannot deny that the holy Bible is the word of God: what is taught therein is true; whatsoever is against it is heresy and falsehood. How think you then? Do they mean you well, that take God’s word from you? that destroy the Bible; tear and tread under foot the scripture of the word of God; forbid you to hear or know that whereby only you should hear and know truth, and learn to see their falsehood? Can they wish you to see, that would take away

your light? Can they wish you to fare well that would deprive you of your food? The blasphemy is heinous; the offence dangerous. This path is not the way to true religion, but to error: which they would not have you see, that persuade you to blindfold yourselves against the truth of God's gospel.

"Besides your destroying of God's book, can you think that they mean to draw you to true and catholic religion, that persuade you to destroy the monument of Christian communion, [i.e. the Common Prayer-book?] Read or hear the whole form of that service, judge of every word and sentence, and then shall you see what comfort your false deceivers have taken from you. Compare what good you find in that, and what edifying in the contrary. What sweetness it is to join with God's congregation, in partaking of Christ's body and blood by means of the sacraments; and what vanity, or rather sorrow, it is, to gaze upon a thief, [the mass-priest,] that robbeth you of that treasure, pretends to take it all himself, and holdeth up that which he calleth *a sacrament*, as it were in insultation and triumph over your silly simplicity. Do but hear, read, and know the things that you yet despise, and I doubt not God's grace shall creep into you for your comfort.

"Where, thirdly, you have raged against the marriage of God's ministers, behold your own madness. I hope you be not all popish priests' bastards, thus rebelliously to rise for the honour of your false fathers. Do you think all your popish priests to have lived chaste? Know you not their old incontinency, commonly misnamed lustiness and good fellowship? Remember the examples yourselves. Is marriage worse than whoredom? Was it not by themselves taught to be a sacrament? Is it not the holy ordinance of God? Is the marriage of yourselves and your forefathers become uncleanness or displeasing to God? Think not so evil of yourselves. No, no, there is another matter. You are beguiled, poor souls: look home to your own beds. Preserve the cleanness and honesty of your own houses. This is a quarrel wholly like the old rebels' complaint of enclosing of commons. Many of your *disordered and evil disposed* wives are much aggrieved, that priests, which were wont to be common, be now made several. *Hinc illae lachrymae*. There is grief indeed, and truth it is, and so shall you find it. Few women storm against the marriage of priests, calling it unlawful, and incensing men against it,

but such as have been priests' harlots, or fain would be. Content your wives yourselves, and let priests have their own.

"And for whole [i.e. sound] religion, receive it as God hath taught it. Read his word: and for the delivery and explication of it, it behoveth you, being no better clerks than you are, to credit the whole parliament, the learned clergy of the realm, and those that teach you by the book of God; and learn it in such sort and place as it is to be taught. Your camp is no good school of divinity. Your churches as they were reformed; the word of God read in such tongue as you understand it; the sacraments ministered to your comfort, in such sort as you might feel the sense of them, and be edified by them; the good example of your ministers living in holy matrimony with their own wives, and abstaining from yours; their teaching you obedience, justice, and charity; be the means to learn truth.

"Know of those that complain of the overthrowing of that religion that liketh them, if ever they sought good means to defend it, and were denied; if ever they offered conference, where it was meet, and were refused; if ever they maintained it, in place convenient, by the word of God, and were not fully, truly, and charitably answered. Think you her majesty and the wisest of the realm have no care of their own souls, that have charge both of their own and yours? Think you, they would have entered into the troubles of changing religion, unless very true conscience, and zeal for all our souls, had enforced them? God wot, you are deceived; you are out of the way for true understanding of religion; you are out of the way for true seeking it. And you are very far out of the way, in thinking that your captains have any care of it. They abuse you in this zeal. In the rest, they regard no religion, that go so irreligiously to work: all is but shows and hypocrisy. They have frequented the service established by common authority: they have received God's communion with his church: they have confessed it. Which, if they had had the contrary religion to heart, they would not, nor might have done; unless they would confess themselves such as you ought not to believe. But the truth is, they knew, that for want of sufficient preaching, and especially for want of grace to receive the truth of God preached; and partly also, for that long settled error, even in men otherwise good and honest, that must have their time

of instruction and persuasion; by these means, I say, there be many yet within the realm not well taught; the multitude of which simple men they hoped by this colour to draw to the fellowship of their rebellion, and that way to have more help to shield themselves from the power of justice," &c.

Afterwards he proceeded to shew them the characters of their heads. What be your leaders? Your two earls, you know well, are even of the meanest of all the nobility in haviour, credit, and power, to conduct you through so great and dangerous an enterprise.

The one you see hardly beareth the countenance of his estate, with the small portion of that which his ancestors sometime had. His daily sales and shifts for necessity, (even then when he had less charge than to maintain an army,) both in Sussex and elsewhere, are well known. Such power as he hath had and used in those parts about you, is to be ascribed to her majesty's authority, under whom he served, which now is bent against him. Otherwise, neither is his policy great to rule or redress a realm, nor yet to espy the true faults, much less the remedy; an unfit judge of religion, and a very ill-chosen chastiser of disordered life.

The other, of no credit, no wisdom nor governance, no ability, no virtue. Who knoweth not the enormities of his life, the indiscretion of ruling his own, the great lacks of debts wherein he is, by his own fault, endangered? The estimation of him, as of a contemned man, none otherwise regarded, than for the namesake of honour, and some probability that he might perhaps leave a better son to amend the estate of his house. Though his father were touched with many great faults, much noted in the world, (some whereof this gentleman hath, as by inheritance, received,) yet never did he so hurtful a deed, either to the commonwealth or to his own name and family, as when he begot so ungracious a son: even he, that never governed well himself, nor any thing that he had, whom no wise man, nor, I think, any of you, as mad as you be, would privately trust with ordering of a mean household, now must take in public charge the power of a shire or two, yea, of all the realm, if the rest would adventure as madly as you. For the cause of religion, did any man know, that ever he pretended any religion or conscience at all, till now he maketh an apish counterfeiting of feigned popish devotion? And now yet by your good judgment, he that knoweth neither religion, faith, nor learning, must come to control the judgment, learning, and faith of the queen's majesty, her council, and all

her clergy. What mad absurdities are you run into, to believe so apparent untruths, dissimulations, and hypocrisies!

The residue of your doltish captains, what be they? Think you they be men able to bear you out against the power of a prince, all her nobility, cities, realm, subjects, friends, and allies? One with little wit far set; another in his old age, weary of his wealth; another a runaway with a young wild brain, tickled to see fashions. Alas! what be these to carry you through the serious, earnest, and dangerous enterprise that you have in hand?

The names of Percys and Nevils have long been honourable and well-beloved among you. Some of you and your forefathers have been advanced by them and their ancestors. Some perhaps be knights in kindred, some be tenants, some be servants, &c. Great things be these to move love and good neighbourhood; and of great importance and efficacy to draw honest, true, and kindhearted men to stick to their lords and friends, in all wars against their prince's enemies, and in all honest quarrels and perils. But small matters they be, yea, no causes at all, to draw any man to stand with any man in rebellions and treasons. Is Percy and Nevil more ancient, more beloved and dear unto you, than your natural, sovereign lady, the queen of England, yea, or England itself? Doth one small tenancy move you more than the holding of the whole realm? Is not, in all your homages and realties unto them, saved your faith and allegiance to your sovereign lady, &c.

As I have compared your small duties pretended, to your great duties forsaken; compare again your most due duties with your undue doings, &c. You have in your rebellious outrages committed many heinous and horrible facts; you have destroyed the monuments of God's most holy communion; you have torn and defaced the sacred Bible of God's most holy word, the very pledge of your salvation; you have presumed to alter the form of Christ's religion; you have, in dishonour of Christ's most blessed and only sufficient sacrifice, set up the most abominable and blasphemous sacrifice of the wicked mass; you have committed unnatural and vile cruelties upon God's ministers, and dispensers of God's mysteries, and of the health of your souls; you have defaced God's holy ordinance, whereby all mankind is preserved in chastity, and continued by lawful increase; you have robbed your neighbours, spoiled and destroyed the queen's true subjects; you have wasted the provision for your wives and children; you have undone yourselves. Trow you, this be your duty, either as Christian men,

Englishmen, subjects, tenants, husbands, fathers, neighbours, yea, or natural men?

And when you have done thus, think you to bear it thus away? A piece of the bishopric of Durham and Richmondshire containeth not all England. Your courage may be good; I would it were employed to better causes. Your power is but small; you know you are but few, weak, unarmed, unfurnished to hold out, unlawfully called, unskilfully guarded, slenderly headed, falsely abused, fondly blinded; your captains not trusty to you, nor bound by any authority so to be..... Your *succours* fail you within and without; your victuals in a barren place, not Like long to endure; the season hard, your lodgings incommodious, your households in peril of famine or destruction in your absence; no store of armour, weapon, or munition; your number of horse, though not now many, yet daily like to be fewer. Those necessities that you have either for defence, invasion, or sustenance, being once spent, no way to recover more. One overthrow destroyeth you wholly. You have no means to repair your force: you are enclosed round about; no refuge by land, no escape by sea. Are not you in a gay taking? And this you know to be true.

[Thus was their feeble condition set before them. Then on the other hand, for the queen's strength coming against them.] The whole nobility for their duty, and the rather, for revenge of the dishonourable spots and suspicions sprinkled upon them by your traitorous proclamations, is earnestly bent to overthrow you. The whole number of her highness's true subjects ready to die upon you. The number is great against you, infinitely exceeding your petit multitude. They be furnished of all things necessary, with a prince's store, and so great store as never had any of her ancestors; weapons, armour, shot, powder, and all sorts of munition; victuals abundance, choice of commodious strong holds; one knot of just authority, from which the power assembled cannot start nor sever; skilful captains, wise governors, orderly proceedings; daily fresh succours at pleasure; power to save and kill by law; a wide and large realm gathered together; the country round about within her obeisance; a strong navy; good and sure friends, even in the next foreign parts unto you. The very grounds, colours, and foundations of your enterprise be in her majesty's power. And in all necessities and misfortunes, army upon army to be new repaired, so as a few victories cannot suffice you. Finally, all advantages against you infinite, incomparable. Trow you, this match be well made? &c.

This notable book, addressed to the rebels, was seconded by another soon after the rebellion was quelled, being, *A warning against the dangerous practices of the papists. and especially the partners of the late rebellion.* It began thus:

“The state of this realm considered, and especially such accidents touching the same as late times have ministered, do make it daily more and more evident, how precious and how dear a jewel is the safety of the queen’s most excellent majesty, our most loving and beloved sovereign lady. Compare the time of her most noble and gracious government with ages long ago past, and especially with the miserable and dangerous days immediately preceding her most happy and comfortable reign; call to memory the weakness and perils wherein the commonwealth stood before her highness coming to the crown; weigh the benefits, both bodily and ghostly, that the whole realm and all her subjects have, and do daily receive by her means; think upon the grievous and unspeakable miseries that we all shall be like to sustain by loss of her unvaluable presence.

“It shall be plain, that he is wilfully blind that cannot see; he is wickedly malicious that will not acknowledge; he is obstinately stone-hearted that shall not with sorrow and trembling deeply imprint in careful heart those motions and thoughts that such considerations shall lay before him. Remember the quiet of conscience, the comfort of true servants of God, the freedom of the realm, the deliverance from foreign thralldom of souls, the escape of the heavy yoke of strangers’ dominion, the recovery of wealth, the benefit of peace, the common and egal distribution of justice, the familiar cherishing of nobility, the good preserving and love of the commonalty, the mutual and tender kindness at home, the amity and awe abroad, the sweet enjoying of all these commodities. Match here with the danger and fear of losing them,” &c.

Thus fully doth this tract begin to lay abroad before the people’s eyes the ample blessings of queen Elizabeth’s reign; and how many degrees it surmounted the former under her popish sister Mary. The discourse goeth on with the same life and quickness, shewing the mischiefs of popery, the treachery of papists, and many historical and political observations; and seemeth to be writ by the former author, unless perhaps it be the pen and stroke of secretary Cecil, who commonly framed occasional discourses

upon more eminent occurrences in the state, and did as much by his writing as by his counsel. This advantage was taken by this dangerous and disloyal rebellion, to disparage popery, and the more to open the eyes of the people to beware of it, and to abhor it, and withal to be sensible of their present happiness under a protestant queen and government. I will therefore, as I did with the former book, set down some of the more remarkable passages that I find herein.

He observed, how at this time, and before, papists were frequent in church, in court, in place: writing thus:

“Popish priests, who sometimes triumphed that they were so esteemed popish, and by that means got those things together, still enjoy the great ecclesiastical livings, without recantation or penance; yea, and in simoniacal heaps cathedral churches are stuffed with them, as dens of thieves. They are in offices; the meaner sort depend upon them; and partly by example, partly by common desire to creep into favour of their superiors, and partly also for that the great ones are loath to have others about them, are perilously infected. The very spies and promoters of queen Mary’s time, without change of their opinions, are cherished, and mark men against another day. Mercy may have her excess, and clemency may be great cruelty, when it overfloweth to the good man’s danger.” And a little before: “The licentiousness of papists’ speech is great. They dare do and say they care not what: they have their assemblies and ordinary conferences together; their lewd and seditious books, and such courage as the truer sort of her majesty’s part are overcrowded, as the good preachers daily complain, &c.

“If any of this part [i.e. protestants] have been seduced by papists, as perhaps there be, error I hope it was, and not malice. And as it was error, so it is meet to be forsaken, as error I mean; and not only forsaken in pursuing, but also in defending, succouring, pacifying, and helping. For let such make their account to find no true defence, mercy, nor kindness in papists, when they get above, howsoever their present turn be served. Too late *shall* they wish for the good prince, whom their own follies shall have lost. Let them remember the policy of Charles [the emperor] used with Maurice and others, for *assurance* of religion against the confederates of Smalcald. Let them remember the Fremingham promises [of queen

Mary to the Suffolk men, who had assisted her in gaining her crown,] for not altering of religion. Let them remember, that the very promisers either indeed shall not be able, or will be glad to say they are not able, to keep promise with them. Or, if they would fain keep promise, they may hap to be sent after their predecessors. [As king Edward was supposed to be despatched.] Let them remember the keeping of edicts and the word of a king in other places, [meaning the French king's truces with the prince of Conde and the Hugonots, broken as soon as made,] by means of persons somewhat allied, [i. e. the Guises, fatal enemies to the protestants.] Let them remember that themselves shall not dare to challenge such promises, no more than the crane his reward for pulling the bone out of the wolf's throat. Let them remember that they shall have to do with such as think not themselves bound to keep faith with them, nor any of our side, and can have any dispensation at their pleasure."

And then reflecting upon the late rebellion, the writer, shewed how favourable it proved to the queen, as though God above had ordered every circumstance to her advantage.

"God hath so guided the success of this late rebel lion, as if he should have said to her majesty, Lo! daughter, although necessity of mine ordinance, and the disposition of things for my glory, (which shall be in the end also your benefit,) be such as there must be a traitorous rebellion in your realm, yet this I will do for you. You shall understand it in time: you shall have the means, whereby they should accomplish their intent, in your own power: you shall make your own match: you shall have the choice to name the parties yourself, that shall be the leaders and doers of it, even the weakest of credit, wit, and power, that you can choose to withstand you: you shall choose the time when they shall attempt it, the most unseasonable for them, either to proceed in their own doings together, or for having aid to resort to them either of foreign enemies or domestical traitors: you shall choose the place where you would have it begun; such as lieth best for danger of contagion of others, easiest for yourself to enclose, hardest for your enemies to come to, [i. e. either the French or Spaniard, situate southwardly from them in the north,] and nearest bordering upon your best foreign friends, [i.e. the Scots.] They shall want furniture; yourself

shall have abundance. Your good and true counsellors shall nobly and truly stand by you. Your nobility shall be provoked to revenge the dishonor and slanderous suspicions thrown upon them by the rebels; [giving out in their declarations as though the nobles favoured them;] and thereby shall have cause to strive who may best serve you. Your good subjects shall every way shew their zeal in your service. Your poor clergy shall pour out their devout prayers for you, and I will hear them. I will guide the success to your victory. Your enemies shall be so snared, as, the victory well followed, the treason well examined, the faulty well removed, the root well and clean hewed up, you may sit free from traitors while you live; and your good and true counsellors and subjects may be set in safe ability, and encouraged to serve you truly, and stand faithfully and boldly by you.”

Now if we inquire what became of these two unhappy earls, the chief ringleaders of this disturbance, one of them was taken and executed, as our histories will tell us; the other, viz. Westmorland, after his ill success, made a shift to fly into Flanders, and there was harboured; and at length, for his good service to his country, got a pension of 200*l.* a year from the king of Spain, to maintain him; and afterwards obtained to be colonel to a runagate English regiment in Flanders: which regiment was, after some *time*, deservedly cashiered by the Spaniard, to whom they deserted. And to shew how little both the earl and the rest of the English captains of the regiment were regarded, the commissary, a Spaniard, who came to cashier them, took away violently certain new and fair ensigns, which the captains had bought and made with their own monies, from them that carried them, and that in the presence of the earl their colonel. And for a greater disgrace both to him and the rest, when he and captain Tresham, with the other captains, complained to the duke of Parma, and desired redress, they could not obtain it; and the Spaniard that had them made his brags, that *he had turned the English ensigns into Spanish fieldbeds*. And though the earl got to be colonel to the said regiment, yet there was a Spaniard joined with him as his assistant, or rather as master and commander over him and the regiment.

And to relate another passage of this earl, shewing as well his dissolute as unhappy life, as though judgment followed him. A quarrel happened about some frivolous matter between him and one Taylor, a captain of one of his companies, as they were both riding home from a treat, at which they had

drunk liberally. The earl being in great passion, light down from his horse, drew his sword, and bade captain Taylor do so. But he, knowing how extremely the law there determined of him that should draw his sword against his colonel, put spurs to his horse, and galloped home to his lodging. This the earl interpreted a scorn, and in great choler mounted again, and rid after him, even to the door of his lodging. This indignity the other not able to endure, drew his rapier likewise, and encountered him, and, after some thrusts, ran the earl very dangerously into his breast. At which instant, a Spaniard, accompanied with many soldiers of the earl's company, came running, and environed Taylor on all sides, and most cruelly murdered him with above twenty wounds. But upon complaint made of this matter, and the earnest suit of the other companies, the earl (who indeed was the cause of all) was banished the regiment for a time by the duke of Parma, and the government thereof given to an Italian. And in this sort of dissolute as well as needy life the earl lived for many years, and ended his family, being the last earl of Westmorland of that family.

With the earl fled also into the king of Spain's dominions others of the traitors; as the Dacres, the Tempests, the Nortons, the Nevyls, the Markenfields; some whereof had likewise small pensions allowed them, and they but illy paid.

Besides this insurrection in the north, another rebellion was peeping forth this year in Suffolk, and looked very dangerous. Of which, especially because Camden maketh no mention at all of it in his history of queen Elizabeth, take this account from a letter wrote by a certain nameless person to sir James a Croft, his friend and kinsman.

“For our home-matters, here hath been the beginning of an insurrection in Suffolk, who were very mean personages, and should have assembled at Becklesworth fair. But what by the general search throughout England, wherein *were* found about 13,000 masterless men, and by the apprehension of the principal parties beforehand, the matter was wisely foreseen, and the head of a further and more general mischief cut off in time. Their colour was against the multitude of strangers and foreign artificers, by whose number and faculties the natural subject was oppressed, they said. But their intent was plainly, as the custom is, to have spoiled all the gentlemen and worthy personages that they might overtake; beginning with sir Ambrose German, and so marching towards

London, to have provoked with this example the whole realm to the like uproar.

“Two things more are reported; that a certain tinker should have been intercepted at the seaside, seeking passage with certain letters in the double bottom of a kettle. And the other, that one Mullins, an Englishman, and his companion, was taken with a commission from king Philip to serve by seas against all heretics and enemies to the see of Rome, exempting none. This was the dangerous condition of this kingdom this year by papists.”

Upon this rebellion, and reports and jealousies, that the gentry were generally affected secretly towards popery, and that there was now great tampering to dissuade people from coming to church; I find two things done about this time, the one relating to the justices of peace, the other to the gentlemen of the inns of court.

For it was now required by letters sent from the privy council to the several sheriffs of the counties, and other chief men there, that all such as were in the commission of the peace in all shires and counties of England, should subscribe their names to an instrument, professing their conformity and obedience to the act of parliament for *uniformity* in religion, and for due resorting to the parish churches to hear common prayer there. Several of the instruments are still extant in the paper-house, so signed by the justices of many or most of the counties, as Wilts, Cornwall, Devon, Hereford, Hampshire, Somerset, Suffolk, Norfolk, Middlesex, Essex, Warwick, Dorset, &c. Which subscriptions were made in the months of November and December, and sent up signed with their letters, giving account and information of what was done.

One of these papers ran in this tenor;

“Our humble duties remembered unto your lordships. This is to signify to the same, that we, whose names are by ourselves underwritten, do acknowledge, that it is our bounden duty to observe the contents of the act of parliament, entitled, *An act for the uniformity of the common prayer and service in the church, and the administration of the sacraments*. And for observation of the same law, we do hereby firmly promise, and every of us and our families will and shall repair and resort, at all times convenient, to our own parish churches, and upon reasonable impediment to other

usual chapels and places for the same common prayers; and there shall devoutly and duly hear, and take part of the same common prayers, and all other divine service. And shall also receive the holy sacrament from time to time, according to the tenor of the said act of parliament. Neither shall any of us that hath subscribed, do or say, or assent, or suffer any thing to be done or said by our procurement or allowance, in contempt, lack, or reproof of any part of religion established by the foresaid act. In witness whereof we have subscribed this present writing.”

The bishop of Winchester and some justices in Hampshire, together with their paper of subscription, sent their letter to the council, shewing how some refused to subscribe, and others would not be found out by the constable. And that there were divers persons within that country of great livelihood, credit, and estimation, neither presently nor heretofore in commission, vehemently to be suspected of contempt of her majesty’s proceedings, although divers of them might seem to cover their hypocrisy. They thought it also their duty to manifest the same unto their honours: and beseeched, if their wisdoms thought fit, to direct unto them another letter of the like effect to the former; and to authorize them to deal generally with all, as they had already in commandment especially to deal with some. Whereby they should doubtless discover a great many, which otherwise might continue as they did, and had done. This was dated November the 28th.

And in Worcestershire, the bishop there, in December 1569, gave this account of the justices;

“That sundry justices there had not yet subscribed, which thing to avoid suddenly, some of them went out of the country. He added, that it would give great offence, and much hinder the cause, except they were in short time compelled to do as others had done; and that more gave their hands than their hearts, and might say with Euripides, *Lingua juravi, mentem injuratam gero.*”

The letter from the council for Essex (besides H. Golding, the high sheriff) was directed to Robert lord Rich, John Darcy, Thomas Smith, G. Nycolls, and the lord Morley; who, in their answer to the council, shewed, that when the said lord Morley (who appeared with the rest of them at Chelmsford) was required to subscribe, he made answer, that, perusing the letter first, he perceived by the superscription, that the letter was to the

sheriff and justices of peace, wherein he supposed the nobility were not comprehended. And further, that he saw knights and those under knights were mentioned; but of the nobility no word spoken: whereby he did gather, it was not their honours' mind to touch lords. But that if he might be certified by her majesty, or the lords of the council, that it were their minds, he doubted not to make such answer as they should be contented with. This seems to be the handsome evasion of this lord, who (if I mistake not) was a papist.

The said high sheriff's account sent up to the council was,

“That all the justices of Essex had subscribed, according to a direction given forth in all parts of the county, to come to Chelmsford. And when all appeared not at first, afterwards the rest did, saving such as either by good report were known to be sick, or else were attendant at the court, who were to the number of eleven, besides the bailiffs and justices of the town of Malden.

Nevertheless, they that were at the first and second meeting, as also all the other, which were not in state to be at either of them, had in fine, in the presence of four, three, or two justices, that were at the two first meetings, willingly and dutifully subscribed to the instrument, saving Thomas Powle, esq. who was still at his house at London, or attendant at court.”

So generally well affected to religion, it seems, was our county of Essex about this time, being influenced no doubt by sir Anth. Cook, sir Tho. Smith, sir Tho. Mildmay, eminent courtiers, and some others living in the county.

Now as for the gentlemen of the inns of court, as many of them were justly suspected, so several of them were brought before the ecclesiastical commissioners, and examined upon three points: first, for their coming to service; secondly, for their receiving the communion; and thirdly, for their hearing of mass; which had been privately said at the temple. How guilty they were may be guessed by the shifting answer some of them made to the first inquiry; saying, “They came to the temple church upon Sundays and holydays; meaning no more, than that they came and walked about the roundel there.”

When the former tumults and dangers were pretty well over, the queen, in thankful acknowledgment to God for these deliverances, began to apply

herself to do some further service for religion, and to reform what was still amiss in the church. This some sectaries took hold of, to unsettle many things lately established in the church, and to bring others in their stead. The church of England's peace and unity was lately disturbed by reason of the habits required to be worn of all ministers, as we have heard; soon after, another sort, or rather a rank of the same sort, arose, that were not satisfied with the reformation of this church, but would have it reformed again *by the word of God*, as they urged, disliking the discipline and government and ceremonies of it, so far forth as it varied from some of the churches abroad; and out of a great admiration chiefly of that at Geneva, crying out to have our church framed according to their model. These were men of more zeal than knowledge; who afterwards, throughout the queen's reign, were the causes of great differences and discords among the queen's protestant subjects; and at length of separation and withdrawing in many places from the public worship, and setting up new disciplines and presbyteries among themselves. These were those they *called puritans*. They set out many books of their discipline; the chief of their writers was Tho. Cartwright, who was fully and learnedly answered, and our church, as it stood, vindicated, by Dr. Whitgift. But to go back again to this present year. One of the first of whom I have been speaking of, thinking to take some advantage of the queen's pious inclinations, now writ an earnest letter to the secretary, to use his interest for such a new reformation as before was spoken of: his name was Christopher Foster, alias Colman, intending well, but of little learning, for he scarce wrote true English. This letter being one of the first writings of this sort I meet with, I think it not amiss to insert the tenor thereof.

“Grace and peace with all heavenly and spiritual feeling be with your honour for ever.

“Right honourable, after most humble and lowly wise my duty considered: upon certain occasions offered of late which I heard, that the queen's majesty and the honourable council is well bent to have a good reformation, according to God's word, which will be no small comfort to many a thousand good and godly hearts; which will bring no small peace and quietness to the church, love and unity among brethren, which long hath been at varying, for the miss thereof, and because men's inventions have not been subject to God's word.

“Right honourable, I write in zeal, and love hath compelled me out of a simple heart; praying your honour, that ye will not be offended with nothing; beseeching God to make your honour zealous in promoting hereafter. The godly prophets have been many times ignorant of God’s will, and have done filings of their own affection. As when David asked Nathan of the building of the temple, the prophet, knowing that he was a godly king, and that God did prosper him in many things, bade him do what his heart thought good, yet after forbade him. Again, Samuel would have anointed the eldest son of Saul, [surely he meant Jesse.] Even so the prophet told Ezechias, that he should die: yet afterwards he came again, and told him that he should live. It is the nature of the godly, when they know further of God’s will revealed, they are not ashamed to tell it, and amend it. The Lord knoweth what great imperfection is in the holiest. David had a great zeal in bringing home the ark, yet he failed in the means. Gideon made an ephod; it was the destruction of his house. Uzzah, in touching the ark, did not well; for God will not have man’s devices in his business, but obedience to his word. Jeroboam’s policy in setting up the calves, the Lord despised it. The altar that Achaz would have in Samaria, it was to garnish the temple; and a fairer altar than the first was a jolly show for worldly men, desiring always outward things to please their senses. Manasses builded a new altar, and was reprovèd for it.

“The more God openeth unto us his will, the more is our frowardness to attempt any thing against it. It is great blindness that godly preachers and Englishmen shall cease preaching, unless they will obey traditions, which he desireth not [being] of the flesh, [and] is very pernicious; and it springeth of too much of worldly wisdom. It is best when all laws have their foundations out of the scriptures. Disposures [meaning perhaps disappointments] and crosses are very grievous to the flesh, when they are pondered by themselves. And who is more subject to them than the Christians? But when they are conferred with the anger of God and everlasting death, then it is but small.

“It is good for rulers to be in the church, and the chief thereof; but not above, for that belongeth to Christ. The house of God hath been long a building, yet far from finishing: the Lord be merciful unto us. Your honour doth know the great lets thereof; the Lord

give you grace to help it. For good reformation will be the chiefest stay that ye shall long enjoy your estate and honour; otherwise it will be your overthrow. The Lord grant us that the church may be swept clean according to God's holy word; that it may be once comparable to the best reformed churches. The Lord work in your honour's heart thereto; for now God hath given great occasions, that in his rich mercy, and for the love he beareth always to his church, hath overthrown all the devices, conspiracies of the wicked papists, unnatural papists and monsters, that had lost the knowledge both of God, their prince, and country: the Lord give them better grace.

"Now seeing God hath so visited us in love, the Lord give his holy Spirit always to the queen's majesty and to the honourable council, to visit the land again with a good reformation according to his holy word: that his grace and favour may continue with us for ever, &c.

Yours most humble in the Lord,
Christopher Foster, alias Colman."

I set down this letter at large, that men may see the cant of these men, what they would have, and how weak their arguments and examples from the word of God were, however they talked so much of it.

At the conclusion of this year of the queen, and upon her entrance upon her twelfth, she was saluted with a copy of elegant verses made by Tho. Wylson, LL. D. a learned man, and master of St. Katharine's, London, and afterwards secretary of state.

Ad sacratissimam Elizabetham Dei gratia, Angliae, Franciae, et Hyberniae, reginam, fidei defensorem, &c. Thomae Wilsoni epigramma in duodecimum annum regni ejusdem reginae, xvii. Novembr. 1569.

*Eeoc! duodecimus regni nunc incipit annus;
Quem tibi, quem regno det Deus esse sacrum.
Hactenus est series felix, talisque videtur
Qualis in Elysiis dicitur esse locis.*

*Quae superest series sit par, vel laetior esto,
Si modo fata dari prosperiora queant.
Talis es, ut merito valeas, regnesque beata,
Regno nempe tuo stella salutis ades.
Nescio si dea sis, mihi numen habere videris,
Tam bene nos Anglos diva benigna regis
Quod si sola potes sine sensu vivere mortis,
Sola sis, aeternum vivere digna solo.
Sed licet ex coelo es, mortali in corpore vivis,
Ortaque temporibus, tempore cuncta cadunt.
Pignore sed vives ter felix mater adulto,
Sic potes aeternum vivere diva, vale.*

CHAPTER 56.

This a year of danger. Bullinger answers the pope's bull against the queen. She sends an army against Scotland. Seditious books dispersed by the rebels. A libel from Scotland. Proclamation against the rebels abiding there. A rebellion hatching in Norfolk, discovered. Jewel's Defence, a second edition, comes forth; and Demosthenes's orations in English, by Dr. Wylson; seasonably in respect of king Philip.

WE are now arrived to the twelfth year of the queen's reign; a year of extreme danger and apprehension to the queen and to the whole kingdom.

For this year the Spaniard sent great store and provision of arms and ammunition into Scotland. This year the bishop of Ross, a busy stirring factor for the queen of Scots, stirred up that king, the French king, and the pope, to rescue her by force and invasion. This year Pius V. caused a bull (more privately sent about 1569) to be publicly set up in London against the queen; which was daringly done by one Felton upon the bishop of London's palace gates. In which bull the pope deprived her of all title to her kingdoms, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and charged them not to obey her upon pain of his curse and excommunication. This year a new rebellion was ready to break out in Norfolk, had it not been timely discovered and prevented: for which several lost their lives. And the papists this year were full of confident expectation of their *golden day*, as they termed it: and divers wizards predicted strange things in their behalf. And in the conclusion of this twelfth year of the queen, when these threatening dangers were blown over, and the queen and the realm still safe, it was thought convenient that there should be a public thanksgiving celebrated, and sermons in churches, ringing of bells, tilting, with all the extraordinary signs of joy and triumph. This was done on the 17th day of November, being the day of her entrance on her kingdom.

And from this twelfth year of the queen, the nation began yearly to keep that same day with solemnity during her long reign. And which was continued indeed long after, even to our times, and was called by some *the birthday of the gospel*.

But to take up particulars as we go. The queen, while things thus threatened round about her, stood upon her own guard as well as she could. As for the pope's bull, that received a complete and learned answer by the wise and grave divine Henry Bullinger, chief minister of Zurich; wherein he undertook the defence of the orthodox queen and the whole realm: which, when he had finished it, he sent into England. Cox, bishop of Ely, hereupon wrote him a letter: therein he attributed this his confutation of the bull to his love to England, abhorrence of the thing itself, and his most ardent zeal for truth. He told him, that the queen should know his good-will to her and her kingdom; and that he would take care that she, who well understood both Latin and Greek, should take a pleasant taste of his book; and that he would procure it to be printed. Thus amicably and gratefully did this letter of bishop Cox to Bullinger on this occasion run. This letter will be found in the second Appendix, as it was transcribed from the original in the library at Zurich.

It was thought fit indeed by the bishops, that it should be seen by the queen before they proceeded to publish it: for it was doubted (such was the disposition of some of the court at this time) whether it would be allowed to go abroad. And so archbishop Grindal consulted with the other archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter from Cawood, August 28, 1571, signifying to him, that he stood in doubt, whether the queen and her council would be contented that this book of Bullinger's were published in Latin or English, or both: because possibly they would not have the multitude to know that any such vile, railing bull had passed from that see; and so asked his opinion about it. But upon deliberation, the printing of it was permitted: for there would be copies enough of the bull dispersed to make it known; and therefore it was needful to have an answer dispersed also in the queen's vindication. Which came forth in the year 1571, that is, after it had lain near a year in England.

This bull of Pius V. some of the bishops, Bullinger's former acquaintance, when they were exiles, had sent him, and put him, as it seems, upon this work of answering it. Which when he had finished, he conveyed it over to them; who were Grindal, Cox, and Jewel; and to whom he writ the epistle dedicatory, telling them therein, that they had given him the occasion of doing, or at least endeavouring, something for the glory of Christ our redeemer, and for the safety of that church of theirs in England against the Roman antichrist; and so leaving what he had writ to their good pleasures, to do with it as they should think fit. They soon caused it to be printed,

bearing this title, *Bullae papisticae ante biennium contra sereniss. Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, reginam Elizabetham, et contra inclytum Angliae regnum promulgatae, refutatio, orthodoxaeque reginae et universi regni Angliae defensio*. Printed by John Day, 1571. In this confutation, after the learned man had in several chapters confuted the pretences of the pope to his extravagant jurisdiction and plenary power of universal bishop, vainly displayed in the said bull, he came more particularly to defend the queen and the kingdom of England from the slanders, falsehoods, and unworthy imputations cast upon both. As, that she was not *monstrously* called (as the bull expressed it) *the supreme head* of the church of England: and that the queen, and likewise every civil magistrate, did not *monstrously* decree concerning causes of the church, nor *monstrously* took or managed the care of ecclesiastical affairs, deposed bad bishops, and substituted better. And that she chose not to have the opinions of men followed by herself and her kingdom, but the pure word of God, heretofore received by king Edward VI. Nor that she had appointed impious rites and institutions, as the said bull charged her. But that, as the reformation of the church of England was effected according to the rule and prescription of the holy scriptures, by the pains and piety of blessed king Edward, (which for a little while was abolished by queen Mary,) so queen Elizabeth fully restored it again. And that she therefore received, and delivered to her subjects nothing else to observe, than what her brother of holy memory before had piously and prudently, out of the word of God, judged fit to be received and believed, and so to be delivered to his people. For that king, having called together to London all the chief nobility, bishops, and doctors, out of the whole kingdom, admitting also among them very eminent doctors of other nations, being the servants of God, commanded that they should shew him, out of the holy scriptures, what he and his kingdom, in so great a diversity of opinions, should follow. And that they, faithfully discharging the trust committed to them by the king, drew up and framed certain heads [or articles] at that time unanimously, out of the word of God. Which the king both received, and without delay set forth, under this title, *Articuli de quibus, &c. i.e. Articles, concerning which, in a synod held at London, anno 1552, for the taking away difference of opinions, and establishing consent of true religion, it was agreed between the bishops and other learned men: published by the king's authority*. Whence it was most manifest, that all those things were false and reigned, which the lying bull declared of impious mysteries, odiously inserting the name of Calvin,

[namely, that they were entertained by the queen according to his prescript,] received by the queen, and enjoined upon her kingdom.

Nor did she propound heretical books, nor obtruded them upon all her people. For she propounded no books but those which the king her brother had commanded to be set before the people; the chief of which was the sacred volume of the Bible. But if the bull meant the Book of Public Prayers and Ceremonies of the Church of England, it ought to have been shewn what heresies were contained in it. That the synod of London mentioned before, made honourable mention of it. Nor would there be wanting men to answer the charge of any heresies that might be pointed out in that book, if the bull indeed spake of it.

That whereas the bull further charged the queen to have cast the catholic bishops and other rectors of churches out of their bishoprics and livings; and thrust them into prisons, where many of them ended their lives in sorrow; Bullinger in reply mentioned how cruel they had been, while they were in power, against the confessors of Christ; and how obstinately they adhered to idolatry, and the idol of Rome, to whom they had bound themselves by oath: what most pernicious and manifest errors they had defended; and what implacable enemies they were to the truth of the gospel. So that the queen could not make use of their pains; nor ought she to wink at the snares and ill endeavours of those rebels, since she was minded to promote and conserve the peace of her kingdom, the safety of her peoples and the progress of the gospel.

I may subjoin, that there were but two of these ejected bishops that died under restraint before the publication of this bull; viz. Boner, who died a few months before in the Marshalsea: but lived there plentifully, and wanted for nothing; had the liberty of the garden to take the air, and his friends had free access to him. The other bishop was Tonsal, who died at Lambeth, having been treated by archbishop Parker there with all respect, and died very aged.

Bullinger again justified the queen, that she did aright in commanding her subjects not to acknowledge the Roman church, nor to obey its commands; and by an oath compelled them to abjure the authority and obedience of the pope of Rome: which was another of the crimes the bull laid to her charge. And lastly, that the queen was not an heretic; and therefore not struck with any curse, nor yet rent from the unity of Christ's body, as the bull thundered.

The queen, for her further security after the defeat of the rebellion the last year, and this anathematizing bull, was obliged to send an army towards Scotland, whither many of the rebels were fled, and where they were harboured, to reduce them, and to awe the Scots that favoured them. But this looking like an invasion of that kingdom, she issued out a declaration to vindicate this her doing, and to assure that nation of her favour and friendship. It was entitled, *A declaration of the just, honourable, and necessary causes, that move the queen's majesty to levy and send an army to the borders of Scotland, with the assurance of her intention to continue the peace with the crown and quiet subjects of the said realm of Scotland.* The substance of it was;

“That she doubted not but that it was notorious to all persons of understanding, both in England and Scotland, in what sort certain of her rebellious subjects fled into Scotland, and there were maintained, kept, and favoured in the continuance of their rebellious enterprises. That by succour of outlaws, thieves, and disordered persons, living upon the frontiers of Scotland, (with whom they had former intelligence to begin and prosecute their rebellion,) they entered and invaded sundry places of England, their native country, and that with fire and sword: that no conjured or mortal enemies could have done more. That she understood, a great part of the ancient nobility and states of Scotland had of long time, like natural good fathers and members of their native country, nourished peace and concord between both realms, and at this present were desirous with all their powers to conserve the same their native country in common peace among themselves. But that they were not able for the present, according to justice and the good orders of the treaties, speedily to repress and stay the said outlaws and disordered persons upon the borders, from open maintenance of the said English rebels, and from the invasion of England. For that during the life of the regent, the realm of Scotland was free from a multitude of calamities now incident thereto: but since his horrible murder, other persons of mean calling took their commodity by his death; and as it seemed, unnaturally envying the continuance of the common peace between both nations, and being infected with private, ambitious, and unquiet humours, stirred up certain factions of great troubles within the bowels of their country: and thereby gave comfort both to the

English rebels and Scotch outlaws and thieves, to continue in their wickedness and disorders.

“That the queen had some doubt hereupon, that these authors and stirrers of these wicked enterprises would not spare to slander and falsely report her majesty’s intent in levying and sending certain forces to her borders, for defence of the same from any further invasion, and to pursue according to justice her rebellious subjects. That therefore such as were noble, wise, and godly, should not judge otherwise hereof, than in former times she had given just cause to be thanked and praised immortally. When with her army certain years past, being entered into the heart and principal towns, ports, and strength of that realm, she, as was manifest to the world, never sought or coveted any particular interest in that realm for herself, as she easily might; but to her great charges delivered and made free that realm from the yoke of foreign forces, [the French,] wherewith the same was then oppressed, as the whole nation did then lament. A princely act worthy of thankful memory of all good and natural people of that realm, to be left to their posterity to behold.

“That yet, because the simple people, that are commonly easily seduced by the craftier sort, should not any ways fear any evil or harm to follow to the good people of the country, or to the public state of that crown, by the army now to be conducted towards that realm, her majesty thought fit to publish to all manner of persons her intention and plain meaning herein. Therefore, in the word of a prince, she assured all manner of persons that her intent and meaning was to treat all the subjects of Scotland as lovingly and peaceable as her own; excepting only notorious outlaws, thieves, enemies, and peace-breakers, who lately with her rebels invaded and spoiled her realm, and such other of the nation as should support and maintain her rebels, contrary to the treaties between the realms. Against which disordered persons, according to the law of arms, except sufficient and reasonable amends should be made, her majesty intended to use her forces now levied. That she had therefore given strait order to her right well-beloved cousin, the earl of Sussex, her lieutenant of the north parts of her realm, and captain-general of her said army, that he should use all and every the good subjects of Scotland, that had, or should keep peace with

her, in like honourable sort to all purposes, and them, as need should require, to defend, as she should, or might do, her own natural subjects; however the malice of some seditious and corrupt members should misjudge and misreport. Who in these their slanderous inventions were justly to be suspected to the whole nation, that for their only private ambition of rule and gain would upon pretences labour to bring into the same such strangers with forces of sundry sorts, as might shortly hazard the whole state there, and make thereof a prey, and reduce that ancient crown and nation into a subjection, and perpetual miserable tributary servitude. Whereof her majesty could not but give that manner of admonition to the whole nation, for the natural love she bore to the realm; being to her crown and dominion so near a neighbour by situation, blood, natural language, and other conjunctions, as none was so like again in Christendom." This declaration was dated April 10. From her honour of Hampton.

This summer many people were very busy in throwing about infamous scrolls and bills in some parts of the realm; and in other parts brought in traitorous books and bulls, as it were from Rome: whereby with untruths and falsehoods, yea, with divers monstrous absurdities, endeavouring to slander the council and nobility of the realm: and in the same uttering high treason against the state and royal dignity of her majesty, to engender in the heads of the simple ignorant multitude a misliking or murmuring against the quiet government of the realm: and namely, in malicious depraving of such actions as were by good counsel providently devised, necessarily attempted, and well achieved by the queen's order, for the defence of herself and the whole body of the realm, from the open fury of rebels, and intended invasions by open enemies: this therefore caused the queen to set forth a proclamation to warn all her subjects,

"That if any such bills or bulls came into their hands, either in writing or print, that were of such lewd qualities against the queen, or any of the nobility or council, or tending to the slander of any other public officer, that without shewing or report, or speech thereof to any person, he should bring it forthwith to the lieutenant of the shire, or his deputy, or to the next justice of peace or head-officer that could read. And he to examine the finder, of the manner, and other circumstances to his discretion necessary, how the same was found. And thereupon to seal it up close with the

examination of the finder, and send it immediately to the queen or council, without giving knowledge of the accounts thereof to any. And to apprehend all persons charged or suspected as authors. And that if any persons could by any means discover who were the authors of such traitorous and scandalous bills, they should be so largely rewarded, that during his or their lives they should have just cause to think themselves well used. And if he had in any wise been a partner in the same fault, and would discover the principal author and owner therein, he should not only be favourably pardoned for the concealment, but should also be well rewarded. And the discoverers should be preserved from the note of blame of accusing, as far forth as might be any ways devised. But those that should conceal them should be committed closely to the next gaol, as counsellors and maintainers of sedition and tumults.

“And all lieutenants and officers were to be very diligent and careful in apprehending these kind of wicked sowers of sedition; and to examine all persons any ways suspected by their disordered lives or speeches; and to inflict severity. For so it seemed very necessary at that time, wherein appeared a malicious, hidden, and cankered purpose of some wicked number of lewd persons, that had an inward and greedy desire to stir up tumults, and violently to burst asunder the bands of the public peace which the realm enjoyed. Whereby they and their confederates might make havoc of all the good subjects of the realm; and as traitors make their gain by conspiring and confederating with foreign enemies, to the hazard, or at least to the great charges of the realm.”

This was dated from the queen’s manor of Otelands, July 1. By which it appears that the danger of the last year’s conjuration and rebellion by papists was not yet at an end, and that great labour was now used with the people to join with foreign enemies that were to invade the land.

Among these libels there was one dated May the 30th, as it were from Edinburgh; writ against some of the queen’s chief counsellors; viz. the lord keeper, secretary Cecil, sir Walter Mildmay, and sir Ralph Sadleir. The writers hereof talked of sudden dangers like to ensue, and of the imminent peril wherein the realm was falling; and that they, as true Englishmen, had a great concern, if possible, to prevent them. That those counsellors above-named did so misgovern the state, and abuse their sovereign, that all or the

most part of those dangers arose from them. And that by them and the bishops, whom they called *paganical pretended bishops*, the people were continued in a religion of their devising worse than Turkery. And that therefore the commons had advised the queen, that they might return to the catholic faith, before they should be compelled to do it. This letter was sent by these English out of Scotland to sir John Littleton and sir Tho. Russel, the queen's lieutenants in the county of Worcester. In their said letter they spake of two books, which they pretended were sent to them by the commons of England: the one, *Of their humble submission, and desire to return to the catholic faith*: the other, *A detection of certain practices*. A copy of which latter they sent enclosed; but not the former, upon some considerations. In the conclusion of their letter they said,

“They thought not so much as evil to the queen their sovereign, but only upon a Christian intent to come home, and to unite themselves to the church of God, and to all Christian princes. And they thought it their duties to be aiding in those enterprises, carrying both virtue and necessity, and nothing against laws, lawfully constituted, [as though they were just ready with others to invade the land.] But they said they would do nothing, until they should have knowledge what effect should ensue the publication hereof. For which purpose they intended to send to all shires of the realm, as they had done to that of Worcester; expecting the respective lieutenants should see these their letters published.” This letter is transcribed from the Cotton library, and is set in the second Appendix.

For the rebels and fugitives, remaining out of the realm in Scotland and other parts, were very busy still to raise tumults by secret malicious instructions, by seditious messages and false reports sent into the nation by them, tending to provoke others to partake with them: while others of their adherents secretly remained in, or repaired to the realm: wandering in corners, and moving good subjects to be disobedient to the law; and scattering false rumours and news both by speech and books and writings, only to break the common peace. But when the kingdom still continued quiet, the queen set forth a proclamation November 14th,

“That considering how it pleased God to conserve her realm in an universal good peace, and her subjects in constant obedience unto her, she could not but first give the due praise thereof to Almighty God, and withal to commend the loyalty of her subjects, and to

allow of their universal constancy in the conservation of themselves together with the band of common peace. And further, to give them admonition and warning, that they be no wise abused by the wicked practices of the said fugitives and rebels. And she commanded all her subjects to apprehend such secret persuaders of disobedience and breaking of laws, and sowers of sedition; and especially such as brought into the realm any seditious books or writings, and to discover any who had such books.”

This was dated but three days before her complete passing over this dangerous year, even the twelfth year of her reign.

The danger of which consisted partly in another rebellion hatching in Norfolk by papists; viz. for the compassing of these ends, (the tail perhaps of the late Suffolk conspiracy,) to set the queen of Scots at liberty; to rescue the duke of Norfolk, who was a prisoner for listening to a match with that queen; likewise to seize the persons of the lord keeper, the earl of Leicester, and secretary Cecil, persons near about the queen, and to make insults upon the poor protestant strangers, and to drive them out of the land; and finally to bring in the duke of Alva from Flanders to invade England. These were formidable practices now on foot, and might have been very destructive, had they not been timely discovered by Kete, one of the conspirators. But who these mutinous persons were, and what was laid to their charge, and what they said and pleaded for themselves; and lastly, what their judgment and condemnation was, and such like particulars, may partly be understood by a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, written from London the last day of August, concerning the assizes held at Norwich some few days before.

“The great sitting is done at Norwich; and as I do hear credibly, Appelyard, Throgmorton, Redman, and another *are* condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. And Hobert and two more to be condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with the loss of all their goods and lands during their lives. The four condemned for high treason, and another for reconcilment [to the church of Rome,] were charged with these four points; viz. the destruction of the queen’s person; the imprisonment of my lord keeper, my lord of Leicester, and secretary Cecil; the setting at liberty out of the Tower the duke of Norfolk; and the banishment of all strangers. And it fell out in their examination, that they would have

imprisoned sir Christopher Haydon and sir William Buttes, the queen's lieutenants. None of them could excuse themselves of any of the four points, saving that Appelyard said, he meant nothing against the queen's person. For that he meant to have bid them to a banquet, and to have betrayed them all, and have won credit thereby with the queen. Throgmorton was mute, and would say nothing, till he was condemned; who then said, 'They be full merry now, that will be as sorry within these few days.' Mr. Bell was attorney for Mr. Gerrard, he being one of the judges. And Mr. Bell alleged against Appelyard, that he was assenting to the treason before; alleging one Parker's words that was brought prisoner with Dr. Story out of Flanders, that Parker heard of the treason before Nallard came over to the duke of Alva. And there stood one Bacon by, that heard Parker say so. My lord offered a book to Bacon to swear, 'Oh, my lord!' said Appelyard, 'will you condemn me on his oath, that is registered for a knave in the Book of Martyrs?'

"They had set out a proclamation, and had four prophecies: one was touching the wantonness of the court; and the other, touching this land to be conquered by the Scots. The two other he could not remember."

There were also many in trouble for speaking seditious words; as Thomas Cecil said, that the duke of Norfolk was not of that religion as he was accounted for to be; [i.e. a protestant;] and that his cousin Cecil was the queen's darling, who was the cause of the duke of Norfolk's imprisonment, with such like. This man was put off to the next assize. Anthony Middleton said, my lord Morley was gone to set the duke of Alva into Yarmouth: and, that if Will. Kete had not accused Throgmorton and the rest, we had had a hot harvest. But if the duke of Norfolk were alive, they all dared not put them to death. Metcalf said, that he would help the duke of Alva into Yarmouth, and to wash his hands in the protestants' blood. Marsham said, that my lord of Leicester had two children by the queen. And for that, he was condemned to lose both his ears, or else pay an 100*l.* presently. Chipline said, he hoped to see the duke of Norfolk to be king before Michaelmas next, who did interpret it, that he meant not, to be king of England, but to be king of Scotland.

Mr. Bell and Mr. Solicitor said both to this effect to these prisoners; "What mad fellows were you, being all rank papists, to make the duke of Norfolk

your patron, that is as good a protestant as any in England? and being traitors, to hope of his help to your wicked, intent and purpose, that is as true a man and as faithful a subject as any is in this land? saving only that the queen is minded to imprison him for his contempt.”

These plots and disturbances this year did so awaken the earl of Leicester, that, whether it were for his own safe recess, or the queen’s, or for the bringing of the queen of Scots thither, he had now many workmen at his seat called Killingworth castle, to make it strong; and furnished it with armour, munition, and all necessities for defence.

This year came forth a second edition of bishop Jewel’s Defence of his Apology. And let me add also the mention of another good book, now set forth by Dr. Wylson, a civilian, master of St. Katharine’s, a very learned man, afterwards secretary of state. It was the translation of some of Demosthenes’s orations out of Greek into elegant pure English: dedicating the book to sir William Cecil, the learned secretary. Some of these orations were spoken by the orator in favour of the Olynthians, a people of Thrace, which king Philip of Macedon had conquered; and the rest of them were pronounced to the Athenians against the said king Philip. Which orations were at this time seasonably set forth, to stir up the more the stomachs of the English nation against king Philip of Spain; who was then threatening England with conquest. And in the epistle dedicatory Wylson said, “That he was carried straitway, and he trusted by God’s good motion, to make these orations acquainted with the English tongue for the aptness of the matter, and needful knowledge now at this time to be had.” And in the title-page these orations are said “to be most needful to be read in these dangerous days of all them that love their country’s liberty, and desire to take warning for their better avail by the example of others.” And there are several expressions of Demosthenes’s to the people of Athens in those orations, that might be used verbatim to the English people at this time. To repeat a sentence or two:

“As far as I can see, the danger that we are in is far different from other folks. For king Philip means not to have our city under his obeisance. No, that is not his meaning: but altogether to destroy it. For he knoweth *well* enough you are men, that neither will live in bondage, nor yet, if you would, could tell how to do it; for you have always been accustomed to rule: and he knoweth well enough, that you are able to work him more trouble, if you will watch your

time, than all others are able to do, whatsoever they be. And therefore he will not spare you, if he can once get the upper hand of you. Wherefore you must be of that mind to fight, like men that are at the uttermost and very last cast of all; and to shew yourselves manifest foes of them, and to put them to the rack and torture that be apparent hirelings, and bought-and-sold-men of king Philip;" [as the English papists exiles were to Philip of Spain, having pensions from him.] And again; "By and by starts up one, and saith, It is now no time for us to daily, nor pass a decree for the making of war; adding straightway in the neck of that, What a good thing it is to be at peace! how sore a thing it is to maintain a great army! and how thereby they go about to spoil us of our treasure! But saith the orator in answer, Neither should we think those charges burdenous unto us, that we spend and employ in our own safeguard, but rather those burdenous which we are sure to abide, if we neglect this, and omit to devise the means to keep our treasure from robbing, by assigning a good guard for the keeping thereof. And surely this may well vex me to the heart, to see how it would grieve some of you, and you, well robbed of your money, which was in your own powers to have kept, and to punish the robbers; and yet that king Philip, who rangeth thus a spoiling of all Greece, one piece after another, grieveth you nothing at all, especially where he robbeth and spoileth to your hurt and undoing;" [which might properly be applied to king Philip of Spain's vexing of Flanders and Brabant, our neighbours.] And once more; "First and foremost, O Athenians! assure yourselves of this one thing, that king Philip makes war against this city, and he hath already broken the peace, and is an ill-wilier and a deadly enemy to this whole city, and to the very ground it stands upon; yea, I may say, to the very gods that be within the city, whom I beseech utterly to confound him: for there is nothing in all the world that he doth more earnestly fight against, than the very form or manner of our commonwealth, and how to undo the same. And at this time he is in a manner, as it should seem, by fine force driven so to do. For make you that reckoning with yourselves, his meaning is to rule all. And therein he thinketh there is nobody to withstand him, but you only."

This is sufficient to shew, how that, beside this translation went for a piece of complete English language in these times, it was notably suited to the

present state of affairs, in regard of the fears of that overtopping monarch, the king of Spain: and I may add, in this age, how exactly the condition of Athens and England corresponds with respect to the ambitious monarch of France.

CHAPTER 57.

Pious men in Cirencester. Their complaint to the council against some popish magistrates there. The queen will not have inquisition made into men's consciences. Cartwright and others in Cambridge condemn the ecclesiastical state. The endeavours of the heads there to restrain them. Their assertions in twenty-six articles. Treaties for the Scotch queen's liberty. The conclusion.

NOTWITHSTANDING the care that was taken but the last year, that all justices and other gentlemen through the kingdom should subscribe to the act of Uniformity, and promise for themselves and their families duly to come to common prayer and sacraments; yet the temper of their minds was the same, and many of them bore favourable hearts to the old superstition. And these did too often (where they could pick occasion) use rigour towards such as more sincerely and earnestly served God, and read the scriptures. There was a pious society of these in Cirentester in Gloucestershire, who lived quietly and without offence, and used sometimes to associate themselves, to invoke and call upon the name of Almighty God; declaring their utter detestation of all such erroneous and execrable opinions and practices, as they heard and saw too much of. This society, for this their godly and zealous behaviour, raised up the displeasure of some chief men there against them; as, one Nicolas Philips, common sergeant of the town of Cissiter, [i.e. Cirencester,] and servant to sir Henry Jerningham, knight, a great man under queen Mary; Robert Straunge, justice of peace; Christopher George, clerk of the peace; and others their adherents, to a great number. By these persons had ensued to the said honest, piously disposed men no little trouble, partly by imprisonment of their bodies, confiscation of their goods, or fear of death. They called them tumultuous, and rebels; and so overawing them, that they dared not to confute any doctrine or practice repugnant to God's word; and also heartening wicked and traitorous papists. These hard dealings compelled these protestants in this town to draw up and prefer a petition to the lords of her majesty's privy council.

Wherein they set forth all this before said; shewing also,

“that Where the queen's highness, with their lordships' advice, had suppressed the tyranny of such infected members, as, tolerated,

might have imprisoned a number of good subjects; yet presently remained in the said predicament a number of corrupt hearts: and that these, persuaded by a sermon of late made by one Horton, did report the sacred word enclosed within the Bible to be false and full of error, as untruly translated; and therefore not meet among the common people to be read and taught: that these slanderous reports had wounded their consciences. And considering the execrable doings before mentioned, whereof those persons above-named were as the chiefest, they petitioned, that it would please their lordships to remove and weed them out from having any authority; and through examining of them, to bolt out a number of their affinity.”

And yet notwithstanding these bold and exorbitant practices of papists, they did even at this time receive a notable piece of favour, to gain them, if possible, to be better minded, and to behave themselves quietly, as well as to clear the queen of false reports. It was this: “That the queen would not have any of their consciences unnecessarily sifted, to know what affection they had to the old religion.” Which was in effect to allow them their religion to themselves, if they would but be quiet, and make no disturbances about it in the state. And for the better certifying all persons of it, the lord keeper had an order to declare as much in the star-chamber. And this matter was drawn up by the secretary, to be published by the said lord keeper in the said court on the 15th of June, in these words:

“Whereas certain rumours are carried and spread abroad *among* sundry her majesty’s subjects, that her majesty hath caused, or will hereafter cause, inquisition and examination to be had of men’s consciences in matters of religion; her *majesty* would have it known, that such reports are utterly untrue, and grounded either of malice, or of some fear more than there is cause. For although certain persons have been lately convented before her majesty’s council upon just causes, and that some of them have been treated withal upon some matter of religion; yet the cause thereof hath grown merely of themselves; in *that* they have first manifestly broken the laws established *for* religion, in not coming at all to the church, to common prayer, and divine service, as of late time before they were accustomed, and had used by the space of nine or ten whole years together: so as if thereby they had not given manifest occasion by their open and wilful contempt of breaking of

her majesty's laws, they had not been any thing molested, or dealt withal.

“Wherefore her majesty would have all her loving subjects to understand, that, as long as they shah openly continue in the observation of her laws, and shall not wilfully and manifestly break them by their open actions, her majesty's meaning is, not to have any of them molested by any inquisition or examination of their consciences it causes of religion; but will accept and entreat them as her good and obedient subjects. And if any shall otherwise by their open deeds and facts declare themselves wilfully disobedient to break her laws; them she cannot but use them according to their deserts; and will not forbear to inquire of their demeanours, and of what mind and disposition they are, as by her laws her majesty shall find it necessary.

“Of all which, her majesty would have her subjects in all parts of her realm discreetly warned and admonished, not to be abused by such untrue reports, to bring them any wise to doubt of her majesty's honourable intention towards them: who meaneth not to enter into the inquisition of any men's consciences, as long as they shall observe her laws in their open deeds: being also very loath to be provoked by the overmuch boldness and wilfulness of her subjects to alter her natural clemency into a princely severity.”

The innovators seemed to get more ground while the state was thus watching and intent upon the popish party; from whom the kingdom had lately felt some severe shocks. In the university of Cambridge they still shewed their incomppliance and dislike upon all occasions; but now they began to be more formidable in their dissensions. For hitherto the quarrel was only about wearing the cap and the surplice, and such like apparel, and the posture in receiving the sacrament: but now they attempt to move another and a more dangerous matter; in assaulting the hierarchy of the church; and disproving and condemning the ancient wholesome government used in it by archbishops and bishops, deans and archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers. This faction in the said university was headed by one Thomas Cartwright, formerly of St. John's, now a fellow of Trinity college: but he was watched and withstood by Dr. Whitgift the master. He was one that always stubbornly refused the cap, and the like ornaments, agreeable to the queen's Injunctions: a bold man, and wrote

Latin well, and had studied divinity so far as to have taken his degree of bachelor in divinity. But whether it were out of some disgust for not being hitherto preferred, or out of an admiration of the discipline practised in the church of Geneva, or both, he set himself, with some other young men in the university, to overthrow the government of this church, and propounded a quite different model to be set up in the room of it.

And such a strong party he had among the scholars, that upon Dr. William Chaderton's resignation of the divinity lecture, founded by the lady Margaret, in May or June he succeeded, and read some lectures; wherein he taught such doctrine (as the said Dr. Chaderton wrote to Cecil their high chancellor) as was pernicious and intolerable in a Christian commonwealth: that is, that in the church of England there was no lawful and ordinary calling and choosing or admitting of ministers; and that the election of ministers and bishops at this day was tyrannous. And that *archiepiscopi, decani, archidiaconi, &c.* were *officia et nomina impietatis*; i.e. archbishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. were offices and names of impiety.

But, besides Cartwright, there was one Chapman of the same college, who in a divinity-disputation defended, (not without great offence of many,) that Christ did not descend into hell after his death. And put also his other question, if it might have been allowed, that *duo habere sacerdotia nefas esset*; i. e. to have two livings was unlawful.

And further, one Mr. Some, their adherent, preached a sermon in St. Mary's about this very time against pluralities and nonresidence. Which (saith the abovesaid Dr. Chaderton) had not been greatly amiss, but that he burst out into a heat of pernicious and rebellious articles: 1. That all the court of faculties was damnable, devilish, and detestable; and that he did hope to live to see it trodden underfoot and overthrown. 2. That the queen's majesty's laws did permit and determine many detestable, devilish, and damnable things. 3. That of bishops he liked well; but as they were nowadays chosen, and did usurp authority and governance over the clergy, he could not away with them.

Neither were they according to the Acts of the Apostles. 4. That those which had pastoral charges were bound to be resident always, without leave of their parish first asked and obtained. But prebendaries (he said) they were exhibitioners, and at liberty to remain whereof or whereon they

listed. 5. That excommunication used nowadays was not allowed by the scripture; neither was it in one man's hand or power.

Libels also at this time were publicly scattered in the schools, viz. that poor men toil and travel, but the prince and the doctors, they licked up all. And many such like seditious and rebellious quarrels and strifes were now in that university. So that the minds of these men were to overturn and overthrow all that ecclesiastical and civil governance that now was, and to ordain and institute a new-founded policy.

And upon these accounts the said Dr. Chaderton moved the chancellor of the university to consider, what perils might and would be the sequel thereof, without speedy reformation by his careful procurement, either of his absolute authority as chancellor, or from the queen's most honourable council, as occasion should require: since such seditious contentions and disquietness, such errors and schisms, openly taught, and preached boldly and without warrant, were lately grown among them; that the good state, quietness, and governance of Cambridge, and not of Cambridge alone, but of the whole church and realm, were in great hazard, unless severely by authority they were suppressed. Wherefore he prayed him, for God's cause, and the care he bore to that university, to take some order for reformation of these disorders; either by commission to such as he should like best in the university for causes ecclesiastical, or else by his letters to Mr. Vice-chancellor. Who although he were minded to call them to account, yet he thought he either would or could not minister sufficient punishment to suppress their errors. Otherwise Satan would have the upper hand, and they of the university should be all in a hurlyburly and shameful broil. And then he concluded with this prayer; "Jesus Christ for his infinite mercy sake deliver us in these dangerous days; and grant you long life and power to be a patron of his glory." This was writ from Queen's college, June 11.

Grindal, now archbishop of York, sometime of this university, judged these stirs at Cambridge to be of such dangerous import, that he also wrote a letter to the said chancellor,

"to take some speedy course against Cartwright, who in his readings did dally make invectives against the extern policy and distinction of states in the ecclesiastical government, with other assertions uttered by him publicly. He shewed, how the youth there, frequenting his lectures in great numbers, were in danger to be

poisoned (as he expressed it) with a love of contention and a liking of novelty. And so might become hereafter unprofitable, nay hurtful to the church. His advice and judgment was, that he the chancellor should write to the vice-chancellor with expedition, to command Cartwright and all his adherents to silence, both in schools and pulpits; and afterwards, upon examination and hearing of the matters before him and some of the heads, to reduce the offenders to conformity, or to expel them out of the colleges, or the university, as the cause should require. And also that the vice-chancellor should not suffer Cartwright to proceed doctor of divinity at the approaching commencement, which he had sued for."

The chancellor forthwith despatched his letters to Dr. John Mey, the vice-chancellor, and the heads; directing them the way and course they should take in these matters. And in their answer they signified to him, that they would take due deliberation and advisement in time convenient; wherein they would either bring disorder to a conformity, and reform such things as had been offensive; or, if they could not, they would seek aid at his hands: which might supply the defect of ability in them. Which he, the chancellor, had promised, with a continual readiness of maintaining the quiet estate of their body; and shewing his ready inclination and favourable affectation of preferring learning and godliness, joined with gravity and discretion, and an earnest study of repressing disorderly preaching and teaching, tending to the eversion of good laws and orders ecclesiastical.

Immediately the same day this letter was brought, which was the 29th of June, the vice-chancellor read it in the regent-house. Which as soon as he had done, there happened a great confusion made by Cartwright's friends, who laboured to procure him to be made doctor. Which they, supposing the ancient heads of the colleges were against, made such insolent attempts, as the like had not heretofore been seen. For every one of the ancient doctors, contrary to their old custom, and to their great discredit, were denied to be *in the head*; for fear they should stop Cartwright's grace upon the chancellor's letters, newly read. And so none could be admitted to be *in the head* for passing of graces, but only such as were known to favour Cartwright's cause. Who nevertheless was stopped from his degree by the vice-chancellor. For which he suffered the same day no small trouble at his and his favourers' hands; and was like to sustain more, (as he wrote to the chancellor,) unless by his authority he might be in his lawful doings

assisted. And this, Mey, the vice-chancellor, wrote in the presence of Dr. Perne, Dr. Hawford, Dr. Harvey, and Dr. Ithel, some of the abovesaid old heads.

Nor were Cartwright and his friends wanting in their letters to the chancellor in his behalf. Two letters of Cartwright's I have seen writ in Latin: and two more, dated in July and August, writ by his friends, subscribed with about twenty or twenty-five names. Among which were, Thomas Aldrich, Sherwood, proctor, Rob. Soom, John Knewstubs, Edmund Chapman, Bartholomew Doddington, Richard Greenham, Richard Howland, Alan Par, John Stil, Rockrey. Some of these, upon more mature years, quite altered their opinions; and two of them were afterwards bishops.

After these earnest applications to the chancellor on both sides, he considered the matter with much deliberation and meekness; and in the beginning of August sent his advice and order to the heads. Which being drawn up with so much modesty and wisdom, all with his own hand, and representing as favourably as might be Cartwright's case, I think it worthy to be transcribed.

“As the office which I have to be the chancellor of that honourable university is of more importance than my understanding can wield; so is my care the greater, doubting lest my ignorance should be the cause of such inconvenience as may happen to the prosperity of the same. And therefore, for the supplying of this doubt in myself, I will forbear to use any authority to command or to direct you, who are the principal heads thereof, in any thing of weight; and yet, not to conceal my carefulness, I will give you remembrances of things meet to be considered in a novelty lately happened in that university, remitting the order and execution thereof to your wisdoms. The novelty is, the late entry of Mr. Cartwright, reader of the divinity lecture, erected by the noble lady Margaret, great grandmother to our sovereign lady the queen's majesty, into some new observations of the errors in the ministry of the church: taxing such ministers, as, namely, archbishops, and such like as he findeth not expressly named in the books of the New Testament. The offence that may grow hereby in the government of this our church of England, by moving such alterations, cannot be small; except it be well considered beforehand, upon what necessary grounds such

changes should be motioned. How far Mr. Cartwright herein proceeded, I cannot certainly determine; being by himself, and a testimonial of others of that university of good name, advertised in one sort; and by others also there, whom I have cause to trust, in another sort. What mind he had in the moving of these matters, by himself in communication, I perceive the same not to be much reprehended; being, as it seemeth, not of any arrogancy, or intention to move troubles; but, as a reader of the scripture, to give notes, by way of comparison between the order of the ministry in the times of the apostles, and the present times now in this church of England.

“But weighing with myself what occasions others abroad, hearkening to this novelty, may take to breed offence in the church, not only of the adversaries, but also of the professors of true religion; I have thought good to use my authority, as chancellor, to charge Mr. Cartwright not to deal any further in these kind of questions, in his readings or sermons, or any otherwise; until that some order may be taken this Michaelmas term therein, upon more commodity of conference meet for such a matter. Whereto he hath accorded. And in the mean season I think it also good, that no contrary dispute or argument *be* used herein, in the university, to provoke further altercation. The manner whereof I commit to your consideration. And for further determination of these new questions, as well for common order, as for the truth of the controversy, I shall gladly receive your advices and opinions: meaning thereunto to conform myself, for the credit I have in your wisdoms and great learning, and the love that I trust you bear to the truth and common quietness.”

So that Cartwright was forbid by the chancellor only to read upon those nice questions, but by the vice-chancellor and heads he was now stayed from reading at all; both for the contagiousness of the time, and the absence of many of his auditors. And also lest his admittance to read again, being once by them inhibited, without some satisfaction, might seem to give authority and credit to his new opinions, (which they took to be not only untrue, but also dangerous, and very inconvenient for the state of this church of England,) some of the heads, viz. Hawford, Harvey, and Whitgift, did, in a letter to the chancellor, beseech him, not to let any thing be done that might tend to the encouragement of such as would be counted

authors of strange opinions and new devices. And they further signified to him, that when the rest of their company (now this vacation time absent) were returned, he should understand at large (a thing which the chancellor seemed to require of them) how dangerous and inconvenient these new opinions were.

To go on therefore with this history of Cartwright and the heads. The chancellor, by his answer which he sent them, approved of their proceedings with him. And to confirm the chancellor in his dislike of this man, and in his allowance of what the heads had done, Dr. Whitgift soon addressed another letter unto him, that he might fully understand Cartwright's opinions. For these had often debates together, living in the same college: so the doctor presented in writing to the said chancellor what Cartwright had uttered to him in private conference, and which he had also openly taught, viz. first, that there ought not to be in the church of Christ either archbishops, archdeacons, deans, chancellors, or any other, whereof mention is not expressly made in the scripture. Secondly, that the office of the bishop and deacon, as they were then in the church of England, was not allowable. Thirdly, that there ought to be an equality of all ministers: and every one to be chief in his own cure. Fourthly, that ministers ought to be chosen by the people, as they were in the apostles' time. Fifthly, that none ought to be a minister, unless he have a cure. Sixthly, that a man must not preach out of his own cure. Seventhly, that the order of calling and making of ministers, now used in the church of England, is extraordinary, and to be altered. And divers others depended on these, as he, the chancellor, might easily conjecture: which would (he said) breed a mere confusion, if they should take place.

Cartwright was after this earnestly dealt withal by the heads to forsake his assertions taught in his lectures. But he still stiffly defended them. Wherefore the injunction of not reading remained upon him. In the mean time they omitted no charitable, Christian means to persuade him; but the more favourable he was dealt withal, the more un-tractable they found him. Therefore they saw it necessary to proceed to deprive him. But before they would do this, they thought fit to signify their purpose to the chancellor: which Whitgift (now vice-chancellor) and the rest of the heads did by their letter. Wherein they sent him also a copy of the propositions Cartwright had set clown and subscribed with his own hand; and whereunto he was fully bent to stand: which were these:

I. *Archiepiscoporum et archidiaconorum nomina simul cum muneribus et officiis suis, sunt abolenda.*

II. *Legitimorum in ecclesia ministrorum nomina, qualia sunt episcoporum et diaconorum, separata a suis muneribus in verbo Dei descriptis, similiter sunt improbanda, et ad institutionem apostolicam revocanda. Ut episcopus in verbo et precibus: diaconus in pauperibus curandis versetur.*

III. *Episcoporum cancellariis, aut archidiaconorum officialibus regimen ecclesiae non est committendum; sed ad idoneum ministrum et presbyterium ejusdem ecclesiae deferendum.*

IV. *Non oportet ministerium esse vagum et liberum: sed quisque debet certo cuidam gregi addici.*

V. *Nemo debet ministerium tanquam candidatus petere.*

VI. *Episcopi tantum auctoritate et potestate ministri non sunt creandi; multo minus in museo, aut loco quopiam clanculario: sed ab ecclesia electio fieri debet.*

Some of these they knew (as they wrote to their chancellor) to be untrue, dangerous, and tending to the ruin of both learning and religion; as the first, second, third, and fifth. Some untruly imagined, to make the common sort believe that to be which is not, as the third and sixth.

Therefore now Cartwright stood upon his deprivation. To which the heads said they must proceed, unless they would open a door to schism, contempt of authority, and other contentions. But they thought it their duty to certify their chancellor of it; both that they might have his consent thereunto, and to prevent untrue rumours, which, as they were spread abroad, might probably come to his ears.

And new statutes for that university having been lately made, and confirmed by the chancellor, the heads had now more power given them to correct and remedy disorders in the members. Whereby they were enabled the better to proceed with this unreclaimable reader; as they had already made use of these statutes with good success against some followers of Cartwright: however, the younger sort, for the restraining of their liberty, murmured, and grudged much at them. But the heads let the chancellor

know, that without them they could hardly have been able to keep the university in good order; the stomachs of some were so great, and the common sort so inclined to novelties and contentious dealings. And so in fine Cartwright was deprived of his place of Margaret professor, and soon after of his fellowship in the college.

I shall end my relation of these disturbances in Cambridge, occasioned by Cartwright and his party, after that I shall have given in a catalogue of divers other articles, (besides the six above mentioned,) propounded and divulged abroad by the said Cartwright and others in the university, as they were this year sent up to the chancellor.

VII. *In reformanda ecclesia necesse est, omnia ad apostolicam institutionem revocari.*

VIII. *Nemo debet ad ministerium admitti, si non sit idoneus ad docendum Qui autem in ministerio ad docendum sunt inepti, ministerio sunt abdicandi.*

IX. *Idem precum, verbi, sacramentorum minister esse debet: proptereaque nemini licitum est aut publice pro ecclesia preces concipere, aut administrare sacramenta, qui non sit verbi minister.*

X. *Papistici sacerdotes vi ordinationis suae non possunt esse ministri evangelii.*

XI. *Solum canonicae scripturae sunt publice in ecclesia legendae.*

XII. *Liturgia ecclesiastica debet esse publice ita composita ut sublatis privatis precibus et lectionibus, omnes ministro docenti aut precanti attendant.*

XIII. *Cura sepeliendi mortuos non magis ad ministerium, quam ad reliquam ecclesiam pertinet.*

XIV. *Omnis scriptura pari dignitate et reverentia est habenda, ut et omnia Dei nomina. Quare praeter rationem omnem injungitur, aut ut evangelium audirent stantes, aut ad nomen Jesu genua flectantur, vel nudentur capita.*

XV. *Sedere in sacra caena non minus est liberum, quam genua flectere aut stare; atque adeo convenientius, quod caenam magis exprimit.*

XVI. *Sacramenta non sunt in privatis locis administranda; ne ab ipsis quidem ministris; nedum a mulieribus, aut privatis hominibus: ut baptisma infantibus, aut caena periclitantibus.*

XVII. *Cruce infantem in baptismo signare, superstitiosum est; addita autem quam solent ejus significatione, magis intolerabile.*

XVIII. *AEquum est ut pater filium ecclesiae baptizandum exhibeat cum fidei confessione, in qua eum educare studebit; sine infantis nomine responsione, Volo, Nolo, Credo, &c. Neque etiam ferendum est, aut ex mulieris auctoritate nomen infantis in ecclesia assignetur; aut per imprudentem puerum tanti ponderis stipulatio de infante educando fiat. (Imprudentem intelligo, qui non sit caenae communicandae idoneus.)*

XIX. *In imponendis nominibus religio est habenda, ut vitetur paganismus: tum etiam ut vitentur officiorum nomina, Christi, angeli, Baptistae, &c.*

XX. *Matrimonium certis quibusdam anni temporibus interdicare, papisticum est. Venale autem illud tum facere, aliquanto intolerabilius etiam est.*

XXI. *Potestatem facere aliquibus, ut matrimonium contrahant, non conscia ecclesia, cujus judicio de impedimentis, siquae sunt, standum fuit, (prius adhibita ejus promulgatione) non est licitum.*

XXII. *Quadragesimalis jejunii observatio, una cum diei Veneris et Sabbati, tum propter superstitionem, tum aliis de causis, est illicita; quamvis illud politico nomine contentur stabilire.*

XXIII. *Festorum dierum observatio est illicita.*

XXIV. *Nundinatio in die Dominica est illicita.*

XXV. *In ordinandis ministris, Accipe Spiritum Sancum, ridicule et nefarie dicitur.*

XXVI. *Reges et episcopi unguendi non sunt.*

Mary, the unhappy queen of Scots, remained yet in custody in England; and that queen Elizabeth may be justified in detaining her hitherto, I shall relate from the secretary's own papers the treaties that were set on foot for her enlargement, and the several causes why they took not effect.

The first treaty began at York the last day of September 1568, and was prorogued to London. This treaty took no effect, because during it the lord Boide and the bishop of Rosse practised to steal the queen of Scots. But principally, because the lord Boide, the lord HERRIS, and other lords, Kildwing and the bishop of Rosse, were unwilling to enter into the examination of the lord Darnley's murder, how it came: and by special commission from the Scotch queen did dissolve the treaty, December 15, the said year.

The second treaty began the 24th of April, 1569. For the execution whereof the bishop of Rosse was sent alone as ambassador from the Scotch queen, to deal with her majesty and the lords of the council. During this treaty, which was entertained by her majesty with all kindness, a marriage was practised underhand, without her majesty's privity, between the duke of Norfolk and the said queen. This intended match was signified in secret to the ambassadors of France and Spain, and to the nobility of the north of England. Candish was sent from the duke to that queen with letters and tokens, to further this match. The earl of Northumberland propounded to that queen, by Leonard Dacres, (whom he sent on purpose,) a means for her escape. Which not proceeding, he afterwards betook himself to an open rebellion; and so did the earl of Westmorland; who by help from Scotland invaded England. These things were impediments why this second treaty took no effect.

The 20th of May, 1570, a third treaty begun from the French ambassador and the bishop of Rosse. Who offered thereupon to the lords of her majesty's council certain articles; among which this was contained, That all English fugitives being in Scotland should be delivered into England, or kept there to be forthcoming at the end of the treaty. The commissioners in this treaty were, for the queen of England, the lords of her council; for the Scotch queen, the bishop of Galloway, lord Levingston, and the bishop of Rosse; for the king of Scots, the earl Morton, abbot of Dunfermeling, and master James Mokgile. But while this treaty was in hand, her majesty understood that the articles of her treaty were privily communicated to the

pope, to the French king, and to the duke of Alva. And that there was sent to the said king sir George Barklay; to the said duke master John Hamilton; and to the pope master Henry Keache; to send suetour and support for the Scotch queen against her majesty.

That, contrary to one of the offered articles, some of the English fugitives were conveyed into Flanders; and there, by means of the Scottish queen, rewarded with twelve thousand crowns. That, contrary to another, one was sent to solicit foreign forces, to invade England.

Lastly, whereas this treaty, being tripartite, could not proceed until a new commission were obtained by those that came from the king of Scots, which was to be procured with all speed, to supply some difference of the old, the Scotch queen would admit of no delay or respite. And so by means thereof, and the practices aforesaid, this treaty also brake off without any good conclusion.

There was a fourth in 1582, and a fifth in 1583, and yet a sixth in 1584. Which all proved ineffectual, by practices carried on at those very junctures against the queen's safety or life; but these matters being beyond the bounds of this history, I say nothing more of them.

And thus I have at length, by God's assistance, brought down this history of the church of England, and the various transactions in it, from the first unto the thirteenth year of queen Elizabeth. By which time it arrived to a good consistency and establishment; and had in some good measure got the better of those that laboured to shake and make it totter, nay, to overturn it; and became also furnished (especially the mother churches) with learned and able pastors and ministers. For which I shall produce the testimony of a very knowing man in those times; and with it shall conclude. When the author of the Admonition had slanderously called the cathedral churches *popish dens*, he took occasion to inform the world,

“that he would offer a dozen cathedral churches in England, which he himself did know; the worst whereof in learning should encounter with all papists, anabaptists, and what other sects soever in England, for the defence of religion now professed, either by word or writing. And he thought (without arrogancy be it spoken) there was never time wherein these churches were better furnished with wise, learned, and godly men, than they were at that day. And this he spoke not boastingly, but to God's glory, the honour of the

prince, the comfort of the godly, and the shame of slanderous papists and disdainful schismatics.”

AN APPENDIX;

BEING

A REPOSITORY

OF

FAITHFUL EXTRACTS OUT OF VARIOUS
RECORDS AND REGISTERS,

*Papers of State, Minutes of Council; and Transcripts of Speeches,
Original Letters, and other monuments of antiquity, referred unto
in the foregoing History: For the better illustration thereof, and
satisfaction of inquisitive readers.*

NUMBER 1.

Queen Elizabeth's proclamation upon her access to the crown.

BY THE QUEENES MAJESTY.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, queen of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. Because it hath pleased Almighty God, by calling to his mercie out of this mortal lief, to our great grief, our dearest suster of noble memory, Mary, late quene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, (whose soul God have,) to dispose and bestow upon us, as the only right heyre by bludde and lawful succession, the crown of the foresayed kingdomes of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, with all maner titles and fights thereunto in any wise apperteyning; we do publish and give knowledge by this our proclamation to all maner peple, being natural subjects of every the said kingdomes, that from the beginning of the xviith day of this month of November, at which time our said dearest suster departed from this mortal lief, they be discharged of all bonds and duties of subjection towards our said suster, and be from the same tyme in nature and law bound only to us, as to their only sovereign lady and quene. Wherewith we do by this our proclamation streightly charge and allye them to us: promising on our part no less love and care towards their preservation, than hath been in any of our progenitours; and not doubting on their parte, but they will observe the duty which belongeth to natural, good, and true loving subjects.

And further, we streightly charge and command all maner our said subjects of every degree, to kepe themselves in our peax, and not to attempt, upon any pretence, the breache, alteration, or chaunge of any ordre or usage presently establyshed within this our realm, upon payne of our indignation, and the perils and punishment, which thereto in any wise may belong.

God save the quene.

NUMBER 2.

The queen's council at Hatfield, to the marquis of Winchester, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Darby, to repair thither, with divers others of the nobility, to conduct her to London.

AFTER our harty commendations to your good lordships. Where the quenes majesty mindeth to take her journey upon Wednesday next to London, her highness plesure is, that your lordships shall both put your selves in a readiness, to attend her majesty thither with all your servants and train; and also give warning to all such noblemen remaining presently at London, whose names you shall receive in a scedule enclosed, to do the like. The order of your setting forth, and what else her majesty willeth to be done herein, your lordships shall understand by our loving friend sir Rafe Sadler, who repaireth unto you for this purpose.

And for that there should not, in the absence of the lordships and the rest, want such as should see to the good order of things there, her majesty's plesure is, that our very good lord, the archbishop of York, shall remain at London, and call unto him in all matters requisite for the preservation of order, our loving friends, sir William Petre and sir John Mason, and to confer with them therein. Which her highness plesure we pray you to signify unto his grace: and so we bid your lordships right hartily farewell. From Hatfield, the 21st of November, 1558.

Your good lordships assured loving friends,

Pembroke
E. Clynton,
W. Haward,
Tho. Parry,
Edward Rogers,
Will. Cecill,
Ambr. Cave.

**NOBLEMEN APPOINTED TO ATTEND UPON THE QUEENS
 MAJESTY AT HER COMING TO LONDON.**

Duke of Norfolk.

Earls of:

Oxford,
 Worcester.
 Rutland,
 Cumberland,
 Huntingdon,
 Bedford,

Viscounts of,

Hereford,
 Mountague,

Lords

Borough
 Rich
 Windsor
 Mountjoy
 North
 Darcy
 Mountegle
 Chandos
 Dacres of the South
 Zouche
 Vaux
 Williams of Thame,
 Aburgaveny,
 Hastings of Loughborough
 Audley,
 Morley,
 John Grey,
 Dacres of the North,
 Wharton,
 Scrope,
 Willoughby.
 Lumley
 Sir Thomas Cheney.

NUMBER 3

The queen's proclamation to forbid preaching; and allowing only the reading of the epistles and gospels, &c. in English in the churches.

BY THE QUENE.

THE quenes majesty, understanding that there be certain persons, having in times past the office of ministry in the church, which now do purpose to use their former office in preaching and ministry, and partly have attempted the same; assembling, specially in the city of London, in sondry places, great number of people: whereupon riseth amonges the common sort not only unfruteful dispute in matters of religion, but also contention, and occasion to break common quiet: hath therefore, according to thauthoritie committed to her highness, for the quiet governaunce of all manet her subjects, thought it necessary to charge and commaund, like as hereby her highness doth charge and commaund, all maner of her subjects, as well those that be called to ministry in the church, as all others, that they do forbear to preach or teach, or to gyve audience to any maner of doctrine or preachyng, other than to the gospels and epistels, commonly called the gospel and the epistel of the day, and to the Ten Commaundements in the vulgar tongue, without exposition or addition of any maner sense or meaning to be applyed or added; or to use any other maner of publick prayer, rite, or ceremony in the church, but that which is alredy used, and by law receaved; or the common letany used at this present in her majesty's own chappel and the Lords Prayer, and the Crede in English; until consultation may be had by parlament, by her majesty, and her three estates of this realme, for the better conciliation and accord of such causes as at this present are moved in matters and ceremonies of religion.

The true advauncement whereof, to the due honour of Almighty God, the increase of vetrue and godlyness, with universal charitie and concord amonges her people, her majestie moost desyreth and meaneth effectually, by all maner of means possible, to procure and to restore to this her realme. Whereunto, as her majestie instantly requireth all her good, faithful, and loving subjects to be assenting and ayding with due obedience; so, if any shall disobediently use themselves to the breach hereof, her majestie

both must and will see the same duely punished, both for the qualite of thoffence, and for example to all others neglecting her majesties so reasonable commaundement. Yeven at her highness palais of Westminster, the xxviith day of December, the first year of her majesties reigne.

God save the quene.

NUMBER 4.

*The device for alteration of religion,
in the first year of queen Elizabeth.*

I. WHEN THE ALTERATION SHALL BE FIRST ATTEMPTED

At the next parliament: so that the dangers be foreseen, and remedies therefore provided. For the sooner that religion is restored, God is the more glorified, and as we trust wilbe more merciful unto us, and better save and defend her highness from all dangers.

II. WHAT DANGERS MAY ENSUE UPON THE ALTERATION?

The bishop of Rome, all that he may, wilbe incensed. He will excommunicate the queen's highness, interdict the realms, and give it to prey to all princes, that will enter upon it; and incite them therto by all manner of means.

The French king will be encouraged more to the war, and make his people more ready to fight against us, not only as enemies, but as heretics. He wilbe in great hope of aid from hence, of them that are discontented with this alteration, looking for tumult and discord. He will also stay concluding peace upon hope of some alteration.

Scotland will have some causes of boldness; and by that way the French king wil seem soonest to attempt to invade us.

Ireland also will be very difficultly stayed in their obedience, by reason of the clergy that is so addicted to Rome.

Many people of our own wilbe very much discontented; especially these sorts.

All such as governed in the late queen Marie's time, and were chosen thereto for no other cause, or were then most esteemed, for being hot and earnest in the other religion, and now remain unplaced and uncalled to credit, will think themselves discredited, and all their doings defaced, and study all the ways they can to maintain their former doings, and despise all this alteration.

Bishops and all the clergy wil se their own ruine. In confession and preaching, and all other ways they can, they wil perswade the people from it. They wil conspire with whomsoever that wil attempt, and pretend to do God a sacrifice, in letting the alteration, tho' it be with murder of Christen men, or treason.

Men which be of the papist sect; which late were in maner all the judges of the law; the justices of the peace, chosen out by the late queen in all the shires; such as were believed to be of that sect; and the more earnest therin, the more in estimation. These are like to joyn and conspire with the bishops and clergy.

Some, when the subsidy shalbe granted, and money levied, (as it appeareth that necessarily it must be don,) wilbe therewith offended; and like enough to conspire and arise, if they have any head to stir them to it, or hope of gain and spoil.

Many such as would gladly have the alteration from the church of Rome, when they shal se peradventure, that some old ceremonies shalbe left still, or that their doctrine, which they embrace, is not allowed and commanded only, and all other abolished and disproved, shall be discontented, and

call the alteration *a cloaked papistry*, or *a mingle mangle*. III. *What remedy for these matters?*

First, for France, to practice a peace; or if it be offered, not to refuse it. If controversy of religion be there among them, to help to kindle it.

Rome is less to be doubted; from whom nothing is to be feared, but evil will, cursing, and practising.

Scotland will follow France for peace. But there may be practised to help forward their divisions; and especially to augment the hope of them, who incline them to good religion. For certainty, to fortify Berwick, and to employ demilances and horsemen for the safety of the frontiers.

And some expence of money in Ireland.

The fifth divided into five parts.

The first is of them which were of queen Mary's council, elected and advanced then to authority, only or chiefly for being of the pope's religion, and earnest in the same. Every augmentation or conservation of such men in authority or reputation, is an encouragement of those of their sect, and giveth hope to them, that it shall revive and continue, although it have a contrary blast. Seeing their pillars to stand still untouched, [will be] a confirmation to them that are wavering papists, and a discouragement of such that are but half enclined to that alteration. *Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento huc illuc impellitur*. These must be searched by all law, as far as justice may extend; and the queen's majesty's clemency to be extended not before they do fully acknowledge themselves to have fallen in the lapse of the law.

They must be based of authority, discredited in their countries, so long as they seem to repugn to the true religion, or to maintain their old proceedings. And if they should seem to allow or to bear with the new alteration, yet not likely to be in credit, *quia neophyti*. And no man but he loveth that time wherein he did flourish. And when he can, and as he can, those ancient laws and orders he will maintain and defend with whom and in whom he was in estimation, authority, and a doer. For every man naturally loveth that which is his own work and creature.

And contrary, as those men must be based, so must her highness's old and sure servants, who have tarried with her, and not shrunk in the last storms, be advanced with authority and credit: that the world may see that her highness is not unkind nor unmindful. And throughout all England such persons as are known to be sure in religion, every one, according to his ability to serve in the commonwealth, to be set in place. Whom, if in the cause of religion, God's cause, they shall be slack, yet their own safety and state shall cause to be vigilant, careful, and earnest for the conservation of her state, and maintenance of this alteration. And in all this, she shall do but the same that the late queen Mary did, to maintain and establish her religion.

The second of these five is the bishops and clergy, being in manner all made and chosen, such as were thought the stoutest and mightiest champions of the pope's church, who in the late times [by] taking from the

crown, impoverishing it, by extorting from private men, and all other means possible, *per fas et nefas*, have thought to enrich and advance themselves; these her majesty, being enclined to so much clemency, yet must seek as well by parliament, as by the just laws of England, in the *praemunire*, and other such penal laws, to bring again in order. And being found in default, not to pardon, till they confess their fault, put themselves wholly to her highness's mercy, abjure the pope of Rome, and conform themselves to the new alteration. And by this means well handled, her majesty's necessity of money may be somewhat relieved.

The third is to be amended even as all the rest above, by such means as queen Mary taught, that none such, as near as may be, be in commission of peace in the shires, but rather men meaner in substance and younger in years; so that they have discretion to be put in place. A short law made and executed against assemblies of people without authority. Lieutenants made in every shire: one or two men known to be sure at the queen's devotion. In the mean time musters and captains appointed, viz. young gentlemen which earnestly do favour her highness. No office of jurisdiction or authority to be in any discontented man's hand, as far as justice or law may extend.

The fourth is not to be remedied otherwise than by gentle and dulce handleing, by the commissioners, and by the readiness and good-will of the lieutenants and captains to repress them, if any should begin a tumult, murmur, or provide any assembly, or stoutness to the contrary.

The fifth, for the discontentation of such as could be content to have religion altered, but would have it go too far, the straight laws upon the promulgation of the book, and severe execution of the same at the first, will so repress them, that it is great hope it shall touch but a few. And better it were that they did suffer, than her highness or commonwealth should shake, or be in danger. And to this they must well take heed that draw the book.

And herein the universities must not be neglected; and the hurt that the late visitation in queen Mary's time did must be amended. Likewise such colleges where children be instructed to come to the university, as Eaton and Winchester: that as well the encrease hereafter, as at this present time, be provided for.

IV. WHAT SHALL BE THE MANNER OF THE DOING OF IT?

This consultation is to be referred to such learned men as be meet to shew their minds herein; and to bring a plat or book hereof ready drawn to her highness. Which being approved of her majesty, may be so put into the parliament-house, to the which for the time it is thought that these are apt men; Dr. Bill, Dr. Parker, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Pilkington.

And sir Thomas Smith do call them together, and to be amongst them. And after the consultation with these, to draw in other men of learning and gravity, and apt men for that purpose and credit, to have their assents.

As for that is necessary to be done before, it is thought most necessary, that a straight prohibition be made of all innovation, until such time as the book come forth; as well that there should be no often changes in religion, which would take away authority in the common peoples estimation; as also to exercise the queen's majesty's subjects to obedience.

V. TO THE FIFTH, WHAT MAY BE DONE OF HER HIGHNESS FOR HER OWN CONSCIENCE OPENLY, BEFORE THE WHOLE ALTERATION:

Or, if the alteration must tarry longer, what order be fit to be in the whole realm, as an interim?

To alter no further than her majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion as her highness pleaseth on high feasts. And that where there be more chaplains at mass, that they do always communicate in both kinds. And for her highness's conscience till then, if there be some other devout sort of prayers or *memory* said, and the seldomer mass.

VI. TO THE SIXTH, WHAT NOBLEMEN BE MOST FIT TO BE MADE PRIVY TO THESE PROCEEDINGS, BEFORE IT BE OPENED TO THE WHOLE COUNCIL?

The lord marquiss Northampton, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, and the lord John Grey. VII. To the seventh, *What allowance those learned men shall have, for the time they are about to review the Book of Common Prayer, and order of ceremonies, and service in the church, and where they shall meet?* Being so many persons which must attend still

upon it, two mess of meat is thought vet indifferent, to suffice for them and their servants.

The place is thought most meet [to be] in some set place, or rather at sir Thomas Smith's lodgings in Chanon Row. At one of these places must provision be laid in of wood, and coals, and drink.

NUMBER 5.

An act, whereby the queen's highness is restored in blood to the late queen Anne, her highness's mother.

LA ROYNE LE VEULT.

WE your humble and obedient subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, for divers and sundry great and urgent causes and considerations us moving, most humbly beseech your majesty, that it may be enacted and established by your highness, with the assent of us, the said lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; that your highness shall be from henceforth enabled in blood, and be inheritable, according to the due order and course of the common laws of this your realm, to the late queen Anne, your highness's mother, and to all other your majesty's ancestors, and cousins of the part of your said mother: and that as much of every act, record, sentence, matter, or writing whatsoever, as is or shall be hereunto contrary or repugnant, shall be from henceforth clearly and utterly void, and of no effect. Saving to all and every person or persons, bodies politic and corporate, their heirs, successors, and assigns, and the heirs, successors, and assigns of every of them, all such state, right, title, use, possession, and interest, as they or any of them have in, or to, any manors, lands, tenements, rents, annuities, fees, profits, commodities, and hereditaments whatsoever, in such like manner, form, quality, condition, and degree, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as they, or any of them, might or ought to have had, used, or enjoyed the same, if this act had never been had or made.

NUMBER 6.

*Hethe, archebisshoppe of Yorke, his oration made in the
parliament house 1559, against the bill of the quene's supremacye.*

My lordes all,

WITH humble submission of my whole minde unto your honourours, I purpose to speke to the body of this acte, touching the supremacye. And that the doinges of this honourable assembly may therein be allwayes fourther honourable, two thinges are right nedfull and necessarye of your wisdomes to be considered. Furst, when by the vertue of this acte of supremacye, we must forsake and flee from the sea of Rome, it wolde be considered by your wisdomes what matter liethe therin, as what matter of weight or force, what matter of daunger or inconueniunce, or else whether there be none at all. Seconde, when th'intent of this acte is to geve unto the quene's highness a supremaeye, it wolde be considered of your wisdomes what this supremacye is, and whether it do consiste in spirituall government or in temporail. If in temporail, what fourther authorite can this howse give unto her highness, then she hath already by fight and inheritaunce, and not by your gifte, but by the appointment of God, she beinge our soveraigne lord and ladie, our kinge and quene, our emperor and emperesse; other kinges and princes of dewtie ought to paye tribute unto her, she being free from them all. If you will say, that this supremacye dothe consiste in spirituall government, then it wolde be considered what this spirituall government is, and in what pointes it dothe cheftely remaine. Which beinge first agreed upon, it wolde be fourther considered of your wisdomes, whether this house may graunt them unto her highness or not; and whether her highness be an apt person to receave the same or not. And by the thorough examynation of all these partes, your honourours shall proceed in this matter groundely upon throughe knowledge, and not be deceived by ignoraunce.

Now to the firste pointe, wherein I promised to examyne this forsakinge and fleyng from the sea of Rome, what matter either of weight, daunger, or inconvenyence dothe consiste therin. And if by this our relinquishing of the sea of Rome there were none other matter therin, then a withdrawinge of our obedience from the pope's person, Paul the IVth of that name, which hath declared himself to be a very austere stern father unto us, ever since his first entraunce into Peter's chayre; then the cause were not of suche great importaunce, as it is in very dede, when, by the relinquishinge

and forsakinge of the sea of Rome, we must forsake and flee from these four things. First, we must forsake and flee from all generall councells. Secondly, we must flee from all canonicall and ecclesiasticall lawes of the church of Christe. Third, from the judgment of all other Christian princes. Fourthe and last, we must forsake and flee from the unitie of Christe's church, and by leaping out of Peter's shippe, hazarde our selves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schisme, sects, and divisions.

First, touchinge generall councells, I shall onely name unto you these foure, Nicene councell, Constantinopolitan, Ephesyne, and Chalcedon countell; which are approved of all men, doubted of or denyed of no man. Of the which four councells, S. Gregory writeth in this wise, *Sicut enim sancti evangelii quatuor libros, sic haec quatuor concilia, Nicen. scil.*

Constantinopolitan. Epkesin. et Chalcedonense suscipere ac venerari me fateor. At Nicene councell, the first of the foure, the bisshoppes which were assembled did write their epistle to Sylvester, then bisshope of Rome, that their decrees made ther must be confirmed by his aucthoritye. At the countell kept at Constantinople, all the bisshoppes there were obedyent to Damase, then bisshope of Rome. He, as cheffe judge of that councell, did give sentence against these herefickes, Macedonians, Sabellians, and Eunomians; which Eunomius was bothe an Arrian and the first author of this heresie, that only faith doth justifie; and here, by the waye, it is touche to be lamentid, that we, thinhabitants of this realme, are muche more inclined to rayse uppe the errors and sects of ancyent and condemned heretickes, then to follow the approved doctryne of the most catholicke and learned fathers of Christe's church. At Ephesyne countell, Nestorius, the hereticke, was condemned by Celestine, then bisshope of Rome, he beinge the cheffe judge there. At Chalcedonense, all the bisshoppes assembled ther, did wryte their humble submission unto Leo, then bisshope of Rome, wherein they did acknowledge him to be their cheffe head. Therefore to deny the sea apostolike, were to contempne and set at nought the judgments of these route notable councells.

Second, We must forsake and flee from all canonicall and ecclesiasticall lawes of Christe's church, whereunto we have allredye confessed our obedience at the font, saying, *Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*; which article conteynethe, that we muste beleve not onely that there is a holie catholike church, but that we must receive also the doctrine and sacraments of the same church, obaye her lawes, and live accordinge unto the same. Which lawes do depend wholly upon th auctoritie of the sea

apostolike, and lyke as it was here openly confessed by the judges of this realme, that the lawes made and agreed uppon, in the higher and lower house of this honourable parliament, be of small or none effect, before the reall assent of the kynge and prince be geven therto; semblablye ecclesiasticall lawes made, cannot, bynd the universall church of Christe, without the reall assent and confirmation of the sea apostolike.

The thirde, We must forsake and flee from the judgment of all Christian princes, whether they be protestants or catholike, when none of them doe agree with these our doinges; kinge Henry thEighth beinge the verve firste that ever tooke uppon him the tytell of supremaeye. And whereas it was of late here in this house said by an honourable man, that the tytell is of right dewe unto the kinge, for that he is a kinge; then it would follow, that Herod, beinge a kinge, should be supreme head of the church at Jerusalem; and Nero th'emperour supreme head of the church of Christe at Rome; they bothe beinge infidells, and therby no members of Christe's church. And if our Saviour Jesus Christe, at his departure from this worlde, shoulde have lefte the spirituall governement of his church into th'hands of emperors and kinges, and not to have commytted the same unto his apostells, howe negligently then shoulde he have lefte his church, it shall appeare right well, by callinge to your remembraunce, that th'emperour Constantinus Magnus was the firsate Christian emperour, and reigned about three hundred yeres after th'ascension of Christe: if therefore by your proposition Constantyne, the firsate Christian empefour, was the firste cheffe head and spirituall governour of Christe's church througheout his empire, then it followithe, howe that our Savyour Christe for that whole tyme and space of three hundred yeares, untill the comynge of this Constantyne, lefte his church, which he had dearly bought by th'effusyon of his most precyous bloode, without a head; and therefore, how untrue the sayinge of this noble man was, it shall fourther appeare by th'example of kinge Ozias, and also of kinge David; for when kinge Ozias did take the censer to incense the aulter of God, the priest Azarias did resiste him, and expell him out of the temple, and said unto him these wordes, *Non est officii tui, Ozia, ut adoleas incensum Domino, sed est sacerdotum et filiorum Aaron; ad hujusmodi enim officium consecrati sunt.* Now I shall moste humble demande of you this question, When this preste Azarias said unto this kinge Ozias, *Non est officii tui, &c.* whether he said truthe or no? If you answer, that he spake the truthe, then the kinge Ozias was not the supreme head of the church of the Jewes: if you shall saye, no; whye did

God then plague the kinge with a leprosie, and not the preste? The preste Azarias, in resistinge the kinge, and thrustinge him out of the temple, in so doinge did he playe the faithfull parte of a subiecte, or no? If youe answer, no; why did God then spare the preste, and plague the kinge? If you answer, yea; then it is most manylest, Ozias, in that he was a kinge, could not be supreme head of the church. And as touching th'exemple of kinge Davyd, in bringinge home the arke of God from the Philistians *ad civitatem* Davyd, what supremacye and spirituall government of Gode's arke did kinge Davyd there take upon him? Did he place himself amongst the prestes, or take upon him any spirituall function unto the prestes apperteynyng? Did he approche nere unto the arke, or yet presume to towche the same; no, doubtless, when before he sawe Ozias stricken by the hand of God for the lyke arrogancye and presumption; and therefore kinge Davyd did goe before the arke of God with his harpe, makeinge melodye, and placed himselfe amongst the mynystrells, and so humblye did abase himselfe, beyng a kinge, as to daunce, skyppe, and leappe before the arke of God, lyke as his other subjectes: insomuche, that quene Micholl, kinge Saules doughter, beholding and seeynge the great humylitye of kinge Davyd, did disdayne therat. Wherunto kinge Davyd said, *Ludam, et vilior fiam, plusquam factus sum coram Domino meo, qui me elegit potius quam pattem tuum aut domum patris tui*. And whereas quene Micholl was therefore plagued at the hand of God *perpetua sterilitate*, kinge Davyd receaved great prayse for his humylitie.

Now it may please your honours, which of bothe these kinges examples it shalbe moste convenyent for your wisdomes to move our quene's highness to followe; th'exemple of the proude kinge Ozias, and by your perswasion and counsells to take upon her spiritual government, therby adventuringe youre selves to be plagued at Godes handes, as kinge Ozias was; or else to follow th'exemple of good kinge Davyd, which in refusall of all spirituall government about the arke of God, did humble himselfe as I have declared unto you? Whereunto our soveraigne ladye the quenes highness of her own nature verye well inclyned and bent, we maye assure our selves to have of her highness as humble, as vertuous, and as godly a mystress to reigne over us, as ever had English people heere in this realme, if that her highness be not by our flattery and dissimulation seduced and begyld.

Fourth and last, We muste forsake and flee from the unitie of Christe's church, when saint Cyprian, that holye martyr, saithe, *That the unitie of the church of Christe dothe depend upon the unitie of Peter's authoritye;*

therefore by our leaping out of Peter's shippe, we must nedes be overwhelmed with the waters of schism, sects, and divisions, when the same holye martyr saint Cyprian saithe, in his thirde epistle *ad Cornelium*, that all heresies, sects, and schisms do springe onely, for that men will not be obedyent unto the head bysshoppe of God. The Latin whereof is, *Neque enim aliunde haereses abortae sunt, aut nata sint schismata, quin inde, quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur*. And howe true this sayinge of Cyprian is, it is apparaunte to all men that listith to see by th'exemple of the Germaines, and by th'inhabitators of this realme. And this our forsakinge and fleeyng from the unitie of the church of Rome, this inconvenyencie, amongst manye, must consequentely follow thereof, that eyther we must graunt the church of Rome to be the church of God, or else a malignant church. If you answer, that it is of God, where Jesus Christe is truly tawght, and all his sacraments rightely minystered; how then may wee disborden our selves of our forsakinge and fleeing that church, whom we do confesse and knowledge to be of God, when with that church, which is of God, we ought to be one, and not to admytte any separation? If you answer, that the church of Rome is not of God, but a malignant church; then it will follow, that we th'inhabitantes of this realme have not as yet receyved any benyfite of Christe, when we have receyved no other gospell, no other doctrine, no other faithe, no other sacraments, than were sent us from the church of Rome; first, in kinge Lucius his dayes, at whose humble epistle the holy martyr Elutherius, then bisshoppe of Rome, did send unto this realme two holy monkes, Faganus and Damyanus, by whose doctrine we were fyrst put to knowledge of the faithe, of Jesus Christe, of his gospell, and of his most blessed sacraments. Secound, holy saint Gregorye, beyng bisshoppe of Rome, did send into this realme two other holy monkes, saint Aug~styn and Mellitus, to receyve the very self same faithe of Jesus Christe, that was before plantid here in this realme in the dayes of kinge Lucius. Third and last, Paulus Tertius, being bisshoppe of Rome, did send the lord Cardinall Poles good grace, by birthe a nobell man of this realme, as his legat, to restore us to the same faithe that the blessed martyr Elutherius, and holy saint Gregorye, had plantid here in this realme many yeres before. If therefore the church of Rome be not of God, but a malignant church, then we have byne deceyved all this while, when the gospel, the doctrine, faithe, and sacraments, must be of the same nature that the church is of, from whence it came. And therefore in relinquishinge and forsakinge of that church, as a malignant church, th'inhabitants of this realme shalbe forced to seke fourther for another gospell of Christe,

other doctrine, faithe, and sacraments, then we hitherto have receyved. Which shall brede suche a schism and error in faithe, as was never in any Christian realme; and therefore of your wisdomes worthy consideration, and maturely to be providid for before you passe this acte of supremacie.

Thus much towching the firste cheffe pointe. Now to the second eheffe pointe; wherein I promysed to move your honours to consider, what this supremacie is, which we goo about by vertue of this acte, to gyve unto the quene's highness, and wherein it dothe consiste, as whether in spiritual government or in temporall. If in spiritual, like as the wordes of the acte do ymporte, *scil. supream head of the churche of England, ymmediat and next under God*; then it wolde be considered of your wisdomes in what pointes this spirituall government dothe consiste; and the pointes being well knowen, it wolde be considered, whether this howse have authorite to graunt them, and her highness abilitie to receive the same.

And as towching the poynte wherin the spiritual governmente dothe consiste, I have in readinge the gospel observed these foure, amongst manye: wherof the first is to *loose* and *binde*, when our Saviour Jesus Christ, in ordeyninge Peter to be the cheffe governor of his church, said unto him, *Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum; quodcunque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelis, et quodcunque solveris, erit solutum et in caelis*. Now it wolde be considered of your wisdoms, whether you have sufficient authoritye to graunt unto her highness this first point of spiritual governmente, and to say to her, *Tibi dablinus claves regni caelorum*; if you say, yea, then we requier the sight of your waraunte and commysion, by the vertue of God's word. And if you say, no, then you may be well assured, and perswade your selves, that you have no sufficient authoritie to make her highness supreme head of the church here in this realme. The second pointe of spiritual government is gathered of these words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, spoken unto Peter in the 21st chapter of saint John's gospel, *Pasce, pasce, pasce*. Now whether your honours have authority, by this high courte of parliamente, to say unto our sovereign ladle, *Pasce, pasce, pasce*, you muste shewe your waraunte and commysion. And fourther, that her highness, beyinge a woman by birthe and nature, is not qualyfyed by God's worde to feed the flock of Chryst, it appeareth most playnlye by St. Paul on this wise, saying, *Taceant mulieres in ecclesiis: non enim permittetur eis loqui, sed subditas esse, sicut dicit lex*: and it followethe in the same place, *Quod turpe est mulieri loqui in ecclesiis*. And in his first epistle to Timothy, the second chapter, saythe, *Docere*

autem mulieri non permitto, neque dominari in virum, sed in silentio esse. Therefore it appeareth, that lyk as your honours have not his authoritie to gyve her highness this second pointe of spiritual government to feed the flock of Chryst; so by Paul's doctryne her highness may not entermeddle her self with the same: therefore she cannot be supream head of Chryst's church here in this realme. The third and cheffe pointe of spiritual government is gathered of the wordes of our Saviour Jesus Christ, spoken unto Peter, Luc. the 22d

chapter, *Ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua; et tu aliquando conversus Confirma fratres tuos.* Whereby it appeareth, that one chief pointe of spiritual government is to confirme his brethren, and ratifie them bothe by holsome doctryne, and administration of the blessed sacraments. But to preach or mynister the holy sacraments, a woman may not; neither may she be supreme head of the church of Chryst. The fourthe and last pointe of spiritual government, which I promysed to observe and note unto you, dothe consist in excommunication and spiritual punyshment of all such as shall approve themselves not to be the obedient children of Chryst's church. Of the which authoritie our Saviour Chryst speaketh in saint Matthew, the 18th chapter, there sayinge, *Dic ecclesiae, si autem ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi tanquam ethnicus et publicanus.* And the apostle St. Paul did excommunicate the notorious fornicator, that was amongst the Corinthians, by the authoritie of his apostleshippe. Unto the which apostles, Chryste ascending into heaven, did leave the whole spiritual government of his church, as it appereth by the plaine wordes of Paul, in his epistel to the Ephesyans, the 4th chapter; *Ipse dedit ecclesiae suae quosdam apostolos, alios evangelistas, alios pastores et doctores, in opus ministerii, in aedificationem corporis Christi.* But a woman, in the degrees of Chryst's church, is not called to be an apostel, nor evangelst, nor to be a shepherd, neyther a doctor or preacher. Therfor she cannot be supreme head of Christ's militant church, nor yet of any part therof.

Thus touche I have here said, right honourable, and my very good lordes, against this act of supremacie, for the dyscharge of my conscience, and for the love, dread, and feare, that I cheffely owe unto God and my sovarayne ladie the quene's highness, and unto your lordshippes all; when otherwyse, and without mature consideration of these premysse, your honours shall never be able to shewe your faces before your enmyes in this matter, beyng so rash an example and spectacle in Chryst's church, as in this realme onely to be found, and in none other. Thus humble beseeching your

good honours to take in good part this rude and playne speche that I have here used, of much good zeal and will, I shall now leave to trouble your honours any longer.

NUMBER 7,

Scot, bishop of Chester, his speech in parlament against the bill of the supremacye.

MY lord, and my lords all, I do perceave that this bill hathe now ben twice read, and by the order of this howse must be reade the thirde time. Which order I think was appoynted so to be observed for this end, that every man, being a member of this howse, sholde fully understand, and so at large speke his mind in conscience in the contents of all the bills preferred and read here, before they should be inacted and establyshed as lawes. Wherefore I consideringe that this bill hathe ben nowe twice redde, and hathe accordingly ben spoken unto gravely, wiselye, and learnedlye, by dyvers of this honourable companye, and that I for my parte as yet have said nothinge therein, I shall most humblye desier your good lordshippes to gyve me leave, and pacyentlye to heare what I have to saye, as concernynge this present bill. And yet to confesse unto your lordshippes the truthe, ther be two thinges that do much move me, and, as it were, pull me backe from speaking any thinge in this matter. The first is, that I perceave the quene's highness, whom I pray God longe to preserve, is, as it were, a partie thetin, unto whom I do acknowledge that I owe obedience, not onlye for wrathe and displeasures sake, but for conscience sake, and that by the scriptures of God. The second is, the reverence I have to those noble men, unto whom this bill was comyttid to be weyed and considerid, whose doings, I assure your good lordshippes, is a great comfort, not onely unto me, but also, as I do thinke, unto all that be of the profession that I am of, with manye other besides. First, for that their devoeions towards Allmyghtie God, dothe appeare, seinge, they will not suffer the service of the church, and the dew admystration of the holie sacraments therof, to be disanulled or all reddyed altered, but to be contened [retained] as they have ben heretofore. And secondlye, for that their charitie and pittie towards the poor clergie of this realme dothe appeare in mytygatinge th'extreme penalties mentioned in this bill for the gayne-sayers of the contents of the same.

But ther be two other thinges of more weight, that do move me to speke in this matter what I thinke. The firste is Allmyghtie God, which I knowe dothe looke, that, accordinge to the profession whereunto (althoughe I be unworthy) I am called, I shoulde speke my mnyde in suche matters as this is, when they be callyd in question. The secounde is my conscience, which dothe urge me to do the same.

Wherefore, nowe to speke of the matters this I saye, that our faithe and religion is mayntayned and contynued by no one thinge so muche as by unytie; which unytie is contynued and mayntayned in Christe's church, evin as concorde and good order is mayntayned in a commonwealthe. Wherein as we see for civill quietness, there is appointed in every village one constable. And least ther shoulde anye varyanee fall amongst them, ther is againe in everye houndrethe one head counstable, in whome all the other inferiours be as knitte in one. And where theyre be in one shiere dyvers houndrethes, to make away all controverses, as myght chaunce amongst the said head constables of these hundrethes, of that thei be joyned as in one. The sherifes likewyse be joyned in one prince, which prince beinge depryved of his princely aucthorytie, the unitie and concorde of that realme is dissolv'd, and every man chosethe himselfe a newe lord. Evin so it is in the church of Christe, accordinge to the commandment of saint Paule. Ther is in everye village at the least one preiste; in everye cittie, one bisshoppe, in whom all the preistes within the diocesse be knytte in one; in every province one metropolitan, in whome, for the avoidinge of controversies, all the bisshoppes of that province be joyned; and for unitie to be observed amongst the metropolitans, they be likewise joyned in one highe bisshoppe, called the *pope*, whose aucthoritie beinge taken away, the shepe, as the scripture sayethe, be scattred abroad. For avoydinge whereof, our Sayyour Christe before his deathe prayed, that we myght be all one, as his Father and he be one; which thinge cannot be, except we have all one head. And therefore Almyghtie God saide by the profite Ezechiel, *Suscitabo super eos pastorem unum; I will stir up over them one pastoure*. And our Savyour in the gospell likewise saythe, *Ther shalbe one pastoure and one shepefoulde*. Which sentences peradventure some men will saye to be applyed onely to our Sayyour Christe, which in very dede I must nedes graunt to be so; yet this I may saye, these places be applyed to him onely, as other like places of scripture be; for it is said in the scripture, that onely God is immortall and by participation with him, all we that be trewe Christian men be made immortall; onely God forgyvethe synne, and yet by

commission from him, prestes hathe aucthorytie to forgyve sin. He is onely kinge, and by commission makethe kinges; and likewise he is onely preste after thorder of Melchisedech, and by commission makethe prestes: he of himself, and by none other; all the rest by him, and not of themselves. So he is our onely pastour, and by commission hathe made other pastours, and especially one to be vicargenerall in earthe, to governe and rule all his whole flocke in unitie and concorde, and in avoydinge of schismes and divysions. And likewyse as he sent one Holie Ghoste to rule and governe his people inwardly, so he appoynted one governor to rule and lead them outwardlye.

Which one head governor cannot be applied to any temporall prince: for then eyther must we nedes graunt that the churche of Christe was not perfecte, but rather a manke bodye without a head by the space of three hundred yeres and more, (for so longe was it after the desthe of our Savyour Christe before there was any one Christian prince in all the worlde,) or else, that Christe appointid an infidell, beinge no member of his churche, to be head thereof; which bothe be absurdities. Againe, that Christe appointid no temporall prince to be head of his churche it appeareth, by that we see in dyvers kingdomes ther be dyvers and sundrye princes and rulers, so that ther shoulde by that meanes be many heads of one bodye, the whiche weare a monstrouse thinge. Thirdly, that he appoynted no temporall prince to be head of the churche, it appearithe by the worde it selfe, spoken by our Savyour Christe, *Pasce, Fede*, which he spoke not to Herode, Pilate, nor yet to Tyberius the emperour: but he spoke them unto Peter, sayinge, *Pasce oves meas*. And whet peradventure some man will cavill and argue of the Greke worde spoken by our Savyour Christe in that place, which dothe signifie not onely *to feed*, but also to *rule* and *goverue*; I answer, that I do not knowe where that worde is applied unto any temporail ruler in the Newe Testament; and if it so were, yet it dothc not prove ther intent, for other manyfeste and playne places of scripture do exclude them from suche aucthoritie, notwithstandinge that the same scripture dothe gyve them verye great aucthorytie, commandinge us to obeye the same; declaringe withall, that they beare the sworde not in vayne, nor without cawse. But nowe marke this worde *sworde*, which princes had before the comynge of otir Saviour Christe; and that he did gyve them any further aucthorytie we reade not, but lefte them as he founde them. And as he did gyve them no *spirituall* aucthorytie, so I do not see that he did take any temporall rule from them. Wherefore he

commandid Peter to putt uppe his sworde, because he had gyven hym other instruments to use, wherein was included his aucthorytie, that is to saye, the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, sayinge, *Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum*. In these keyes, and in exercysinge of the same, consistethe all aucthorytie ecclesiasticall gyven by God unto any man. Unto whom he hathe not by scripture gyven these keyes, they have no right to it. Wherefore it followethe, that no temporal prince hathe any aucthorytie ecclesiasticall in or over the churche of Christe, seeynge, that the keyes were never gyven unto any of them.

And here I knowe it wilbe objectid against me, that as this place dothe make against the supremacye of princes, so dothe it not make for the primacye of saint Peter. For saint John dothe witnesse in the 20th chapter of his gospell, that our Savyour Christe did gyve the keyes not onely to Peter, but also unto all his apostells, when he did breathe upon them, sayinge, *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum; Take ye the Hobde Ghoste: whose synnes ye forgyve beforgyvin to them, and whose synnes ye reteyne are reteyned*. And dyvers of the ancyent writers do lykwise saye, that the keyes were given unto all the apostells. But yet in one place or other the same authors do declare, that they were gyven unto Peter principally; as Hilarius, where he saithe, spekeinge of that matter, *Datae sunt claves Petro principalius, in quantum erat aliorum capitaneus*. “The keyes (saythe he) were gyven to Peter princypallye, in that he was cheffe and capytayne of the other.” And if that any man yet will contende, that this place dothe gyve no more aucthorytie to Peter than to the rest of the apostells, I have rede another place of scripture, whiche dothe exclude the rest of the apostells from equalitie of aucthorytie with Peter, in the rule and government of the churche of Christe, and that is the changynge of his name; for at Peter’s firste metinge with our Savyour Christe, his name was Symon, as it is ther mentionede in these wordes, *Symon the sone of Jona, thow shalte be called Cephas, that is to say, a stone, or a rocke*. And for what consideration and end Christe gave hym that name, it dothe appeare in the 16th of saint Matthew, in these wordes, *Tu es Petrus, &c. Thou arte Peter; that is to saye, a stone, or a rocke; and upon this stone, or rocke, I will buylde my churche*. Here I shall dessire youe to note, that Peter hathe a promysse made unto hymselfe alone, whiche was made to no other of the apostells; that is, that as he had receaved a newe name, so he shoulde have a newe privedge or preferment, to be the foundation, grounde, and staye of Christe’s churche, beyng buylded upon hym, for he was called a *rocke*

or *stone*, for the stabilitie and constancie that shoulde allwayes appeare in the church, beinge builded upon hym a sure foundation, and ymmovable. Which thinge dothe howe appeare in the succession of Peter: for as concernynge the other apostles in their own persons, I do not doubt but duryng their lyves naturall, they were as fyrme and stable in the faith of Christe, as Peter was; but for their succession we have no suche proore, seeynge, that onely the succession of Peter dothe contynue in the church of Christe, the like appearinge in none of thother apostles: which is the onelye staye of the same in earthe, and undoubtedly shalbe until the worldes end. This place of scripture, in my judgment, if ther wer no more, is sufficient to prove, that Peter and his successors be appointid of Christe to have the rule and government of his church in earthe above all others, bothe spirituall and temporail, and yet I do knowe that ther maye and also will objections be layd against these my sayings. For some will saye, that Christe himselfe is the *stone* wherupon his church is buylded; and some will saye, that the profession that Peter made of Christe, when he sayde, *Thou art the sone of the lyvinge God*: which be bothe trewe, and yet not repugnant to that which I have sayd befor; for all these three understandings well pondered and considered in their dyvers respects may stande togyther. But I do thinke, that if the mynd and intent of our Savyour Christe, when he spake these wordes, *Thow arte Peter*, &c. be well weyed, the place it selfe dothe declare, that it is specially to be understood of the person of Peter and his successors. For undoubtedly he knowinge that infidelitie and heresydes shoulde so encrease and abound, that his church and faith shoulde be in daunger to be overthrowen and extinguished, made promyse ther so to provyde by Peter and his successors, that it shoulde be alwayes knowen, where his faith shoulde be had and sought for again, if it were any wher lost, unto all men that woulde with humilitie desier, seke after, and receive the same.

So that we nowe, if we shoulde understand that place of our Saviour Christe, which is the firste and trewe stone of this buyldinge in very dede, what certeyntie can we have of our faith? Or howe shall we staye our selves, waveringe in the same in this our tyme? For at this present ther be abroad in Christendom 34 sundrye sects of opynions, wherof never one agreeth with another, and all differ from the catholike church. And every one of these sects do saye and affyrme constantlye, that their profession and doctryn is builded upon Christe, alledginge scripture for the same. And they all and every of them, thus challynging Christe to be ther foundation

by scripture, howe shoulde any man knowe to which of them he may safely gyve credit, and so obaye and followe?

The lyke is to be said of Peter's confession, wherin we can have no sure tryall: for every one of these sects or heresyys dothe confesse and acknowledge Christe to be the sone of the livinge God. So that I thinke I may conclude that our Savyour Christe in this place, saying, *that he would builde his churche upon a stone*, did meane by the stone Peter and his successors, wherunto men myght savely cleave and leane, as unto a sure and unmovable rocke in matters of faithe, knowinge certeynly that in so doinge they shall not falle, I meane in faithe; as we do moste manifestly see it hathe come to passe, and contynued for the space of a thowsand fyve hundrethe yeres and odde.

I have heard objectid here of late against the supremacye of Peter and his successors, dyvers reasons which appeare unto me to have in them small substance, as I trust it shall appeare unto youe by the unfoldinge of the same. And for the better understandinge of the same, I will brynge them unto three head-places.

Wherof the firste dothe consyste in the wycked and evyll lives, as it is alledged, of certayne popes of Rome; which, as I do thinke, were nothinge so wycked as they were reported to have ben: but lett that be, they were so; what then? A man is a man, and, as the scripture sayethe, *Quis est homo, qui non peccet? What man is he that synneth not?* Again, if that our Sayyour Christe had made the lyke warrant unto Peter and his successors, as concerninge their conversation and lyvinge, as he did for the continuaunce and stabilitie of their faythe, and had said unto Peter, *Ego rogavi pro te ut non pecces; I have prayed for thee, that thou shalt not synne*: as he sayd, *Ego rogavi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua; I have prayed that thye faythe shall never fayll*: then ther evill lyves had ben an argument to have proved, that they had not ben the true successores of Peter, nether had had any suche auctoritie gyven unto them of God. But seeynge that the warrant was made only for the continuance of their faithe, wherin they have hitherto, and do yet moste constantly stand, without any mencyon of their conversation and livinge, it is in my judgment no profe nor argument against the aucthorytie and supremacye of the sea of Rome; as we see that the adulterye and murther commytted by kinge Davyd, dothe not dimynysshe the aucthorytie of godly psalmes wrytten by hym; neyther the dissolute lyvinge and idolatrye of kynge Salomon is prejudiciall

to dyvers bookes of scripture wrytten by him, nor yet the covetousness of the prophet Balaam did let, in any condition, the vertue and strength of God, the blessing of God sent unto the children of Irsuell by hym, nor the truthe of the prophecye, as concernynge the cominge of our Savyour Christe, by hym likewise pronounced: even so the lyres of the popes of Rome, were they never so wycked, cannot be prejudicial to the aucthorytie gyven to Peter and his successores, by the mouthe of our Sayyour Christe.

The somme of the objections secondarilye made againste his aucthorytie, dothe consiste (as they do alledge) in certayne canons of the councell of Nicene, and the sixth councell of Carthage, with the departure of the Greke church and other realmes now in our dayes from the aucthorytie of the said sea of Rome. As concerninge the councell of Nicene, I do marveil that they will alledge any thinge therin conteyned in this matter, seeynge in the preface of the said councell it is declared, that this aucthorytie which we speke of is gyven unto the said sea by no councells or synods, but by the evangelicall voyce of our Sayyour Jesus Christe; and also the fathers of the said councell beyng condescended and agreed in all matters of controversye, moved in that ther assembly, wrotte unto the pope, desiringe to have ther decrees confirmed by his aucthorytie, as it dothe more at large appeare in ther epistle wryten in that behalfe. Further, Athanasius, which was present at the said councell, and after patriarche of Alexandria, dothe not onelye acknowledge the cure and charge of the universall church of Christe to be gyven to Peter and his successors, but also, beinge universally depryved, did appeall unto the pope of Rome, and by him was restored againe. And likewise the sixt courtcell of Carthage makethe nothinge for ther purpose: for the supremacie of the pope was not called in question ther, but *some* varyaunce ther was in dede, which consistith in this point onelye, whether a bisshoppe or a preste beinge accused and troubled, and thinkinge hymselfe to have wronge, myght appeall to Rome for the better examynation and tryall of his cawse or no: as one Appiarius, a preste, had done then in Afrike. Ther was alledged for appellations to be made to Rome, a canon of Nicene councell, which indede was sought for, and coude not be founde. Which was no marvell; for whereas the fathers in Nicene councell made seventy canons, throughe the wickedness of heretickes, ther was then but founde remayninge onely twenty-one. Yet that notwithstandinge the bisshoppes of Africke did not longe after submytte themselves to the church of Rome in that point. Also, they use to inculcate the auctoritie of this counsel, for bycause that St. Augustine

was present at it; as he was indede, which makethe directly againste them. For saint Augustyne dothe everye where in his workes acknowledge the supremacye of St. Peter and his successors; as is in his 162 epistle, sayinge thus, *In Romana ecclesia semper viguit apostolicae cathedrae principatus: In the church of Rome hath allways ben strengthened or florysshed the rule or auctoritie of the apostolike chayre.*

And where I heard a question moved here of late, whether that ever the Greke church did acknowledge the superiortie of the church of Rome or no? Of the which matter I marvell that any man dothe doubt, seynge that the Greke church did not onely acknowledge, but also contynue in obedience under the said church of Rome, by the space of eight hundreth yeres at the least, so far as I can read my self, or learne of others. And after that it did first renounce the said aucthodie, it did returne againe with submyssion fourteen several tymes, as good authors write, and as we may partly gather by the councell of Florence, which was about a hundred and fourty-one years ago; whereas the patriarche of Constantinople hymself was present amongst other bushoppes and learned men of Grece, in the which this matter in controversy was determyned and agreed upon, as it dothe manifestely appeare in the canons of the said councell. Moreover, if the Greke church wer not under the auctoritie and rule of the church of Rome, what shall we think of the storye of Anthemas, patriarche of Constantinople, which was deposed for the heresye of Eutyches, by the pope Agapetus: for whose restitution earnest and longe sute was made by the emperesse Theodora that then was, first to the pope Silverius, and after to his successor Vigilius, and coulde in no condition be obtayned. But as touching the Greke church, and the departure of the same from the church of Rome, thus we maye briefly say and conclude, that after it did divyde it self from the church of Rome, it did by lyttel and lyttel fall into extreme myseryes, captivity, and bondage; in the which at this present it dothe remayne. And as concernynge other cuntryes that have renounced the foresaid auctoritie, as Germany, Denmarke, and as it was here *said*, Polonia; this I have to saye, that the myseryes and calamities that Germany hath suffered synce ther departure from the church of Rome, may be a warnynge and example to all other nations to learne by, and beware of the like attempt. And as for Denmark, I do hear indede they be very Lutherans, and have also renounced the pope's auctoritie, but yet I cannot learn, nor heare, that eyther the kinge of Denmarke, or yet any prince of Germany, doth take upon hym to be callyd *supreme head of the church*. And as for

Polonia, althoughe it be troubled with heresy, as other realmes be, yet I cannot leame, that eyther the kinge or the clergie therof hathe or dothe gyve any place to the same, but of the contrarye dothe most earnestly withstand them, as may ryght well appeare by certeyn bookes set out this last yere, that is 1558, by a bushoppe of Polonia, called Stanislaus Hosius; in the which it is declared, amongst many other things, that earnest sute was made by the protestantes to have three things graunted and suffered to be practysed within that realme; that is to saye, that prestes myght have wyves; to have the publyke servyce in ther vulger tongue; and the sacrament of the aulter mynistred under bothe kyndes; which all three were denyed them. Whereby it apperethe playnly, that Polonia is not in that case that men reported it to be in. But and if it were so, that all these realmes, yea, and mo, were gone from the obedyence of that churche, dothe it therefore followe, that the auctoritie thereof is not juste? I thinke not so. For as Ferdynandus, now emporour, descendinge justely by election from Constantyne the Great, if the empire which was under Constantyne's rule were divyded into twentye parties, it hathe scarcely one of the twentye, and yet the auctoritie of an emperour contynueth in hym still. And as the departure of Gascoygne, Guyne, Normandy, Scotland, and Fraunce, which were all sometymes under th'imperial crowne of England, dothe not take away th'auctoritie thereof, but that it is an imperial crowne still; even so dothe not the departure of these countreyes from the sea of Rome dymynyshe the auctoritie gyven unto the same by God. Besides that St. Paul sayethe, *That ther shalbe a departinge befor the day of judgment*, which allthoughe some understand of th'empyre, yet the most part referre it to the churche of Rome, from whence men shall faull and departe by infidelitie and heresies; but whether it shalbe in all countreyes at one tyme or dyvers tymes, it is uncertayne.

Thirdly, ther is alledged a provyncyall countell or assembly of the bisshoppes and clargy of this realme of England, by whom the auctoritie of the bisshoppe of Rome was abolisshed and disannulled: which now some inculcate against us, as a matter of great weight and auctoritie, wheras in very dede it is to be taken for a matter of small auctoritie; or else none. For first, we knowe that a particuler or provyncyall countell can make no determination against the universall churche of Christe. Secondly, of the learned men that were the doers ther, so manye as be dead, before they died were penytent, and cryed God mereye for that acte; and those that do lyre, as all your lordshippes do knowe, hathe openly revoked the same,

acknowledginge ther error. And wher some here dothe saye, that they will never trust those men, which once denyed the pope's auctoritie, and, nowe of the contrary, stand in the defence of the same; in my judgment, their sayings be not greatly to be allowed. For it may happen, as often tymes it dothe chaunce indede, that a man of honestie, worshippe, yea of honour, maye comytte treason against his prince, and yet by the goodness of the same prince be pardoned for that offence, shall we determinately saye, that man is never after to be trusted in the prince's affaires? Nay, God forbyd: but rather thinke of the contrarye, that he which once hathe rune so hastily and rashely, that he hathe over-throwne hymself, and fallen, and broken his browe or his shynne, will after that take hede to walke more warily. As we may learne at the apostles of our Saviour Christe, which did all forsake hym, and rune away, when he was apprehended [and brought] before the Jews; and specially of St. Peter, which did thrice denye hym. And yet after, as well Peter as all the rest of th'apostles did returne againe to their master Christe, and never woulde after, for neyther persecution nor deathe, forsake or denye him any more. So that it may appear, although men have once gone astraye, if they returne to the truthe agayne, their testimonies in the truthe be not to be discredetid. And so I truste that you see that all these reasons and objections, made against the auctoritie of the church of Rome, be of none effect, if they be indifferently wayed and considered.

And wheras ther was a reason made here, that a temporall prince, unto whom no ecclesiasticall jurisdiction or rule is gyven or committed by God, cannot himself be head of the church of Christe; so he cannot substitute nor appoint another to exercise any suche jurisdiction or auctoritie in spirituall matters in or over the church of Christe under hym: for as it was then sayd, no man can gyve to another that thinge which he hathe not himself: whereunto this answer was made, that a prince may gyve to another that auctoritie which he hathe not hymself, neyther may exercise; as for example, they alledge, that a kinge of himself is not a judge, and yet he hathe auctoritie to appoint judges to mynyster justice. And likewise they said, that a kinge hymself is no capitayn, and yet hathe auctoritie to appoint capitayns under hym, for defence of his realme, and overthrowe of his enemyes: and even so, say they, he may appoint and substitute one under hym to exercise spirituall juryisdiction, allthough he have no suche auctoritie hymself. Which reasons appeare unto me not only to be verye weake and feble, but also to be playne false, and against scripture, which

dothe declare, that the office of a kinge dothe consiste especially in these two points, which these men denye to be in hym; that is, in playinge of the judge, and mynistringe of justice to his subjects, and likewise in playinge the valiant capitayne, in defendinge of the same his subjects from all injure and wronge, as the 8th chapter of the first Book of Kings declarethe in these wordes, *Judicabit nos rex noster, et egredietur ante nos et pugnabit bella nostra pro nobis*; that is, *Our kinge shall judge us, and he shall goe fourthe before us, and he shall fyght our battallies* for us. And likewise Nathan said unto Davyd's own person, *Responde mihi judicium: Make me answer accordinge to justice*. And likewise Solomon hymself did gyve sentence and judgement between the two common women, which of them two was mother of the child which was alive. And as for to prove that those kings with other in the Olde Testament were capitayns themselves, in the defence of their realmes, is more manylest, than I shall nede to trayell in provinge of the same.

And thus to drawe unto an end, I trust your lordshippes do see, that for unytie and concord in faithe and religion, to be preservid and contynued in the church, our Saviour Christe, the spouse thereof, hathe appointed one head or governour, that is to wit, Peter, and his successors, whose faithe he promysed shoulde never decaye, as we see manyfestely it hathe not indede. And for those men which wryte and speake against this auctoritie, if therewith their wrytings and their doings be well considered, they shall appear to be suche, as small credit or none is to be gyven unto in matters of weyght, suche as this is. For who so redith the third chapter of the second epistle of St. Paul to Tymothie, may see them there lively described with their doings. And specially one sentence therein may be applyed and verified of them most justely; that is, *Semper discentes, et nunquam ad scientiam veritatis pervenientes*; that is to saye, *Alwayes learnynge and never comminge to the knowledge of truthe*. For as we see them varye amongeat themselves, one from another, so no one of them dothe agree with himself in matters of religion, two yeres together. And as they be gon from the sure rocke and staye of Christe's church, so do they reel and waver in their doctryne, wherin no certeyntie nor staye can be founde. Whereof St. Paul dothe admonyshe us, and teache us in the person of his scholer Tymothie, to be constante in doctryne and religion, and not to followe suche men. For after, in the same chapter he sayeth thus; *Tu vero permane in iis quae didicisti, et quae credita sunt tibi, sciens a quo didiceris*. But as for thee, saythe St. Paul, speaking unto every Christian

man in the person of Tymothe, *continue in those things which thou hast learned, and which be credited unto thee, knowinge of whom thou hast learned them.* In which wordes we myght understand that St. Paul dothe not move any man to continew in any false or untrue doctryne. Wherefore he movethe every man to consider, not onely his religion and doctryne, but also, or rather, the schoolemaster of whom he learned the same. For of the knowledge, constancye, and worthyness of the schoolemaster, or teacher, may the doctryne, taught by him, be knowen to be good and sound, or otherwise. Now if a man shoulde aske of these men in this realme, which dissent from the catholike church, not onely in this point of the supremacie, but also in dyvers of the cheffe mystries of our faithe, of whom they learned this doctryne which they holde and teache, they must nedes answer, that they learned it of the Germaynes. Then we may demande of them agayne, of whom the Germaynes did learne it? Whereunto they must answer, that they learned it of Luther. Well, then of whom did Luther learne it? Whereunto he shall answer hymself in his booke that he wrote *De Missa angulari, seu privata*: where he saythe, that suche thinges as he teachethe against the masse, and the blessed sacrament of the aulter, he learned of Sathan, the Devyll. At whose hands it is lyke he did also receive the rest of his doctryne. Then here be two points diligently to be noted. First, That this doctryne is not yet fifty yeres old; for no man taught it before Luther. And secondarily, That Luther dothe confesse and acknowledge the Divell to be his schoolemaster in dyvers points of his doctryne. So that if men wolde diligently mind St. Paul's wordes, where he bidethe us *knowe of whom we have learned* suche doctryne as we holde, they wolde refuse this perverse and wicked doctryne, knowinge from whom it came. But if they will aske us of whom we learned our doctryne, we answer then, that we learned it of our forefathers in the catholike church, which hathe in it contynuedly the Holye Spirit of God for a ruler and governour. And againe, if they aske of whom our fathers learned this same, we say of their forefathers within the same church. And so we manually ascend in possession of our doctryne, from age to age, unto the apostle Peter, unto whom, as St. Cyprian sayeth, our Savyour Christe did betake his shepe to be fed, and upon whom he founded his church.

So that howe we may be bolde to stand in our doctryne and religion against our adversaries, seyng that thers is not yet fyfte yeres olde, and ours above fifteen hundreth yeres olde. They have for auctoritie and commendation of their religion Luther and his schoolemaster before

mencyoned; we have for ours St. Peter and his master Christe. So that now, by the doctryne of Ireneus, every man may knowe wher the truthe is, and whom he should followe; which saythe thus: *Eis qui in ecclesia sunt presbyteris, obedire oportet; his qui successionem habent ab apostolis, qui cum episcopali successione charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum Patris acceperunt; reliquos vero qui absistunt a principali successione, et quoeunque loco colliguntur, suspectos habere, vel quasi haereticos, et make sententiae, vel quasi studentes [partium] et elatos sibi placentes: aut rursus ut hypocritas queestus gratia et vanae gloriae hoc operantes: qui omnes decidunt a veritate.* That is, “To those prestes, which be in the church, we ought to obeye, those which have their succession from the apostles, who with bisshoppelike succession have receaved a sure gracyous gifte, according to the good will of the Father. But for the other, which departe from the pryncipall succession, and be gathered in whatsoever place, we ought to have them suspected, either as hereticks, and of an evil opinion, or as makinge divisions, and proude men, and pleasing themselves; or againe as hypocrytes, doing that for advantage and vayn glorie, which all do fall from the truthe.” And thus I make an end, most humbly thankinge your good lordshipps for your gentill pacyence, desiringe the same lykewise to weye and consider these thinges which I have spoken, as shalbe thought good to your wysdomes.

NUMBER 8.

The heads of a discourse concerning the supremacye.

THE first byshopps of Rome were particular byshopps of a certein precinct, beginning, contynuinge, and endinge their byshoppricks in persecutions and povertye. In what aftayres they busied themselves, and under what emperors.

Under what emperours the byshopps of Rome began to decline from the perfections of their predecessors; the cause thereof; and that they had no dignities nor possessions, but of the gift of the emperours and other princes; and howe the same from tyme to tyme were enlarged, and had their continuance.

The cause whereupon the byshoppe of Rome claymed to be an universal byshoppe; usurped an universal jurisdiction. Howe farre the bounds thereof did then extend; his practises to be an erthly monarche or kinge; and howe he e'er since, with every age, hath mayntained his state.

In what age the name *of papa* had his original. To whom it was attributed, and howe it became the proper name of the byshoppe of Rome; and what byshoppes of Rome first claymed the swordes, and triple, double, and single crowne.

What mischiefs and inconveniences have ensued upon all commonwealths, by the usurpinge of the saide jurisdiction. And howe touche thereby the Christen commonweale is decayed; and of the beginninge of the Turkishe empire, and Mahomet's religion.

General countells summoned by the emperours; and for what causes. Under what emperours; when the byshoppe of Rome first summoned a general counsell; and howe he hath accrochyed the same unto himself.

The popes have entermedlyd in there generall counsells with princes affayres, and have, as well at other tymes as then, taken upon them to bestowe empires and kingdomes, and that none should rule or be crowned, but at his pleasure. And what great broyles have ensued thereupon, especially in England, as appeareth in the lives of Henry the II. king John, Henry the III. and divers other kings.

Of the censures of the church. And howe the popes have abusyd the same, in reuenge of there owne private quarrels, and advancement of their owne estates.

Howe and when the Christian faythe first began in England. The king's authoritie: archebishoppes, bishoppes, and ecclesiasticall lawes, made by kinge Lucius, without the pope. The continuance of the same faythe, until Augustin; and after, until the cominge of the Normans into England. The innovations of religion brought in by Augustine, and the practices used for the bringinge in of the same, and what opinion or estimation was had therof.

The cause why the Romaines left or forsooke their government here in England; and that sythence it hath not been tributary or subject to any forein estate, albeit it hath been diuers tymes conqueryd by strangers; and that those conquerours have forsaken their owne countreys, and become as it were natural born in Englande, conforminge themselves wholly to the laws thereof.

That the realm of Engiande hath been alwaies governyd by private lawes and customes; as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal. The antiquitie, establyshinge, allowance, and commendation of them. The difference between the canon, civil, and temporal lawes. And when the canon and civil lawes were first receauid into Englande.

In what cases the common lawes of Englande have ad-mittyd the civil and canon lawes, and upon what consideration.

In what age the pope's jurisdiction crept into Englande, and the practices used from tyme to tyme for the establyshinge therof.

What innovations, as well of lawes as of estates, have been made in Englande by the pope's legates, cardinales, Italians, beinge byshoppes in Englande, and others of the Englyshe clergie.

Practyss of the byshoppes, and others there adherents, for the bringinge into Englande of the pope's jurisdiction.

The king's jurisdiction in ecclesiastical causes, by the common lawes of the realme: and that ecclesiasticall persons derive their jurisdiction from the kinge.

There is no magistrate in any cause above the kinge in his realme: and what lawes the kings of the realme have gyvin to the clergie; and the same have been observid.

The king's demesnes dischargid of tythes; and that his tenants in *chief shall* not be empleadid in the ecclesiasticall court for any tythes.

Licences and dispensations made by the kinge in ecclesiasticall causes.

Licences, graunts, and dispensations made by the pope adjudged voide by the common lawe.

That the pope cannot erecte in England any sanctuary, or exempte any person from the king's jurisdiction. And of the beginninge of sanctuaries.

The probate of the testaments, and committinge of administration of the goodes of the intestate, by the ordre of the common lawes, belonginge to the kinge. And when the same were grantyd to the clergie.

Ecclesiasticall discipline belonginge to the kinge: and how the same hath bene executid. And that temporail judges be judges of ecclesiasticall causes.

Disgradinge, deprivinge, deposinge, suspendinge, and sequestringe, by the king's commandment and authoritie.

By the common lawes of the realme one person maye not enjoye more benefices than one, or dignities in one church.

Imprisoninge, fininge, ransominge, abjuringe, arrayninge and banishinge of ecclesiasticall persons, by the king's commandment and authoritie.

Temporalities of bisshoppes seised; and of the seiser of the goodes of the clergie.

Ecclesiasticall persons restreynid from purchasing of landes, from buyinge and sellinge and takinge landes in ferme.

Seiser of temporalities in the tyme of warre.

Temporail persons juges in allowance of the clergie to prisons upon their arreygnments: and of the commencement therof.

The king's power and authoritie in causes of excommunication. And that the king's temporail courts beinge [judges] of the validitie and invaliditie of excommunications.

Causes of heresie, witchcraft, sorcery, enchauntements, debatyd before the kinge, and discussyd and judged by him and the lernyd of the realme, and his temporall justiceys.

The king's courts juges of lecherous lyff, as well in the clergye as in the temporalitie.

Abilitie or not abilitie of clerks presentyd to benefices jugid by the king's temporall courts. The common lawe of England jugith of bastards.

Ecclesiastical lawes made by kings of England concerninge religion, fay the, &c. rites, ceremonyes, heresies, bisshoppes, ecclesiasticall persons and other things concerninge the clergye.

Parliaments in England signinge and decreeinge against the pope's authoritie, his canons, and bulles. And the manner of the holdinge of them, whether the bisshoppes be there in respect of ther clergye, or for any other cause. And they are to be punysshed, if they departe from the same without lycence.

Spirituall courts within the realme, the king's courts.

To whom and for what things tithes were payable by the common lawes; positive lawes made for the same: the erecting of parisshes: suits in the king's temporall courts for tythes.

The clergie chardged with quinsiems and other payements, as well for their lands as goodes; and ecclesiasticall persons made collectours therof by the lawes of the realme; and the punysshement of them that refusyde to be collectours.

That Ireland of right belongith to the kings of England, and not gyven to Henry the second, as some pretend; and howe the kings of England came by the same.

Othes heretofore ministryd against the pope, as well to the clergye as to the laytie; and of the othe minystred to the pope's legates and messengers at their cominge into England.

Foundations of free-chappels, and other howses ecclesiastical by the king's lycence, to be donatyve and not presentatyve.

Monasteries and other howses and foundations ecclesiasticall, altered or suppressyd by kings, and other common persons.

Visitations of the clergie, free-chappells, hospitals, and other ecclesiastical howses and places, by the chancellor of England and other the king's commissioners; and of the pope's usurpations in visitinge of the clergie of England.

All suits determinable within this realme. No suite for any cause rysinge within the realme, maynteinable in any place out of the realme. In what wise forein suits before the statutes of *praemunire* were restreyned and punisshed.

Controversies betwixte ecclesiasticall persons for ecclesiasticall causes, determynable within the realme; and before whome.

Appels and other forein suits determynable in England; and before whome.

Triall in the king's temporall courts of issues, and matters spirituall or ecclesiasticall.

Of what force the pope's excommunication is by the lawes of England; and of the punisshment of the bringers in thefor.

That no person shall goe out of the realme to Rome, the pope's generall counsell, ne to any other place, without the king's especiall lycence; and the punisshment of suche as goe out of the realme without the king's licence.

The lawes of Engiand agaynst the cominge into the realme of the pope's legates and messengers, and of all others, without the king's lycence.

That priours alien, ne any of their religion, shall not goe out of the realme to be visitid, by their superiors or generalls beyond the seas, nor send or conveighe any money unto them out of the realme without especiall licence.

The foundations and erections of archebisshoppricks and bisshoppricks; and their endowments from tyme to tyme by the kinge; and by whom the limitts of every binshoppes diocess were assignyd.

The translation, union, and dissolution of bisshoppes seas, by kings in severall ages.

All franchises and liberties of the bisshoppricks and clergie deryvid from the crowne, and sworne by kings in their coronations.

Exemption to be discharged of the jurisdiction of bisshoppes by the king's graunt.

The kinge onely patron of all archebisshoppricks and bisshoppricks in England; and howe the archebisshoppes and bisshoppes were investyd and consecrated of old tyme: and that a man may be a perficte bisshoppe to every respect, without tonsure, rasure, anyntinge, and suche other ceremonies. And when the investinge or consecratinge of archebisshoppes and bisshoppes was alteryd; and howe the same of latter tyme hathe been usid.

And when the pope herein beganne to usurpe upon the kings. No election made to ecclesiasticall dignities without the kings licence, good: and that to the perfittinge thereof his assent is requisite by the writ *De regio assensu*.

Elections to ecclesiasticall dignities in tymes past usyd in divers manners: and when franke election first beganne; and how soone it hath been established.

Foreyners preferfid, nominatyd or elected to ecclesiasticall dignities, refusyd.

The pope's factions, in refusinge to consecrate or confirme those which were duely electyd to ecclesiasticall dignities.

The kinge gardian as well of the spiritualities as of the temporalities in the tyme of the: and that he may kepe the temporalities duringe his pleasure. The meanes howe the bisshoppe after his consecration comyth to his temporalities: and of the reseiser therof, if the bisshoppe procede not therin in due order.

The othe of the bisshoppes and other ecclesiasticall persons to the kinge in tymes paste; and the maner of swearinge unto the pope.

The bisshoppes and archebisshoppes obedient subjects to the kinge, and ministers to his temporall courts, in executinge his wordes and commandments.

Provisions and translations, &c. to ecclesiasticall dignities by the pope, against the common lawes of England. The mischiefs that have growen therby; and how the procurers thereof were punysshed before the statutes *of premunire*.

Rome-scotte and Peter-pence in what ages first paide; upon what considerations denied and withholden by divers kings.

The pope becomyth a souldier: and howe the tenthes of the ecclesiasticall livings and promotions, beinge graunted onely for the ayde of the holy land, were afterwards continuyd and paide to his own private uses.

In what age, for what cause, and by what meanes, the pope usurpid the first fruytes of the ecclesiasticall promotions.

Convocations of the bisshoppes and clergie, within this realme, not holden nor callyd without the king's writ or assent.

Writts directid to convocations, prescribinge what thinges the clergie shall establishe and decree, and what not. Messengers and commissioners sent to the same or like ende.

Of what force, by the common lawes, things decreed by the convocation are.

That no constitutions provincially, nowe extant, were decreyd before the tyme of Stephen Laughton, thrust into the archebisshoppricke of Canterbury by the pope, all others before beinge suppressed. And howe muche the pope's jurisdiction was thereby enlarged, and in what poynts.

What maner of liberties and franchises the clergie hereupon challengyd; and howe by colour therof they usurpyd the king's auctoritie; and what practises and attempts have been wrought for the same.

The kinge had the same jurisdiction in the gyft, and investiture of Canterbury and Yorke, as in other bisshoppricks. The pope claymed the gyft of them, and howe longe sithence the pope first usurpid.

What is the palle; when and upon what consideration, and by whom it was gyven to the archbisshoppes of Canterbury.

The great abuses and usurpations by colour therof.

The prerogatives of the archbisshoppe of Canterbury; and from whom they tooke their beginninge.

The mariage of prestes lawefull by the common lawes of England. And that the same is neyther alteryd nor repealyd by any acte of parliament. And by what means the same was first restreynid.

The auncient monasticall lyvings as well in England as elsewhere; and howe the same was pervertyd by the rules of Augustine, Benedict, Dominic, &c. And to what abuses the state of that lyff was degenerate.

The beginnunge of all kind of friers and other regular persons in England; and to what abuses the same were growen unto.

That the quene's majestie that nowe is hathe by the common lawes of this realme as great auctoritie and jurisdiction over the realme, as any of her majestie's auncestours or predecessors, being kings or quenes of this realme, have had.

What servitude and tyranny to all the quene's subjects: what daunger to the prince and realme they bringe in and doe, that in any sorte maynteyne the pope's jurisdiction. What it is to affirme the pope's jurisdiction. Howe it is nowe punysshed; and howe it was punyssable by the common lawes of this realme.

NUMBER 9.

The oration of the reverend father in God Mr. Dr. Fecknam, abbott of Westminster, in the parliamenthouse, 1559, against the bill for the Liturgy.

HONOURABLE and my very good lordes; having at this present two sundry kindes of religion here propounded and set forthe before your honours, being allready in possession of th'one of them, and your fathers before you, for the space of 14 hundrethe yeres past here in this realme, lyke as I shall hereafter prove unto you; the other religion here set in a booke to be receyved and establisshed by th'auctoritie of this high courte of parliament, and to take his effecte here in this realme at Mydsomar nexte comynge. And you beinge, as I knowe, right well dissirous to have some prooffe or sure knowledge, which of both these religions is the better, and most worthy to be establisshhed here in this realme, and to be preferred

before the other; I will for my part, and for the discharge of my dewtie, first unto God, secondly unto our soveraigne lady the quene's highness, thirdly unto your honours, and to the whole commons of this realme, here sette forth, and expresse unto you, three brief rules and lessons, wherby your honours shalbe able to putte difference betwixt the true religion of God and the counterfeyte, and therin never be deceyved. The first of these three rules or lessons is, that in your search and tryall making, your honours must observe, which of them bothe hathe ben of most antiquitie, and most observed in the churche of Christ of all men, at all tymes and seasons, and in all places. The second, which of them bothe is of it self more steadfast, and allwayes forth one and agreeable with it self. The third and last rule to be considered of your wisdoms is, which of these religions dothe brede the more humble and obedient subjects, first unto God, and next unto our soveraigne ladle the quene's highness, and all superiour powers.

Concerninge the first rule and lesson, it cannot be truly affirmed or yet thought of any man, that this new religion, here nowe to be sett forth in this booke, hathe bene observed in Christ's churche of all Christian men, at all tymes and in all places; when the same hathe ben observed only here in this realme, and that for a shorte tyme, as not muche passing the space of two yeres, and that in king Edward the 6th his dayes: whereas the religion, and the very same maner of servinge and honoring of God, of the which you are at this present in possession, did begin here in this realme 1400 yeres past in kinge Lucius's dayes, the first Christian kinge of this realme; by whose humble letters sent to the pope Elutherius, he sent to this realme two holye monkes, the one called Damianus, th'other Faganus: and they, as ambassadors sent from the sea apostolike of Rome, did bringe into this realme so many yeres past the very same religion wherof we are now in possession; and that in the Latin tonge, as the ancyent historiographer Gildas witnessethe in the prologue and beginynge of his booke of the Brittain-Historye. And the same religion so longe ago begune, hath had this long continuance ever sythence here in this realme, not onely of th'inhabytaunce therof, but also generally of all Christian men, and in all places of Christendom, untill the late daies of kinge Edward the 6th, as is aforesaid. Wherby it appeareth unto all men that lyst to see and knowe, howe that by this rule and lesson the auncyent religion and maner of servinge of God (wherof we are allreddye in possession) is the very true and perfect religion, and of God.

Towchinge the second rule and lesson of tryall making and probation, whether of bothe these religions is the better and most worthy of observation here in this realme, is this, that your honours must observe which of bethe these is the most stayed religion, and allwayes forthe one, and agreeable with it self. And that the new religion, here now to be set forthe in this booke is no stayed religion, nor allwayes forth one, nor agreeable with it self, who seethe it not; when in the late practise therof in kinge Edward the 6th his dayes, howe changeable and variable was it in and to it self? Every other yere havinge a newe booke devysed therof; and every booke beinge sette furthe, as they professed, accordinge to the sincere word of God, never an one of them agreeing in all pointes with the other: the firste booke affirminge the seven sacraments, and the reall presence of Christe's body in the holy euchariste, the other denyinge the same; th'one booke admitting the reall presence of Christe's body in the said sacrament to be receyved in one kinde, with kneeling downe, and great reverence donne unto it, and that in unleavned bread; and th'other booke would have the communyon receyved in bothe the kindes, and in lofe bread, without any reverence, but only unto the bodye of Christe in heaven. But the thinge most worthy to be observid of your honours is, howe that every booke made a shewe to be set furthe accordinge to the syncere word of God, and not one of them did agree with another. And what marvell, I praye you, when the awthors and devisers of the same bookes coulde not agree amongst themselves, nor yet any one of them myght be founde that did longe agree with himself? And for the proore thefor, I shall first begyne with the Germayne wryters, the cheffe schoole-masters and instructors of our countrey men in all these novelties.

And I do read, in an epistle which Philippe Melancthon did write unto one Frederico Miconino, howe that one Carolostadius was the first mover and begynner of the late sedition in Germany, towchinge the sacrament of th'altar, and the denyal of Chryst's real presence in the same. And when he should come to interpret those wordes of our Saviour Chryste; *Accipit panem, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite, et comedite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur; Digito, inquit ille, monstravit visibile corpus suum.* By which interpretation of Carolostadius, Chryste shoulde with the one hand give unto his disciples bread to eat, and with the other hand pointe unto his visible bodye that was ther present, and say, *This is my bodye, which shall be betrayed for you.* Martyn Luther, muche offended with this foolish exposition, made by

Carlostadius, of the words of Chryste, *Hoc est corpus meum*, he geveth another sense, and saithe, that *Germanus sensus verborum Christi* was this, *Per hunc panem, vel cum isto pane, en ! do vobis corpus meum*. Zwinglius, findinge muche faulte with this interpretation of Martyn Luther, writeth, that Luther therin was muche deceyved; and how that in these wordes of Chryst, *Hoc est corpus meum*, the verbe substantyve *est* must be taken for *significat*, and this word *corpus* (*quod pro vobis tradetur*) must be taken *pro figura corporis*. So that the true sense of these wordes of Chryst, *Hoc est corpus meum*, by Zwinglius's supposal, is, *Hoc significat corpus meum, vel est figura corporis mei*. Peter Martyr, beinge of late here in this realme, in his booke by him set furthe, of the disputation which he had in Oxenforde, with the learned students ther, of this matter, geveth another sense of these wordes of Chryst, contrarye unto all the reste, and ther saythe thus: *Quod Christus accipiens panem benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum, quasi diceret, corpus meum per fidem perceptum erit vobis pro pane, vel instar panis*. Of whose sense the Englishe is this, that *Chryst's bodye receyved by faith, shall be unto you as bread, or instead of the bread*.

But here, to ceasse any further to speake of these Germaine wryters, I shall drawe nearer home, as unto doctor Cranmer, late archbyshoppe of Canterburie in this realme; howe contrary was he unto hymself in this matter? When in one yere he did set furthe a catechisme in the Englishe tongue and did dedicat the same unto kinge Edward the Sixth, wherin he did most constantly affirme and defend the real presence of Chryst's bodye in the holie euchariste; and very shortely after he did set furthe another booke, wherin he did most shamefullie denye the same, falsifinge bothe the scriptures and doctors, to the no small admiration of all the learned readers. Dr. Ridleye, the notablest learned of that religion in this realme, did set furthe at Paul's Crosse, the real presence of Chryst's body in the sacrament, with these wordes, which I heard, beyng ther present. "How that the Devil did beleve the Sonne of God was able to make of stones bread; and we Englishe people, which do confess that Jesus Chryst was the very Sonne of God, yet will not beleve that he did make of bread his verye bodye, fleashe and blood. Therefore we are worse than the Devil; seying that our Saviour Chryste, by expresse wordes, did most plainlie affirme the same, when at the last supper he tooke bread, and said unto his disciples, *Take ye, eat, this is my bodye, which shall be given for you*." And shortely after, the said doctor Ridleye, notwithstandinge this most plaine and open

speeches at Paul's Crosse, did deny the same. And in the last book that doctor Cranmer and his complices did set furthe of the communion, in kinge Edward the Sixth his dayes, these plaine wordes of Chryst, *Hoc est corpus meum*, did so encomber them, and trouble their wittes, that they did leave out in the same last booke this verbe substantive *est*; and made the sense of Chryst's wordes to be there Englished, *Take, eat this my body*, and left out there *this is my bodye*; which thinge beinge espyed by others, and great faulte founde withal, then they were faine to patche uppe the matter with a little piece of paper clappid over the foresaid wordes, wherein was writtyn this verbe substantive *est*. The dealinge herewith the beinge so uncertaine, bothe of the Germaine writers and Englishe, and one of them so muche against another, your honours maye be well assured, that this religion, which by them is set fourthe, can be no constant nor stayede religion. And therefore of your honours not to be receyved; but great wisdome it were for your honours to refuse the same, untill you shall perceyve better agreement amongst the awthors and setters furthe of the same.

Towching the thirde and laste rule of tryall makinge, and puttinge of difference between these religions, it is to be considered of your honours which of them bothe dothe brede more obedyent, humble, and better subjects; firste and cheffelye unto our Savyour and Redeemer; secondly, unto our soveregne lady the quene's highness, and to all other superiors. And for some tryall and probation therof, I shall dissier your honours to consider the sudayne mutation of the subjects of this realme, sythence the deathe of good quene Marye, onely caused in them by the preachers of this newe religion: when in quene Marye's daies your honours do know right well, howe the people of this realme did live in an order; and wolde not runne before lawes, nor openlye disobey the quene's highness's proceedinges and proclamations. There was no spoyling of churches, pullinge downe of aultars, and most blasphemous tredinge of sacraments under their feet, and hanging up the knave of clubs in the place therof. There was no scotching nor cuttinge of the faces and legs of the crucifix and image of Christ. There was no open flesh eatinge, nor shambles kepeinge, in the Lent and daies prohibidid. The subjects of this realme, and especially the nobilitye, and suche as were of the honourable councell, did in quene Mary's daies knowe the waye unto churches and chappels, there to begyne their daies worke, with callinge for helpe and grace, by humble prayers, and servinge of God. And nowe, sithence the comynge and reigne

of our most soveraigne and dear lady quene Elizabeth, by the onely preachers and scaffold players of this newe religion, all thinges are turned upside downe, and notwithstandinge the quene's majestie's proclamations most godly made to the contrarye, and her vertuous example of lyvinge, sufficyent to move the hearts of all obedyent subjects to the due service and honour of God. But obedyence is gone, humylitie and mekeness cleare abolyshed, vertuous chastity and straight livinge denyed, as though they had never ben heard of in this realme; all degrees and kindes beyng desirous of fleshely and carnall lybertie, wherby the yong springalls and children are degennerate from their naturall fathers, the servants contemptors of their masters commandments, the subjects disobedyent unto God and all superior powers.

And therefore, honourable and my very good lordes, of my parte to mynnyster some occasion unto your honours to expell, avoid, and put owte of this realme this newe religion, whose fruites are already so manifestly known to be, as I have repetid; and to perswade your honours to avoyd it, as muche as in me lyethe and to persevere and continue stedfastly in the same religion, wherof you are in possession, and have allredye made profession of the same unto God; I shall rehearse unto your honours foure things, wherby the holie doctor St. Augustine was contynued in the catholicke churche and religion of Christe, which he had receaved, and woulde by no means change nor aulter from the same. The firste of these four things was, *ipsa autoritas ecclesiae Christi miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, charitate aucta, vetustate firmata*. The second thing was, *populi Chrlstiani consensus et unitas*. The third was, *perpetua sacerdotum successio in sede Petri*. The fourthe and last thing was, *ipsum Catholici nomen*. If these foure thinges did cawse so notable and learned a clarke as St. Augustyn was, to continue in his professed religion of Christe without all chaunge and alteration, howe much then ought these foure pointes to worke the like effect in your hartes; and not to forsake your professed religion? Firste, because it hathe the authoritie of Christe's churche. Secondlye, because it hathe the consent and agreement of Christian people. Thirdly, because it hathe the confirmtion of all Peter's successors in the sea apostolike. Fourthly, it hathe *ipsum Catholici nomen*, and in all times and seasons called *the catholike* religion of Christ. Thus bolde have I ben to trouble your honours with so tedyouse and longe an oration, for the discharginge, as I said before, of my dewtie, first unto God, secondly unto our soveraigne lady the quene's highness, thirdly and laste, unto your

honours, and all other subjects of this realme: most humbly beseeching your honours to take it in good parte, and to be spoken of me for th'onely causes abovesaid, and for none other.

NUMBER 10.

Another oration made by Dr. Scot, bishop of Chester, in the parliament howse, against the bill of the liturgy.

THIS bill, that hath ben here read nowe the third tyme, dothe appeare unto me suche one, as that it is muche to be lamentid, that it shoulde be suffered either to be read, yea, or anye eare to be gevin unto it of Christian men, or so honourable an assemblye as this is: for it dothe not only call in question and doubt those thinges which we ought to reverence, without any doubt moving; but maketh fourther earneste request for alteraunce, yea, for the clear abolyshinge of the same. And that this maye more evydently appear, I shall desire your lordships to consider, that our religion, as it was here of late discretely, godly, and learnedly declared, dothe consist partly in inward things, as in faithe, hope, and charitie; and partly in outward things, as in common prayers, and the holie sacraments uniformly mynystred.

Nowe as concernynge these outward thinges, this bill dothe clearly in very dede extinguishe them, settinge in there places I cannot tell what. And the inward it dothe also so shake, that it leavith them very bare and feble.

For firste, by this bill, Christian *charitie* is taken awaye, in that the unitie of Christe's church is broken: for it is said, *Nunquam relinquunt unitatem, qui non prius amirtunt charitatem*. And St. Paul saythe, that charitye is *vinculum perfectionis, the bond or chayne of perfection*, wherewith we be knytte and joyned together in one. Which bond beyng loosed, we muste nedes fall one from another, in divers parties and sects, as we see we do at this present. And as towching *our faythe*, it is evident that dyvers of the articles and mysteryes therof be also not onely called into doubt, but partly openlye, and partly obscurely; and yet in verye dede, as the other, flatlye denied. Nowe these two, I mean faithe and charitie, beinge in this case, hope is eyther left alone, or else presumption sett in her place: whereupon, for the moste parte, desperation dothe lollowe; from the which I praye God preserve all men.

Wherefore these matters mentioned in this bill, wherein our whole religion consisteth, we ought, I saye, to reverence, and not to call into question. For as a learned man wryteth, *Quae patefacta sunt quaerere, quae perfecta sunt retractare, et quae definita sunt convellere, quid aliud est, quin de adeptis gratiam non referre*: that is to saye,

“To seke after the things which be manifestly opened, to call back or retract things made perfect, and to pulle upp againe matters defyned; what other thing is it, then, not to geve thanks for benyfits receaved?” Lykewise saythe holie Athanasius, *Quae nunc a tot ac talibus episcopis probata sunt ac decreta, clareque demonstrata, supervacaneum est denuo revocare in iudicium*. “It is a superfluous thinge, saythe Athanasius, to call into judgment againe matters which have ben tried, decreed, and manyfestlye declared by so many and suche bisshoppes, (he meaneth, as were at the councell of Nice.) For no man will denye, saythe he, but if they be new examyned againe, and of new judged, and after that examyned *again*e and againe, this curiositie will never come to any end.”

And as it is said in Ecclesiastica Historia, *Si quotidie licebit fidem in quaestionem vocare, de fide nunquam constabit*: “If it shalbe lawfull every daye to call our faithe in question, we shall never ‘be certeyne of our faithe.” Nowe if that Athanasius did thinke, that no man ought to doubt of matters determynd in the councell of Nice, where there was present three hundred and eighteen bisshoppes; howe muche less ought wee to doubt of matters determynd and practysed in the holie catholike church of Christe by three hundrethe thowsande bisshoppes, and how manye more we cannot tell.

And as for the certeyntie of our faithe, wherof the storye of the church dothe speke, it is a thinge of all other most necessarye; and if it shall hange uppon an acte of parliament, we have but a weake staff to leane unto. And yet I shall dissire your lordeshippes not to take me here as to speke in derogation of the parliament, which I knowledge to be of great strengthe in matters whereunto it extendeth. But for matters in religion, I do not thinke that it ought to be medelled withall, partely for the certeyntye which ought to be in our faithe and religion, and the uncerteyntie of the statutes and actes of parliaments. For we see, that oftentimes that which is established by parliament one yere, is abrogatid the next yere followinge,

and the contrarye allowed. And we see also that one kinge disallowithe the statutes made under the other. But our faith and religion ought to be most certeyn, and one in all tymes, and in no condition waveringe: for, as St. James saithe, *he that doubtethe, or staggerithe in his faith, is like the waves of the sea, and shall obteyne nothings at the handes of God.* And partelye for that the parliament consistethe for the moste parte of noblemen of this realme, and certeyn of the commons, beyinge laye and temporall men: which, although they be bothe of good wisdom and learninge, yet not so studied nor exercised in the scriptures, and the holie doctors and practysse of the churche, as to be competent judges in suche matters. Neyther dothe it apperteine to their vocation; yea, and that by youre lordshippes own judgment; as may welbe gathered of one fact, which I remember was donne this parliament time, which was this: There was a nobleman's sonne arrested and commytted unto warde; which matter, beinge opened here unto your lorde-shippes, was thought to be an injurie to this howse. Whereuppon, as well the yonge gentleman, as the officer that did arrest hym, and the partie by whose means he was arrested, were all sent for; and commandid to appeare here before your lordshippes: which was donne accordynglye. Yet before the parties were suffered to come into the howse, it was thought expedyent to have the whole matter considered, least this howse shoulde entermedelle with matters not pertainynge unto yt. In treatinge wherof, there were found three pointes. Firste, there was a debte, and that your lordshippes did remytte to the common lawe. The second was a fraude, which was referred to the chauncerye, because neyther of bothe did apparteine unto this courte. And the thirde was the arrest, and commyttinge to ward of the said gentleman, wherein this howse tooke order. Nowe if that by your lordshippes own judgments the parliament hath not authoritie to meddell with matters of common lawe, which is grounded upon common reason, neyther with the chauncery, which is grounded upon considerence, (which two things be naturally given unto man,) then muche lesse maye it intermeddell with matters of faith and religion, farr passinge reason, and the judgment of man, suche as the contents of this bill be: wherein there be three thinges specyally to be consideryd; that is, the *weyghtiness* of the matter; the *darkness* of the cawse and the *difficultie* in tryinge out the truth; and thirdly, the *daunger* and *perill* which dothe ensue, if we do take the wronge waye.

As concernynge the firste, that is, the *weyghtiness* of the matter contained in this bill. It is very great: for it is no money matter, but a matter of

inheritance; yea, a matter touching life and death, and damnation dependeth upon it. Here is it set before us, as the scripture saith, life and death, fire and water. If we put our hand into th'one, we shall live; if it take hold of th'other, we shall die. Nowe to judge these matters here propounded, and discern which is life and which is death, which is fire that will burne us, and which is water that will refresh and comfort us, is a great matter, and not easily perceived of every man. Moreover, there is another great matter here to be considered, and that is, that we do not unadvisedly condemn our forefathers and their doings, and justify our selves and our owne doings; which both the scripture forbideth. This we knowe, that this doctrine and forme of religion, which this bill propoundeth to be abolished and taken away, is that which our forefathers were born, brought up and lived in, and have professed here in this realme, without any alteration or change, by the space of 900 yeres and more; and hath also ben professed and practised in the universall church of Christe since the apostles tyme. And that which we goe about to establish and place for it, is lately brought in, allowed nowhere, nor put in practise, but in this realme onely; and that but a small tyme, and against the myndes of all catholycke men. Nowe if we do consider but the antiquitie of the one, and the newness of the other, we have just occasion to have the one in estimation for the longe continuance thereof, unto such tyme as we see evydent cause why we shoulde revoke it; and to suspect the other as never heard of here before, unto such tyme as we see just cause why we shoulde receive it, seeing that our fathers never heard tell of it.

But nowe I do call to remembrance, that I did here yesterday a nobleman in this house say, making an answer unto this as it were by preoccupation, that our fathers lived in blindness, and that we have just occasion to lament their ignorance; wherunto me thinketh it may be answered, that if our fathers were here, and heard us lament their doings, it is very lyke that they would say unto us as our Saviour Christe said unto the women which followed hym when he went to his death, and wept after him, *Nolite flere super nos, sed super vos*; i.e. Weepe not over us for our blindness, but weepe over your selves for your own presumption, in taking upon you so arrogantly to justify your selves and your own doings, and so rashly condemnynge us and our doings. Moreover, Davyd dothe teache us a lesson cleare contrarye to this nobleman's sayings: for he biddeth us in doubtful matters go to our fathers, and learne the truth of

them, in these wordes; *Interroga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi, maiores tuos, et dicent tibi:* i.e. “Aske of thy father, and he shall declare the truthe unto thee, and of thyne auncestors, and they will tell thee.” And after, in the same Psalme, *Filii qui nascentur et exsurgent, narrabunt filiis suis, ut cognoscat generatio altera:* i.e. “The children which shalbe borne, and ryse upp, shall tell unto their children, that it may be knowen from one generation to another.” Davyd here willithe us to learne of our fathers, and not to contempn their doings. Wherefore I conclude, as concernynge this parte, that this bill, conteynge in it matters of great weight and importaunce, it is to be deliberated on with great diligence and circumspection, and examyned, tryed, and determyned by men of great learnynge, vertue, and experyence.

And as this matter is *great*, and theftore not to be passed over hastely, but diligentlye to be examyned, so is it *darke*, and of great difficultie to be so playnlye discussed, as that the truthe may manyfestly appeare. For here be, as I have said, two bookes of religion propounded; the one to be abolished, as erroneous and wicked; and the other to be establyshed, as godly, and consonant to scripture; and they be both concernynge one matter, that is, the trewe admy-nystration of the sacraments, accordinge to the institution of our Saviour Christe. In the which admynystration ther be three thinges to be considered. The firste is, the institution of our Savyour Christe for the matter and substaunce of the sacraments. The seconde, the ordynaunces of the apostles for the forme of the sacraments. And the thirde is, the additions of the holie fathers for the adornyng and perfityng of the admynystratyon of the said sacraments. Which three be all dulye, as we see, observed, and that of necessitie, in this booke of the masse, and old service, as all men do know, which understand it. The other booke, which is so much extolled, dothe *ex professo* take away two of these three thinges, and in very dede makethe the thirde a thinge of nought. For firste, as concernynge the additions of the fathers, as in the masse, *Confiteor, Misereatur, Kirie Eleeson, Sequentes preces, Sanctus. Agnus Dei*, with suche other thinges: and also th’ordynaunces of the apostles, as blessings, crossings; and in the admynystration of dyvers of the sacraments, exsufflations, exorcismes, inunctions, praynge towards the east, invocation of saynts, prayer for the dead, with suche other; this booke takethe awaye, eyther in parte, or else clearly, as things not allowable. And yet dothe the fawters therof contende, that it is most perfitt according to Christe’s institution, and th’order of the prymytyve church. But to let

th'ordynaunces of th'apostles, and the additions of the fathers passe, (which, notwithstandinge, we ought greatly to esteem and reverence,) lett us come to th'institution of our Sayyour Christe, wherof they taulke so muche, and examyne whether of those two bookes come nearest unto it. And to make thinges playne, we will take for example the masse, or, as they call it, the supper of the Lord; wherin our Savyour Christe (as the holie fathers do gather upon the scriptures) did institute three things, which he commanded to be done in remembraunce of his deathe and passion unto his comynge againe, sayinge, *Hoc facite, &c. Do ye this*: wherof the firste is, the consecratinge of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christe. The seconde, the offeringe up of the same unto God the Father. And the thirde, the communicange, that is, the eatinge and drinkinge of the said blessed body and blood under the formes of bread and wyne. And as concerninge the firste two, St. Chrysostom saythe thus, *Volo quiddam edicere plane mirabile, et nolite mirari neque turbamini, &c. "I will,"* saythe St. Chrysostom, "*declare unto you in very dede a marvellous thinge; but maryell not at it, nor be not troubled.* But what is this? It is the holie oblation, whether Peter or *Paul*, or a preste of any desert, do offer, it is the verye same which Christe gave to his disciples, and which prestes do make or consecrate at this tyme. This hath nothinge lesse then that. Whye so? Bycause men do not sanctyfie this, but Christe, which did sanctyfie that before. For lyke as the wordes which Christe did speake, be the very same which the prestes do now pronounce, so is it the very same oblation." These be the wordes of St. Chrysostome; wherin he testifieth as well the oblation and sacrifice of the body and blood of our Savyour Christe, offered unto God the Father in the masse, as also the consecratinge of the same by the preste: which two be bothe taken away by this booke, as the awthors therof do willinglie acknowledge; cryinge owte of the offering of Christe oftener than once, notwithstandinge that all the holie fathers do teach it; manyfestly affirmynge Christe to be offered daylye after an unbloody manner. But if these men did understand and consider what dothe ensue and followe of this their affirmation, I thinke they wolde leave their rashness, and returne to the truthe againe. For if it be trewe that they say, that there is no externall sacrifyce in the Newe Testament, then dothe it follow, that there is no priesthood under the same, whose office is, saythe St. Paul, *to offer up gyfts and sacrifices for synne*. And if there be no priesthood, then is there no religion under the New Testament. And if we have no religion, then be we *sine Deo in hoc mundo*; that is, *we be without God in this worlde*. For one of these dothe necessarily depend and

followe uppon an other. So that if we graunt one of these, we graunt all; and if we take away one, we take away all.

Note (I beseeche your lordshippes) th'end of these men's doctryns, that is to sett us withowt God. And the lyke opynion they holde towching the consecration: having nothinge in their mouthes but *the holie communion*, which after the order of this booke is *holie* only in wordes, and not in dede. For the thinge is not ther which shoulde make it holie: I mean the body and blood of Christe, as may thus appeare, it may justely in very dede be callid *the holie communion*, if it be mynystred trewly, and accordingly as it ought to be: for then we receave Christe's holie body and blood into our bodies, and be *joyned* in one with hym, lyke two pieces of waxe, whiche beinge molten and put together, be made one. Which symylitude St. Cyrill and Chrysostom do use in this matter; and St. Paul sayeth, that *we be made his bones and fleshe*. But by th'order of this booke this is not done; for Christe's bodye is not there in very dede to be receaved. For th'only waye wherby it is present is by consecration, which this booke hathe not at all; neyther doth it observe the forme prescribed by Christe, nor follow the manner of the churche. The evangelists declare, that our Savyour tooke bread into his handes, and did blesse it, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, *Take and eat, this is my bodye which is gyven for you: do this in remembraunce of me*. By these wordes, *Do this*, we be commanded to tayke bread into our handes, to blesse it, break it, and havinge a respecte to the bread, to pronounce the wordes spoken by our Savyour, that is, *Hoc est corpus meum*. By which wordes, saythe St. Chrysostom, the bread is consecratid. Nowe by the order of this booke, neyther dothe the preste take the bread in his handes, blesse it, nor breake it, neyther yet hathe any regard or respect to the bread, when he rehearsithe the wordes of Christe, but dothe passe them over as they were tellinge a tale, or rehearsinge a storye. Moreover, wheras by the myndes of good wryters there is requyryd, yea, and that of necessitie, a full mynd and intent to do that which Christe did, that is, to consecrate his body and blood, with other things followinge: wherfore the churche hathe appoynted in the masse certeyne prayers, to be said by the prieste before the consecration, in the which these wordes be, *Ut nobis fiat corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi*; that is, the prayer is to this end, that the creatures may be made unto us the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christe: here is declared th'intent, as well of the churche, as also of the prieste which sayeth masse: but as for this newe booke, there is no such thinge

mentyoned in it, that dothe eyther declare any suche intende, eyther make any suche requeste unto God, but rather to the contrarye; as dothe appeare by the request there made in these wordes, *That we receavinge these thy creatures of bread and wyne, &c.* which wordes declare, that they intende no consecration at all. And then let them glory as muche as they will in their communion, it is to no purpose, seeynge that the body of Christe is not there, which, as I have said, is the thinge that should be communicated.

Ther did yesterdaye a nobleman in this howse say, that he did beleve that Christe is ther receaved in the communyon set owt in this booke; and beyng asked if he did worshippe hym ther, he said, no, nor never woulde, so longe as he lived. Which is a strange opynyon, that Christe shoulde be any where, and not worshypped. They say, they will worshippe hym in heaven, but not in the sacrament: which is much lyke as if a man woulde saye, that when th'emperor syttethe under his clothe of estate, princely apparelled, he is to be honoured; but if he come abroad in a freez coat, he is not to be honoured; and yet he is all one emperor in clothe of golde under his clothe of estate, and in a freez coat abroad in the street. As it is one Christe in heaven in the forme of man, and in the sacrament under the formes of bread and wyne. The scripture, as St. Augustyne dothe interprete it, dothe commande us to worshippe the body of our Savyour, yea, and that in the sacrament, in these wordes: *Adorate scabellum pedum ejus, quoniam sanctum est: Worshippe his footstoole, for it is holie.* Upon the which place St. Augustine wrytethe thus; "Christe tooke fleshe of the blessed Virgin his mother, and in the same he did walke; and the same fleshe he gave us to eat unto health; but no man will eat that fleshe, except he worshippe it before. So is it found owte howe we shall worshippe his footstoole, &c. we shall not onely not synne in worshippinge, but we shall synne in not worshippinge." Thus far St. Augustine: but as concernynge this matter, if we woulde consider all things well, we shall see the provision of God marvellous in it. For he providithe so, that the verye heretickes, and enyreyes of the truthe, be compellyd to confesse the truthe in this behalfe. For the Lutherians wrytinge against the Zwinglians do prove, that the true naturall body of our Savyour Christe is in the sacrament. And the Zwinglians againste the Lutherians do prove, that then it must nedes be worshipped ther. And thus in their contention dothe the truthe burst out, whether they will or no. Wherefore, in myne opynion of these two errors, the fonder is to say, that Christe is in the sacrament, and yet not to be worshipped, than to say he is not ther at all. For eyther they do thinke, that

eyther he is ther but in an imagination or fancye, and so not in very dede; or else they be Nestorians, and thinke that ther is his bodye onely, and not his dyvinitie: which be bothe devellishe and wicked.

Nowe, my lordes, consider, I beseche you, the matters here in varyaunce; whether your lordeshippes be able to discusse them accordinge to learnynge, so as the truthe may appear, or no: that is, whether the body of Christe be by this newe booke consecrated, offered, adored, and truly communicated, or no; and whether these things be required necessarily by th'institution of our Saviour Christe, or no; and whether booke goeth nearer the truthe. These matters, my lordes, be (as I have said) weightie and darke, and not easye to be discussed: and lykewise your lordshippes may thinke of the rest of the sacraments, which be eyther clearly taken awaye, or else mangled, after the same sorte by this newe booke.

The third thinge here to be considered, is, the great *daunger* and *peryll* that dothe hange over your heades, if you do take upon you to be judges in these matters, and judge wronge; bringinge bothe your selves and others from the truthe unto untruthe, from the highwayes unto bypathes. It is daungerous enoughe, our Lord knowethe, for man hymself to erre, but it is more daungerous, not onely to erre hymself, but also to lead other men into error. It is sayd in the scripture of the kinge Hieroboam, to aggravate his offences, that *peccavit, et peccare fecit Israel: i.e. he did synne hymself, and cawsed Israell to synne*. Take heed, my lordes, that the like be not said by you; if you passe this bill, you shall not onely, in my judgement, erre your selves, but ye also shalbe the awthors and cawsters that the whole realme shall erre after you. For the which you shall make an accompte before God.

Those that have read storyes, and knowe the discourse and order of the church, discussinge of controversies in matters of religion, can testifie, that they have been discussed and determyned in all times by the clergie onely, and never by the temporaltie. The herysie of Arius, which troubled the church in the tyme of the emperor Constantyne the Great, was condempned in the councell of Nice. The heresy of Eutyches in the councell of Chalcedone under Martin; the heresy of Macedonius in the firste councell of Constantynople, in the tyme of Theodosius; the heresy of Nestorius in the Ephesin councell, in the time of Theodosius the younger. And yet did never none of these good emperors assemble their nobilitie and commons, for the discussing and determynynge of these

controversies; neyther asked their myndes in them, or went by number of voices or polles, to determyne the truthe, as is done here in this realme at this tyme. We may come lower, to the third councell of Tolletane in Spayne, in the tyme of Ricaredus, beinge ther; and to the councell in Fraunce, about 800 yeres ago, in the tyme of Carolus Magnus: which bothe, followinge th' order of the churche, by licence had of the pope, did procure the clergie of their realmes to be gathered and assembled, for reformynge of certeyne errors and enormyties within their said realmes, wherunto they never callyd their nobilitie nor commons; neyther did any of them take upon themselves eyther to reason and dispute, in discussinge of the *controversies*; neyther to deterrayne them being discussed; but left the whole to the discussing and determining of the clergy. And no mervail, if these with all other catholick princes used this trade. For the emperors that were hereticks did never reserve any such matter to the judgment of temporall men, as may appear to them that read the stories of Constantius, Valens, &c. who procured divers assemblies, but always of the clergy, for the stablishing of Arius's doctryn: and of Zeno th'emperor, which did the lyke for Eutyches doctryne, with many other of that sorte. Yea, yt dothe appeare in the Acres of the Apostles, that an infidell wolde take no such matter upon hym. The storye is this: St. Paul havinge continued at Corynthe one year and an halfe in preachinge of the gospell, certeyn wycked persons did aryse against hym, and brought hym before their vice-consul, callyd Gallio, layinge unto his charge, that he tawght the people to worshippe God contrary to their law. Unto whom the vice-consul answered thus: *Si quidem esset iniquum aliquid aut facinus pessimum, o vos Judaei, recte vos sustinerem; si vero quaestiones sint de verbo et nominibus legis vestrae, vosipsi videritis: judex horum ego nolo esse: i. e.* If that this man, saithe Gallio, had commytted any wycked acte or cursed cryme, O yee Jewes, I myght justely have heard you: but and if it be concernynge questions and doubtes of the wordes and matters of your lawe, that is to saye, if it be towchinge your religion, I will not be judge in those matters. Marke, my lordes, this short discourse, I beseech your lordshippes, and yee shall perceave, that all catholike princes, heryticke princes, yea, and infidells, have from tyme to tyme refused to take that upon them, that your lordshippes go about and chalenge to do.

But howe, because I have been longe, I will make an end of this matter with the sayings of two noble emperors in the lyke affaires. The first is Theodosius, which sayd thus; *Illicitum est enim qui non sit ex ordine*

sanctorum episcoporum ecclesiasticis se immiscere tractatibus: i.e. It is not lawfull, sayeth he for hym that is not of the order of the holie busshoppes to entermedell with th'intreatinge of ecclesiasticall matters. Lykewise sayd Valentinianus th'emperor (beinge desired to assemble certeyne busshoppes together, for examynynge of a matter of doctryn) in this wise; *Mihi qui in sorte sum plebis, fas non est talia curiosius scrutari: sacerdotes, quibus ista curae sunt, inter seipsos quocunque loco voluerint convenient: i.e. It is not lawfull for me, quoth th'emperor, beynge one of the lay people, to searche owte suche matters curiously; but let the prestes, unto whom the charge of these things dothe apparteyne, meet together in what place soever they will.* He meaneth for the discoursing therof. But to conclude; and if these emperors had not to do with suche matters, howe shoulde your lordshippes have to do with all? And thus desiringe your good lordshippes to consider, and take in good parte, these fewe thinges that I have spoken, I make an end.

NUMBER 11.

*A discourse in favour of the pope,
eand the unity of the church of Rome.*

Credo sanetam ecclesiam catholicam.

Credo unam sanctam ecclesiam catholicam.

Quicunque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat, &c.

Ut scias quomodo oportet te in domo

Dei conversari, quae est ecclesia

Dei viventis, columpna et firmamentum veritatis.

In these is proved, that one catholike and apostolike church is to be belevd, as the rocke of truthe: Which is that catholike and apostolike church that is *one* and *holye*?

FIRST, in that it must be *one*, is excluded the fantasticall opynion, that woulde every man should be saved by his own faithe; wheras ther is but one faithe to be saved in, without the which he that is, cannot be saved. *Unus Dominus, una fides, &c. unus pastor, unum ovile.* This one shepherd is in none other church but in that which Rome is the head of. For all other churches have so many heades as ther be dyvers realmes or common wealthes, as all the cities of Germany have one, Geneva another, England another. But all that nowe be called papists have but one head and

shepherd, which is the pope. And they have that unitie of the church which we speak of. And it cannot here be well sayd, that Christe is the shepherd, for allthoughe there be nothinge more true, yet it is nothinge to our purpose, because, sithe our Lord went upp to heaven, he dothe rule his church by mynysters. As when St. Paul shoulde be converted, he sent unto hym Ananias. So he baptizeth by others, he preacheth by others. Nowe, as preaching is by the grace of God, yet it is throughe the mynistrye of man; and likewise baptizeing: even so also the governinge of the church is by his Spiryte and grace, yet is it throughe the mynistrye of man; that is to saye, of one head, which we call the pope. And for this, naturall reason makethe: for no multitude that is dispersed can be made one, but because it is knyt by some meane; as a howse is called *one*, because the tymber and the stones, iron and glass, which are dyvers, are by carpenters and masons so unyted, that their diversitie appeareth not, but are joyned by mortar and pynns. Likewise, a flock of sheep is called one, because it belongeth to one master, or else is ruled by one shepherd. And shall not the church [be one] throughe that, that it hathe but one head? Or else tell us another [way] howe it is one. For all, that be manye in number, must he made one *ex cohaerentibus*, as a howse or a booke; or else *ex distantibus*, they are brought to one, beyng as a flocke or a heard under one shepherd; and so after this second sorte, the church is one.

But if you saye, that it is *one* throughe this, that it hathe one faithe; then maye I well reple, that one faithe is kepte no wher, without ther be one head. Otherwise, whye be ther Lutherans, Zwyinglyans, Pacemontans? Which all do challenge the scripture, and none of them acknowledge one head, wherby they shoulde be one. No, the very Lutherans be not one, nor in one faithe, but so longe as they obey their master Luther.

Apostolike is here to be taken, which descendythe from th'apostles; as all the fathers call that seat apostolike, where the apostles sate, and wher their successors do sytt. Then that church is apostolike, which can shewe their descent from th'apostles. And this shalbe justified owt of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Iherom, and Augustine; albeit, because I had no bookes at hand, I coulde not alledge the places. Tertullian's words be after this sense, *Edant origines episcoporum suorum*. Irenaeus's sense is, *Whoso cannot bringe his doctryne to th'apostles or ther successors, is to be suspected*. Nowe, which church can do it so well as the papists? We can show from Peter to Paulus Quartus, the last pope, the succession of busshoppes. And likewise, we can in Canterbury, and in every sea, shewe howe the

busshoppes came from th'apostles. For we can by chronycle prosecute from William Warram, that was last busshoppe before Dr. Cranmer, to the first that was sent in by Gregorye. Then can we bringe Gregorye up to St. Peter; and so by the rest. Nowe if any in that tyme disagreed from his forefathers, he is, accordinge to Irenaeus's rule, to be judged suspected. As in Canterbury, Cranmer disagreed from all his predecessors; in Exeter, Myles Coverdall. And those men, which sodenly nowe will leappe from this point unto th'apostles tyme, sayinge, that they agree with them, they are muche like as he that woulde challenge kyndred of Constantyne the Great, and woulde from his father skippe upp streight to Constantyne, sayinge, *I am Nycholas, and my father is William; and so I came of Constantyne*. I trowe that man shoulde be laughed at, he must show his pedigree from his tyme, by grandfathers and great grandfathers, without any interruption, to Constantyne. Even so, if they challenge the sea apostolike, and take themselves to be of that church, they must bringe their pedegree by lynyall ascent upp to th'aposties, as we can do, who have in wrytinge every succession in any church in Christendom; and that is the thinge which St. Augustyne often tymes alledgede, sayinge, *Teneat me in ecclesia successio episcoporum, a beato Petro, cui post resurrectionem suas Dominus oves pascendas commisit usque in hodiernum diem*. If St. Augustyne saythe so within four hundred yeres, what shall we saye in the same case, after fifteen hundred yeres?

This worde *holie*, although it maye welbe understand of godlyness, which is the *holie* bodye of the church, yet it is here to be taken passively, that is to saye, *holie*, because it is hallowed. So saythe Davyd, *Salvum me fac, Domine, quoniam sanctus sum, i.e. Save me, Lord, becawse I am holie*; that is, *hallowed*. For manye of the fathers thought it absurde, that Davyd shoulde boaste of his holiness, but thinke rather he meaneth becawse he had receaved holyness of God's parte; as we myght saye, Save me, becawse I am chrystened. Thus then that church is *holie*, which hathe receaved of God moste benyfits; and which is that? Is it not the church commonly called *popishe*? Hathe it not flouryshed this fifteen hundred yeres? Contrarywise the Lutheran and the Zwinglian churches were not, by their owne confession, in any place or number these seven hundred yeres. But we saye, they were never before these threescore yeres. Secundarily, whet hath ther been any myracles wrought by their church? whereas our church, called *papistically*, hathe innumerable myrades, as are to be seen in St. Gregorye, and St. Augustyne in his booke *De Civitate Dei*, and in all

the olde fathers. Albeit, because I had no bookes at hand, I could not alledge the places.

Catholicke, is as much to saye, as *universall*, or spread throughe all persons, tymes, and places. Concerninge places, which doctrine is more universall, that which is in Greece, Italy, Spain, Fraunce, Germany, England, Denmark, Scotland, Ireland, and in the new lands, Sicilia, and all the west church; or that which is but in a piece of Germanye and England? Concernynge tyme, which is more universall, that which hath ever dured, whose begynninge is unknowne, which was named of Christe; or that which is named of Luther and Zwinglius? Concernynge persons, are ther not more papists at these dayes, as they term them, than Lutherans? And before these forty yeres, or little more, who in the worlde was of that opynion? Who dreamyd of that doctryne? And here you may not saye, that *grex meus pusillus est*, for that was meant of them which are to be saved. But otherwise you knowe that it is wrytten, *Postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae*. And againe, *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum*. Therefore many muste be called Christians, though fewe be saved. And that is the catholike church which is most generall in number amongst them that professe Christe's faithe. The sea of Rome beinge wourse in manners than it was in St. Augustyne's tyme, yet it kepeth the same faithe that was then. For herein we are too much slaundered in that they saye, our faithe is chaunged of late, wheras we defend nothinge but that which is founde in most ancyent wryters; which wryters, because they are so playne for us, they are constrayned to denye, as the workes of Dionysius, who lived in the apostles tyme.

But to come to our purpose, apostolike is that which comythe of the apostles in lyneall descent, by succession of busshoppes: here let them shew me their busshoppes; they are so far off, as to bringe a rowe in order unto St. Paul, even so much, that they cannot shew me lyghtlye their father, that is to saye, one busshoppe in their whole pedigree of their opinions before them. Whom can Cranmer name before hym in the sea of Canterbury? Wherupon it followithe that they are bastards, as men that cannot shew their fathers. Davyd did prophesye of the succession, sayinge, *Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii*. And Christe sayde, *Super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferorum non praevallebunt adversus eam*. But hellgates prevailed againste their church: for it was so overwhelmed, that ther was not so much as one church in all

Christendom where it was preached or practised. So that whereas Christe said, *Vos estis lux mundi*; and againe, *A cittie builded upon a hill cannot be hydden*; they muste nedes confesse they were hydden; for no man before Luther could neyther see them nor hear of them. And therfore they are not of God, because he woulde not have lighted a candell, and put it under a bushell. To be shorte, their churche is not one, for lacke of one head; not *holie*, for lacke of benefitts; not *catholike*, because it hath not endured at all times, places, and persons; not *apostolike*, because they cannot shew ther succession from the apostles downward, nor can go upward lyneally to the apostles; which thinge is playne. Therfore the churche called *papisticall*, havinge one head, the pope, havinge benefitts of God, by floryshinge and myracles, beyng spread at all tymes, in all places, throughe all persons, that is to say, for the most part beyng able to shew their pedigree, even to th'apostles, without any interruption; that churche, I saye, is onely the true churche, wherof we make mencyon in our belef, sayinge, *I beleve the holie catholike churche*.

This muche have I written upon a short warnynge, without medytation or helpe of booke; so that I do confesse it to be nothinge perfitte; yet in my foolishe opynion, not onely true, but also sensyble, and so grounded, that I doubt, it cannot be well answered. Which by God's grace shalbe tryed, when I see dyrecte answer made; excusinge the mysalledginge of words, if any be.

NUMBER 12.

*A declaration of the repeal of the attaindore
of the late Cardinal Pole.*

LA ROYNE LE VEULT.

WHERE by an act made in the parliament holden at Westminster, in the first and second year of king Philip and quene Mary, late king and quene of this realm of England, reciting by the same, That where Reynold Pole, cardinal, by authority of a parliament holden at Westminster, in the XXXI. year of the reign of Henry VIII. late king of England, was attainted of high treason, by the name of Reynold Pole, dean of the cathedral church of Exeter, as by the said act, and the record thereof more at large did appear; it was then enacted by authority of the said parliament, holden in the said

first and second year of the reigns of the said king Philip and queene Mary, that the said act of parliament of attainder of the said Reynold Pole, cardinal, and all and every other act and acts of attaindor, and every branch, article, clause, matter, and sentence contained in the same act or acts of attaindor, touching or concerning the attaindor of the said Reynold Pole only; and all and singular indictment, indictments, process of outlawry had, made, presented, procured, pronounced against the said Reynold Pole, should be clearly repealed, and made utterly frustrate, void, of none effect or force against the said Reynold Pole, and his heirs only, as though the same act or acts, indictment, indictments, or the said process, had never been had, made, procured, presented, or pronounced against him: upon which words divers questions, ambiguities, and doubts have risen and been moved, how and for what time the same act of repeal should extend or take effect; for the avoiding of which questions, ambiguities, and doubts, Be it enacted and declared by authority of this present parliament, that not only the said act of repeal of the attaindor of the said Reynold Pole, or any thing therein contained, shall not in any wise extend or be extended to have relation, or take effect, as touching or concerning only any estate, right, title, or interest, but only from the time of making of the same act of repeal, and not from any other time or times theretofore; but also that the same former act of parliament, made in the XXXI. year of the reign of king Henry VIII. shall be of like force and effect for all mean acts and things, as touching or concerning only any estate, right, title, interest, happened, grown, made, or done before the making of the said act of repeal, as the same should have been, if the same act of repeal had never been, had, or made, the same act of repeal, or any thing therein contained, or any other matter or cause to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

NUMBER 13.

*An act that the queen's majesty may make ordinances and rules
for collegiate churches, corporations, and schools.*

LA ROYNE LE VEULT.

FORASMUCH as certain cathedral and collegiate churches, and other ecclesiastical corporations, and some schools have been erect, founded, or ordained by the late kings of worthy memory, king Henry VIII. and king

Edward VI. or by either of them, or by our late sovereign lady queen Mary, or by the late lord cardinal Pole, not having as yet ordained and established such good orders, rules, and constitutions, as should be meet and convenient for the good order, safety, and continuance of the same; Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the queen's majesty, during her natural life, which our Lord God long preserve, shall by virtue of this act have full power and authority to make and prescribe unto every of the foresaid churches, corporations, and schools, and unto all and every the officers, ministers, and scholars in them, or in any of them, and to their successors for ever, such statutes, ordinances, and orders, as well for the good use and government of themselves, being officers, ministers, or scholars, and for the order of their service, ministry, functions, and duties; as also for their houses, lands, tenements, revenues, and hereditaments, with the appurtenancies: and further, that her majesty shall and may at her pleasure, alter or change, augment or diminish, all or every the statutes, ordinances, and orders of the foresaid churches, corporations, or schools, from time to time, as to her majesty shall seem expedient.

And be it further enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the said churches, corporations, and schools, or any of them, and all and every person or persons in the same, for the which the queen's majesty shall make or appoint any statutes, ordinances, or orders, or shall alter, change, diminish, or augment any orders, rules, and ordinances, and set forth the same under her majesty's great seal of England, shall from henceforth keep, serve, and observe all the same statutes, orders, and ordinances, any former rules, laws, or constitutions, in any wise notwithstanding. And that all the said statutes, orders, ordinances, and rules, so made, ordained, and set forth under her majesty's great seal, as is abovesaid, shall be and remain good and effectual to all intents and purposes, and be observed and kept according to the true intent and purport of the same, without alteration or violation of them, or any of them.

NUMBER 14.

Guest to sir William Cecyl, the queene's secretary, concerning the Service-book, newly prepared for the parliament to be confirmed; and certain ceremonies and usages of the church.

Right Honourable,

THAT you might well understand, that I have neither ungodly allowed any thing against the scripture, neither unstedfastly done any thing contrary to my writing, neither rashly without just cause put away it which might be well suffered, nor undiscreetly for novelty brought in that which might be better left out; I am so bold to write to your honour some causes of the order taken in the new service: which enterprise, though you may justly reprove for the simple handling, yet I trust you will take it well for my good meaning. Therefore, committing your honourable state to the great mercy of God, and following the intent of my writing, thus I begin the matter.

OF CEREMONIES.

Ceremonies once taken away, as ill used, should not be taken again, though they be not evil of themselves, but might be well used. And that for four causes.

The first, because the Galatians were reprov'd of Paul for receiving again the ceremonies which once they had forsaken: bidding them to stand in the liberty wherein they were called; and forbidding them to wrap themselves in the yoke of bondage; saying, they builded again that which they had destroyed; and reprov'g Peter, for that by his dissembling he provok'd the gentiles to the ceremonial law, which they had left; looking back hereby from the plow which they had in hand.

The second cause, because Paul bids us to abstain not only from that which is evil, but that which hath the appearance of evil. For this cause Ezekias destroyed the brazen serpent; and Epiphanius the picture of Christ.

The third cause, because the gospel is a short word, putting away the law, which stood in decrees and ceremonies; and a light and easy yoke, delivering us from them. Therefore it is said, that we should *worship God in spirit and truth*, and not in ceremonies and shadows also as did the

Jews. And Paul likeneth us Christians, for our liberty from ceremony, to men which live in all liberty; and the Jews, for their bondage in them, to men living in all thralldom. Wherefore Augustyn, writing to Januarius against the multitude of ceremonies, thus saith; “Christ hath bound us to a light burthen, joyning us together with sacraments in number most few, in keeping most easy, in signification most passing.” And in the next epistle he bewaileth the multitude of ceremonies in his time, and calleth them *presumptions*. Which yet were but few in respect of the number of ours.

The fourth cause, because these ceremonies were devised of men, or abused to idolatry. For Christ with his apostles would not wash their hands before meat, though of itself it were an honest civil order, because it was superstitiously used. Paul forbad the Corinthians to come to the gentiles tables, where they did eat the meat which was offered to idols: though an idol was nothing, nor that which was offered to it any thing.

OF THE CROSS.

Epiphanius, in an epistle which he wrote to John, bishop of Jerusalem, and is translated by Hierom, sheweth how he did cut in pieces a cloth in a church, wherein was painted the image of Christ, or of some saint, because it was contrary to the scriptures; and counsels the bishop to command the priests of the same church to set up no more any such cloths in the same place, calling it a superstition to have any such in the church. Leo, the emperor, with a council holden at Constantinople, decreed, that all images in the church should be broken. The same was decreed long before in the provincial council at Elibert in Spain, cap. 36.

OF PROCESSION.

Procession is superfluous, because we may, as we ought to do, pray for the same in the church that we pray for abroad; yea, and better too. Because when we pray abroad, our mind is not so set upon God for sight of things, as experience teacheth, as when we pray in the church, where we have no such occasion to move our mind withal.

OF VESTMENTS.

Because it is sufficient to use but a surplice in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the celebrating the

communion. For if we should use another garment herein, it should seem to teach us, that higher and better things be given by it than be given by the other service; which we must not believe. For in baptism we put on Christ: in the word we eat and drink Christ, as Hierom and Gregory write. And Austin saith, the word is as precious as this sacrament, in saying, “He sinneth as much which negligently heareth the word, as he which willingly letteth Christ’s body to fall to the ground.” And Chrysostom saith, “He which is not fit to receive, is not fit to pray.” Which were not true, if prayer were not of as much importance as the communion.

OF THE DIVIDING OF THE COMMUNION INTO TWO PARTS.

Dionysius Areopagita saith, “That after the reading of the Old and New Testament, the learners of the faith before they were baptized, mad men, and they that were joyned to penance for their faults, were shut out of the church, and they only did remain which did receive.” Chrysostom witnesseth also, that these three sorts were shut out from the communion. Therefore Durant writeth, that the mass of the learners is from the *Introite* until after the *offertory*, which is called *missa; misse*, or *sending out*: because, when the priest beginneth to consecrate the sacrament, the learners be sent out of the church. The miss, or *sending out* of the faithful, is from the offering till after communion; and is named *missa, a sending out*, because when it is ended, then each faithful is sent forth to his proper business.

OF THE CREED.

The Creed is ordained to be said only of the communicants, because Dionysius, and Chrysostom, and Basil, in their liturgies, say, that the learners were shut out or the Creed was said; because it was the prayer of the faithful only, which were but the communicants. For that they which did not receive were taken for that time as not faithful. Therefore Chrysostom saith, “That they which do not receive, be as men doing penance for their sin.”

OF PRAYING FOR THE DEAD IN THE COMMUNION.

That praying for the dead is not now used in the communion, because it doth seem to make for the sacrifice of the dead. And also because, as it was used in the first book, it makes some of the faithful to be in heaven,

and to need no mercy; and some of them to be in another place, and to lack help and mercy. As though they were not all alike redeemed, and brought to heaven by Christ's merits: but some deserved it, as it is said of martyrs; and some, for lack of such perfectness, were in purgatory, as it is spoken of the meaner sort. But thus to pray for the dead in the communion was not used in Christ and his apostles times, nor in Justin's time; who, speaking of the manner of using the communion, reporteth not this. So that I may here well say with Tertullian, "That is truth which is first; that is false which is after: that is truly first, which is from the beginning; that is from the beginning, which is from the apostles."

OF THE PRAYER IN THE FIRST BOOK FOR CONSECRATION,

O merciful Father, &c.

This prayer is to be disliked for two causes. The first, because it is taken to be so needful to the consecration, that the consecration is not thought to be without it. Which is not true: for petition is no part of consecration. Because Christ, in ordaining the sacrament, made no petition, but a thanksgiving. It is written, *When he had given thanks*, and not, *When he had asked*. Which Christ would have spoken, and the evangelists have written, if it had been needful, as it is mistaken. And though Mark saith, *Christ blessed, when he took bread*, yet he meaneth by *blessed*, gave thanks, or else he would have said also, He gave thanks, as he said, He blessed, if he had meant thereby divers things. And speaking of the cup, he would have said, Christ blessed, when he took the cup, as he saith, he gave thanks, if *gave thanks* and *blessed* were not all one. Or else Christ should be thought to have consecrated the bread and not the wine, because in consecrating the bread, he said *blessed*, and in consecrating the wine, he left it out. Yea, by Matthew, Luke, and Paul, he should neither have consecrated the one nor the other. For that they report not, that he blessed.

Gregory writeth to the bishop of Syracusa, that the apostles used only the Lord's Prayer at the communion, and none other; and seemeth to be displeased, that it was not there still so used, but instead thereof the canon which Scholasticus made. Therefore, in that he would the Lord's Prayer to be used at the making of the communion, which making nothing for the consecration thereof, and not Scholasticus his prayer, which prayeth for the consecration of the same, it must needs be that he thought the communion not to be made by invocation.

Chrysostom saith, that this sacrament is made by the words of Christ once spoken; as every thing is gendered by the words of God, that he once spake, *Increase and fill the earth.*

Bessarion saith, that the consecration stands on Christ's ordinance, and his words, and not on the prayer of the priest; and that for three causes. The first, because the priest may not pray with faith, without which his prayer is not heard. The second, because the prayer is not all one in all countries. The third, because baptism is without prayer.

Justin, in shewing how the communion was celebrated in his time, maketh no mention of invocation. No more doth Irenee.

OF THE RECEIVING OF THE SACRAMENT IN OUR HANDS.

Christ gave the sacrament into the hands of the apostles. *Divide it*, saith he, *among your selves.* It is decreed, that the priests shall be excommunicated, which did suffer any man to take it with any thing, saving with his *hand*; as them that made instruments to receive it with. Ambrose thus spake to Theodosius the emperor,

“How wilt thou with such hands receive the body of Christ?” “If we be ashamed,” saith Austin, “and afraid to touch the sacrament with foul hands, much more we ought to fear to take it with an unclean soul.”

OF RECEIVING STANDING OR KNEELING

Justin saith, we should rather stand than kneel, when we pray on the Sunday, because it is a sign of the resurrection; and writeth, that Irenee saith, it is a custom which came from the apostles. And Austin thus writeth, “We pray standing, which is a sign of resurrection: therefore on *every* Sunday it is observed at the altar.” It is in plain words in the last chapter of the last book, which Gaguens, a Frenchman, hath put to Tertullian's works, that Christ his body is received standing. Though this is the old use of the church to communicate standing, yet because it is taken of some by itself to be sin to receive kneeling, whereas of itself it is lawful; it is left indifferent to every man's choice to follow the one way or the other; to teach men that it is lawful to receive either standing or kneeling.

Thus, as I think, I have shewed good cause why the service is set forth in such sort as it is. God, for his mercy in Christ, cause the parliament with one voice to enact it, and the realm with true heart to use it.

NUMBER 15.

*Dr. Horne's preface to his discourse,
read at the conference at Westminster abbey.*

FORASMUCH as it is thought good unto the queen's most excellent majesty, (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due,) that we should declare our judgment in writing upon certain propositions; we, as becometh us, do herein most gladly obey.

Seeing that Christ is our only master, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and seeing also his word is the truth, from the which it is not lawful for us to depart one hair's breadth, and against the which, as the apostle saith, *we can do nothing*; we do in all things submit ourselves unto this truth, and do protest that we will affirm nothing against the same.

And forasmuch as we have for our mother the true and catholic church of Christ, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, and is of Christ the head in all things governed; we do reverence her judgment; we obey her authority as becometh children; and we do devoutly profess, and in all points follow the faith, which is contained in the three creeds, that is to say, of the apostles, of the council of Nice, and of Athanasius.

And seeing that we never departed, neither from the doctrine of God, which is contained in the holy canonical scriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and catholic church of Christ, but have preached truly the word of God, and have sincerely ministered the sacraments according to the institution of Christ, unto the which our doctrine and faith the most part also of our adversaries did subscribe, not many years past, (although now, as unnatural, they are revolted from the same,) we desire that they render account of their backsliding, and shew some cause, wherefore they do not only resist that doctrine which they have before professed, but also persecute the same by all means they can.

We do not doubt but through the equity of the queen's most excellent majesty, we shall in these disputations be entreated more gently than in years late past, when we were handled most unjustly, and scantily after the common manner of men.

As for the judgment of the whole controversy, we refer unto the most holy scriptures, and the catholic church of Christ, (whose judgment unto us ought to be most sacred.) Notwithstanding, by the *catholic* church we understand not the *Romish* church, whereunto our adversaries attribute such reverence; but that which St. Augustin and other fathers affirm ought to be sought in the holy scriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Christ.

NUMBER 16

The protestants' discourse, prepared to have been read in the public conference at Westminster, upon the second question, viz.

Every particular church hath authority to institute, change, and abrogate ceremonies and rites in the church, so that it tend to edify.

FOR avoiding ambiguity in terms, it is not amiss to declare what is meant by the words of the proposition.

By these words, *every particular church*, we understand every particular kingdom, province, or region, which by order maketh one Christian society or body, according to distinction of countries, and orders of the same.

By ceremonies and rites of the church, we understand those ceremonies and rites, which neither expressly, neither by necessary deduction or consequence, are commanded or forbidden in the scriptures, but are things of their own nature indifferent. As for example, the form and manner of prayer before and after baptism, and at the administration of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the appointing of times and places for the hearing of God's word, ministration of sacraments, public prayer, number of holy-days, times of fasting, and such like. All which may by God's word, not only by general councils, but also by particular provinces, regions, and societies of Christians, be changed or abrogated, according as the state of the times, places, people, and other circumstances shall require; so that it be done to edify God's people.

Having thus made declaration of the proposition, we will proceed to the proof of the same by God's word, by ancient writers, and by examples.

First, all ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies are things which pertain unto order and decency. But St. Paul committed to the particular church of Corinth the disposition of all things which appertain to decency and order. And committing such authority to the particular church of Corinth, he consequently committeth it to all other particular churches. For with God there is no respect of persons; and as there is in Christ neither Jew nor gentile, so there is neither Corinthian, nor Venetian, nor Englishman, but we all in Christ be one, and have like privilege.

Whereupon it followeth, that St. Paul committeth the disposition of all outward ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies to every particular church.

Let this reason be well weighed, for it is plain and evident. For that ceremonies are things of order and decency, and not things of necessity to salvation, is a thing confessed of all men. For they had their beginning of men, and have been changed, as shall appear at large hereafter.

But things of necessity to salvation are immutable, and have their original from God.

And further, that the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians pertain to the ordering and disposition of such things, the adversaries cannot deny; saving, that whereas St. Paul committeth it in plain terms to the particular church of Corinth, they bind it and restrain it to an universal determination, contrary to St. Paul's meaning, as shall appear by our answers to their reasons hereafter.

Secondly, the principal foundation whereupon it may be gathered, that any council or assembly hath authority to change or institute rites and ceremonies, stands upon this proof of Christ, *Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* But in a particular church, not only two or three, but also great numbers may be assembled in the name of Christ. Therefore a particular church hath promise that Christ will be in the midst of them. And consequently that assembly, that hath Christ in the midst of it, and the assistance of his Spirit according to his promises, hath authority to institute, alter, and change rites and ceremonies, to the edifying of the people.

Therefore a particular church hath authority to institute, alter, and change ceremonies, to the edifying of the people.

Thirdly, the authority of the church, both universal and particular, to institute, abrogate, and to change rites and ceremonies, dependeth only on obedience to Christ and his word, in directing of all things to the edification of faith and charity. *For my sheep hear my voice*, saith Christ. And again, *You are my friends, if you do those things which I command you*. But particular churches both have, and may obey Christ and his word, in directing all things to the edifying of faith and charity, as shall appear by divers examples hereafter. And therefore particular churches have authority to institute and change rites and ceremonies.

Fourthly, Furthermore it is manifest, that ceremonies, although they were profitable at the first, may grow by continuance to abuse, and be hurtful; as the watching of men and women together in the night at the graves of martyrs, which St. Hierom did so highly commend, at length was tried to be an occasion of much disorder and dissolute life.

Now if every particular church had not authority to abrogate such ceremonies being hurtful, then should it follow, that Christ, who is the head not only of the universal church, but also of every particular church, had left the same church destitute of necessary remedies to redress vice and sin.

For as for the general councils, they come together but seldom. It was more than 300 years after Christ ere the Nicene council was called, which was the first general council after the disciples' time. And sith that time, by reason of wars and troubles in the world, sometimes of a long space together no general councils have been called. So that if particular churches may not remove rites tending to sin or idolatry, a great number of souls might perish before the general councils came together. Which were a thing against God's word: for St. Paul saith, God hath given no power to destroy, but to edify.

Fifthly, 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 hath now the several pastors and churches in all kingdoms and provinces. For Aretas, bishop of Caesarea, and Primasius, episcopus Uticensis in Africa, upon the first chapter of the Revelation of St. John, do teach, that the seven churches in Asia do represent the multitude of the Particular churches scattered over the world. Also the Son of man, the

universal pastor and head over all churches, was shewed unto John in a vision, present in every of the seven golden candlesticks; that is, in every several and particular church, holding in his right hand all and every the seven stars; that is, governing and defending all and every angel, messenger, and pastor of the several churches.

But every of the said seven pastors in Asia had authority to reform all things that were amiss among them, as manifestly appears by the seven several epistles, which Christ commanded John to write, and to send unto them. Therefore every particular pastor and church, in all kingdoms and provinces, hath authority to reform such things as be amiss among them.

Sixthly, If a Particular church were bound to retain and exercise, and might not abrogate and remove, evil and hurtful rites and ceremonies, instituted by men, then were the same church also bound to obey man more than God; who hath commanded, by his apostle St. Paul, that all things should be done in the church to edify. But no particular church is bound to obey man more than God. Therefore a particular church is not bound to retain, but may remove hurtful ceremonies, instituted by men.

These few reasons we have brought out of the scriptures, not because we have no more to allege, but partly because we thought any one saying of Christ sufficient to persuade any Christian man; and partly, for that we know many men nowadays stay themselves chiefly upon the decrees of old councils, and the writings and judgments of doctors and fathers: and forasmuch as our adversaries will stand most upon those grounds, we have thought it good to match them with their own weapons, and in that field wherein they think themselves best appointed. Wherefore, the rest of our process shall stand upon the authority of the doctors, and upon the examples and practice of ancient churches. But first, we will allege a natural reason or two, and then come to the authority of the doctors, and examples.

That the proposition is true, very natural reason would suffice a man that would be ruled by reason. But reason would that things should be restored by like order as they fell in decay. But it is not like that any ceremony, being not wicked of itself, can grow to corruption and abuse in all places throughout the world at one time, but must of force have both his beginning and his proceeding, and so at length overwhelm the whole. Wherefore, as the corruption is first particular, so must there also be first a particular redress.

Yea, and if the abuse happen to be so great, that it overrun the whole body of the church, even very nature would us to do as the good husband is wont to do. The good husband, saith St. Augustin, if he see his corn-field overgrown with weeds, goeth not about by and by to weed out altogether, but beginning in one corner first, and so proceedeth to the whole.

But men perhaps will say, that the ceremonies of the holy church are sanctified and privileged in such sort, that they cannot be abused. But you must understand, that as the nature of man is mutable and corrupt, even so all ordinances devised by men are subject to mutability, and ready to receive corruption. And therefore albeit they were well, and upon some godly use received at the beginning, yet afterwards, by little and little, they fall to abuse.

The brazen serpent was set up by Moses for the people to behold, that they might receive health. Afterwards it was abused to idolatry. And therefore the good king Ezekias pulled it down, and beat it to powder. And so ceremonies sometimes are taken for things necessary to the worshipping of God; and of such Christ saith, *Frustra me colunt, docentes doctrinas praecepta hominum*. And again, he warneth his disciples to beware of the leaven of the scribes and pharisees.

Sometimes they grow to such a number, that the multitude of them is intolerable. And therefore St. Augustin, in his time, which was more than 1100 years ago, complaineth to his friend Januarius, *Omnia, inquit, sunt plena humanis praesumptionibus*; All, saith he, is now full of men's presumptions. And he saith further, *That the Jews, being under the law, and in servitude of ceremonies, were in far better case than the Christians of his time*. And the reason is, *Quia etsi illi tempus libertatis non agnoverint, legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis praesumptionibus servierint*. This is St. Augustin's reason, for the which he thinketh that the Christians in his time were in worse taking for the bondage of ceremonies, than ever were the Jews under shadow of the law. And we be such, if you mark it well; for, saith he, notwithstanding the Jews knew not the time of liberty, yet they were captives, not as we are to *men's presumptions*, (for so he calleth the inordinate number of ceremonies devised by men,) but unto the law of God.

Sometimes they are idle and dumb, and teach nothing; and are, as I might say, signs without signification. And such are the most part of the ceremonies, which now so stiffly are defended. For the most part of them,

they are such as, I will not say the poor laymen, or your ignorant priests, but, if we may be so bold to speak it, you yourselves are not able to give any reason for them.

And sometimes they are devised only for filthy lucre, under a show of holiness, to get money. And whether this have been practised any time heretofore, we remit the matter to any indifferent judge.

These many ways may ceremonies be abused. First, if they be taken as things pertaining to the worshipping of God. Next, if they grow to an inordinate number. Thirdly, if they teach nothing, nor no man can have understanding of them. And to conclude, if they be invented for lucre sake, to get money. Now ceremonies thus used lack their soul, as I might say, and are become dead: and therefore there remaineth no more, but that they be had out of the way, and buried.

There is as great a difference between a particular member of a general council and the council, as between a particular church and a general council. But in a general council, a truth hath been revealed to a particular member, for the edification of the church, which was hid from the whole council. Unto the which truth and persuasion of the particular member, the whole council gave place, as appeareth in the council of Nice; whereas was revealed unto Paphnutius that which was hid from all the rest. Unto whose persuasion, notwithstanding that he was but one particular man, the whole council gave place, because they perceived it to be for the edification of the church. Therefore the truth of God, whereby things may be instituted, abrogated, or changed, for the edification of the church, may be sometimes revealed unto particular churches, which are hid from general councils.

The apostles' successors had the same authority that the apostles had. For that the adversaries grant; else under what colour drive they men to obey the pope and his decrees? But all bishops be the apostles' *successors*, and have like power, as appeareth by St. Hierom, which saith, *Omnes episcopos apostolorum successores esse*: and by Cyprian, who affirmeth that each one had the like authority; *Hoc utique, inquit, erant caeteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio praediti, et honoris et potestatis*. Therefore all bishops have the same authority, which *is*, to dispose things to edification; as Paul saith, *Caetera, cum venero, disponam*; i.e. *The rest will I set in order when I come*.

And that the very particular churches had this liberty to retain or to remove ceremonies, as it may seem good for them, it may appear by an infinite number of examples, and in manner by the continual course of the old church. For thus writeth Irenaeus of the order of the Lentenfast in his time, as it is reported by Eusebius, *Neque de die tantum disceptatio est, &c.* “Neither do they differ only about the day, but also about the manner of their fasting. For some think they should fast one day, some two days, and some more. Some reckon their day of twenty-four hours long, accounting altogether the hours of day and night.” By this it appeareth, that notwithstanding there was an order taken for fasting, yet was it lawful for men to receive it or leave it, as they listed; and that without breach of charity. For Irenaeus straightway addeth these words, *Nihilo tamen minus, &c.* “Notwithstanding,” saith Irenaeus, (an old father, that lived a thousand and four hundred years ago,) “they kept peace and unity among themselves. And so do we until this day. And the diversity of our fasting setteth forth the more the agreeance of our faith.” Likewise was there great diversity in keeping of Easter-day. For the Latins kept it upon one day after the tradition of St. Peter, as they said; and the churches of Asia kept it on another, after the tradition of St. John; yet notwithstanding, agreed in Christian peace and unity.

Socrates, in his fifth book and twenty-second chapter of his history, prosecuteth this matter at large. And the chapter were worthy to be recited whole, saving for shortness of time a portion thereof only shall suffice. *Nusquam igitur apostolus nec ipsa evangelia, &c.*

“Neither the apostle nor the gospels themselves do any where lay upon them which come to preaching (of the gospel, he means) the yoke of bondage. But every one in their own countries have upon a certain custom, as they would themselves, kept the feast of Easter, and other festival days, that they might cease from labour, and remember the healthful passion, (he means, of the Lord;) neither hath our Saviour or his disciples by any law commanded this to be observed of us; neither do the gospels or apostles threaten unto us any pain or punishment, as Moses’ law did unto the Jews: but it is written in the gospels only, after the manner of an history, in the reprehension of the Jews, because they committed murder on the festival days, and because Christ suffered in the time of sweetbread. Wherefore the scope of the apostle was not to make laws for holydays, but to bring in good life and godliness. But it seemeth

unto me likewise, as many other things in every place grew unto a custom, even so also did the feast of Easter. Because none of the apostles, as I have said, decreed any thing of the matter. That certain things, even from the beginning, began to be observed in every place rather by custom than by law, the matter itself declareth. As in Asia the Less, many after the old custom contemning the sabbath, observed the fourteenth day. And they thus doing, did never strive with them which did keep the feast of Easter otherwise, until Victor, bishop of Rome, being too earnest, decreed, that the Quartodecimans should be excommunicate. For the which deed, Irenaeus, being bishop of Lyons in France, wrote a sharp epistle unto Victor, wherein he both reprehendeth his earnestness, and also declareth that none of them which in old time did diversely celebrate the feast of Easter, were by any means separated from communion. And that Polycarpus, bishop of Smyrna, (which in conclusion suffered martyrdom under Gordianus,) did not eschew the communion of Anicetus, bishop of Rome, nor did for the festival sake fall out with him; although he, according to the custom of Eucharius, bishop of Smyrna, did celebrate Easter the fourteenth day; as Eusebius saith in the fifth book of the Ecclesiastical History.”

And a little after; *Romani namque tres ante Pasca septitanias, &c.*

“For the Romans do fast three weeks together before Easter, except the Saturday and the Sunday. The Illyrici, all Greece, and they of Alexandria, do fast their fast six weeks before Easter, and call it *Quadragesimam*, forty days fast, or Lent. But it is a marvel to me, how these men, differing in the number of days, do call it by one name of forty days fast. A man shall find some, which not only dissent about number of days, but also do not retain one kind of abstinence. For some do utterly abstain from things that have life. Some, of those things that have life, eat only fishes; some, besides fishes, eat also birds, and say, after Moses, they come of the waters. Some abstain both from berries and eggs; some do eat only dry bread; some not that: some there be which, fasting to the ninth hour, do use divers meats: in divers nations they fast diversely. Of which there be innumerable causes. And because no man is able to shew any written commandment of this matter, it is plain the apostles have left it free to every man’s judgment and will, lest any

should do a good thing either of fear or necessity. *Such* is the diversity of fasts through the churches: and about the communion is a much like diversity.” And so the author proceedeth in shewing certain diversities about the ministration of the communion, baptism, marriage, and other ecclesiastical observances.

Again, St. Augustin writeth unto Januarius, *Alii quotidie communicant*, &c. “Some,” saith St. Augustin, “receive the communion of the body and blood of Christ every day; some others upon certain days. Some there be that miss no day without the oblation; some others communicate only upon the Saturday and Sunday, others only upon the Sunday.”

Nunquam ergo caeteri apostoli prandere Christianos, &c.

“Did then the other apostles teach the Christians throughout the whole world to dine contrary to Peter? Like as therefore Peter and his fellow-disciples lived in concord among themselves, even so let them which fast on the Saturday, and were planted by Peter, and those which dine on Saturday, and were planted by his fellow-disciples, live together in unity and concord.”

And a little after, in the same place, *Sic ergo una fides, &c.*

“Therefore, let the faith of the universal church, which is there spread abroad as inward in the inward parts be one; although the same unity of faith be kept with divers rites or observations; wherewith in no wise the truth in faith is hindered. For all the beauty of the king’s daughter is inward. But those rites which are kept divers, are understood in the garments. Whereupon it is said to her, *covered round about with variety in the golden edges*, or *skirts, of her garments*. But let that vesture also be so divers in variable rites, that it be not torn in sunder with contentious dissensions.”

It followeth in the same place, *Si autem quoniam huic, &c.*

“But because I think for my part I have sufficiently answered this, if thou wilt ask my judgment of this matter, considering this in my mind, I say, that fasting of the evangelists and apostles, and in the whole Testament, (which is called the New Testament,) is commanded: but on what days we must not fast, and on what days

we must fast, I do not find determined by the commandment of the Lord or the apostles. And by this I judge, that liberty is more apt and convenient, than constraint, of fasting; although truly not to the obtaining the righteousness which faith obtaineth; wherein consisteth the beauty of the daughter inwardly; but yet to signify the eternal rest, which is the true sabbath.”

Non omnes quamvis ejusdem opinionis, &c.

“All men, though they were of one faith, yet observed they not in their churches like traditions. Yea, they that had all one faith, yet oft in the observation of usages differed much. Which thing was no hinderance to true godliness.”

Likewise it is noted in the decrees of pope Stephen, and alleged in Gratian, dist. 31. as followeth; *Aliter se habet orientalium ecclesiarum traditio, &c.*

“The tradition of the east church is far otherwise than the tradition of this holy church of Rome. For there, priests, deacons, and subdeacons are married: but in this church, none from a subdeacon unto a bishop hath licence to marry a wife.” And here is to be marked, that pope Stephen took not the single life of priests in the Latin church as a thing commanded by God, but only as a tradition, and such a tradition as the Grecians lately received.

Quaestio Augustini ad Gregorium fuit ista, Cum una sit fides, cur sunt ecclesiarum diversae consuetudines? et aliter consuetudo missarum in S. Romana ecclesia, atque aliter in Galliarum ecclesiis tenetur? Cui Gregorius respondit, 12. dist. cap. Novit. Novit fraternitas tua, &c.

“Your brotherhood knoweth the custom of the church of Rome, wherein you have been trained up. But this way pleaseth me well, that if you find any thing, whether it be in the church of Rome, or in the church of France, or else in any other church, that may more please God, that you diligently choose the same. And forasmuch as the church of England is new in constitution and in ceremonies, that you pour into it the best ordinances that you can gather of many others. For we may not love the things for the places, but the places for the things. Wherefore, gather you out of every church such things as be godly, religious, and right; and the same, knit up as it were in a bundle, cause you to be put and to be brought in ure in the church of England.”

Here we may note, that Gregory, being then bishop of Rome, would not drive other churches to the observation of the ceremonies and rites of Rome; but suffered each nation to retain and keep such orders as should be most convenient for them.

Yea, Sozomenus writeth in his seventh book, *Eaedem ceremoniae non possunt*, &c. “One kind of ceremonies cannot be found in every church.”

And moreover Socrates writeth in his fifth book, *Non inveniuntur*, &c.

“You cannot find two churches, saith Socrates, (writing of the order of the church in his time,) that in rites and ceremonies agree together.”

Likewise Theodoretus, upon the fourteenth chapter to the Romans, in treating of these words, *Let every man abound in his own sense*, or judgment, writeth as followeth: *Non enim hoc posuit generaliter*, &c.

“He hath not put this generally, nor yet commandeth he to judge thus of God’s decrees. For he doth accurse them that go about to teach any thing contrary unto the truth: *If any man preach unto you any other doctrine than that ye have received, let him be accursed.*

“And therefore only of meats he left to every man freedom of his own mind. For this custom remaineth in the churches until this day; and one chooseth abstinence, and another eateth all kinds of meat without scruple of conscience. And neither this man judgeth that man, nor the one reproveth the other, but the law of concord and charity doth make them notable.”

And all this diversity rose of that, that it was lawful for every particular church either to receive or to leave such ordinances as were devised and thought good by other churches. For if all places had been bound to one order, then could never have been such diversity.

Now of this may we thus conclude; that church that hath liberty, whether it will receive a ceremony or no at the first, may by the same liberty afterwards remove it, when it shall be thought good. Yea, and a great deal more reasonable it is to remove a ceremony, when it is corrupt and abused, than at the first not to receive it, when it is incorrupted and judged profitable. For as St. Augustin writ to Januarius, *Quod non est contra fidem*, &c. that is, “Whatsoever is not against faith and good manners, is to

be taken as a thing indifferent.” Now if it be to be taken for a thing indifferent to keep or to refuse, when it is best, much more reason it is to refuse, when it is corrupt and grown out of kind.

For any thing, that cannot necessarily be gathered out of the word of God, may be changed, as St. Cyprian writeth to Pompeius; *Nihil innovetur, inquit, quod traditum*. Oh! said the adversary to St. Cyprian, “Nothing that is once delivered us, may be altered.” St. Cyprian makes answer, *Unde est ista traditio?* “May it not be changed?” said St. Cyprian. “Wherefore? From whence came this tradition? Came it from the authority of the Lord and gospel, or from the commandments and writings of the disciples?” As if he should say, If it came from the epistles of the apostles, or the gospels, then it may not be changed; if it came out of the decrees of men, it may. And in another place he saith, *Non est absurdum, &c.* “It is not against reason, that such things as have been received be changed for the better.”

For such is the nature of ceremonies, that as it is sometimes profitable to receive them, so sometimes profitable to put them away. And here we have to shew you the wise answer of a gentleman and counsellor of the city of Athens, named Theramenes. The Lacedaemonians, after they had given the Athenians a great overthrow in the field, commanded them to pull down the walls of the town, otherwise they threatened them utter undoing. When this matter came to deliberation in the council-house of Athens, Theramenes gave counsel that the walls should be pulled down. Straightway there stood up another gentleman; And will you, said he, give your assent to the pulling down of the walls, that were builded up by the counsel of that worthy man, and great captain, Themistocles? Yea, said Theramenes: for Themistocles caused the walls to be builded for the safeguard of the city; and for the safeguard of the same city, I give counsel to throw them down. Even so we may answer by ceremonies: they were brought in at first for to profit the church; but after they be once corrupted, and do not that office for which they were invented, for the profit of the same church they must be removed. And if this be true of such ceremonies which at the first were indifferent, much more it is to be thought of such ceremonies that were never good nor indifferent, but were brought in, in the corrupt state of the church.

And therefore St. Augustin hath a marvellous good saying, writing *ad Marcellinum*, cap. 5. *Non itaque verum est, quod dicitur, &c.*

“It is not true that some men say, that such a thing as is once well done, may in no wise be altered. For after the cause or occasion of time is changed, good reason requireth, that that be changed, which otherwise before was well done. That whereas they say, it were not well to have it changed; contrariwise, the truth saith, it were not well but it should be changed: for then shall both be well, if that for the diversity of time they shall be divers.”

Thus much for proofs out of the scripture and ancient writers. Now remains to shew the same by example.

Basilius, being a bishop, took upon him to devise a several form of prayers and ceremonies, to be used about the administration of the communion; and by the consent of the church practised the same, without any authority of general council. Chrysostom also did the like; so that it beareth his name until this day, and is called *Liturgia Chrysostomi*. If particular bishops had authority to vary from other churches, and to institute rites and ceremonies about the administration of the holy communion, which be ceremonies of most weight, and most in controversy at this day; how unreasonable is it to deny the like authority to a whole kingdom or province, to the ordinary power and learned of the same?

Furthermore, the church of the Aethiopians, called *Presbyter Johannes land*, have at this day their own ceremonies, and that in the vulgar tongue.

Those churches that remain yet in the east parts differ, and always have done, from the west churches in rites and ceremonies.

Yea, and the west churches themselves vary one from another.

There were in Gregory's time three canons or orders, to minister the holy communion; the canon of Ambrose, the canon of Scholasticus, and the canon of Gregory.

At Rome, every Saturday was fasting-day. At Milan, St. Ambrose and the whole church kept it no fasting-day. And both St. Augustin and his mother, by St. Ambrose's advice, when they came to Milan, did not fast Saturdays.

So that it may be reasonably gathered, that the old council thought it a thing commodious for the church to have variety in ceremonies, and to leave their churches at their liberty to reform them when they grew to

abuse. Otherwise they would have decreed, that all churches should have had like and the same ceremonies and rites; which they never did.

Therefore such uniformity of rites and ceremonies as now is 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 aspired to the unjust primacy: and so have been continued rather for a public recognition of their subjection to the monarchy of the see of Rome than for any edification.

For it is more profit for the church to have some divers-sky of ceremonies in divers places, than to have all one; for these causes:

First, that the liberty of the church may remain; that in these indifferent things every particular church may *abundare in suo sensu*, *abound in its own sense*, as St. Paul writeth.

Secondarily, That ceremonies be not too much esteemed of the simple, and so grow to be made equal with God's word. As experience declareth, that great numbers make more conscience of breach of any outward ceremony, than of one of God's commandments. Such affection is termed of some men *devotion*. But St. Augustin calleth such offence, conceived upon such alteration of ceremonies, *superstition*.

But to proceed with more examples. Ambrose, according to the example of Athanasius, who did the like at Alexandria, did first institute the rite or ceremony of singing Psalms at Milan, as St. Augustin reporteth in his Confessions.

But where authority is to institute, there is authority to abrogate. That is true, will some say, when it is made by his own authority. Nay also, when it is established by more general consent, if the practice declare it hurtful, as by the examples following.

Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, did abrogate and remove the office of the penitentiary and auricular confession; which was a constitution almost generally received, and remained still at Rome, notwithstanding the abrogation of it. And that he did well in it may be proved by two reasons.

1. That Sozomenus writing the history, saith, that *fere omnes episcopi eum sunt secuti*; "almost all the bishops followed his example." Where it is to be noted by the way, that particular reformations do much good, and provoke others to follow.

2. The second reason is, that St. John Chrysostom succeeding Nectarius did not restore that rite of confession again: for it remained abrogated in Sozomenus's days, who lived after Chrysostom. And it is not to be thought but Chrysostom would have restored it, if it had been unorderly removed. So that this example of Nectarius, and the particular church of Constantinople, abrogating a general custom upon just causes of abuse, approved by the imitation of so many bishops, and especially of the notable father St. John Chrysostom his successor, is a most plain declaration, that particular churches may abrogate rites and ceremonies, although they have been instituted by a general authority.

Likewise in St. Augustin's time, as appeareth in his Confessions, there was an ordinance in Afric, and elsewhere, that meat, bread, and wine should be brought to the place of meetings at the *memory* of martyrs. Which ordinance St. Ambrose did abrogate; and the reason is there declared in these words; *Ne ulla occasio ingurgitandi daretur*. "Lest any occasion should be given to drunkards, to overcharge themselves with drink:" and also, because that observance was most like to the superstition of the heathen, who kept *parentalia*, *burial feasts* for their dead parents.

Here, beside that Ambrose, one man, abrogated a common rite, let this also be marked, that the common reason used of men nowadays took no place with this ancient father; which is, Take away the abuse, and let the thing remain. But St. Ambrose took away the abuse by removing the thing.

Moreover, the common watchings, or *wakes*, of men and women at the martyrs' graves, which St. Hierom so highly commends, and doth most sharply inveigh against Vigilantius, who wrote against the said wakes, calling Vigilantius his assertion an heresy, was afterwards abrogated and rejected. And of such kind of wakes there is a canon in a particular council holden in Spain, called *concilium Elibertinum*, in the 35th chap. with these words, *Placuit prohiberi ne faeminae in coemiterio pervigilent*, &c. "It hath pleased us to forbid, that women should wake the night through in the burial place; because that oftentimes, under pretence of prayer, heinous offences be secretly committed."

Moreover, the late experience within this our country doth declare, that the abrogation of many ceremonies established by general authority is lawful and profitable. For in the time of king Henry VIII. of famous memory, many superstitious observations and idolatrous rites were abolished; and that by the consent of many of them which now are, and of late have been,

adversaries; as pilgrimages, stations, pardons, many superstitious opinions of purgatory, holy water, of masses for cattle, and *scala coeli*, innumerable lies out of the church legends, of reigned miracles, and saints lives. All which things were once established by catholic authority, as they term it, and in other regions are yet maintained under the same colour, and the gainsayers accounted by the see of Rome and her patrons, heretics. Which things are so gross, that they need no confutation.

And in this late time, as appeareth, they are ashamed to restore the same. Wherefore it is no inconvenience, that unprofitable and superstitious rites be abrogated and removed, by the authority of a particular church.

And because we are entered into this matter, it shall not be amiss to make rehearsals of a few, among a great many, of their vain superstitious fables, which have been in times past propounded to the people for wholesome doctrine.

In the Festival, (a book, as it is in the prologue, gathered out of *Legenda aurea*, for curates that lack books and cunning,) in the sermon of *Corpus Christi* day, it is written, that a man hath nine commodities by hearing of mass. One is, that he shall not that day lose his sight. Another, all idle oaths that day shall be forgiven him. Another, he shall die no sudden death. Another, so long as he heareth mass, he shall not wax old; and his good angel reckons his steps to and fro the church, to his salvation. It were too long to reckon them all; let this be enough for a taste.

In the said book, in the sermon of All Souls day, there is a narration of a priest, which was suspended of his bishop, because he could say none other mass, but mass of *requiem*. On a day the dead bodies rose, and came about the bishop, for taking away their chaplain from them. And so he was restored to his office.

In the sermon on Candlemas-day, there is also an history of a woman, which never did good deed, but only that she had continually kept a candle before our lady: after her death, by the appointment of our lady, a candle was kept burning before her in hell, which the devils could not abide; and by reason thereof she was restored to life, and became a good woman.

What occasion of dissolute life and sin may be ministered to simple people by these and an infinite number of such like fables, it is easy to perceive.

But the answer will be, these books were never allowed by public authority. Well, these books were openly printed, and within memory of men commonly credited, and yet be of some. And in these late days, while there hath been such preaching against reading the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, who hath heard any great invective against such books? And strait inquisition hath been of English Bibles and Testaments to be burned; whether the like diligence hath been used for abolishing these, let all men judge.

But to return again to the proofs by ancient examples, that particular churches may alter and institute ceremonies.

In all time there hath been provincial councils holden. Which were in vain, if they might not allow the good, and reject the evil. Particular and provincial councils have always had authority to reject and condemn wicked doctrine; and by the means many heresies have been suppressed without general councils.

In the provincial council of Gangra, divers wicked opinions against the Christian liberty for marriage, for eating of meats, for bondmen that would not obey their masters under pretence of Christian religion, were condemned.

The heresy of Pelagius was condemned in divers provincial synods in Afric before it was condemned by any general council. But doctrine is a matter hath more weight than rites and ceremonies. And so provincial synods having authority of the more, have also of the less.

And to be short, three hundred years after the disciples' time, there was no general councils, and the church well governed all that time, every province ruling their own churches according to the scriptures, only with the help of provincial councils.

The fathers of the sixth council of Carthage, writing to the bishop of Rome, who would have intermeddled with their matters in Afric, have a notable sentence for this purpose. "The Council of Nice," say they, "perceived most *justly* and wisely, that all controversies ought to be ended there where they first began, and the grace of the Holy Ghost shall not be wanting to any particular province." The words be these: *Prudentissime enim iustissimeque viderunt, quaecunque negotia in suis locis ubi orta sunt finienda; nec unicuique provinciae gratiam S. Spiritus defuturam.*

Moreover, testimonies of the scriptures and doctors may be brought, and many more examples of the ancient church, for further confirmation hereof. But for this time we have thought this sufficient. Hereafter, as cause shall be moved, we shall have occasion to say more. In the mean season, by these proofs, that we have here shortly alleged, we doubt not but it may appear to the indifferent hearer, that a particular church hath authority to make or change, and remove and abolish ceremonies in such sort as may be most for the edification of God's people.

We are not ignorant what may be objected against this assertion. As namely, concerning the authority of general councils. But because that matter requireth a long tract, we will in our answer to the reasons on the other part, by God's grace, declare by sufficient authority, in what points general councils (whose authority we acknowledge with St. Augustin to be right wholesome in the church) are to be universally holden, and in what points they are not.

Again, where they allege continuance of time and their possession in the church, let this be for this time shortly answered; they should first prove their things true, and then allege time. For against the eternal truth of God's word no continuance of time can make prescription; as St. Cyprian saith, *Consuetudo sine veritate est vetustas erroris*; "Custom without truth is an ancient error."

And as for their possession in the church, seeing it is also a long matter, and no orderly kind of disputation, that they should bring in one matter in controversy to prove another, that matter shall be for the present referred to this issue; If they be not able to prove that the bishop of Rome is the head of the universal church of Christ, and under his obedience all Christians ought to live, under pain of damnation; and that neither by decrees of general councils, neither by consent of princes, but by the authority of scriptures, and by the word of God, (for by that title of God's word the pope claimeth his supremacy;) if they shall not be able to prove that, I say, which they shall never do, as it hath been often proved in this realm, and elsewhere; then is the authority of their church nothing, and their possession unjust.

These and other objections shall be by God's grace answered more at large, when the contrary book shall be exhibited.

The God of peace and consolation give us grace to be like minded one towards another in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth praise God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

NUMBER 17.

*John Knox at Geneva to John Fox at Basil, concerning his book
against the government of women.*

The mighty comforth of the Holy Ghost for salutation,

DEARLY beloved brother, albeit at the departure of this our brother, from whom I received your loving and frendly letter, my selve could write nothing, by reason of the evil disposition of my bodie, yet becaus I could not suffer him to depart without some remembrance of my dutie to you; I used the help of my left hand, that is of my wife, in scribling these few lynes unto you. As touching my purpose and mynd in the publishing the *first Blast of the Trompet*, when the secrets of all harts shall be disclosed, that shall be known which now by many cannot be perswaded; to wit, that therin I nether have sought my selve, nether yit the vain praise of men. My rude vehemency and inconsidered affirmations, which may appear rather to proceed from choler than of zeal and reason, I do not excuse; but to have used any other title more plausible, thereby to have allured the world by any art, as I never purposed, so do I not yit purpose. To me, it is ynough to say that black is not white, and man's tyrannic and folishness is not God's perfit ordinance. Which thing I do not so much to correct common welths, as to delyver my own conscience, and to instruct the consciences of som simple, who yit I fear be ignorant in that matter. But ferther of this I delay to better opportunitie. Salute your wife and dowghter hartily in my name. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you now and for ever. From Geneva, the 18th of May, 1558.

Your brother to power,

JOHN KNOX.

I your sister, the writer hereof, salute you and your wife most hartily; thanking her of her loving tokens, which my mother and I received from Mrs. Kent.

NUMBER 18.

John Fox, newly returned from exiled to his patron Thomas, duke of Norfolk, to supply his present wants.

CLARISSIME dux, salutem in Christo immortalem. Toties tuae celsitudini jam scripsi, ut pluribus te literis interpellare pudeat. Tamen ita novi ingenuam hanc naturae tuae benignitatem, ut non magnopere petitione nostra opus esse sciam, si nihil tibi deesset ad largiendum aliud quam voluntas. Sed obstant fortasse haec tempora, quo minus vel tu ad nos mittere, vel ego abs te efflagitare ausim. Alioqui nunquam id crediturus sum, ex oblivione nostri, aut fastidio tantum, quod tamdiu ad nos nihil miseris. Verum enimvero quicquid in causa sit, cur adeo tua in nos cesset liberalitas, hoc unum scio, mi Thoma, facillimum id tibi esse in tanta fortuna omnique rerum copia, pensiunculam aliquam ad nos destinare, ex tuis illis immensis atque immodicis (ut audio) sumptibus. Prolixae aut ambitiosae preces adhiberi solent, ubi minus acclives sunt ad largiendum, qui authores sunt beneficii. Tua vero indoles semper ejusmodi visa est, ut plus sua natura velit, quam alienis precibus. Rursus nec tibi, opinor, ignotae est prorsus natura mea, quae minime ambitiose petax esse poterit, etiamsi fame esset moriendum.

Quod nihil nomini tuo inscribere adhuc ausim, obstat pericull tui metus, potius quam voluntas accincta. Id quod celsitudo tua (Christo aspirante) posthac rectius intelliget.

Quod ad religionem artinet, non arbitror opus te admonere. Ubi stet veritas, Dominus det ut tu cum veritate stare queas viriliter. Illud interim imprimis vide, nequis eo te adducat mortalium, si Christum laborantem juvare non queas, attamen ut illi te adversarium ulla in re praebeas. Vincet enim ille tandem invitis omnibus. Tempus quod alii pompis aulicis et aleis impendent, si tu literarum sacrarum lectioni impertias, prudenter, ac in rem tuam ageres.

NUMBER 19.

*The duke of Norfolk to John Fox,
his kind answer to the former letter.*

ACCEPI literas tuas, optime praeceptor, quibus mihi quod animi haberes, intelligo, quodque mihi valde charum est. Et nisi famulorum meorum reditus literas meas praevenisset, multo antehac tu hic mecum fuisses. Scripsi enim ad illos, ut ita tibi de rebus omnibus providerent, ut ad me subito venires; quod et ita factum fuisset, nisi citius quam credideram, rediissent. Nunc quoniam ipse breviter Londini videbo, velim ut ibi me expectes, quando tibi (sicubi et debeo et volo) prospiciam. Interea jubeo te valere. Ex aedibus meis Reningatiae, tricesimo die Octobr. 1559.

Tuus alumnus,

To my right loving schoolmaster, John Fox
Thomas Norfolc

NUMBER 20.

John Jewel to Henry Bullinger at Zurich, concerning the state of religion in England. Viro longe doctissimo D. Henrico Bullingero, pastori ecclesiae Tigurinae dignissimo, domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri.

S.P.

GRATISSIMAE erant mihi, Parkurstoque meo literae tuae, ornatissime vir, vel quod essent a te, cui quantum debeamus nunquam possumus oblivisci, vel quod suavitatis et humanitatis erga nos tuae, quam toto illo tempore exilii nostri experti sumus maximam, altissima vestigia retinerent. Atque utinam possimus aliquando pietatis tuae partem aliquam compensare: quicquid erit, animus certe nunquam nobis deerit. Quod nos hortaris, ut strenue ac fortiter nos geramus, erat ille aculeus non tantum non ingratus nobis, sed etiam pene necessarius. Nobis enim hoc tempore non tantum cum adversariis, sed etiam cum amicis nostris, qui proximis istis annis a nobis defecerunt, cum hostibus conjurarunt; jamque acrius multo et contumacius resistunt, quam ulli hostes. Quodque molestissimum est, cum reliquiis Hispanorum, hoc est, cum teterrimis vitiis, superbia, luxu, libidine luctandum est. Facimus quidem nos, fecimusque quod potuimus: Deus bene fortunet, et det incrementum. Sed hactenus ita vivimus, ut vix videamur restitui ab exilio. Nihil enim dicam aliud; ne suum quidem adhuc restitutum est cuiquam nostrum. Quanquam etsi molesta nobis est tam diuturna expectatio, tamen non dubitamus brevi recte fore. Habemus enim

reginam et prudentem, et piam, et nobis faventem, et propitiam. Religio restituta est in eum locum, quo sub Edwardo rege fuit. Ad eam rem, non dubito, tuas reipublicaeque vestrae literas et cohortationes multum ponderis attulisse. Regina non vult appellari aut scribi *caput ecclesiae Anglicanae*. Graviter enim respondit, illam dignitatem soli attributam esse Christo, nemini autem mortali convenire. Deinde, illos titulos ita foede ab Antichristo contaminatos esse, ut jam non possint amplius satis pie a quoquam usurpari.

Academiae nostrae ita afflictae sunt, et perditae, ut Oxoniae vix duo sunt, qui nobiscum sentiant; et illi ipsi ita abjecti et fracti, ut nihil possint. Ita Sotto fraterculus, et alius nescio quis Hispanus monachus, omnia ea quae D. Martyr pulcherrime plantaverat, everterent radicitus, et vineam Domini redigerent in solitudinem. Vix credas tantam vastitatem adferri potuisse tam parvo tempore. Quare etsi magnam voluptatem captarem, vel si canem Tigurinum videre possem in Anglia, tamen non possem esse author hoc tempore, ut juvenes vestros, aut literarum aut religionis causa, ad nos mittatis, nisi eosdem remitti ad vos velitis impios et barbaros.

Rogavit me nuper D. Russelius, qua maxime re possit tibi aliisque tuis fratribus et symmystis, quid gratum facere. Hoc videlicet sensit, velle se humanitatis vestrae, quam semper praedicat, et hospitii causa, aliquid ad vos mittere. Ego vero, nihil tibi tuisque fore gratius, quam si religionem Christi studiose ac fortiter propagaret, et papistarum insolentiam minueret. Quod ille et recepit se facturum, et certe facit quantum potest.

Venerunt hodie legati regis Galliae Londinum, qui gratulentur de pace. Princeps legationis est juvenis Momorantius. De nuptiis reginae adhuc nihil. Ambit quidem filius Frederici, et frater secundus natu Maximiliani. Vulgi tamen suspicio inclinatur in Pikingum, hominem Anglum, virum et prudentem et pium, et regia corporis dignitate praeditum. Deus bene vertat, quicquid erit. Istae primae sunt, quas ad te seorsim scripsi, ex quo redii in Angliam. Sed quoniam quae scripsi ad D. Martyrem, scio illum propter summam inter vos conjunctionem, tecum habuisse communia, non dubito quaecunque ad illum scripsi, eadem ad te quoque scripta dicere. Bene vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem vestram, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zuingleum. Siquid unquam erit, in quo possim, aut tibi aut tuis, esse voluptati aut usui, polliceor tibi non tantum operam, studium, diligentiam, sed etiam animam et corpus meum.

Tui studiosissimus, Londini, 22 Maii, 1559.

JO. JUELLUS.

NUMBER 21.

Richard Cox to Wolfgang Weidner, at Wormes, concerning the same subject with the former; with an account of the disputation at Westminster.

Viro eximio, eruditione et pietate insignito, D. D. Wolfango Weidnero Wormaciensi, amico meo observando.

Wormselaë.

CUM Wormacia discederem, venerande senex, et frater in Christo plurimum observande, semper spud me decrevi ad te scribere, certio remque facere tandem aliquando de rerum nostrarum statu et conditione; quod te audire non ingratum esse existimavi, propter ardentem sincerumque zelum, quo indies afficeris erga Christi evangelium. Coactus sum haetenus, fateor, invitus silere, ne parum tibi grata referrem. Sub saevo Mariae imperio ita crevit invaluitque papismus ad quinquennium tantum, ut incredibile fuerit quantopere pectora papistarum obduruerint; adeo ut non sine magna difficultate pientissima nostra regina cum suis, qui a veritate strenue steterunt, sinceræ Christi religioni locum obtinere potuerit. Restiterunt in summo nostro concilio, quod *parlamentum* Gallico vocabulo appellamus, pontifices, scribae et pharisaei. Et, quia eo loci paucos habebant, qui contra vel hiscere possent, vincere perpetuo videbantur. Interim nos, pusillus grex, qui apud vos in Germania hoe quinquennio, Dei beneficio, latuimus, in suggestis, maxime coram regina nostra Elizabetha, contra intonamus; pontificem Romanum vere Antichristum, et traditiones pro maxima sui parte meras esse blasphemias. Tandem paulatim resipiscere ceperunt ex nobilibus multi, ex plebe innumeri, ex clero prorsus nulli. Immotus enim stat clerus totus,

TANQUAM DURA SILEX, AUT STET MARPESIA CAUTES,

ut poeta canit. Huc denique res est perducta, ut octo ex ipsorum antesignanis, ceu episcopi, ceu ex doctis selectissimis, cum octo nostrorum abjectorum scilicet atque profugorum, de quibusdam religionis capitibus dissererent. Et ut vitaretur, verborum pugna, scriptis agi constitutum est.

Dies statuta est. Adsumus omnes. Adsunt reginae consiliarii. Adest tota fere nobilitas. Decretum est ut ipsi primum de controversiis sententiam suam proponant. Unusquispiam illorum nomine, tanquam Goliath contra Davidem, sua venditat propugnat, et argumentis irrefragabilibus (ut videbatur) confirmat, sibi plaudit tanquam jam victor evadens. Respondit nostrorum unus veritate fretus, non ampullis verborum, in timore Domini, non in doctrinae venditatione. Finita responsione, incredibilis mox audientium applausus excitatus est, non sine magna adversariorum perturbatione atque confusione. Venit alter dies simili tractationi destinatus. Rogantur adversarii nostri a consultationis praeside, ut eo ordine progredierentur, quo decretum antea fuerat; nimirum ut ipsi primum in altera controversia inciperent suam sententiam dicere, nosque sequeremur. Illi vero contra contendunt, territi scilicet primi diei successu parum prospero: clamitantque iniquum esse, ut ipsi primum dicere incipiant, cum ipsi tot jam annis perstiterint in possessione catholicae ecclesiae. Si quid habeamus contra ipsos proferamus nos, ut ipsi pro sua autoritate nos refutent, atque compescant tanquam filios degeneres, ut qui ab ecclesiae unitate jam diu exciderimus. Gratia Christo Domino nostro; dum illi mandato obsistunt, merito coercentur, et sua causa cadunt. Itaque stabilitur apud nos, per omnia regni loca, sincera Christi religio, eadem prorsus ratione, qua sub Edwardo olim nostro, beatissimae memoriae, promulgata erat. Haec pauca, sed certa, visum est ad te scribere, quem scio nostra solide gaudere gaudia, ut nobiscum gratias Domino Deo nostro agas, qui nos in ista humiliatione et cruce, vere paterna commiseratione respexit atque consolatus est. Det ipse ut tanta et incredibilia ejus beneficia e mentibus nostris nunquam elabantur. Gratam rem fecerit tua humanitas, si ista D. Jacobo Cornicio, medico, et Vespasiano Fittich, amicis meis summis communicare dignetur.

Jamjam aggredimur septa papistica disrumpere atque dissipate, et vineam Domini felicibus auspiciis restaurare. Jam sumus in opere; at *mensis multa, operarii pauci*. Rogemus Dominum, ut mittat operarios in messem. Haec paucula habui tibi pro officio in te meo impertiri. D. Jesus te servet, pietatemque tuam augeat usque ad ultimum spiritus halltum. Londini in Anglia, 20 Maii, 1559.

TUI STUDIOSISSIMUS, RIC. COX.

Superiores epistolas ex MS. codice ecclesiae Tigurinae (quae magnum monasterium vocatur) ubi autographae servantur, descripsi mense Martio

ineunte, anno Christi 1689. Joannes Dallaeus, Jo. fil. Parisiensis ecclesiae patriae, quae Carentonae olim, heu! sacros coetus habebat, pastor, nunc autem evangelii causa exul Tiguri.

[NUMBER 21.]

INTERROGATORIES.

*For the doctrine and manners of mynisters,
and for other orders in the church.*

WHETHER the parson, vicar, curate, or reader, dothe read the common service with a lowde, distincte, and treatable voyce, or no?

Whether the lessons and epystles be red or songe, so as they may be playnely heard of the people, or no?

Whether the parson or vycar preache, or cause to be preached in his church, every moneth, one sermon, or no?

Whether that every parson or vicar preach in his own person one sermon every quarter, or no?

Whether to the uttermost of theyr power, wyt, knoweledge, and learning, they do without coloure or dyssymulation, declare four tymes in theyr several sermons or exhortations, that the power of the byssshop of Rome, and all other forren power, are justly taken away, or no?

Whether, if there be no sermon, they read the homilies playnely and distinctly, or no? Whether they do exhort the people to remember the poore after the homilye, when they read the sentences, exhorting to almose, or no?

Whether they teache the youthe of their parish the Lordes Prayer, the articles of the fayth, the X commaundemenres, and the catechisme, every second Sondaye and holidaye, or no?

Whether they kepe any communion for the deade, the morrow after the burial, as they were wonte to kepe their requiem masse, or no?

Whether they and their churchwardens have provyded in their paryshes a Byble of the largest volume, and Erasmus Paraphrasis upon the New Testament, or no?

Whether they declare to their paryshes any thyng to th'extollinge or setting forth of vayne and superstitious religion, or no?

Whether the parson or vicar, being absent, hath left upon hys benefyce an honeste, learned, and experte curate, or no?

Whether that any mynister or priest, in the tyme of trouble, have divorced hymself from hys wyfe: and whether hys wyfe hath marryed to another manne since, or no?

Whether the priests and deacons say dayly the morning and evening service openly or privately, or no?

Whether any one that toke orders in king Edward's days, not content with that, were ordered again in queen Marie's days, or no?

Whether the parson or vicar hath bought his benefice, or hath come to it by symonie, fraud, or deceit, or no?

Whether the parson or vicar have moo benefices than one, or no?

Whether they geve any evel example of lyre; whether they be incontinent persones, drunkards, haunters of tavernes, alehouses, or suspecte places; dycers, tablers, carders, swearers, or vehemently suspected therof?

Whether they have received any person to the holy communion, openly known to be out of charity, or defamed with some notorious crime, before he hath made sufficient recompence for his wrong or evel doing, or no?

Whether that the parson or vycar, being not resident upon his benefice, geveth the XL. parte of his lyving to the poor of the parish, or no?

Whether any parson or vycar fyndeth but a reader under him, where he should fynda mynister, or no?

Whether the chaunsell, the body of the parish church or chappel, the personage and vicarage house, and other belonging to the same, be in good reparation, or no?

Whether they celebrate the communion with less numbre then foure or three communicants at the least, in such parishes where there be XX

persons of discretion, and in greater parishes without a greater number, or no?

Whether if there be mo priestes in any church than one, they do all communicate with the mynister, when the communion is celebrate, or no?

Whether that any reader, being admytted but to read, taketh upon him to baptize, to marry, to celebrate the Lord's supper, or to distribute the Lord's cupp, or no?

Whether they baptyze children on any other days then the Sundays and holydays, except it be thought nede that they should be baptized at home, or no?

Whether they have maryed any without banesasking; or if the partyes maryed be of divers parishes, whether they have married them without certificate from the person or persons where they were asked; or hath maryed any that be out of theyr own paryshe, not lycenced thereunto; or hath not openly denounced their certificate or lycence accordingly at the tyme of marlage; or hath maryed any person not in due place or convenient tyme, or no?

Whether they have exhorted yong folke to abstayne from privy contracts, and not to mary without the consent of such their parents and fryends as have aucturity over them, or no?

Whether they have admitted to the holy table any of another parish, except they bee straungers, without the licence of the mynyster from whence they came, or no?

Whether there be any that preacheth out of their own parish, not lycenced therunto, or els taketh uppon them to preach, beyng not ordeyned, neyther lycenced therunto?

FOR THE DUETY OF CHURCHWARDENS.

Whether they have provyded a comelye and honest pulpit to be set in a comlye place of the churche, or no?

Whether all aulters, images, holy water stones, pictures, paintings, as of th'assumption of the blessyd virgin, of the descending of Christ into the virgin, in the forme of a lyttel boy, at th'annunciation of the aungel, and all other superstitious and daungerous monuments; especially paintings and

images in waul, boke, cope, banner, or elsewhere, of the blessed Trinitye, or of the Father, (of whom there can be no image made,) be defacid and removyd out of the churche, and other places, and are destroyed; and the places where such impiety was, so made up, as if ther had bin no such thinge there, or no?

Whether that any images, bokes of service, or vestments, not allowed by law, be reserved of any man, or in any place, or no? By whom and where they be reserved?

Whether they know any manne that refuseth to contribute to the almes of the poor, as a thing not rightly appointed, and discourageth other from such charitable almes, or no?

Whether the churchwardens have provyded a strong chest for the poor men's box, and hath fastened it in a fit place, or no?

Whether the church money, coming of movable stocks, money geven to find torches, tapers, lampe, light, not payed out of any landes, be employed to the pore man's box, or no?

Whether the churchwardens of every paryshe do duely levye and gather of the goods and lands of every such person, that cometh not to his own parysh churche upon the Sondayes and holy dayes, and there heare the devine service, and God's word read and preached, XIId. for every such offence; and whether they have distributed the same money to the poore, or no?

Whether there be a register had and kepte faythfully of christenings and burialls, or no?

FOR SCHOLEMAISTERS AND THEYR OFFICE.

Whether any scholemaister take upon him to teach, not allowed of the ordinary, or no?

Whether they move and teache theyr children duely to reverence and love the trewe relygion that is now set furth, or no?

Whether they teach theyr children such sentences out of the scriptures, as mai frame them to godliness, or no?

FOR CLARKES AND THEIR DUETIE.

Whether that the songe in the churche be modest and dystinct, so devysed and used, that the dyttie may playnely be understande, or no?

Whether thei use to singe any number of psalmes, dirigelike, at the burial of the dead, or do any other thinge otherwise then it is appointed by the common order of the Service-book, or no?

Whether they use to ring oft and long peales at the burial of the dead, or useh much janklinge in festival days, in ryngyng noone or curphewe, or no?

FOR THE PEOPLE AND THEIR DUETIE.

Whether there be any man that mocketh or jesteth at the devyne servyce, or at the ministers therof, or speaketh any thyng by jest or earnest, to the despyng, derogacion, or lettyng therof, or no?

Whether any man hath burned, or caused the holy Bible to be burned, torne, or defaced, or hath conveyed it out of the church, that it should not be red of the people, or no?

Whether that any parishioner receiveth the sacraments, and other rytes ecclesiastical, according to the book auctorised by common authoritie, or no?

Whether any man is knowne to have sayd or heard masse since it was abrogate by lawe? whether any man maketh any singing-cakes, to say masse withal; reserveth vestments, superaltaries, masse books, or other instruments of this superstition, or no?

Whether that any do deferre theyr chyldren to be baptized beyonde the next Sondaye or holy daye after their byrth, and upon what causes they do so?

Whether that any be so hasty to baptize theyr chyldren, that having no nede, they will not tary tyll the next holy-daye, that the chylde may be partaker of the prayers of the hole church then present, or no?

Whether any hath maryed within the degrees of consanguinitie, prohibited by the lawes of God, eyther whither any married without those degrees, have unlawfully forsaken their wyves or husbands, or maryed others?

Whether any kepeth in his house any abused images, namely, such as be removed out of the church, or saint Jhons head, S. Katherine, Nicholas, or their heads or such lyke, or no?

Whether any bodye useth beads, Latin primers, or any other prayer books, then that be allowed by publike auctoritie to be used, or no?

Whether there be any that maintayneth any heresye or false opinion, contrarie to God's word, or no?

Whether ther be any that exerciseth sorcery, sothseying, witchcraft, or such like curious arts, or no?

Whether there be any incontinent persons, drunkardes, swearers, blasphemers of the name of God, raylers at religion, or fautie in any other enormous cryme, or vehemently suspected of the same, or no?

Whether there be any that neglecteth to resort commonly to hys parishe church, and there abideth orderly and soberly during the tyme of services, or no?

Whether there be any that useth byinge, selling, dressing, caryenge to and fro of clothe, followeth hys occupation, geveth hymself, or canseth his to labour bodily, or to attend theyr occupation in the sabboth-day, hinderinge both themselves and theyrs thereby to learn ghostly thyngs, or no?

Whether there be any that walketh or talketh in the church at service tyme, or goeth out without urgent node, or no?

Whether there be any bodye otherwise occupyed at service tyme, then to heare and make [marke] the same, or els suffer their children to disturbe the devine service, or no?

Whether any person of discretion hath not communicate thryce since Midsummer was twelvemonth, and in especially at Easter last past; who they be, and what be their names?

Whether any hath maryed, the banes not beyng lawfully asked before, except he had a dispensation of the ordinary, or no?

Whether fathers, mothers, maysters, and dames, sendeth out their chyldren and servauntes to be instructed in the catechisme, in the Sondays and holydays, or no?

Whether vynteners, or they that kepe vittaylings houses, both sell meat or drynk in the tyme of servyce or sermons, or no?

To these interrogatories the ordinarie requireth an aunswere accordingly, by the last daye of August, or before, if they maye.

Imprynted at London, in Foster-lane, by Jhon Waley.

NUMBER 22.

Cox, bishop of Ely, to the queen, excusing himself for refusing to minister in her chapel, because of the crucifix and lights there.

Most gracious sovereign,

WHOM I, above other, divers ways am bound most dearly to love and honour, sith God by your majesty hath placed me, and placed me to monish, to exhort, and to call upon, *opportune, importune.*

In the trembling fear of God, in the bond of duty toward your highness, in the zeal of God's truth, which burdeneth and bindeth my conscience, I most humbly sue unto your like godly zeal, prostrate, and with wet eyes, that ye will vouchsafe to peruse the considerations, which move that I dare not minister in your grace's chapel, the *lights* and *cross* remaining.

The scripture saith, in the place where God gave his commandments he suffered no similitude, nor likeness of any thing to be seen. And in his second commandment he forbade both the making of images, and the worshipping them also, and that upon a grievous plague. How durst man, *dust and ashes*, for any respect set up an image in the temple of God?

Your majesty's learned and godly clergy of your realm do think this commandment of God indispensable.

And your highness knoweth, that in this thing, and in all other matters of religion, the judgment of the ministers of God's word ought to be heard. *Qui vos audit, me audit.*

Neither would godly Constantine, in the council of Nice, take upon him to be judge over the fathers, but was content to stand to their judgment and determination in matters of religion.

I trust your great wisdom, and godly zeal towards your realm, will weigh and consider the great peril which may ensue through the heart-burning about this matter. The protestants, as they term them, on the one side, and the papists on the other.

Tender my suit, I beseech you, *in visceribus Jesu Christi*, my dear sovereign, and most gracious queen Elizabeth.

CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS, WHICH MOVE ME THAT I CANNOT YIELD TO HAVE IMAGES SET UP IN CHURCHES.

I. The second commandment containeth two prohibitions. The one, *Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, &c.* The second, *Thou shalt not adore them, nor worship them.* And this second appeareth to be the cause of the first: for images are forbidden for fear of adoration. And to the intent we should understand the law thus to be meant, and to have no images in the church, where God is chiefly to be honoured, God himself saith, *When ye were gathered together to honour me, and to learn my laws in the mount Sinai, ye saw no image, nor likeness of any thing, lest being deceived ye should have worshipped them.* Which giveth me to understand, that in place of worshipping there should be no images.

II. I ought to do nothing touching religion which may appear doubtful, whether it pleaseth God or not. For our religion ought to be certain, and grounded upon God's word and will. *Quod non est ex fide peccatum est.* The matter of images hath always been a gainsay, sith they entered first into the church. And the Greeks have refused images, because of God's commandment.

III. The holy scriptures universally do vehemently detest them, and have horribly plagued the maintainers of them, and commended and prospered those godly kings who did utterly abolish them.

IV. Images in the church of Christ have been foully abused, not only of the ignorant people with vows, pilgrimages, offerings, clothing, gilding, incensing, and other kinds of honour, but also of the learned fathers and pillars of the church, who have taught, and do yet maintain, the honouring, adoration, and invocation of images.

I therefore, a miserable man, dust and clay, having these and such like considerations before mine eyes, cannot, without offence of God and

conscience, yield to the setting up of images in the temple of my God and Creator.

**AND THESE [EXAMPLES AND WARNINGS] THAT FOLLOW,
CAUSE ME TO TREMBLE AND SHAKE AT GOD'S
TERRIBLE JUDGMENTS.**

The prophet Balaam, because he was desirous to gratify king Balak somewhat otherwise than God willed him, he was rebuked of his own ass. And the angel charged him, saying, *Cave ne aliud quam praecepero tibi, loquaris.*

A lion slew the man of. God, by whom God had sent a notable message to king Jeroboam; and that because he had transgressed God's commandment, only in eating and drinking with another man of God.

St. John writeth thus, *Contestor omnem audientem verba prophetiae libri hujus, si quis apposuerit ad haec, apponet Deus super illum plagas scriptas in libro isto. Et si quis diminuerit de verbis prophetiae hujus, auferet Deus partem ejus e libro vitae.* Sith it is so dangerous a matter to add or diminish from this book, how dangerous were it for me to presume to diminish or add any thing to the express command and eternal will of my Lord and God!

Yet my meaning is not hereby to enter into consideration of such as are otherwise minded, much less of your majesty, (God forbid,) who I believe meaneth not to use the thing to any evil end. And therefore I was content, albeit God he knoweth with a trembling conscience, to minister and communicate, as appeareth, upon other great and weighty considerations.

Bear with me, most gracious sovereign; for the tender mercy of God, force not my conscience so sore. Your highness knoweth,

Qui facit contra conscientiam, aedificat in gehennam.

NUMBER 23.

Richard Cheney (afterwards bishop of Gloucester) to secretary Cecyl, complaining of a loss sustained by the queen's visitors.

To the right honourable Mr. Cecyl, secretary to the queen's majesty at the court, give these.

BECAUSE it pleased your mastership so gently to come and offer me your hand upon the leads at the court, somewhat before Easter, these shalbe most heartily to thank you, desiring you to be a help, that more preachers may be sent abroad. For every where there is *messis multa, sed opera. rii pauci, imo paucissimi*. I find a priest upon my ten-pound benefice in Halford in Warwickshire, because I would go abroad, and do some good, where no preacher cometh. My priest hath ten-pound out of my ten-pound ten-shillings, and I live there of the residue. I remember, that when I preached before the queen's majesty rudely after the country fashion, I spake of the queen's takers, but or I came home again from London, then they had taken a quantity of my wheat, which I would take mony for, if I could get it, and so would other poor men where I dwel. The hope whereof caused me to take my journey to Oxford; where I communed with certain touching the true pronounciation of Greek, who stifly defended the usual maner of pronouncing. Beware, learned masters, said I, that when you wilfully go about to defend an untruth in this matter, you fall not into such an inconvenience as I once knew a bishop do. They would needs know how and wherein. I sat once, said I, at table with a bishop, that did, as you now do, defend the untrue pronounciation of this Greek letter η And after I had declared many absurdities that followed thereof, I desired him to consider a few words written in the XXVIIth of Matthew. He immediately called for the New Testament in Greek. I appointed him a line or two in the place, as before. He read among other these four words, $\text{Ὡὲ ἡλί λαμὸ σαβαχθανί}$ making false Greek, but true English, pronouncing plainly, *I ly, I ly*. Let this be a warning for you, learned masters, said I, for fear, &c.

There was in company then the commissary Dr. Babington, Dr. Wright archdeacon of Oxford, the provost of Oriel college, with others. So we made an end of this matter merrily at the Bear, on the Annuntiationeven last. And Dr. Babington gave me your old tutors book of this matter, which I never saw before, because I dwelt in a corner where I see nothing; but I feel that I am worse by forty pounds within these two years than I was before. Such hath been my late gains. The cause hath been, my gentle and loving friends have four or five times called me to London, and offering me a bishopric: but I cannot think my self worthy so high a room. And as for the prebend of Westminster, it were more meet for one that

would be resident upon it, as I intend not to be. And therefore I shall receive but ten pound by year.

I began first in mine youth at the court, but I intend to make an end in mine age at the cart, at my circumcised benefice. But what do I trouble your mastership with this homely letter in the midst of your weighty and manifold affairs. I trust you will bear with my rudenes, and help me also, that wher I lost sixteen pound by year before the queens majesties visitors at Alesbury, and shal a years rent to boot without recompence, I may somewhat be recompenced by your goodness, as my trust is. Or if your plesure be, that I only shalbe a leeser in these days, that had more conference with the learned men of the contrary side in queen Maries time, than any others had, I will hold me content with forty pound loss. Thus I bid your mastership most heartily farewel. April 16, 1561.

NUMBER 24.

*Bullinger's letter to Sampson and
Humphrey concerning the habits.*

DOMINUS Jesus benedicat vobis, viri ornatissimi, et fratres charissimi, ac servet vos ab omni malo. Accepi literas vestras, ex quibus intellexi, te, Laurenti, conqueri, quod mea responsio data ad tuam quaestionem nimis videatur accisa. Ego vero, mi frater, tunc non vidi, neque nunc video, quorsum oportuerit copiosiores scribere literas. Nam rogabas tu duntaxat, quae esset mea de *re vestiaria*, de qua contendebatur in Anglia, sententia. Ad hanc quaestionem brevibus tibi respondendum putavi. Nam brevibus meam sententiam dicere potui: Dein sciebam beatae memorize D. Pet. Martyrem et Oxoniae et hic, eandem quaestionem tractavisse saepius et fusius; quibus quod adjicerem non habeam. Memini vero in literis ad te, Sampsonem fratrem, datis, meae quoque sententiae factam rum quoque mentionem. Et ut irerum uno aut altero verbo, quod sentio, dicam.

Nunquam probaverim, si jubeamini vestrum exequi ministerium ad aram crucifixi imagine oneratam, magis quam ornatam; et in veste missalica, hoc est, in alba et casula, quae a tergo quoque ostendet crucifixi imaginem. At quantum ex literis ex Anglia allatis intelligo, nulla nunc est de ejusmodi veste contentio. Sed quaestio est, *An liceat ministris evangelicis portare pilcum rotundum, vel quadratum, et vestera albam, quam nuncupant*

superpellicium, qua minister ornatus, a vulgo discernatur. Et, *An oporteat ministerium, vel stationem sacram, citius relinquere, quam hujusmodi vestibus uti?* Respondi ad hanc quaestionem, praeteritis nundinis reverehado viro, D. Rob. Horne, Winton. episcopo; et quidem brevibus repetens verba D. Martyris. Scripserat eidem paulo ante symmysta et affinis meus chariss. D. Rodolphus Gualtherus. Cujus exemplum hisce inclusum ad vos, et alios fratres nostros, mitto. Ergo si nos audire vultis, nostrumque judicium de *re vestiaria* expetitis, sicut ultimis vestris ad me literis significabatis, en! habetis in ista epistola nostrum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sane quam vehementissime: et cure nullum nobis amplius supersit consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus et semper respiciendus est, ex animo et incessanter oramus, ut ipse gratia sua atque potentia rebus afflictis consulat.

Quaestiones aliquot tu, Laurenti frater, proposuisti; plures vero ejusdem argumenti Sampsonus noster contexuit. Licet vero, pro mea simplici ruditate, nunquam probaverim, res in tot distrahi quaestiones, et nodis innecti implicationibus, quae, alioqui simpliciores per se, brevibus, et satis perspicue expediri potuerant; aliquid tamen annotabo ad singulas. Ut hac quoque in re, vobis dominis meis observandis, et fratribus charissimis, quantum per meam possum infantiam, acumenque retusum, magis quam acutum, inserviam. Vos autem oro, ut benigne haec a me fratre vestro, vestrique amantissimo, accipiatis: et de his animo judicetis ab affectibus purgato, atque tranquillo. A contentionibus abhorreo prorsus, et nihil magis supplex peto a Domino, quam ut ab ecclesia longe removeat contentiones, quae ab initio, et semper, plurimum nocuere verae pietati, et ecclesiam utcunque pacatam et florentem lacerarunt.

Cum quaeritur, *An debeant ecclesiasticis leges praescribi vestiariae, ut iis distinguantur a laicis?* respondeo Ambiguitatem esse in verbo *debere*. Si enim accipiatur pro *necessario*, et quod ad salutem consequendam pertineat, non arbitror hoc velle vel ipsos legum authores. Si vero dicatur, posse hoc fieri decoris, ornatusque vel dignitatis et ordinis gratia, ut sit civilis quaedam observatio; aut tale quid intelligatur, quale illud est, quod apostolus vult ministrum vel episcopum ecclesiae κόσμιον *compositum*, inquam, vel *ornatum* esse, non video quid peccet, qui veste hujusmodi utitur, aut qui hujusmodi veste uti jubet.

An ceremonialis cultus Levitici sacerdotii sit revocandus in ecclesiam?
 Respondeo, Si pileus et vestis non indecora ministro, et quae superstitione

caret, jubeantur usurpari a ministris, nemo sane dixerit vere, Judaismurn revocari. Praeterea repeto hic, quod ad hanc quaestionem video respondisse D. Martyrem. Qui ubi ostendisset sacramenta veteris legis esse abolita, quae non oporteat reducere in ecclesiam Christi, quae habet baptismum et sacram coenam, subjecit, *Fuerunt nihilominus in lege Levitica actiones aliquae ira comparatae, ut proprie sacra dici non possunt. Faciebant enim ad decorem et ordinem, et aliquam commoditatem, quae ut lumini naturae congrua, et ad nostram aliquam utilitatem conducentia, egvet revocari et retineri posse judico. Quis non vidit apostolos, pro pace et convictu credentium faciliori, mandasse gentibus, ut a sanguine et suffocato abstinerent? Erant haec citra controversiam legalia et Levitica. Decimas quoque hodie multis in loca institutas esse ad alendos ministros, nemo nostrum ignorat: psalmos et hymnos cani in sacris caetibus, manifestissimum est. Quod tamen Levitae quoque usurparunt. Utque hoc non omittam, dies habemus festos in memoria dominicae resurrectionis, et alia. An vero illa omnia erunt abolenda, quia sunt vestigia legis antiquae? Vides ergo non omnia Levitica sic esse antiquata, ut quaedam ex hiis usurpari non possint. Haec ille.*

An vestitu cum papistis communicare liceat? Respondeo, Nondum constat papam discrimina vestium induxisse in ecelesiam: imo discrimen vestium constat papa esse longe vetustius. Nec video cur non liceat vestitu, non superstitioso, sed politico, et eomposito, communicare cum papistis. Si nulla re cum illis communicare liceret, oporteret et templa omnia descrere, nulla accipere stipendia, non uti baptismo, non recitare Symbolum apostolicum et Nieenum, adeoque abjicere Orationera Dominicam. Neque vos mutuatis ab iis ulla ceremonias. Res vestiaria ab initio reformationis nunquam fuit abolita, et retinetur adhuc, non lege papistica, sed vi edicti regii, ut res media et politica.

Ita sane, si ut re civili utamini pileo, et veste peculiari, hoc non redolet Judaismum neque monachismum. Nam ii volunt videri, a civili vita separari, et constituunt meriturn in peculiari sua veste. Sic Eustachius, Sebastiae episcopus, damnatus est non simpliciter propter peculiarem vestera, sed quod in veste religionem constitueret. Noti sunt Gangren. concilii canones, Laodicensi et sexti synodi. Quod si ex plebe nonnulli sunt persuasi redolere hoc apismum, udaismum, et monachismum, admoneantur, et recte de iis instituantur. Quod si importunius quorundam clamoribus, hac de re ad vulgus profusis, multi inquieti reddantur, vi-deant, qui hoc faciunt, ne

graviora sibi onera imponant, regiamque majestatem irritent: denique multos fideles mini-stros in discrimine adducant; ex quo vix emergere queant. *An qui libertate sua hactenus acquieverunt, vi edicti regii, hac servitute implicare se, et ecclesiam, salva con.. scientia, possint?*

Respondeo, Cavendum ego censeo, ne odiosius disputetur, clametur, et contendatur de re vestiaria, atque importunitate hac detur occasio reg. majestati, ut liberum illis amplius non relinquat; quod libertate hactenus usi sunt, sed clamoribus [non] necessariis irritata mandet vel sumere vestes illas ecclesiasticas, vel cedere stationi suae. Mirum sane mihi videtur (vestra pace, viri ornatissimi, et fratres charissimi, dixerim,) quod vobis persuadetis, salva conscientia, vos et ecclesias servituti vestiariae subijcere non posse; et non potius expenditis, si re politica et indifferenti uti nolitis, et perpetuo contendatis odiosius, cujusmodi servituti et vos et ecclesias subijciatis; quod vestra statione cedentes lupis exponitis ecclesias, aut saltem parum idoneis doctoribus; qui non aequè ut vos ad docendum populum sunt instructi. An vero ecclesias in libertatem asseruistis, qui occasionem suppeditatis, ecclesiam pluribus etiam gravioribusque oneribus opprimendi? Non ignoratis, quid multi quaerant, quomodo erga evangelii praedicationem sint affecti, et quales vobis successuri sint, et quid de illis sperandum sit.

An vestitus clericalis sit res indifferens? Videtur sane res indifferens, cure sit res civilis, decori ornatusque habeat rationem, in qua cultus non constituitur. Ad tuas volui respondere literas, hoc brevibus, doctissime et dilectissime frater Laurenti.

Jam venio ad Sampsonis nostri quaestiones. In quibus opponendis ero fortasse brevior.

An vestitus peculiaris a laicis distinctus, ministris ecclesiae unquam fuerit constitutus; et an hodie in reformata ecclesia debeat constitui?

Respondeo, In veteri ecclesia fuisse peculiarem presbyterorum vestitum apparet ex historia ecclesiastica Theodreti, lib. 2. cap. 27. Et Socratis lib. 6. cap. 22. Pallio in sacris usos esse ministros, nemo ignorat, qui veterum monumenta obiter inspexit. Ideo antea submonui, diversitatem indumentorum non habere suam originem a papa. Eusebius certe testatur ex vetustissimis scriptoribus Johannem apostolum Ephesi petalum, seu laminam gestasse pontificalem in capite. Et de Cypriano martyre testatur Pontius Diaconus, quod cum jugulum carnifici praeberè vellet, ei prius birrum dedisse, diacono dalmaticam, atque sic ipsum in lineis stetisse

indutum. Praeterea vestis candidae ministrorum meminit Chrysostomus. Ac certum est Christianos, cum a gentilismo converterentur ad evangelium et ecclesiam, pro toga induisse pallium. Ob quam rem, cum ab infidelibus irriderentur, Tertullianus librum *de Pallio* scripsit eruditissimum. Alia hujus generis plura proferre possem, ni haec sufficerent. Mallem quidem nihil scrupuli injici ministris, et eos ea uti posse consuetudine, qua apostoli. Sed quando regia majestas pileum tantummodo et candidam vestem injicit, in qua cultum (quod saepe jam repetivi) non constituit, eademque res apud veteres, dum meliores adhuc ecclesiae res essent, usurpatae sint absque superstitione et culpa, optarem bonos ministros in his, non ut in prora et puppi, quod dicitur, totum constituere religionis profectum; sed dare aliquid tempori, et de re indifferenti non odiosius altercari, sed modeste judicare, haec quidem ferri posse, sed proficiendum cum tempore. Propiores esse apostolicae simplicitati, qui discrimina illa ignorant, aut non urgeant: interim tamen a disciplina non sunt alieni.

An vestium praescriptio congruat cum Christiana libertate? Respondeo, Res indifferentes admittere aliquando praescriptionem, adeoque coactionem. Ne dicam, quoad usum et non quoad necessitatem; ut aliquid scilicet, quod natura sit indifferens ut necessarium conscientiae obtrudatur, et ita animis injiciatur religio. Tempora certe et loca sacrorum coetuum recte habentur inter indifferentia, et tamen si hic nulla sit praescriptio, quanta obsecro confusio, conturbatioque orietur?

An ullae caeremoniae novae, praeter expressum praescriptum verbi Dei, cumulari possunt? Respondeo, Me non probare, si novae cumulentur caeremoniae; sed tamen aliquas institui posse, non negarim, modo non in eis statuatur Dei cultus, sed instituantur propter ordinem, et disciplinam. Christus ipse encoeniorum festum, vel caeremoniam, servavit, nec tamen lege praescriptum legimus hoc festum. In summa propositionum, vel quaestionum de re vestiaria potior pars de eo disputat An de vestibus leges in ecclesia condi vel debeant, vel possint? Ac quaestionem revocat ad genus: quidnam de caeremoniis videlicet statuere liceat? Ad has propositiones paucis respondeo, me quidem malle nullas caeremonias, nisi neecessarias, obtrudi ecclesiae. Interim tamen fateor, non posse statim leges de hiis, forte non adeo neecessarias, aliquando etiam inutiles, damnari impietatis, turbasque et schisma excitare in ecclesia, quando videlicet superstitione carent, et res sunt sua natura indifferentes.

An ritus Judaeorum antiquatos revocare, religionique idololatrarum proprie dicatos, in usus reformatarum ecclesiarum liceat transferre? De hac quaestione antea respondi, ubi disserui de Leviticis ritibus. Nolim vero ritus idololatricos, non repurgatos ab erroribus, transferri in ecclesias reformatas. Rursus vero et ex adverso quaeri poterat, an recepti ritus, remota superstitione, propter disciplinam et ordinem, retineri sine peccato non possint?

An conformatio in ceremoniis necessario sit exigenda Respondeo, Conformationem in ceremoniis, in omnibus ecclesiis, forte non esse necessariam. Interim si percipiatur res non necessaria, rursus tamen non impia, ob eam ecclesia non videtur esse deserenda. Non fuit in ritibus conformitas in omnibus ecclesiis vetustioribus. Quae tamen conformibus utebantur ritebus, eas vituperabant conformitate carentes. Facile enim credo, viros prudentes atque politicos conformationem rituum urgere, quod existiment hanc facere ad concordiam. Et quod una sit ecclesia totius Angliae, in qua re si nihil impii misceatur, non video quomodo ejusmodi non malis institutis hostiliter vos objiciatis.

An ceremoniae cum aperto scandalo conjunctae retineri possint? Respondeo, Scandalum vitare oportere. Videndum interim, ne sub scandalo nostras affectiones contegamus. Non ignoratis aliud quidem datum, aliud vero acceptum, et ultro accersitum esse scandalum. Non disputo nunc, an vos, sine gravi scandalo, deserere possitis ecclesias, pro quibus Christus mortuus est, propter rein indifferentem.

An ullae constitutiones ferendae in ecclesia, quae natura sua impiae quidera non sunt, sed tamen ad aedificationem nihil faciunt? Respondeo, Si constitutiones impietate carent, quas vobis imponere regia majestas [vult] ferendae sunt, potius quam deserendae ecclesiae. Si enim aedificatio ecclesiae hac in re potissimum est spectanda, deserendo ecclesiam plus destruxerimus ecclesiam, quam vestes induendo. Et ubi abest impietas, nec laeditur conscientia, ibi cedendum est, liter aliqua imponatur servitus. Interim vero quaeri rursus poterat, an sub servitute juste referamus rem vestariam, quatenus facit ad decorem et ordinem.

An quicquam ecclesiis a principe praescribendum in ceremoniis sine libero consensu et voluntate ecclesiasticorum? Respondeo, Si voluntas ecclesiasticorum semper sit expectanda principi, nunquam forte sapientissimi et piissimi reges, Josaphat, Ezechias, Aza, et Joas, alique principes boni, Levitas et ministros ecclesiarum redegeisse in ordinem.

Quamvis nolim prorsus excludi episcopos a consultationibus ecclesiasticis; nolim rursus cos eam sibi potentiam vindicare, quam sibi usurparunt contra principes et magistratus in papatu. Nolim item tacere episcopos et consentire ad iniqua principum instituta.

Postremae quaestiones duae proprius ad rem ipsam accedunt. *An consultius ecclesiae sic inservire, an propterea ecclesiastico munere ejici. Et, An boni pastores jure ob hujusmodi ceremonias neglectas a ministerio removeri possint?* Respondeo, Si in ritibus nulla est superstitio, nulla impietas, urgentur tamen et imponuntur bonis pastoribus, qui mallent illos sibi non imponi, dabo sane, et quidem ex abundanti, onus et servitutem sibi imponi; sed non dabo idque justissimis ex causis, stationem, vel ministerium, propterea esse deserendum, et lotum cedendum lupis, ut antea dictum est vel ineptioribus ministris praesertim cum maneat libera praedicatio, caverique possit, ut major obtrudatur servitus, et multa hujus generis alia.

Dixi quae videbantur dicenda de propositis quaestionibus, non nescius alios pro sua eruditione longe elegantius meliusque potuisse excussisse; sed quia ita voluistis ut responderem, feci quod potui, liberum aliis relinquens de hiis et calamum et judicium. Quod superest, nullius ego his conscientiam urgere et irretire volo, sed examinanda propono, moneoque nequis in hac controversia ex φιλονεικίᾳ sibi faciat conscientiam. Hortor item vos omnes per Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum, ecclesiae suae Servatorem, caput et regem, ut probe quisque apud se expendat, utranam re plus aedificarit ecclesiam Christi, si propter ordinem et decorem vestibus utatur, ut re indifferenti, et hactenus ad concordiam utilitatemque ecclesiae nonnihil faciente, an vero propter rem vestiariam deserat ecclesiam, occupandam postea, si non a lupis manifestis, saltem a ministris minime idoneis et bonis. Dominus Jesus det vobis videre, sapere et sequi quod facit ad gloriam ejus, et ecclesiae pacem et salutem. Valete in Domino, una cum omnibus fidelibus ministris. Orabimus sedulo pro vobis Dominum, ut ea sentiat et faciat, quae sancta sunt et salutaria. D. Gualterus amicissime vos salutatur, et omnia felicia vobis precatur. Facimus hoc ipsum reliqui ministri. Tiguri, Maii, anno Dni. M.D.LXVI.

Heinriichus Bullingerus,
Tigurinae ecclesiae minister,
suo et Gualteri nomine.

NUMBER 25.

Bishop Horne to Gualter concerning the controversy about the habits. Ornatis. theologo, D. Gualtero Tigurinae ecclesiae ministro dignissimo, Robertus Hornus, episcopus Wintoniensis.

LITERAS tuas, mi Gualtere, quam amanter et jucunde acceperim, vel hinc existimare debes, quod de Tigurinae reip. statu, in cujus fide ac liberalitate exul collocatus fueram, tum de tui, reliquorumque amicissimorum, et de me optime meritorum, valetudine cognoscebam. Accedebat tua in Johannis evangelium lucubratio, scribendi, ut tu ais, occasio. Quam ita probo, ut ad veram scripturarum scientiam et pietatem conferre judicem; et non solum a tyronibus, quibus tu potissimum studes, sed ab ipsis professoribus legendam, existimem. In foedere Gallico et Helvetico perspicaciam Tigurinam probo, quae astutias Gallicas religionis praetextu adumbratas olfecit et patefecit. Bernenses etiam vicinos vestros spero suasu vestro ab inhonesto foedere assensum cohibituros. De peste, quae regionem Tigurinam invasit, opinionem habeo, quod impiorum causa etiam ipsi pii affigantur. Qua percussus pater Bullingerus, quod periculum evasis, debemus putare eum, qui duriora tempora sustulit, felicioribus esse a Domino reservatum. Tuam domum ab ea contagione tutam, divinae clementiae, quae laboribus tuis voluit otium, ascribo. Res nostrae ita se habent, quod ut vos vicinas Gallicas, sic nos intestinas papisticas timemus insidias. Primates papistici in publicis custodiis; reliqui exilium affectantes, scriptis quibusdam in vulgus disseminatis, sese in gratiam, nos in odium vocant: ansam minutam sane, et ejusmodi, nacti, controversia nuper inter nos orta de quadratis pileis et superpelliciis. Exclamarunt papistae, non esse quam profitemur unanimem in religione fidem, sed variis nos opinionibus, duci, nec in una sententia stare posse. Auxit hanc calumniam senatus nostri decretum, de profliganda papistica potestate, ante restitutionem nostram sancitum, quo sublata reliqua faece, usus pileorum quadratorum et superpelliciorum ministris remanebat; ita tamen ut superstitionis opinione careret, quod disertis decreti verbis cavetur. Tolli hoc decretum non potest, nisi omnium regni ordinum, quorum consensu constitutum fuerit, conspiratione atque consensu. Nobis, penes quos tunc non fuit sancienti vel abrogandi auctoritas, pileis et superpelliciis uti, vel aliis locum dare, injunctum est. Usi his sumus, ne munera Christiana per nos deserta occuparent adversarii. Sed cum jam haec res in magnam contentionem inter nostros devenerit, ut noster grex pusillus etiam in duas

abierit partes, quarum altera ob illud decretum deserendum ministerium, altera non deserendum putet, peto abs te, mi Gualtere, quid de hac controversia, quae nos una vexat, senseris, ut quam primo tempore scribas. Speramus certe proximis comitiis illam decreti partem abrogaturos. Sed si id obtineri non poterit, quoniam magna ope clam nituntur papistae, ministerio nihilominus divino esse adhaerendum iudico; ne deserto eo, ac a nobis ea conditione repudiato, sese insinuant. Qua de re sententiam, mi Gualtere, exspecto tuam, an haec, quae sic facimus, salva conscientia facere possimus?

De vestra quoque ecclesia ita sum sollicitus, ut quoniam multos fideles ministros ex peste interisse suspicor, per tuas literas scire vellem eorum nomina, qui jam supersint. Dominus Jesus, magnus gregis sui custos, vos et universam ecclesiam suam custodiat. In eodem vale. Datum e Fernamiae castro, 16. cal. Augusti, 1565.

Tuus in Christo,
ROBERT. WINTON.

NUMBER 26.

*Bullinger to certain of the bishops, concerning the habits.
 Reverendis. in Christo patribus, D. Roberto Horne, Wintoniens. D.
 Gryndallo, Londoniens. et D. Parkhursth, Norvicens. episcopis in
 Anglia, dominis nostris colendissimis et fratribus charissimis.*

REVERENDI viri, domini honorandi, et fratres charissimi. Dom. Jesus benedicat vobis, et servet vos ab omni malo. Mittimus scriptum nostrum de re vestitaria, datum a nobis ad N. et M. viros doctos, et pios fratres nostros colendos. Ideo autem mittimus ad vos, ut intelligatis, insciis vobis, primariis ministris, nihil nos privatim agere cum fratribus, et quod per omnia pacem ecclesiarumstrarum, quantum quidem possumus, quaerimus. Oramus quoque Dominum, ut semper rebus vestris consulat, et vos servet in concordia. Vos hortamur, viri reverendi, et fratres charissimi, ut rationem habeatis fidelium ministrorum et doctorum hominum. Habent hii fere suas affectiones: uncle apostolus quoque monuit, ut *alii aliorum onera portent*. Vestra autoritate plurimum potestis apud sereniss. D. reginam. Apud ejus majestatem efficite, ut boni fratres reconcilientur et restituantur. Rogamus item, ut tu, D. Horne, observande domine, et frater charissime, cui primum

hae literae dari possunt, illico cures eas perferri ad D. Norvicensem, easque communes habeatis eum D. Juello, D. Sando, et D. Pilkinthono: quibus proximis nundinis Frankfordien. Deo volenti, scribam. Has festinatissime exaravi, tam meo quam Gualtheri nomine, et Basileam misimus, inde transportandas Antwerpian. Vos sedulo oramus, ut significetis, an receperitis. Optime valete, viri reverendi. Dominus benedicat vobis et vestris laboribus. Tiguri, 3 Maii, anno 1566.

Bullingerus vester.

Oramus te, reverende Horne, ut haec quoque communices cum clarissimo viro, D. Ed. Grindallo, Londoniens. episcopo. Qui etsi nobis non sit notus, perinde ut vos, amamus tamen illum, et vicissim ab ipso amari cupimus. Cui et nos, et omnia nostra offerimus. Iterum atque iterum valete.

NUMBER 27.

Lawrence Humfrey to the queen for a toleration of such as refused the habits. illustrissimae et serenissimae principi Elizabethae, Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, reginae, L. Humfredus S. P. D.

Si quoties peccant homines sua fulmina mittat Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit.

LICEAT enim mihi, serenissima princeps, hoc carmine affarimajestatem tuam, quo usus est apud Augustum Ovidius. Sensit nimirum poeta non malus improbas preces mortalium deum etiam iratum frangere. Neque vero hoc usque adeo nobis mirum videri debet, quum evangelicae viduae importunitas iniquum judicem vicerit. Dolemus profecto in rep. hac excitasse turbas *Ἀτῆν Homericam. Sed λύτας amabii gratias, consopituras esse vehementer speramus. Affert enim nobis spem lux clementiae tuae; cui illam Tuberonis invisam esse satis scio ad Caesarem crudelissimam vocem apud Ciceronem, Cave ignoscas, Cave credas. Cui ilia potius eximia Vespasiani benignitas semper placuit, ut nullum abs te tristem vells dimittere. Rogamus igitur iterum atque iterum, Elizabetha princeps, ut edictum tuum vestiarium, ac ceremoniale, vel abrogas pie, vel prorogas benigne. Siquidem novit prudentia tua, N. Testamenti argentum fidei tuae divinitus commendatum esse, ut purum ac defaecatum sine scoria tradatur posteris. Novit reges domus Dei zelo accensos omnis superstitionis reliquias amovisse, ita ut nullum extaret vestigium. Novit

eam demum reformationis formam et ideam esse perfectam, cum in facie naevi et maculae tolluntur, quum nihil vel in religione vel ritibus a veritatis hostibus sumitur. Novit in adiaphoris maxime controversis licere unicuique contra aliorum praeiudicium et offensionem sensu suo abundare, et libertatem conseientiarum nullo modo astringi oportere. Caeterum rem qua de agitur, religioni et aequitati consentaneam esse nemo dubitaverit. De nobis, regina clementissima, multa fortassis jactari solent apud maj. tuam: sed illud dictum aureum et fide et memoria est dignissimum, **Μέμνησο ὀπίστεῖν** et illud hic locum habet, *Cave credas*. Animi vero mei obedientiam et observantiam erga M. T. non modo vox saepe testatur, sed liber *De Nobilitate* meus, et Cyrilli in Esaiam commentarius Latinus factus, qui illustrissimo nomini tuo inscripti sunt, loquuntur. Idem de fratribus omnibus **συνηρθῆῖσι** (nisi ego fallor) vere dici potest.

Cum ergo res, quae petitur, honesta sit, et quae jubetur dubia; et qui petunt cives obedientissimi et ministri sunt, cur tua, O regina, erga nos clausa est misericordia, quae patere solet omnibus? Cedere non vis princeps subditis; at pores parcere clemens miseris. Decretum publicum non vis rescindere; relaxare potes et remittere. Non potes legem tollere, at poteris tolerare. Non est aequum, ut quorumlibet affectibus indulgeatur; at aequissimum est ut animis nulla vis inferatur. Non id agitur, regina serenissima, ut nos praesimus, qui subesse debemus; sed ut reginarum regina ratio regnet, ut religio imperet, summissa ministrorum oratio impetret.

Quamobrem, illustrissima princeps, quam humillime peto atque contendo, ut M. tua serenissima majestatem gloriosi evangelii, causae aequitatem, operariorum paucitatem, messis magnitudinem, zizaniorum multitudinem, poenae gravitatem serio attenteque intueatur. Commutare consilium in melius, optimum est. Sic Ambrosio monitori cessit stomacharts Theodosius: cessit oratori Ciceroni Julius Caesar; et ita cessit, ut tabulas in quibus capitalis sententia contra Ligarium prescripta et lata erat, oblitterarit, projecerit, confregerit. Parce, O Julia, Ligariis; parce, O Theodosia, non dicam Ligariis, aut Thessalonicensibus, at prophetis Dei, ministris Christi, subditis tuis, vel justam causam afferentibus, vel culpam deprecantibus. Frange capitales tabulas. Ita Deus Opt. Max. qui hactenus in patientia tua et libertate nostra, tibi regnum, regno pacem, paci pietatem tribuit et concessit, M. tuam conservabit, imperium fortunabit, populum gubernabit, memoriam in omnium saeculorum aeternitatem prorogabit.

NUMBER 28.

*Dr. Humfrey's letter to the lord treasurer Burghly;
certifyting, his conformity in apparel.*

EMMANUEL.

I RECEIVED your honourable letter, and withal perceive your care for bettering of my state. I wolde be lothe her majestie, or any other honorable, shuld thinke, that I am so forgetful of my dutie, or so farre from obedience, but that I wolde submitte my selfe to thos orders in that place, wher my being and living is. And therefore I have yelded, that no further surmise of any wilfulnes shuld be gathered: and wold have don the like heretofore, but that having a toleration, I was glad to enjoy it; and I hoped stil for some pointes of redresse; wherin I was no open intermedler, but onlie a private soliciter, and humble sutor to her majestie and your lordships. My hope is, that as I have offended some by this my obedience, so I shal have such favour and countenance at her majesties hande, that I shal now more frelie and fruitefullie procede in my vocation. It was a remorse, to seme by singular apparel to sundre my self from thos bretherne, whos doctrine and life I always loved and liked. And I protest to your lordship before God, that my standing before, and conforming now, cometh of one cause, viz. the direction of a clear conscience; and tendeth to one ende, which is edification. And if in the proclamation, which I heare shall be set forthe for apparel, one clause may be added for ministers and students in the universitie, and a plain signification given, that it is enjoined, not so much for an ecclesiastical ceremonie, as for a civil policie and ordinance, it wold, I thinke, satisfie many in conscience. But I referre thes cases to your wisdom; my selfe and my cause to your goodness. And so, with my humble thanks, I recommend your lordship and yours to th' Almighty.

Your lordships to command,

Oxon, Feb. 6

Laur. Humfrey.

NUMBER 29.

*Beza to Bullinger; to consult in behalf of those in
England that refused the habits.*

S. MISSA hic sunt, mi pater, exemplaria litersrum utriusque principis landgravii, quae spem faciunt fore, ut Erfordiensia ilia comitia non procedant, quod utinam eveniat. Quod autem addunt, et nos satis sciebamus, cautum esse nimirum Augustae de peregrinis ecclesiis non damnandis, quoniam video ab illis astute factum, qui sic effici posse putarunt, ut non interveniremus (id enim imprimis norunt consiliis suis officere) id, inquam, non multum me exhilarat. Obsecro enim, si damnabitur nostrarum ecclesiarum doctrina, idque sub Zuinglianismi et Calvinismi nominibus, et sive per nostrum, sire per illustriss, principis latus, effodiatur veritas, nonne eodem res recidit? Sed age, expectemus quod dabit Dominus, qui utinam efficiat, ut ipsum pro nobis excubare hic quoque sentiamus.

De rebus nostris nihil prorsus habeo novi quod scribam. In Gallia videtur ecclesiarum pax a rerum Flandricarum exitu pendere, quod plane miserum est. Nam certe illam agendi rationem probare nullo modo possum; et quamvis laeta videantur initia, tamen tristissimum et funestissimum exitum videor mihi jam prospicere, nisi Deus imprudentiae quoque illorum benedicat. Quod ad te scriptum fuit de quibusdam ex magistratu caesis, et urbe occupata, commentitium est, si vera sunt quae abhinc biduum accepimus duodecimo hujus mensis scripta; nempe nulli prorsus, ne sacrificio quidem, adhuc factam injuriam; nullum idolum a nostris eversum; interesse tantum innumerabilem turbam concionibus, quae extra urbes sub dio habeantur, et incredibilem esse audiendi verbi sitim. Commendemus igitur haec quoque Domini providentiae.

Jam venio ad Anglicanum negotium, quod ut nobis tristissimum fuit audire, ita libenter optassem fieri posse, ut ista maxima molestia carerent. Sed quid agas? Miseri fratres, consolationem, consilium, preces ab iis ecclesiis petunt, quarum olim charitate recreati, et nunc quoque se recreandos sperant. Morosuli sunt nonnulli, fateor, sed in tantis miseriis difficile est modum tenere. Et quum scopus illorum sit optimus, condonandam arbitror hanc importunitatem. Ex iis quae sigillatim ex hoc nostro fratre audies, quorum etiam exemplar hic apud me reliquit, cognosces, neque unquam illinc ejectum fuisse papatum, sed ad regiam majestatem potius translatum;

neque nunc aliud captari, quam ut sensim restituantur, quae utcumque fuerant instaurata. Putavi aliquando de pileis tantum et vestibis quibusdam externis agi: sed postea longe aliam esse controversiam intellexi: et nunc palam video, non sine incredibili animi dolore, qui utinam mihi uni proprius et peculiaris esset.

Primum, cum externa vocatio, praeunte doctrinae et morum examine, non ab uno aliquo, sed a fratrum saltem coetu facto, sit ecclesiastici ministerii veluti basis et fundamentum, quid turpius, quid immoderatus ista episcoporum licentia, ut non vocatos, sed ultro accedentes pro arbitrio immatriculent? Mox, nullo assignato loco, tanquam idoneos, vel ad inserviendum (ut vocant) vel ad docendum, approbent; ac tandem quum vacant ista ministeria, pro libitu hos vel illos, tradita certo pretio scheda, et interposita duabus de rebus fide (una regiam majestatem pro supremo post Christum Anglicanae ecclesiae capite agnituros; altera leges regni, et imprimis praeclarum illum reformationis librum, ritusque omnes ita secuturos, ut nihil prorsus improbent) quibuslibet ecclesiis assignent.

Si de disciplina ecclesiastica quaeritur, quaenam tandem illic est, ubi non aliter quam sub papatu, loco presbyterii legitime delecti, suos decanos, cancellarios, archidiaconos, officiales habent, qui pro arbitrio, et ut in foro civili fieri solet, ex jure tantum canonico excommunicationem pronuncient, etiam ob pecuniarias et ejus generis lites. Quam sententiam postea, ut judex suo apparitori, sic D. episcopus, vel ejus officialis, ministro legendam in ecclesia transmittat, tantisper scilicet valituram, donec cum judice transegerint. Eadem enim est plerumque absolutionis, quae excommunicationis ratio. Quantum autem absunt a lege coelibatus, qui uxores sine expressa reginae venia, et D. episcopi, et duorum quorundam justitiariorum pacis assensu ducere, ductas autem vel in collegiis, vel intra cathedralium ecclesiarum septa, ut impuras nimirum, sive ut vitetur offendiculum, alere prohibentur? Quid? quod papistis non tantum beneficiorum redditus, sed ipsa etiam ecclesiastica munera relicta sunt, praestito tantum reformationis servandae juramento? Adeo ut plerique et indoctis et verae religionis in corde infensissimis hostibus, pii fratres plerumque subsint, eorumque jurisdictionem subire teneantur. Quid? quod publice veneunt in metropolitani curia dispensationes nonresiden tiae, pluralitatis beneficiorum, ciborum delectus, matrimonii extra constituta tempora celebrandi, beneficii etiam in pueritia obtinendi, caeteraque id genus; quibus ne ipsa quidem Roma turpius et indignius quicquam habet? Quid? quod baptismus ipsis mulierculis in casu quem vocant *necessitatis*,

permittitur? Et quasi ista cum aliis quibusdam nihilo melioribus non sufficerent, ecce! jam pauculi illi puri evangelii doctores, alii quidem exauctorantur, alii vero in carceres etiam detruduntur, nisi illa omnia se inviolabiliter polliceantur approbaturus, ut neque verbo neque scripto contradicere liceat, ac tandem pileis etiam quadratis, collipendiis, superpelliceis, casulis, et caeteris id genus, sacerdotes Baalis referant. Neque hic est miseriarum finis; sed illud quoque expresse cautum est, ut quicquid regiae majestati, adhibito vel solo Cantuariensi, in ecclesiae ritibus instituere, mutare, tollere libuerit, firmum statim et ratum habeatur.

Hic est igitur Anglicanae ecclesiae status, valde, ut mihi videtur, miserabilis, atque adeo plane intolerabilis. Pauculi autem illi duplex a nobis consilium flagitant. Unum, qua tandem ratione regina et episcopi possint officii admoneri? Alterum, quid ipsis interea bona conscientia liceat?

Quod ad prius illud attinet, videtur quidem hoc malum soli jam Deo medicabile; sed tamen experiendum aliquid arbitror, potius quam patiendum, ut tantum aedificium silentio prorsus corruat. Duplicem autem viam hic invenio; unam nobis quidem asperiores, illis vero multo, ut mihi quidem videtur, commodiores: alteram vero leniorem, sed non ita compendiosam. Vestra una ecclesia est, mi pater, cujus authoritate tum regina tum episcopi illi permoveri posse videantur. Illa quidem, ut secum expendat quatenus et quo sensu dicantur reginae nutrices ecclesiae: isti vero, ut sicut olim Augustus de condenda repub. cogitavit, ita ipsi ecclesiam a majoribus suis oppressam, tandem restituant. Nam quod ad hanc ecclesiam attinet, velim scias ita esse reginae exosam, ut propterea ne levissimo quidem verbo illi gratum esse mearum Annotationum munus significarit. Causa hujus odii duplex est; una quod nimium severi et rigidi habeamur, quod iis maxime displicet qui reprehendi metuunt. Altera, quod olim, inscientibus tamen nobis, vivente adhuc Maria, editi sunt duo libelli Anglicano sermone; unus, adversus foeminarum imperium a domino Knoxo; alter, de jure magistratus a dno. Gudmanno scriptus. Uterque, quum quid contineret intellexissemus, nobis quoque displicuit, ac proinde prohibitus est venire. Sed illa nihilominus conceptam opinionem fovit.

Itaque si dignam hanc causam esse statuis, quae a vestris suscipiatur, haec commodissima, et fratribus utilissima ratio esse videtur, ut magistratus vestri, si non autoritate, saltem permissu vel conniventia, deligeretur ex vestro coetu unus, qui in Angliam hanc ipsam ob causam proficiscens, omnibus istis malis coram remedium apud reginam et episcopos quaereret.

Heroicum sane esset hoc factum, vestra civitate dignum, et Deo longe, ut arbitror, gratissimum, etiamsi non succederet prorsus ex animi sententia. Via per Galliam plana est pertitus, et brevis, quum hinc usque in Dieppensem Normanniae portum (unde secundo vento decem boris in Angliam trajiciunt) undecim diebus facillime possit perveniri. Salutarentur et confirmarentur per vias Gallicae ecclesiae plurimae. Inviseretur Amirallus cum Andeloto fratre, uterque in ipso itinere occurrens. Nec difficile esset fratrem unum aut alterum ex doctioribus et cordatoribus legationis comites, si opus fuerit, impetrare, qui suam operam vestro legato adjungerunt. Si et nos aliquid hic posse judicaretis, id est, hujus ecclesiae literas, nulla erat in nobis mora. Nosti hunc fuisse veteris ecclesiae morem, ut etiam invocati occurrerent tum ad incendia extinguenda; et multos exorientes tumultus hac ratione in plurimis provinciis fuisse compositos. Nec dubito, quin pia et charitatis plena haec legatio sit reginae ipsi, et piis saltem episcopis valde placitura, quos audio studiose idoneam occasionem captare, una cum magni sigilli custode, viro sincero et religioso. Favent etiam multi ex nobilitate: multi ex reliquis ordinibus suspiciant. Omnes istos probabile est, si salutem suam externis quoque ecclesiis tantae curae esse viderint, anitum suscepturos, ut apud regiam majestatem fortius instent, donec illam flexerint. Tempus quoque valde opportunum est, quum illic instent comitia, in quibus certum est, fore, ut de his omnibus rebus agatur.

Dicam etiam aliquid amplius bona cum tua venia, mi pater, si non displicebit vobis hoc consilium: unus D. Gualterus ad hoc curandum, administrandum, conficiendum ita videtur modis omnibus appositus, ut poene si ipsum delegeritis, ipsa veluti Dei voce illuc ad recreandos miserrimos fratres, denique ad servandum illud regnum, missus videatur. Haec una via est promptissima, quantum ego quidem judico, nec ita magni sumptus aut laboris. Sin vero hoc non placeat, saltem literas graviter et copiose scribendas, tum ad regiam majestatem, tum ad episcopos arbitror, ut sui muneris et officii commonefiant, quum praesertim illos videas contra voluntatem

Quaedam hic desiderantur.

NUMBER 30.

Harding's letter to bishop Jewel, printed. Dated from Antwerp: requiring a copy of his sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross.

To maister John Iuell.

THINKE you, maister Juell, that whereas in the xxvii. day of Maie last you made a sermon at Paul's Crosse to abuse the eares of the ignorant people with scoffes and deuyses against certaine authorities in my book alleaged, for a foreshewe of your booke that now is in printing, that you must not come to a straighter accompt of the mater in the triall and handling of lerned men? Thinke you your reprove of Amphilochius auncientie, because of the later life of saint Thomas th'archebishop martyr joyned to him in your olde parchment booke, (as though in olde written bookes workes of diuerse ages be not commonly joyned together;) your scoffing at the comming of Christ as parish clerke, with angels singing pricksong to saint Basil's masse, as though we had not as strange a vision in Gregorie Nazianzene; your burthening of me with an inward allowing of your newe gospel; your making comparison of us with king Darius and the vagabund Egyptians; your hearing of men in hand, that I am but a translatour of other mens workes, and haue made lerned lyes, used false allegations, deprouations, wrestinges, dreames, &c. your false surmise geuen forth that the proufe of priuate masse stode vpon olde men, women, and boyes; must not be nearer looked to of the lerned, ere they passe for good stuffe? Yeas, yeas, syr, be you well assured. Wherefore I require you, if your mynde be in dede to have the truth knowen to the people, and not vnder your gay rhetorike to abuse them in error, let me haue your whole sermon, as your selfe will stand to it. For I haue but the abstractes, which I make not full accompt of. And you shall see, whether I will shewe you substantiall matter in lerning for the selfe authors, (to witte, Clemens, Abdias, Martialis, Hippolytus, Amphilochius, and Leontius,) which in your pleasant deuyses you haue made so light of. But what if I could not? Or, what if they were not so auncient in dede? Why, syr, is this your waye of proceeding? Thinke you, with a fewe of the weakest authorities, as you make them, pyked out to th'advauntage, to holde the people in fooles paradise of a full answer to so weighty and great a number besydes? When you shewe in your booke matter of substance, which wise men see you cannot, sith this was reserued as chiefe for the pulpit; I will plainly take out the full pyth of the answer from impertinent matter, to laye open before all men, what you and I saye. In meane time, likewise of your forerunning sermon I require a copie, that I may forthwith do the like: that we abuse not the people in matters so weighty with colours of truth, but shewe them the pyth, and then let them judge, though more conuenient it were that the lerned should judge. I make

no foretalk to your strauagant challenge, till the places alleaged shewed what I had to saye to ech your negatiue article. And so of them all I compiled the booke. Which how so euer you will seme to the people to answere, when it commeth to just triall, you shall but further stirre vp and continewe your shame. Would God we might vse the doctours of the church to amendement of life, and vertuous preaching to the people, and not stand to make giegawes of so lerned mens workes in contention with you, which vse them but only for the shewe at Paul's Crosse to seme to have doctours, without any ensample of their vertues in your preaching to the people. And, syr, beleue you in dede that the doctours make for you? Or will you haue men thinke that we are so mad to beleue so, because ye dryue vs to stand to dispute with you in the matter? May we not yet remember the times, when, at first begynning of your sectes, ye rejected all doctours auctorities, as writinges of men, and admitted only your lyuely word of the Lord? And when this shift seemed too grosse, for that it was sayd, your selues also were but men; haue ye not at length, (which here to discourse were ouer long,) with indirect places of doctours, strange gloses farre sought, patched pieces of counsels, rejecting the whole, yea, also of scoolemen, canonistes, blinde chroniclers, what so euer might be scraped, pieced out a doctrine, to make shewe to the ignorant, that the doctours were not against you? But do yee for all this allow the doctours in dede? Do not your doinges shewe plainly the contrary? Make ye not ministers of tag and rag for the Spirites sake? Clappe me not they the bare Bible on the dext, and preach thereupon after their owne sense? Haue the parishes the doctours in estimation through their teaching; or care they for ought but their Bible and their minister? And thinke you, Mr. Juell, the case thus standing, when you came to challenge vs, that we had in the doctours and counsels not one clere sentence on our syde, that any wise man beleueth, you thought as you said? These shameless deuyses, florishes, and such like, be they neuer so gay to the people, they are to the lerned ridiculous, and not worthy of answere, but in respect of the ignorant, to shewe them your abuse. For conclusion, to deale simply in this matter, fill your booke come forth, I require the true copie of that you said in your sermon, to see whether it be as good in substance to the lerned, as for the tyme it semed gay to the people. Concerning my selfe, what so ever was said to diminish myne estimation, I freely forgeue, and will clerely omitte it, as matter far from purpose, and vnsemely for men of our professsion; and will proceed to the discussing of the truth, for the instruction of the people, for whose sake only (God I take to record) I request you this much to haue a sight of

that sermon. And because the matter is common, and pertaining to charge of soules, that my good purpose should not be frustrate, I thought to write you this letter in publike, the more to force you to graunt my request, to the discharge of your selfe, and burthening of me, if I fully declare not your misdealing in this matter. Fare you well.

At Antwerp, 12 Junii, 1565.

Thomas Harding.

TO THE READER.

I have, as thou mayst see, gentle reader, made my request to Mr. Juell touching the true copie of his sermon. Which as to him in that behalfe I suppose ynough to be said, if he haue the care and zeale of truth that he pretendeth to haue: so now to say also to thee somewhat, whose judgement (the same not assisted by God's speciall hand) may, in this so stoute denyall of truthes, easely be caried into a wonderous confusion; I haue thought good to aduertise thee of this one thing. That since the matter of our controuersie is come to such issue, as Mr. Juell's replye to myne answer of his chalenge is now (as he sayeth) begonne to be in print; thou wilt be content, what so euer thou shalt read therein, to suspend for a time thy verdict in the cause, and ground not in thy selfe too peremtory a judgement vpon that he shall saye, till I, or some other, with some second answer haue made my reioindre unto him. I do by this ynch (assure thy selfe) measure right well what can be his elle. I mean by his late sermon (if such abstractes as haue come to my handes be of true information) I see already, what maner of pelfe must be the stuffing of his huge work now in the presse. I trust the pointes and substance of the materiall truthes therein (by that time I shall have once vewed ouer his doinges) will be contryled into a great deale lesse rome, and shalbe finished also in somewhat shorter time then in foure yeres space, which it pleaseth him now, for his cleanlyer excuse, among many other his preached untruthes, wrongly to charge me to haue spent in deuysing of my first booke, already in thy handes.

Farewell.

Thomas Harding.

NUMBER 31

A trewe note of certen artycles confessed and allowed by Mr. D. Feckenam, as well in Christmas holie days last past, as also at divers other times bette that; by conference in lerning, before the reverend father in God, the lord bisshopp of Elye, and before D. Perne, deane of Elye, master Nicholas, master Stanton, master Crowe, master Bowler, chapleyns to my lord of Elye, and divers others, whose names be here subscribed.

FIRST, That he doth beleve in his conscience, and before God, that the xivth chapter of the firste to the Corinthians is as truly to be understood of the common service to be had in the mother tounge, to be understood of the vulgar people, as of the preching or prophesying in the mothertounge.

Secondly, That he doth find no fault with anie thing that is set forth in the Book of Common Service, now used in the church of England. But his desire is to have all the rest of the ould service, that was taken out, to be restored agayne; as the prayer to the saynts, and for the dead, and the seven sacraments, and external sacrifice. And then he would most willingly come thereto. He liketh well to have the sacrament ministred under both kinds unto the laye people, so it were done by the auctoritie of the church.

Thirdly, He doth verie well allowe of the interpretation of the othe for the quene's majestie her supremacie, as it is interpreted in her highness's Injunctions; that is, that the quene's majestie, under God, have the soveraintie and rule over all maner of persons born within these her realmes, dominions, and countries, of what estate ether ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be. The which othe he offereth himselfe to be at all tymes readie most willinglie to receive, whensoever it shall be demanded of him by auctoritie.

Fourthly, He being demanded, whie he will not come to the service in the church of England, as it is set forth this day, seeing he doth find no fault with it, and doth think it in his conscience, that it may be lawful to have the common prayer in the mothertongue: he answereth, because he is not of our church for lack of unitie; some being therein protestants, some puritanes, and some of the family of love; and for that it is not set forth by the auctoritie of general council to avoyd *schisma*.

Lastly, Mr. D. Feckenham will not conforme himselfe to our religion, for that he can see nothing to be sought, but the spoyle of the church, and of bisshopps houses, and of colleges lands; which, he saythe, maketh manie to pretend to be puritanes, seking for the frutes of the church, alwayes requesting Almighty God to put in her majestie's mind, and her honourable council, to make some good stay therin: otherwise, he saythe, it will bring in ignorance in her highness's clergie, with a subversion of Christian religion, and finally, all wickedness and paganisme.

Richarde Ely,
John Fecknam, prieste.
Andreas Perne,
Gulihelmus Stanton.

NUMBER 32.

*The queen's letter to the bishop of London, for seizing seditious
 books transported from beyond sea.*

By the queue.

RYGHT reverend father in God, ryght trustie and welbeloved, we grete you well. Where we be gyven to understand that certayn unnatural and seditious subjects of this our realme, being fled out of the same, and lyving on thother syde of the seas, ceasse not contynually to contrive and send over hither sundry seditious and slaunderous books to be spredde abroad here, partly for there own private gayne, but specially to move the ignorant people to disorder; a thing very requisyte to be looked unto, as being meere agaynst all good order and policy of this our state, and contrary also to the statutes and lawes of this our realme: we lett you wete, that considering the most parte of those slaunderous books be brought in by such vessells as arryve within our porte of London, of which place you are the chief pastor and bysshopp; and waying withall, that you are one of our commyssioners for matters ecclesiasticall; we have thought good to appointe you specially to have regarde hereunto. And for the better dealing therein, we have gyven order to our high treasurer of England, expressly by our letters, that he shall suffer suche one or mo persons of dyscretion, as you shall appointe for this purpose, to resorte to our custome house of London, as any ship or vessell shall come in from tyme to tyme, and ther to

syt with our customers and other offycers for the serche and perfecte understanding of the state of suche bookes, and as any suche shalbe founde, to be brought to your handes; to thintent, that upon the considering of the same, you may do with them as to your dyscretyon shalbe thought good. And further call before you and examyn all suche persons as you shall fynde faultie herein, or in any wise to be suspected; and upon due tryall of his faulte, to cause him to be punished as the lawes of this our realme will permyt, or otherwise in reason shalbe thought fyt. And if you shall thinke yt requisite to have the lyke order in any other porte, we have also gyven commaundement to our said treasurer to cause the same to be executed, uppon the notyce to be gyven from you and the diocessan of the place: requiring you therefore to take some care herein; and to make some speciall choyse of the men that you shall appointe hereunto, bothe for their dyscretion, and also for their diligence, in suche sorte, as we may perceyve some good to grow by this our order, for the redresse of these evill practises. And thies our lettres shalbe your sufficient warrant in this behalf. Yeven under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the xxiiiith day of January, in the eighth yere of our reigne.

NUMBER 33.

The declaration of the people of Antwerp, against the inquisition there lately set up. To the right honorable, grave, and discrete lords the bourgmaisters and counsell of the town of Andwarpe.

MOST humbly and in all due reverence declare unto you the commonaltie and burgesses of the town of Andwarpe, that it is come to their knowlege, how of late it hath pleased our most gracious sovereign lorde the king, to sende hither from Spayne his determynate will and pleasure, touching the matter of th'inquisition in the dutchy of Brabant; willing the said inquisition to be published and straightly observed in these said countreys of Brabant, without exception or further difficultie to be made to the contrary by any lordes, prelates, nobles, estates, or members of the said countreys, or by any other persons whatsoever. And although the said suppliants have alwayes trusted that his majestie (being heretofore sufficiently advertised of th'inconveniencies and ill consequences of the said inquisition, having respect unto the promises thereupon made by th'emperor, of good memory, Charles the Vth, in Augusta, to the quene's majestie, (whom God

preserve,) and to the promises made by our most gracious lorde the king in this town of Andwarpe the yere 1549, and specially also those promises that were lately made in Spayne to the said town of Andwarpe) woold never have charged or molested the said Low-Countreys, being his enheritanee, and namely, the said town of Andwarpe, with the said inquisition, under any pretext or colour whatsoever. Yet nevertheless so it is, that our gracious lady the dutchesse of Parma, regent, &c. by force of his majesties lettres is determined, besides his letters missive written to this ende to this town in July last, to cause the said inquisition openly to be published here in Andwarpe, under pretexte of the counsell of Trent, before viii dayes passe; and to force every man to the straight keeping of the same: auctorizing the bisshops, archbisshops, and other common ecclesiasticall persons, to have only the knowledge and judgment thereof. But what evil consequence, commotions, and piteous desolations the same may bring to these said Low-Countreys, it is not necessary here to rehearse, as a thing sufficiently knowen to the said lords, and to all others. And forasmuche as the said inconveniencies have byn often tymes and sufficiently declared, specially to his majestie, to the dutchesse, and to the lords of these countreys, and that the same notwithstanding, they will yet procede, directly against all reason and equitie, to the publishing and execution of the said inquisition, (being the same inquisition,) the very propre and only foundation of the overthrowing and desolation to come of these countreys, and of the noble town of Andwarpe, we, the suppliants aforesaid, are constreyned, by the means and occasions before specified, to protest openly before God, and before you, as our magistrates, and before all the worlde; and by these presents we do protest, that the said publishing and execution of the same inquisition, under colour of the said counsell, falleth out, and is made, not only against all reason and equitie, but also directly against the privileges of the countreys of Brabant, and the promisses expresly made to this town. And that in case there shall happen in dede any resistances against the said publication of th'inquisition, the said suppliants affirm, that the said resistance may not, nor hereafter ought not to be holden or reputed for any commotion, disobedience, or sedition, in any maner wyse; and that they protest expressly. And that we may be hable to prove this by order and right before a competent judge, (we say *a competent judge*, bycause they handell us out of all justice, reason, and equitie, and against the first, second, thirde, fourth, and last articles of *the joyfull entree*, and many other laudable privileges expressly, touching the matter of the said inquisition,) we require you the said lords, as our

magistrates, patrons, governours, and defenders, that it will please you to cause the said determinate pleasure and will of our sovereign lord the king to be notified to the justice of the chamber of the holy Romaine empire, and to adjourn his majestie before the same justice, by vertue of the *golden bulle*, granted to this countrey of Brabant, in the yere 1349, and successively th'emperours, by force of the conclusion of Augusta, of the xxvith of June, 1548, to be there declared of our behalf, that the said inquisition, or execution of the counsell of Trent, is directly contrary to our said privileges.

And further, that the same may be declared to have no foundation why it should be published in this town of Andwaxpe, or in the countrey of Brabant, and much less to be executed: so moche the more, for that this town situated in Brabant, and the commons of the same, according to the contract of Augusta, made betwene these countreys and the countreys of Germany, the yere 1548, and many others, be a parte and member of the holy empire; being the same contract, after the common description of the provinces of the courtreys of Germany, set and put in the Vth article of the VIth reinge of all the countrey of Germany; and also after the content of the contracts made in respect of religion at Passau, the yere 1552, and at Augusta the yere 1555. According wherunto we ought to be free and without molestation in the case of th'inquisition, and of all things depending therof; and further to enjoye and use all manner of privileges, helpes, defenses, immunities, and liberties, as other estates and members of th'empire do enjoye and use; to the which empire these said Low-Countreys do contribute in charges of th'empire, as moche as two electiuous. This doing, you shall duely satisfie your office; and in not doing the same, we protest in the most humble manner we may, as before is expressed.

NUMBER 34.

*A proclamation for apparel, subscribed
by the lords of the council, and some of the nobility.*

By the queene.

THE queenes majestie, consydering to what extremityes a great nombre of her subjects axe growne by excesse in apparell, both contrary to the lawes

of the realm, and to the disordre and confusion of the degrees of all states, (wherin alwayes diversity of apparell hath taken place,) and fynally to the subversion of all good ordre, by reason of remisness and impunity; hath, with th'advice of her counsell, upon good deliberation thought meete, for some degree towards a reformation herof, to cause a summary of some things necessary to this pourpose to be extracted out of certen acts of parlement; and therunto hath also added certen orders, devysid with th'assent of her counsell, for reformation of furer excesse in apparell not sufferable. All which hereafter ensewing, her majestie willith to be publishid, and to be observid duly, without hope or expectation of any point of favour to be shewid, either to the officers that shalbe fownd remisse in th'execution, or to any person that shalbe fownd culpable in any place within the realme, after the space of fyteene dayes next following the publication hereof.

Certeyn clauses taken out of the statute made for reformation of excesse of apparel, the xxivth yere of the reign of king Henry th'Eight.

First, It is ordrid, that no man under the degree of a duke, marquis, earle, and their children, or under the degree of a baron, unlesse he be a knight of the order of the garter, shall weare in any part of his apparell any wollen cloth made out of this realme, or any of the queenes majesties domynions, except in bonets onely.

Item, That no man under the degree of a barons son, or of a knight, except he may dispend two hundred pounds by yere for tearme of lyre over all charges, shall weare any maner of velvet in his gowne, cote, or other his uppermost garment; nor any manet of embroderie, or pricking with gold, silver, or silke, in any part of his apparell or on th'apparell of his horse or mule.

Item, That no man under the said estates and degree, saving such as may dispend in yerely revenues as is aforesaid one hundred pounds above all charges, shall weare any satyn, damaske, silke, chamblet, or taffata in his gowne, cote, or other his uppermost apparell or garment. Nor any velvet, saving in sleevelesse jackets, doublets, coyfes, partelets, and purses.

Item, That no man under the said degrees, saving the son and heire apparent of a man of three hundred marks by yere above all charges, and such other men as may dispend in yerely revenu as is aforesaid forty

pounds over all charges, shall weare in his gowne, or any other his uppermost apparell, chamblet or silke; nor in any other part of his apparell any silke, saving satin, damaske, taffeta, or sarcenet in his dubblets. And sarcenet, chamblet, or taffeta in the linyng of his gownes; or velvet in his slevelesse coats, jackets, jerkins, coyfes, cappes, purses, or partelets. The colours of scarlet, crimsyn, or blew, always excepted.

Item, That no man under the said degrees, saving such gentlemen as may dispenal in yerly revenues as is aforesaid twenty pounds above all charges, shall weare any manner of silke in any apparell of his body, or of his horse or mule, except it be sattyn, taffata, sarcenet, or damaske in his dublet or coyfe. And chamblet in his slevelesse jackets; or points, laces, or garters, made in England or Wales.

Item, That no parson under the same degrees, saving such as may dispend fyve pounds by yere as is aforesaid above all charges, shall weare any silke in his dublets or jackets, nor any thing made out of the realme, saving chamblet in their dublets and jackets.

Item, That no serving man, nor other yeoman taking wages, nor such other as may not dispend of freehold forty shillings by yere as is aforsaid, shah weare any shurt or shurtband, under or upper cappe, bonet or hatte garnissed, mixt, made, or wrought with silke, gold, or silver. Nor shall weare any bonet or shurtband made out of the realme of England or Wales.

Item, No husbandman shall weare in his dublet any other things then is wrought within this realme, fustyan and canvas onely except.

Item, No serving man in husbandry, or journeyman in handicrafts, taking wages, shall weare in his dublet any other thing than fustyan, canvas, leather, or woollen clothe.

Item, If any man shall use or weare any apparell, or other thing, contrary to the tenor of the articles before remembrid, then he so offending shall forfayt the apparell and things so worne, wherwith soever it be garnissid, or the valew therof; and also ill. ivd. in the name of a fyne, for every day that he shall so weare the same, contrary to the tenour heerof.

Certeyn other clauses and branches taken out of the statutes made in the first and second yere of king Philip and quene Mary, necessary also to be observid, to avoyd the excesse of apparel.

First, That no Englishman, saving the son and heire apparent of a knight, or such as may of yerely revenues during lyfe exspend twenty pounds above all charges, or be worth in goods two hundred pounds, shall weare any maner of silke in or upon his hatte, bonet, night-cappe, girdle, scabberd, hose, shoes, or spurleathers, upon payne of three months imprisonment, and fyne of xl. for every dayes wearing, contrary to the tenor of this act.

Item, That no parson or parsons of any estate or degree, knowing any servant of his or theirs to offend contrary to the article last before remembrid, and do not put the same servant out of his or their service, but shall keepe in his or their service the same offender or offenders by the space of xiv dayes next after such knowledge had; or so put out, retayne him agayn within one yere next after such offence; the same person so retayning or keeping in service any such offenders shall forfeite one hundred pounds.

Provided alwayes, that all and every parson and parsons, which by any statute-law, remayning in force, is lycencid or appointid to weare any manner of thinge contrary to the tenor and meaning of any of the articles before remembrid, or any parte of them, shall and may weare the same to him lycencid or appointid to weare, as is aforesaid: any thinge in these articles to the contrary notwithstanding.

Certeyn ordres devised by commandement of the queens majestie, with the advise of her pryvy counsell, to be observid, for reformation of the excesse in certeyn kinde of apparell, and other things therto belonging.

First, That no hosyer or other person shall put or cause to be put any more in the outsyde of the upper stockes of hose for any parson but one yard and one quarter of clothe, carsey, or other stuffe, not exceeding the lyke quantity of carsey. And wherof so ever the same shalbe made, that no one of the said upper-stocks shall exceede in compass round about above one yard and half a quarter. Which measure is provid sufficient for persons of the highest stature. And thefore it is meant that all other parsons of meaner stature shall use lesse quantity both in stuffe and largenesse, according to their stature, without fraude or abuse.

Item, That no tailor, hosyer, or other parson, shall put or cause to be put in any of the said upperstocks above these kynds of lynings following. First, a lyning of lynyen, or such lyke stuffe, next the legg, and then one

lyning, callid a streight lynning; which shalbe made of no manet of stuff, but of such as is made and wrought within the queens majesties dominions. And if any parson shalbe disposid for his hability to cut and garnish the outsyde of his hose with any thing that he may lawfully weare, for the pluckinge out betwixt the panes and cutts; he shalbe so sufferid to do accordinge to his hability. Not using any thing therin excessyvely, nor any thing that he may not weare by the lawes of the realme. And lastly, it shall also be permittid, for any person (being so disposid) to have the panes of his hose lynid with one other lynning onely: so as the same be also of stuffe made within the queens majesties dominions. And it is ordrid, that no parson under the state of a baron shall use any mo lynings in any upperstocks of hose, then is next above mentionid. And that all parsons under that degree shall, within ten dayes after the publication heerof, refourme their hose according to these ordres.

Item, It is further ordrid, that no man under the degree of a barons eldist sonne, except that he be of the ordre of the garter, or of the pryvy counsell, or that may dispend fyve hundred marks by yere for tearme of lyre in possession above all charges, shall weare any velvet or sattin, or any stuffe of lyke or greater price in the upperstocks of his hose, or in any part therof; or shall garnishe the same with any embroderye, or any fringe, lace, or passemayn of gold, silver, or silke; nor any other garnisshing with any silke, except it be for the stitching of the upper part to the lynning. Nor shall weare any manner of silke netherstocks of hosen, nor any carsey or other things made out of the queens majesties domynions.

Item, It is not meant by any of these ordres that such parsons attending neere to her majesties parson in the court, as shall have speciall lycence in wryting of her majestie to weare some silke to the contrary heerof, shalbe molesrid for the same: so as the same parsons do notify their lycence unto the lord chamberlayn before they shall do any thing contrary to these ordres; and procure their names to be entrid into the bookes of the chambre in the custody of the gentlemen usshers. Which shalbe also duly observid by the said usshers.

Item, Because it is daily scene what disordres do grow, and are lykely to encrease in the realme by the encrease of nombres of parsons taking upon them to teache the multitude of the common people to play at all kynde of weapons; and for that pourpose sette up schooles, callid schooles *of fence*, in places inconvenient: tending to the great disordre of such people as

properly ought to apply to their labours and handy works: therfore her majestie orderith and commandith, that no teacher of fence shall keepe any schoole or common place of resorte in any place of the realme but within the libertyes of some of the cityes of the realme. Where also they shalbe obedyent to such ordres as the governors of the cityes shall appoint to them, for the better keeping of the peace, and for prohibition of resort of such people to the same schooles, as ar not meete for that pourpose: upon payne to be punisshed by the said governours, according to their discretions.

Item, Her majestic also orderith and commandith, that no parson shall weare any sword, rapyer, or such lyke weapon, that shall passe the length of one yard an half a quarter of the blade at the uttermost; nor any dagger above the length of xii inches in blade at the most; nor any buckler with any point or pyke above two inches in length. And if any cutler or other artifficer shall sell, make, or keepe in his house any sworde, rapyer, dagger, buckler, or such lyke, contrary therunto, the same to be imprysonid, and to make fyne at the queens majesties pleasure, and the weapon to be forfaitid. And if any such person shall offend a second tyme, than the same to be banisshid from the place and towne of his dwelling.

Item, It is furdre ordrid, that all the articles before remembrid shalbe put in execution in all points by all manner of magistrates and officers, according to the statutes, lawes, and proclamations heertofore made and sette furthe concerning the same; that is to say, against the offenders of any of the aforesaid articles, extractid out of any of the said statutes aforementionid, according to the pourport thefor. And for such as shall contemne any of the ordres beforementionid, being devysid by her majesties commandement, to attache and commite the same to prison, and to be there contynuid and punisshed as aperteinith to such as shall willfully breake her majesties commandement.

And for that it is seen necessary to stay the inordinate devises of hosyers, for the impugning of these good ordres: the queenes majestic willith, that the mayor and head officers of the citie of London, and all other cityes and townes corporate, and stewards and rulers of all other libertyes, and justices of peace in all countyes, shall immediately call before them all hosyers, and bynde them in good summes of money, for the use of her majestie and the infourmer, as in other popular actions, to observe the contents of these ordres, and not to abuse the meaning therof with any

frawde. And furder, to proceede therin, aswell against the said hosyers, as against any other offender for th'execution heerof, as was in sundry actions publisshid and prescribid by her majesties proclamation, in the fourth yere of her reign. Yeven at Greenewich, the xiith day of February, 1565, in the eighth yere of her majesties reign.

We the lordes of her majesties privy counsell, and others of the nobility of the realme, with dyvers others of the rest of her majesties counsell, whose names are underwritten, perceyving all the premisses above written, conteynid in her majesties proclamation now publisshid, to be very necessary at this tyme to be duly observid; and that nothing shall more furder the execution therof, then that good example be gyven in the families of the higher estates of the realme, and of such as ar placid in authoritee: do, by subscription of our names, accord, consent, and promise, that to the best of our powers we will cause the same to be unfaynidly observid and executid, as well in our owne hous-holds, as in any other place, wheresoever we may, by reason of any offices or authorities committid to us by the queens majestie. And in witness heerof we have subscribid our names as followith:

N. Bacon C. S.

W. Northampt.

T. Sussex.

R. Leycester.

E. Clynton.

Anthony Mountague.

W. Howard.

Edm. Roffen.

James Mountjoye.

Edwarde Wyndesor.

John Darcy

Rog. North.

F. Knollys.

W. Cecyll.

N. Wotton.

Ambr. Cave.

John Mason.

NUMBER 35

Sandys, bishop of Worcester, to Bullinger, upon sending him his commentary upon Daniel. Ornatiss. clarissimoque viro, domino Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinae ecclesiae pastori vigilantissimo, dno. et fratri meo charissimo, Tiguri, Edwinus Sandius, episcopus Wigorniensis.

HUMANISS. literas tuas, vir clarissime, una cum doctissimo commentario tuo in Daniele prophetam, Abelus noster superioribus hisce diebus mihi tradendas curavit. Ex quibus et quanti me facias recte animadverto, et quantum ipse tibi vicissim debeam, facile intelligam. Quod tam amanter et fraterne ad me scribere voluisti multum quidem est, et multas habeo gratias. Quod vero eximium hoc opus tuum, omni eruditione plenum ad me transmittere, et etiam, quod summi beneficii loco repono, meo nomine in publicum exire dignatus es, revera mihi fecisti rem longe gratissimam. Mirabilis quidem est ista humanitas tua erga omnes, qua, quoscunque quite norunt, tibi devinctissimos reddere soleas. Sed erga me rara estet singularis. Qui non solum erga me exulantem, et quasi incertis sedibus vagantem, olim quum Tigurum venerim, perbenigne acceperis, et omnibus benevolentiae officiis prosecutus sis, quinetiam divina Providentia patriae jam restitutum, non solum non desinis amare, rerum omnibus, quibus poteris, rationibus insignire ornareque contendis. Pro qua quidem summa benevolentia tua quam gratiam referam, dum mecum diligenter cogito, his tantis beneficiis tuis quod rependam, nihil omnino invenio. Cum igitur majora sunt beneficia in me tua, quam ut ipse parem gratiam referre queam, (nam tu dando, ego accipiendo beneficia collocamus) libenter agnoscam me debitorem esse tuum; et cum ipse non sum solvendo, rogabo, ut ipse solvat, qui pro omnibus debitis nostris ad plenum satisfecit. Interim mei erga te amoris quaecunque pignus Abelo nostro tradendum curavi, qui idipsum tuto ut tuae humanitati mittatur, in se recepit; rogo te multum, ut grato animo accipias, et non munusculi exiguitatem, sed mittentis propensum animum, pro tua humanitate, spectare velis.

Quae hic geruntur, et quo in statu res nostrae collocatae sunt ex aliorum literis cognoscas. Quod maximum est dicam, vera Christi religio apud nos locum habet. Evangelium non est ligatum, sed libere et pure praedicatum. De caeteris autem rebus non est quod multum curemus. Contenditur aliquantulum de vestibulis papisticis utendis, vel non utendis. *Dabit Deus his*

quoque finem. Vale, colendissime vir, et me, quod facis, ama: meique precibus tuis ad Deum memor esto. Saluta quaeso meo nomine D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, filium tuum Henricum, caeterosque dominos, ac fratres mihi in Christo charisaimos. Wigorniae, tertio Januarii, 1566.

Frater tuus, tui amantissimus,
Ed. Wigorn.

NUMBER 36

Bishop Jewel to Bullinger: controversy with Harding: and his news of the affairs of religion. Juellus episcopus Sarisburiensis, D. D. Bullingero et Lavatero.

S. pl. in Christo Jesu. Rarius multo ad vos scribo, reverendissime pater, tuque optime Ludovice, quam aut ego velim, aut vos expectatis. Idque quam vos in partem accipiat, nescio: cupio equidem, ne in malam. Quanto enim magis ego me vestrae omnium pietati obstrictum esse senrio, quantoque pluris iudicium de me vestrum semper feci, tanto minus velim me a vobis, oblivionis aut negligentiae condemnari. Jam vero occupationibus meis tam longa silentia tribuere putidum fortasse videatur: tametsi si me nossetis, et curas meas, nihil excusatione alia opus esset. Nam praeter alias assiduas meas, alienas, domesticas, publicas, civiles, ecclesiasticas molestias, (sine quibus in hoc munere his temporibus vivi non potest,) cogor pene solus cum hostibus externis, (ne dicam, ac domesticis,) conflictart. Nostri quidem sunt, sed hostili animo, hostili etiam in solo. Profugi enim nostri Lovanienses coeperunt magno numero, anno superiori, commoveri; et in nos omnes acerbissime scribere, et me unum nominatim petere. Cur ita? inquires. Nescio, nisi me unum omnium ἀμαχώτατον et ad resistendum infirmissimum esse, scirent. Tamen ante sex annos cum in aula coram regia majestate haberem concionem, et de nostrae papisticae religionis antiquitate dicerem, hoc memini dixisse me inter alia, adversarios nostros, cum nostram causam arguant novitatis, et nobis injuriam, et populo fraudem facere. Illos enim et pro veteribus probare nova, et ea damnare pro novis, quae sunt vetustissima. *Missas enim privatas et truncatas communiones, et naturales et reales praesentias, et transubstantiationes, &c.* (quibus rebus omnis istorum religio continetur) nullum habere certum et expressum testimonium aut sacrarum

scripturarum, aut veterum conciliorum, aut priscorum patrum, aut ullius omnino antiquitatis.

Id illi indigne ferre, latrare in angulis, hominem impudentem, confidentem, insolentem, insanum dicere. Quarto postremo anno prodiit Hardingus quidam ex insperato, non ita pridem auditor atque affectator D. Petri Martyris, et acerrimus evangelii praeco, nunc vilis apostata, et nostro Julio probe notus; qui me ex Amphiloehiis, Abdiis, Hippolytis, Clementibus, Victoribus, Athanasiis supposititiis, Leontis, Cletis, Anacletis, epistolis decretalibus, somniis, fabulis, refutaret. Illi ego pro mea tenuitate respondi anno superiori, ut potui. Sed O! Deum immortalem! Quae haec vita est! Ως ἔρις ἐκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο Vixdum absolveram, evolat extemplo Apologiae nostrae Confutatio: opus ingens, elaboratum, et convitiis, contumeliis, mendaciis, sycophantiis refertissimum. Hic ego rursum petor. Quid quaeris? Respondendum est. Vides, reverende pater, quam non simus otiosi. Ego praesertim, cui nescio quo meo fato, semper cum istis monstris dimicandum est. Dominus addat vires atque animum, et proterat Satanam sub pedibus nostris. Haec idcirco visum est scribere prolixius, ut si posthac literae isthuc a me infrequentius venerint, quam aut vos expectatis, aut ego velim, id cuivis rei potius, quam aut oblivioni vestri, aut ingratitudini tribuatis.

Resp. nostra et ab armis, et de religione pacata est. Lovanienses quidem isti nostri turbant, quantum possunt; verum populus est in officio, et futurum spero. Dna. Regina recte valet, et abhorret a nuptiis. Hyems superior ita misere afflixit nascentem segetem, ut nunc ubique per Angliam magna frumenti difficultate laboretur. Hoc anno, Dei beneficio, omnia laetissime provenerunt. Ego D. Parkhurstum, episcopum Norwicensem, D. Sandium, episcopum Wigornicensem, D. Pilkingtonum, episcopum Dunelmensem, jam totum triennium non vidi. Ita procul disjecti sumus. Vivimus tamen omnes incolumes, et vestri memores. Solus Richardus Chamberus obiit diem suum. Sed pie in Domino.

Contentio illa de ecclesiastica veste linea, de qua vos, vel ab Abele nostro, vel a D. Parkursto audiisse non dubito, nondum etiam conquievit. Ea res nonnihil commovet infirmos animos. Atque utinam omnia, etiam tenuissima vestigia papatus, et e templis, et multo maxime ex animis, auferri potuissent. Sed regina ferre mutationem in religione hoc tempore nullam potest.

Res Scoticae nondum etiam satis pacatae sunt. Nobiles aliquot primi nominis apud nos exulant: alii domum remanserunt, et sese, si vis fiat, ad resistendum parant: et ex arcibus *suis* excursions interdu faciunt, et ex papistarum agris agunt, feruntque quantum possunt. Regina ipsa, etsi animo sit ad papismum obfirmato, tamen vix satis exploratum habet, quo se vertat. Nam de religione adversariam habet magnam pattem et nobilitatis et populi: et quantum quidem nos possumus intelligere, numerus indies crescit. Submiserat proximis istis mensibus Philippus rex abbatem quendam Italum cum auro Hispanico, hominem vafrum et factum atque instructum ad fraudes. Qui et regem reginamque juvaret veteratorio consilio, et impleret omnia tumultibus. Rex novus, qui hactenus *abstinuisset a* missis, et ultro accessisset ad conciones, ut se populo daret, cum audiret navim illam appulsuram postridie, factus repente confidentior sumptis animis noluit longius dissimulare. Accedit ad templum. Jubet sibi de more dici missam. Eodem ipso tempore D. Knoxus concionator in eodem oppido, et in proximo templo, maxima frequentia clamare in idolomanios, et in universum regnum pontificium nunquam fortius. Interea navis illa Philippica, jactata tempestatibus et ventis, fluctibusque *concussa* et fracta, convulso malo, ruptis lateribus, amissis gubernatoribus, vectoribus et rebus omnibus inanis, et lacera, et aquae plena defertur in Angliam. Haec vero non dubito divinitus contigisse, ut rex fatuus intelligat, quam sit auspicatum audire missas.

E Galliis multa turbulenta nunciantur. Domus illa Guisiana non potest acquiescere sine aliquo magno malo. Verum ista vobis multo propiora sunt, quam nobis. Danus et Suecus cruentissime inter se conflixerunt, et adhuc dicuntur esse in armis. Uterque affectus est maximis incommodis; nec adhuc uter sit superior dici potest. Libri vestri, tuus, reverende pater, in Daniele, et tuus, doctissime Ludovice, in Josuam, incolumes ad me delati sunt. Ego et Deo Opt. Max. de vobis, et vobis de istis laboribus et studiis, deque omni vestra humanitate, ago gratias. Misi hoc tempore ad Julium nostrum in annum stipendium viginti coronatos, et alteros totidem ad vos duos; ut eos vel in coenam publicam more vestro, vel in quemvis alium usum pro vestro arbitrio, consumatis. Deus vos, ecclesiam, remp. scholamque vestram conservet incolumes. Salutate D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Gesnerum, D. Wirkium, D. Hallerum, DD. Henricum et Rudolphum Bullingeros, meo notnine. Sarisberiae, 8. Februarii, 1566.

Vestri amans et studiosus in Domino,
Jo. Juellus Anglus.

NUMBER 37

*Bishop Jewel to Bullinger: putting certain queries
 to him to be resolved.*

S. pl. in Christo. Etsi proximis his diebus ad te prolixè scripserim, reverendissime pater; tamen cum occurrerent quaedam, in quibus magnopere mihi opus est iudicio tuo, non alienum me facturum arbitrabar, si iterum scriberem. Sunt autem res ejusmodi, quas non dubitem te, pro tua multiplici rerum omnium cognitione, facile posse expedire.

Scire velim, ecquid Christiani illi qui hodie sparsim habitant in Graecia, Asia, Syria, Armenia, &c. utantur privatis istis missis, quae nunc receptae sunt ubique in papismo. Quoque genere missarum, privatoque an publico, Graeci hodie Venetiis uti soleant?

Deinde, cum citetur interdum quidam Camocensis, qui in paparum vitam et insolentiam scripserit acerbius, quis ille Camocensis, et cujus ordinis, et quorum temporum hominumque fuerit?

Postremo, quid tibi videatur de concilio Germanico, quod aiunt olim celebratum sub Carolo Magno contra concilium Nicenum 2. de imaginibus? Sunt enim qui confidenter negent unquam hujusmodi concilium ullum extitisse.

Peto a te per pietatem tuam, ne me insolenter putes facere, qui ista ex te quaeram, tam procul praesertim. Tu enim jam solus superes unicum prope oraculum ecclesiarum. Si ad proximas nundinas rescripseris, satis erit. Id autem ut facias magnopere a te peto. Iterum, iterumque vale, reverende pater, domine in Christo colendissime. Sarisberiae,

10 Martii, 1566.

Tuus in Christo,

JO. JUELLUS ANGLUS.

NUMBER 38

Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, to sir William Cecill, their chancellor; upon the queen's gracious letters, to excite the members of that university to the study of divinity.

Illustrissime vir, et singularis academiae patrone, PERLATIS ad me nuper gratiasimis tuis literis (in quibus etiam serenissimae nostrae reginae literas, ad tuam amplitudinem datas, misisti, ut ex eis plenius intelligere valeamus, quomodo majestas sua erga theologiae studiosos affecta et animata sit, et quid in hoc negotio fieri voluerit) dici non potest, quantum ex els, ut debui, voluptatis receperim. Id enim summo reginae tuoque beneficio jam accedit academiae, quod nunquam antea sperare aut expectare quisquam potuit. Nec dubito, quin nonnullorum studia his miseds jactationibus, et crebris temporum mutationibus, (quas academia sensit,) extineta et labefactata, jam, tanto praemio proposito, iterum erigi et incendi facile possint. Cum itaque amplitudinem tuam diligentem in hoc negotio navasse operam intellexerim, ut ipse vicissim mandato tuo obsequeretur, et, quae meae sunt partes, fideliter et tibi et academiae praestarem, couvocavi praesides collegiorum, coramque iis gratissimas reginae literas ad tuam amplitudinem datas, recitavi; statimque sub eas legi tuas. Quibus auditis, quia omnium expectationem tam laetabiles literae superarunt, difficile dictu est, plusne voluptatis an admirationis eorum animis acciderit. Sic omnes mirari gestireque coeperint, ut eorum animis inter gaudium et admirationem suspensis atque occupatis, aperte faterentur nunquam neque nostra neque patrum nostrorum memoria, quicquam ex principum beneficentia academiae accidisse commocli, quod cum istius utilitate et magnitudine possit contendere.

Cum vero per eos rursus collegiorum sociis hoc communicabatur, et sparsum, atque dissipatum omnium sermone percrebueret, tam alacres et erecti animis omnes ordines extiterunt, ut facile appareret, non eis voluntatem defuisse ad saluberrimum theologiae studium; cum caeteros locupletari et ditescere medicina ac jure viderent, et metu ne re ipsi in medio theologiae cursu egerent, ad alia studia se contulisse.

Curavi autem, ut praesides collegiorum in singulis collegiis delectum haberent eorum, qui theologiae operam dant, eorumque nomina ordine quo gradum susceperunt descripta, ad me mitterent; quae una cum his literis ad tuam amplitudinem misi. Spes quidem jam summa est, plures, quam diu

antea, brevi futuros theologos; quod tanto beneficio invitati, multi, juris et medieinae deserto studio, ad theologiam se transferant: multique qui in philosophia adhuc haerent, et artibus humanitatis, non diutius se terent in istis studiis, quam necesse est; sed ad theologiam mature properabunt. De caeteris hoc affirmare possum, nunquam celebriorem numerum doctorum adolescentium extitisse, nec eorum qui majore cum laude in omni literarum genere versati sunt. Quorum ut probanda est indoles, ita diuturna eorum in studiis opera et maturitas (ut in frugibus) optanda est. Ne, quod superiorum temporum varietate acciderit, a studiis desciscant, aut egestate coacti, aut, ut saepe vidimus, modico praesenti praemio allecti, ut nulla aut perexigua spes eos in literarum studiis retinere non possit.

Meminisse enim oportet, quod inopiam et paupertatem unusquisque maxime fugit, facillimeque ad ea rapitur, quae majori spe praelucent in posterum. Sic nostri vendibilia et mercenaria studia, magis quam ubera et gratuita secuti sunt, dum illis melius quam istis consultum et provisum esse vident. Quae quidem opinio cum tanquam pestis omnium animis invasisset, et a theologiae studio penitus alienasset, gratissimis reginae tisque literis jam evulsa et extirpata est. Testes enim clarissimi sunt vestrae literae, majorem honorem theologiae quam caeteris haberi artibus, cum non ambientibus sed merentibus debita theologiae praemia reservata sunt. Omnium enim artiure perita academia; unius tamen, quae magnas commoditates parit, insolens et ignara esse videtur. Qua homines avari et ambitiosi nobiles viros in authoritate positos observare solent, et plurimis officiis colere, eorum limina frequentare, petere, rogare, arabire; ut quae e re sua sint undique conquirant et coacervent; et ut quisque studiis maxime deditus erat, ita minimum consequi illo aulico ambitionis genere potuit. Nunc vero tam singulari beneficio ab illustrissima regina academiae ultro delato, causa non erit, cur aut nostri de vitae subsidiis atque praemiis solliciti fiant, cum eam omnem curam in se regina suscepit; aut quisquam alius expectet ea praemia, quae sacrarum literarum studiosis initio dedicata aut consecrata fuerunt, cum in neminem ea conferenda regina statuerit, qui antistitum aut academiae commendatione careat. Huc etiam accedit (clarissime vir) authoritas tua, et summa cum regina gratia, per quam academia, et quae velit consecuta est, et longe majora in posterum sperare potest.

In hoc vero negotio tam pie operam tuam polliceris, ut quod inchoatum et inchoatum est, a te perfici omnes cuplant; simulque ut aequissimam nostram petitionem proximis nostris ad te literis expositam, de renovandis

et amplificandis academiae tuae privilegiis, cum id opportune fieri possit, suscipias, et ad exitum perducas. Majorem enim spem in tuo patrocinio, quam unquam in ullius positam et collocatam habemus. Regina autem qualis sit, cum in omnibus nostris, tum hac una in re, se indicavit maxime. Quo autem genere officii gratias agere dignas pro tanto beneficio possumus, ab amplitudine tua intelligere velimus; ne aut prorsus ingrati, aut quod ingratitudini proximum et affine habetur, in gratis agendis tardi esse videamur.

Ego in hoc magistratu nihil neque officii neque diligentiae praetermittam, quod ad ornandum atque conservandum academiae stauum pertinet. Idque faciam non solum officio adductus meo, veturn etiam quod idem tuae amplitudini placere, et voluptati esse ex suavissimis tuis literis intellexi; simulque facto impulsus tuo, qui nulla in re supplicii dees academiae, quin semper juves, erigas, sustentas; facilem te nostris in adeundo praebeas, maximisque tuis meritis singulos ad studia acrius et vehementius incites, ut bene feliciterque evenisse putem, quod sub tali tantoque patrono magistratum geram; cujus summam virtutem, prudentism, industriam et fidem imitari possem. Valeas quam optime.

Vestrae dignitatis studiosissimus,
Andreas Perne Procan.

Ornatissimo viro magistro Gulielmo Cecyllio, reginae majestati prudentiss, secretario, et academiae Cantabrigiensi cancellario dignissimo.

NUMBER 39.

*A prayder for queen Elizabeth,
 being taken with a dangerous sickness, anno 1568.*

O MOST merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, who being here upon the earth by curing of all kind of bodily disease, and pardoning the sins of all such as believed in thee, didst declare unto the world, that thou art the only physician both of the body and the soul: and when thou wast rebuked of the Pharisees for accompanying with sinful persons, thou didst plainly by express words testify the same, saying, that such as were whole had no need of a physician, but those that were sickly; behold here, O most gracious Jesus, a cure meet for thy divine power and mercy; a person upon

whom even from her infancy thou hast bestowed great and innumerable benefits, and hast set her in high honour and estate in this world, and that of thine especial grace and goodness only, without any her deserving at all. But now, O Lord, either to the end that such worldly prosperity should not make her to forget herself and her duty towards thee, or else, for that she, being by thy goodness made a prince over this people, hath not indeed, so well as she ought to have done, remembred and acknowledged that she was thy subject and hand-maiden, neither hath, according to her bounden duty, been thankful to thee, her loving and most beneficial Saviour, nor obedient to thee, as her most gracious and sovereign Lord, or for other causes to thy divine majesty best known; thou hast now of late, O Lord, for her admonition and correction, stricken thy said servant with dangerous sickness and bodily infirmity, even to the very point of death; and hast withal abashed her soul with divers troubles and terrors of mind. And by her danger hast terrified the whole realm and people of England, whose quietness and security dependeth, next after thee, upon the health of thy said servant; and yet in thy judgment thou hast, O Lord, according to thy accustomed goodness, remembred thy mercy, delivered thy said servant, above all humane reason and likelihood, from the present danger of death; declaring, as well by her sudden and great sickness, as by that speedy help and succour in danger almost desperate, thy divine power joyned with thy unspeakable goodness and mercy. Finish, O most merciful Saviour, the work of this thy servants health, as thou hast most graciously begun. Accomplish the cure which thou hast mercifully taken in hand. Heal her soul by pardoning her unthankfulness towards thee, in her forgetfulness of thee, and all other her sins committed against thee.

Cure her mind by framing it to the obedience of thy will, faith, patient taking, and quiet acceptation of this sickness sent from thee to her just punishment for disobeying thee, and to her wholesome and necessary admonition for her forgetfulness of thee, and unthankfulness towards thee. And withal make her body also thorowly whole and sound from all her sickness and infirmity: that thy servant obtaining perfect health, as well of mind as body, she, and with her all thy people of England, may both be intrusted by this danger to acknowledge and fear thy just judgments; and for her delivery from the said danger, and the obtaining perfect health, may continually magnify thy mercy; rendring all laud, praise, and thanksgiving to thee, and thine heavenly Father, with the Holy Ghost, one immortal

majesty of the most glorious God. To whom belongeth all dominion, honour, and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

NUMBER 40.

A thanksgiving for the queen's amendment and recovery.

O MOST just God and merciful Father, which of thy justice dost punish us with sickness for our sins, and yet of thy mercy wiliest us not to die for the same. And therefore of thy meet goodness hast delivered thy servant our most gracious queen from her extreme danger of death, which she and we have deserved for our sins; and whereunto of thy justice and power she hath been brought, in token, if thou so likedst, thou couldest justly have suffered her to die in the same: we most heartily thank thee, that thou wouldest not do against her as thou mightest of thy justice, but what thou wouldest of thy mercy, in relieving her of her sickness. And most earnestly we beseech thee, O Lord, make her to grow into perfect health, and her and us always to be thankful for it; she and we praising thee continually for thy infinite mercy shewed her, and in following thy holy commandments; we with her taking this her sickness to be thy loving chastisement, to call us from all sin, wholly to obey thee and thy word, through Jesus Christ thy Son and our Lord. *Amen.*

NUMBER 41

Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, and Sandys, bishop of London, to the heads of the university of Cambridge; in favour of Cavallerius, now coming to be their Hebrew reader.

To our loving friends, Mr. Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and to the heads of the same.

UNDERSTANDING of the good and godly affection that divers of your university bear to the knowledg of the Hebrew tongue, wherein originally, for the more part, was wrytten the word of God; to the gratifying of the same, as we have in our former letters commended our trustie and welbeloved Rodolphus Cavallerius, otherwise called Mr. Anthony, so we now send him unto you; a man, whom we have aforetime not onely known

in the same university, but also have seen good testimony of his learning in the said tongue; and having more experience of his good zeal to exercise his said talent towards all such as be desirous to be partakers of the same: whereupon this is to pray and require you to accept him, as his worthiness for his learning and diligence, as we trust, shal deserve. Whereby you shall not onely your selves receive the fruit, to your own commendations, but also give us occasion to devise for your further commoditie, as Almighty God shal move us, and our hability upon any occasion shal hereafter serve. And thus wishing to you the grace of God to direct your studies to his glory, and to the profit of the commonwealth, we bid you al hartily wel to fare. From Lamhith this 20. of May.

Your loving friends, Matthue Cantuar. Edm. London.

NUMBER 42.

Wierus, the prince of Conde's agent, to the secretary; giving him thanks for seconding the protestants' affairs with the queen.

Nobilissimo et illustri virtute, doctrina, et rerum experientia Dno. Dno. Gulielmo Cecylio, auratae militiae equiti, et serehiss. Anglorum reginae a secretis, &c. dno. observando.

S.P. Nobiliss. clarissimeque vir; etsi non solum illustrissimus princeps meus, verum etiam universa ecclesia Christiana Gallica, multis tibi nominibus debeant, quod negotia mihi a celsitudine ejus concredita tanto studio apud sereniss. reginam promoveris, ut ex majestatis ejus responso recognovi; mei tamen officii esse existimavi, ut priusquam ex hac insula solverem, singulares tibi pro celsitudine illius gratias agerem. Porro et benevolentia in me tua, et mea erga te vicissim observantia privatim hoc requirunt, ne ingratus videar. Demum, et ita meo veluti chirographo testatum velim, quantum omnes, quos Deus Pater hoc tempore exercet ob puriorem Filii sui professionem, non solum spei, sed etiam fiduciae in te habeant. Quem vident ejusdem illius Opt. Max. Dei benignitate in pia ista mente tam confirmatum, ut velit, tot tantisque ingenii dotibus, animique virtutibus cumulatum, ut possit, ad tantae postremum auctoritatis lotum apud majestatem regiam evectum, ut debeat, in hisce laborantis ecclesiae extremis ac diuturnis necessitatibus, muneris sui partes pro sua tum pierate tum prudentia explicare. Etenim quoties de constanti Christianissimae

reginae studio et benevolentia erga dissipatos afflictosque Christianos memoria subit, vel sermo incidit, toties et honorifica tui mentio et gratissima recordatio; quod videaris divina veluti voluntate difficillimis hisce temporibus ejus majestati additus. Quo magis scio illustriss, principem meum cum sibi, tum ecclesiae gratulaturum, cum quae majestas ejus tam prolixè ac benigne per me celsitudini ejus mandavit, ea ille a te tanta pietate indies promoveri audiet atque confidet. Sane nihil illi prius, nihil antiquius fuerit, quam ut quatenus vel occasione, vel re tibi tuisque vicissim gratificari possit. Ego quidem cum tot humanitatis officiis, quibus me nullo meo merito prosecutus es, pares gratias referre nequeam, laborabo tamen et enitar, ut grati saltem animi recordatione, quo potero observantice genere, satis tibi faciam. Vale, clariss, nobilissimeque vir, et me, si placet, utare, fruire.

Tuae dominationis

Datae Plimuthae, 4. Die Observantissimus,

Junii, anno 1569.

Theod. Wierus.

NUMBER 43.

The queen's council to the high sheriff of Yorkshire, and the justices of those parts; concerning restraint of vagabonds, and such like.

AFTER our herry commendations: where about the beginning of March last, we, in the queens majesties behalf, directed our letters to you for the inquisition of the multitude of vagabonds, and such as commonly are called *rogues*, and for the punishment and order of them according to the laws of the realm; and therof also by our letters required you to make certificate unto us; (wherof until this time we have heard nothing;) therefore we do charge you, the sheriff, with that fault, and do command you forthwith to advertise us by your letters, what excuse you can make: which when we shall hear, we wil thefor consider, and procede against you, or such other upon whom you shall transfer the fault, as the same deserveth; for surely we do not mean to overpass such a contempt. And in the whole realme, beside your self, we find not many, wherof we are glad, to have committed this maner of offence. Nevertheless, trusting that for the contents of our letters some execution hath been don, tho' the same hath not been to us

certified, we have found necessary, and so hath her majesty commanded us, to have these things following to be duly executed.

First, you shall secretly accord, by way of distribution of your selves, with the help of other inferior officers, whom you may wel trust, to cause a strait search and good strong watch to be begun on Sunday at night, about nine of the clock, which shalbe the tenth of July, in every town, village, and parish of that shire; and to continue the same al that night, until four of the clock in the afternoon of the next day. And in that search and watch to apprehend al vagabonds, sturdy beggars, commonly called *rogues*, or Egyptians, and al other idle vagrant persons, having no master, nor ally certainty how or wherby to live; and them to cause to be imprisoned in stocks and such like; and according to the qualities of their faults to procede against them, as by the laws is ordered, and that with convenient severity, so as they may be by punishment forced to labour for their living. And as it is likely that you have in the former orders already remitted them whom you have not thought meet to retain in work, to depart to their native countries, so are you to take good heed how to avoyd the abuse of your passeports. By the which, when the names only of the places, to which they are directed, are especially named, the said lewd persons craftily, to spend their time in passing idle, do stray far out of the right ways, and do in some places colour their goings to the *baths* for recovery of their counterfeit sickness. And therfore in the passeports would be also named special towns, being in their right ways, by which they should be charged in their passeports to pass. So as if they shall be found out of those high ways, they may be newly and more sharply punished. And in this case the passeports should be so discreetly sealed, subscribed, and written, as they should not easily counterfeit the same: which, as it is reported, some of them can readily do; and do carry about with them certain counterfeit seals of corporate towns and such like, to serve their purposes in that behalf. For the which, before they shalbe dismissed, and as they shal also pass by towns, due search would be made by the officers. And after this search made, which is intended to be made general at one time throughout the whole realme, we think it good for the more surety, to the total rooting out of this mischief, that you do agree among your selve to make, at lest monthly, the like searches in the same shire, until the first of November, or longer, as you shall se cause.

And tho' we do not presently write to every corporate town in that shire, being a liberty, and having justices of peace of themselves, for avoiding of

multitude of letters, and for uncertainty of the names of such towns, yet our meaning is, you, the sherif, or some two of you, the justices, within the body of the shire, shall speedily impart the contents of these our letters unto the principal officers of the same towns, and them shall, in the queens majesties name, charge and command to observe the contents hereof at the time limited, both for the first search and watch, and for the continuance of the same hereafter. And we require you, the sherif, for avoiding of further reproof, to return to us briefly the certificate of this that shalbe don by your first search.

We cannot also but consider, that in the search hereof, divers vagrant persons wilbe found, who will counterfeit themselves as impotent beggers, but that after trial therof, and punishment made in such cases, it will be necessary to provide charitably for such as shalbe indeed found unfeignedly impotent by age, sickness, or otherwise, to get their living by labour: and for those we earnestly, and in the name of God, as we are all commanded, require and charge you al, and every of you, to consider diligently, how they may be relieved in every parish by the good order that is devised by a late act of parliament; and that they be not suffered to wander and ly abroad, as commonly they do, in the high ways, for lack of sustentation. And for the due and charitable execution of that statute, we think it good that the bishop of the dioces, or other ordinaries, be moved by you in our name, to direct commandments to the curats or ministers of al churches to exhort the parishioners to give their common almes at their churches, and to procure remedy against such as have wealth, and will not contribute at the churches, upon exhortation and admonition. And therunto we require you, the justices, to give your aids and assistances in every parish where your dwelling is, and by your good example encourage others to this charitable good deed.

We do further require you at this your meeting for the search, to confer how the statutes, which are provided for the avoiding of al unleeful games, and especially of bowling and for maintenance of archery, may be speedily and roundly executed in every part of the shire. And if any of your selves have been therin culpable, from henceforth to forbear; especially, seeing in al things, both good and bad, example in superiors hath most weight. And indeed hard shal it be for you to observe your oaths which you took, being admitted justices of peace, if you shal commit such open hurtful offences your selves, which ought by your selves, as you know, in your sessions to be enquired of and punished. And herein we would have you cause some

inquisition to be made, before the coming of the justices of assize, by whom we may be informed, how the same is ordered. The great common misusing hereof doth so abound, as we cannot but presently give you warning therof. And we mean indeed to hearken hereafter, how this our admonition is regarded of you, on your several behalves.

And in this behalf also, we cannot but admonish you to be wary and circumspect what licences you give persons to keep common summer games. For we hear of some great abuses therin in sundry parts of the realme; both that they are over general, and lewdness and ungodliness committed by the confluence of numbers of evil disposed people, for lack of the presence of some wise, honest, and godly justices and officers. Wherof as we shalbe further informed, so wil we provide remedy.

You shall do well also to cause the ordinary watchmen in all parishes to be wel warned that by no leud practises of evil disposed, crafty persons, passing by them in the night, by pretences of watchwords, or such like lewd devices, any levy or raising of people be made, as in some corners of the realm hath been lately attempted, tho' well stayed by the wiser men.

As for other things, we mean not by any particular charge to admonish you of any more, but wish you to continue in your carefulness of your offices, to se peace duely kept, and the disturbers therof by words, tales, news, spreading of unlawful books and writings, or by deeds, to be at the first with speed stayed, and sharply punished. And if any of you shall perceive any of your number, being justices of the peace, in any of these things negligent, we heartily require you the rest, or any of you, either to advertise us, or any of us, by your private and secret letters, or els to the justices of assize at their coming thither. For in so doing we must allow you, and we mean to provide some good remedy, as reason is it should be, to remove credit and estimation from them, that willfully do deserve the contrary. And so fare you wel. From Greenwich, the xxth of June, 1569.

Your loving friends,

N. Bacon, — C.S. T. Norfolk. — W. Northampton. — E. Clynton. — W. Howard. — R. Leyeester. — Fr. Knollys. — W.Cecyll. — R.Sadleir. — Wa. Mildmay.

NUMBER 44.

A letter of Mary queen of Scots to queen Elizabeth, from Tutbury castle, anno 1569, expostulatory, concerning favouring her rebels.

My lady and good sister,

THE honour and natural amity which I bear to you, doing their duty, hath made me to fear, and to shun to importune you, or in like sort to distrust somewhat your good nature by these my complaints, the which hath not sometimes been pleasing to you. And on the other side, my conscience and natural pity of the spilt blood of my obedient and innocent subjects, hath moved me to demonstrate to you that in the which I hold my self to be obliged. Therefore I beseech you to consider first of all the just care I ought to have of my people, which ought to surpass all humane or particular respects, according to the time which constantly I have with patience born, under hope of your favour, and without reproach or offence taken of me to read my grievances, and to send me your resolution of them. For the understanding of which I send Borthic the bearer hereof; with whom I send you the double of each point contained in one proclamation made by my rebels: where they make mention of one sentence pronounced by you upon these matters disputed, and lastly by them falsely alledged in your presence and your councils. In which point I beseech you to command, that I may understand your pleasure by this bearer. Neither can the necessity of this cause, so important, suffer any longer delay, without understanding, as well in the one as the other, what is your resolution therein; for to remedy the partial carriage of your officers of the frontiers, the which at Carlisle have taken my servants, taken and opened their letters, and sent them to the court, being contrary to that which hath been promised and written, that you understood not, that I was less at liberty than before; and far more contrary to that, that you should not receive my enemies. Betwixt whom, as I imagine, there is no comparison. For they were received to your presence with liberty to go and come; and continually sending aid of money, and as they say, (the which if it please you to see by these other letters,) assured to support them with men at their need. And also they were maintained to have falsely accused me, and make me infamous.

But I, which am come hither to put my self under your protection, as unto my most assured friend, refusing the help of those, the which being

offended with me therefore, I shall be constrained to my grief to seek it again, if, according to my hope and desires, I have no remedy by ready aid, removed far from my country, I have been retained, denied your presence for the justifying of my self, having required the same; and in conclusion, all means taken from me to hear from my servants, or to let them understand my pleasure.

I perswade my self that I have riot deserved such dealing, for having put my affiance in you; and having obeyed you, have enterprized nothing, as you counselled me: and not seeking (at your request and promise) any other friendship than yours: and desiring not solely to pleasure you, but also to obey you, as a daughter her mother: and of fresh memory, the return of the traitors without the advertisement of the bishop of Rosse and of Mr. Knowles. Which perswaded me, that it would not seem good to you, that of my part it should first begin. Which well I could have helped at the entrance of the frontiers, without giving them the commodity of levying of soldiers to ruinate my poor people.

In brief, I have hitherto depended only on you, and desire to continue, if it please you, to accept my good will as a recompence for your loving comfort and ready aid, to resist the tyranny of my rebellious subjects. Against whose cruelty used on my subjects, and against my honour and estate, I am constrained to seek your help, or elsewhere to require it, as it please God to put in my mind according your answer, which I would wish for good.

I will proceed. I have also charged the bearer hereof to know your resolution in those matters which the bishop of Rosse and my lord Boyle have to deal in; not having knowledge as yet of your resolution in certain other particulars. Whom I beseech you to trust, and not to take it in evil part, if, in a business of such importance, I press you more than perchance (seeing that I am in your power) it be with your good pleasure. But I cannot longer deferr or bear this partial dealing without the overthrowing of my estate, and offence of my conscience. For as naturally I am given to be yours, your unfriendly handling may make me withdraw, which I beseech you not to constrain me to do, letting me enjoy the same opinion, which hitherunto I would not otherwise conceive than of a near parent, and of whom I desire so much favour. To whome presenting my affectionate commendations, I bedeech the Lord, my good lady and sister,

to give you an healthful, long, and happy life. From Tutbury, the XIVth of March.

Your most affectionate
Good sister and cousin,
Mary.

A

SECOND APPENDIX;

BEING AN ADDITION OF SOME FEW MORE ORIGINAL PAPERS, RELATING TO THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

A.

Articles for government and order in the church, exhibited to be admitted by authority; but not allowed.

- I.** THE bishop of the diocess to have jurisdiction in the scites of the late monasteries, and to appoint them to several parish churches, if they be of no parish already.
- II.** Concerning appeals in cases of correction. The penalty to be fourty shillings, and double expenses layd upon him that should appeal, and the appeal be found unjust.
- III.** Of purgation.
- IV.** No ecclesiastical judge to be molested in a temporal court for proceedings in matters ecclesiastical.
- V.** Negligence in churchwardens and sidemen in not detecting faults, punishable ten shillings.
- VI.** Concerning advocates and proctors, to be suspended for three years, if they shall further with their counsil any detected by the churchwardens; which detected person shal not theftore trouble the churchwarden before any judge.
- VII.** For reparation of chancells.
- VIII.** Concerning serving of process *De excommunicato capiendo*.

Fugitive persons to be bound in recognizance.

IX. Purgation of clarks convict.

X. None to meddle with benefices in the time of vacation.

XI. Against marriage without banes. Against marriage in other churches.

XII. Against fairs or markets upon Sundays.

XIII. Against disturbers of divine service.

XIV. Touching buyers and sellers, or other breakers of the holy-days.

XV. Of keeping the holy-days.

XVI. Reformation of chapels annexed, and chapels of ease. To take them down where they stood two miles distant, or more, from the parish church; and the people to repair to the parish church; and the soils to remain as glebe to the ministers.

XVII. For personal tithes. That bishops should be empowered to give any man a corporal oath, and to examine him thereupon concerning the true payment of his personal tithes.

XVIII. For avoiding the farming of benefices.

XIX. Concerning advousons. That patrons shall not bestow them before they are actually void.

XX. Examination of the clergy. The bishop and some others appointed by him to examine the clergy of their proficiency in learning, and the study of the scripture.

XXI. Exercise for such as do not preach. To be enjoined by the archdeacon or bishop, the studying of some part of the scripture; and to render account thereof.

XXII. Against the dissolute and idle living of ministers.

XXIII. Orders for cathedral churches. And first, for a lecture there.

XXIV. Sermons to be made by proprietaries; yearly to find four sermons in their respective churches, or to be punished for every sermon omitted thirteen shillings and four pence.

XXV. For the standing of the communion table. That it shall stand no more altarwise, but in such place decently as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer.

XXVI. Of the bread appointed for the communion. Such bread henceforth to be used as is appointed by the Common Prayer Book.

XXVII. No communions to be used at burials.

XXVIII. Chalices to be altered to decent cups.

XXIX. Against dispensations to marry. No dispensations to be granted before the banes be asked. And it may be lawful to marry at any time of the year without dispensations.

XXX. A public and solemn fast to be used. Four days in every year to be appointed for fasts; the Tuesday next before Easter; the Tuesday in Whitsun week; the Tuesday seven-night next before St. Michael's day; and the Tuesday seven-night next before the birth of our Lord. The exercise to begin at eight in the summer and nine in the winter. The time to be spent, first, with some general confession; then in reading some special chapters of the scripture, singing or saying the litany: whereunto certain special collects may be added, and a sermon made to exhort to repentance; or a homily read. Which sermon or homily to be divided into three parts; and at the end of every part some prayers to be made by the minister, containing the sum of the part read. Then shall a space be given for private prayer. After which a psalm shalbe read or sung. And so the minister to procede to the other parts. This being don, the communion to be celebrated and received by al; and so making an end with a psalm of thanksgiving.

That every ordinary in his diocess, upon any sudden calamity, shal appoint and cal a common fast.

The Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays in the Ember-weeks shalbe no otherwise used than other days in the year.

That the queens injunction concerning music in churches be put in execution.

That the superfluous ringing of bells, and the superstitious ringing of bells at Alhallowntide and at Al-souls day, with the two nights next before and after, be prohibited.

That there be no solemn peal rung after the death of any person, but one bel; and that not passing three quarters of an hour at the most.

XXXI. Concerning archdeacons. That the archdeacon shal visit every year in his own person, or depute another meet man; and shal preach in every session of his visitation, or procure at his charge some to preach. And that he may cal any deanry, or any two deanries, to some market-town within the deanry, and there keep his visitation or synod

XXXII. Against patents of registership. That there be no patents for the reversion of any registership, for term of life or years, to be granted to any maner of person, nor to any that is not able to occupy the place himself.

XXXIII. For beneficed men beyond seas. That they shal return home within one year, or be deprived: unles they be employed in the queens majesties service, or shal obtain some licence to continue beyond sea.

XXXIV. Order and exercise for beneficed men. And first, that none be admitted to certain benefices but Latinists; that is, benefices exceeding the yearly value of thirteen pounds six and eight pence, or vicarages exceeding the value of twenty pounds: unles it be some special person, that the ordinary shal find to have singular knowledge in the scripture, and special gift of utterance.

XXXV. Priests only to have spiritual promotions. But that al such as have any deanry, provostship, archdeaconry, or other dignity in any cathedral, or any parsonage or vicarage, not being priest, shall not retain them any longer than one year, except they be made ministers; unles it be any prebend, which by the original foundation may be conferred on students not being priests.

None hereafter under the age of three and twenty years shal receive any deanry, provostship, &c. provided it shalbe lawful for any student in the universitie, being above eighteen years of age, to receive one prebend in a cathedral church, where the local statuts be not repugnant to the same, so there be no more annexed; and to retain the said prebend, so that he be

made minister when he cometh to four and twenty years of age; and if not, thenceforth the prebend to be made void *ipsp facto*.

Doctors and bachelours of law, that act under any bishop, may enjoy one prebend.

XXXVI. Preachers only to have benefices above thirty pounds per annum.

XXXVII. Preachers only to have two benefices.

XXXVIII. Consent of bishops for pluralities. And that no spiritual person whatsoever shall retain more than two benefices with cure of souls.

XXXIX. Order for noblemens chaplains. That it were to be wished they would retain such as should preach in their houses, and have an ordinary sermon every Sunday. And the same preacher might have one benefice, if it were not past twelve miles off, beside a prebend, and to be nonresident.

XL. Place of penance. That whosoever shal offend in gros fanlt, as apostacy, obstinate forbearing to receive the holy communion above one year, incest, adultery, fornication, falsewitness-bearing, blasphemy, abhominable swearing, drunkennes, murder, manslaughter, theft, when they shal chance to be pardoned, for these a convenient place in cathedrals and other churches be appointed by the ordinary, which shalbe called *the place of penitents*, where the offendor shal sit, stand, or kneel, at the time of divine service, (except the time of the holy communion, when he shal depart out of the church,) for so long time as the ordinary shall limit, until he shew unfeigned signs of true repentance; and then shalbe released of that place, and be restored to his old place again; and to be restored to the holy communion. And if he refuse to stand in that place, to be excommunicate. And if he remain excommunicate for six months, and refuse to submit himself to the censures of the church, then to be used as in case of heresy.

XLI. Inquisition to be made for books and images. Bishops and their officers by oath to enquire for all books, images, beads, and superstitious ornaments used in time of papistry; and to compel the parties, in whose possession they be, to deface the same.

XLII. Against sayers and hearers of mas. Such as say mas, or procure it to be said, to be judged in law as felons, and suffer the pains of death. And whosoever shall hear mas, to forfeit an hundred mark for every time; or, being not worth so much, to forfeit all their goods and chattels, and the offender to stand in *loco poenitentis*.

XLIII. Against swearing. The swearer to be admonished by the parson or vicar before the churchwarden; and if he leave it not, to be put from the communion, and notice given to the ordinary of him, who shall adjudge the offender to pay two shillings and six pence for every offence, to be levied by the churchwarden, and to stand in the place of penitents one whole month, or so long as he or they shal not shew themselves truly repentant.

XLIV. Rayling against the ministers of the church, or jesting upon them, or laying violent hands upon them; such to be excommunicate. That they that ask counsel at witches be punished.

XLV. For the better payment of tiths, and maintaining the reparation of parish churches. Al foreigners that occupy lands in one dioces, or exempt jurisdiction, and dwel in another diocess or parish, shalbe taxable to the reparation. And upon refusal of any such, the bishop of the dioces shal. have power to cite him to answer for the necessary reparation, and charges of the parish church, where his lands ly, and to pay the tiths due to the parson or vicar.

XLVI. For calling of any person out of any other diocess or exempt jurisdiction, where he or they dwel, in certain cases; as, to bear witness in matters ordinarily depending before the ecclesiastical judge, and to cite administrators, executors, or sequestrators.

XLVII. Of curats removing from one dioces to another. Who shal bring a testimonial from the next licenced preacher where he served, unto the bishop of the diocess, of his honest behaviour and conversation. And the bishop shal give him his testimonial under seal, before he attempt to serve in any other dioces.

XLVIII. A time for the examining of the parishoners. Every person of age and discretion, sufficient to communicate, being fourteen years old and upward, shal once a year, between the first of December and the last of February, otter himself to be examined by the 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 of excommunication. And for this purpose every minister shal give his attendance, to hear his parishoners, every Wednesday and Friday afore morning prayer. At which time the said parsons shal take occasion to give to their parishoners a godly admonition, if they know any fault or negligence in them.

XLIX. A book of the parishoners. The churchwarden and parson to present every year unto the archdeacon or commissary, next after Easter, a book of the names of the parishoners, both men and women, of the age of fourteen years and upwards, who refuse to come to be examined, and who can say, and who cannot say the Articles of the Faith, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, and who have not received the communion thrice that year; and such to be punished with excommunication and open penance. And such who have not received the communion in two years before to be in the case of heresy. Which pain they shal also incurr, who disobeying orders in religion, remain one whole year excommunicate.

L. For them that cannot say the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments by heart, they shall not be admitted to the communion, nor to be married, nor stand godfather or godmother. Some consideration yet to be had of those that are very aged.

LI. A punishment for such as cannot say the catechism. He whose child at ten years old and upward is not able to say the catechism, to pay ten shillings to the poor's box. The like penalty to be inflicted upon masters and mistresses, who have servants of fourteen years and upwards, that cannot say the catechism by heart.

B.

*Theodore Beza to secretary Cecyl, shewing the present ill
condition of the protestants in France.*

Monsieur,

IL me seroit impossible de vous rendre la pareille, ayant receu de vous tant de faveur, que de me daigner escrire. Dequoy j'esperoys vous remercier en presence; mais mon voyage estant desja tout prest a este rompu a

l'occasion que vous pourrez trop mieux entendre de monsieur de Trocmarton, que de moy, avec mon tres grand regret, voiant bien que si Dieu n'a pitie de ceste paoure nation, elle s'en va precipiter d'elle mesmes, et sans occasion, en plus grands troubles que jamais. J'espere toutefois, que Dieu nous trouvera tousjours quelque refuge pour passer la tempeste. Et, monsieur, je ne vous doy dissimuler, que toutes gens de bien ont plus conceu d'esperance de sa majeste, que de tous aultres quels qu'ils soyent au jourduy; la royant d'elle mesmes si affectionee a maintenir les paoures affligez, et davantage assister de tels personages, que vous, monsieur, qui jusques icy l'avez maintenus en ceste bonne volonte, et maintiendrez jusques au bout, ainsy que nous esperons. Et mesmes en mon particulier, me voyant assailly de Satan de tous costes par nouvelles calumnies, j'ay conceu ceste esperance de vous en particulier pour la faveur qu'il vous a pleu me monstrier en vos lettres que cas advenant que la tempeste fist si grande sur moy, que je ne pense subsister ny en ma patrie, pour laquelle toutefois j'ay faict ce que j'ay peu, ny es pays circonvoisins, je trouveray tousjours quelque petit coing de retraicte pardela pour user mes jours en quelque peu de repos, dequoy j'ay supplie monsieur de Trocmarton vous faire quelque propos: vous priant me faire ce bien de m'estimer de voz plus affectionnez serviteurs.

Monsieur, je prie nostre bon Dieu et pour vous benir en toutes graces de plus en plus, et vous maintenir en sa sainte et digne garde. De Caen ce xvi. de Mars 1562.

Vostre tres humble serviteur,

A Monsieur, Monsieur Cecile, secretaire

T. DE BELZE.

d'estat en Angleterre.

C.

Litterae illustriss. Domini Marci Antonii Amulii cardinalis, ad illustrissimos legatos concilii Tridentini, super professionem fodei patriarchae Assyriorum orientalium.

ILLUSTRISSIMI Domini et Domini colendissimi; reverendus Dominus Abdisn Assyriorum orientalium patriarcha electus a clero, et eorum populorum consensu, qui finitima Tigri fluvio incolunt, Turcarum et Persatum imperio

subjecti, anno superiori, ut confirmaretur a Romano pontifice maximo, ad urbem se contulit, cum literis et testibus fide dignis; quibus cognita ejus electio et probitas esset: ac cum per multos non solum dies, verum etiam menses absolutam nostrorum rituum cognitionem, a quibus antea in nonnullis, non quidem gravibus dissenserat, a catholicis et eruditis hominibus acceperat, tandem, proponente me, a sanctiss. dno. nostro, sequente consistorio, patriarcha et pastor illorum populorum declaratus est; cum prius se nunquam a sanctissimis sedis apostolicae decretis dissensurum aut decessurum, solenniter de more, confessione et jurejurando pollicitus esset. Quarum rerum memoria literis diligenter consignata in archivo custoditur. Qui, nisi senio jam confectus redire ad suos, impetrata primum a sanctiss. dno. nostro licentia, properasset, ut eos ecclesiastica doctrina plenius instrueret, ad sacrum concilium profectus esset, ut isthic fidem catholicam, suumque erga sedem apostolicam singulare studium et obedientiam profiteretur. Abeuntem summus pontifex ipsum suosque presbyteros et diaconos vestimentis et rebus omnibus ad ejus sacerdotium pertinentibus, et viatico, est prosequutus. Hujus viri eximiam in Deum pietatem, optimum de vera fide sensum, cum in multis aliis, tum in eo prospeximus, qui cum discederet petiit studiosissime, ut istius sacri concilii canones et decreta ad eum perferenda curemus. Se enim quicquid in concilio statutum erit omnino servaturum promisit, daturumque operam, ut et omnes sui servant, et chirographo suo Chaldaica lingua confecto, quod Latine explanatum cum his literis mittimus, confirmavit. Nos autem libenter fecimus, ut ejus probitatis, prudentiae, eruditionis et nobilitatis testimonium his literis daremus. Nam ex celeberrima ortum familia, opibus etiam pro loci ratione abundantem, jam sexagenarium, nec aliam ob causam tam longum, tam difficile ac periculosum iter suscepisse, nisi ut visitaret apostolorum limina, et pontificis maximi pedibus osculum ferret, optimamque erga hanc sedem voluntatem ostenderet, perspicue cognovimus.

In itinere semel a Gurdīs populis, bis a Turcis male acceptum, ac fustibus percutsum esse satis constat. Hic saepe de sacris literis interrogatus, graviter admodum et copiose respondit magna omnium admiratione, qui sententiam ejus verborum ab interprete audiebant. Nominabat, eosque se habere dixit, libros omnes Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, etiam, quos Hebraei aut haeretici non probant; aliquos etiam doctores Graecos et Latinos, eosdem fere quibus nos utimur, Chaldaice, Syriace, aut Arabice versos, diligenter legisse; nonnullos etiam, quorum nomina a nobis ignorentur.

Addebat, hos in Caira, Turcarum civitate, libros ab ipsa fere apostolorum setate conscriptos, qui nunc in quadam bibliotheca custodiuntur.

Summare profecto Dei benevolentiam licet agnoscere, quod in tam longinquis regionibus, quae nobis vix fama notae sunt, verae fidei cultus adhuc vigeat, et Christiana religio non minore fortasse quam apud nos pietate excolatur; conservata doctrina, quae per ea loca beatorum apostolorum Thoroae et Thaddei piis sermonibus disseminata est; et Marci eorum discipuli praedicationibus confirmata. Haec patriarcha, ita asserebat, ut id se scriptis probaturum promitteret.

Sacramentis aiebat uti se et populos illos eisdem fere quibus nos, confessione auriculari, precatione pro salute mortuorum, canone eisdem fere verbis in celebranda missa, consecratione prorsus eadem. Imagines quoque piis precibus venerantur. Fideles autem huic patriarchae subjectos dicunt esse usque ad ducenta millia. Quo argumento etiam, praeter sexcenta alia, inania haereticorum commenta refelluntur, cum per annos mille quingentos ecclesiae dignitas ac doctrina salutaris, apud gentes a nobis tot terrarum intervallo disjunctas, in tanta rerum, regum et regnorum mutatione, religionis varietate, sub infidelium gravi iugo, per injurias et contumelias, vexationesque in medio Barbariae, eadem tamen ad hunc usque diem permanserit, quae nunc a gentibus nobis propinquis opponatur.

Sed haec quanti sint, atque adeo quantum sunt, dominationes vestrae (reverendissimi) ponderabunt. Ego vero de sanctissimi domini nostri mandato, confessionem ipsius patriarchae de obedientia sacro consilio praestanda, cum his literis mitto, eisque me humillime commendo. Romae, xxix. Augusti, anno Dom. MDLXII.

Dominationum vestrarum illustriss, et
reverendiss, humillimus servus,
Marcus Anthonius Amulius, cardinalis.

D.

*The emperor Ferdinand's letter to queen Elizabeth; to allow
papists one church in every city. Ferdinandus imperator
Elizabethae serenissimae reginae Angliae.*

JUCUNDISSIMUM nobis accidit, quod intelleximus magnum pondus habuisse apud serenitatem vestram literas nostras superioribus mensibus ad serenitatem vestram datas. Quibus scil. serenitatem vestram benevole adhortati sumus, ne quid inclementius statueret in episcopos incarceratos, et alios istius regni subditos catholicam religionem nostram profitentes, si nollent aut non possent, salva conscientia, acceptare vel profiteri, quod serenitas vestra, una cum ordinibus et statibus inclyti istius regni, lege quadam noviter promulgata, constituisset. Etenim perspeximus non modo praeclaram serenitatis vestrae erga nos voluntatem et gratificandi studium, rerum etiam eximiam ejus modestiam, mansuetudinem et clementiam, virtutes regina et principe vere dignas. Qua quidem re intellecta, non potuimus neque debuimus intermittere, quin serenitati vestrae hoc nomine magnas gratias egeremus. Eique liberius etiam, ut imperator et princeps catholicus, salutem et incolumitatem illorum qui religionem nobis communem habent, iterum atque iterum commendamus; existimantes magis futurum ex dignitate et usu serenitatis vestrae, si subditos suos catholicos (etiamsi ipsa serenitas vestra diversam religionem sequatur) reginali sua benignitate fovendos potius et tuendos, quam persequendos et exagitandos, exterminandos et opprimendos duxerit.

Ideoque serenitatem vestram benevole rogamus, ut malit animos eorum clementia et benignitate sibi conciliare, quam persecutionibus et affiictionibus alieniores reddere. Adeoque ne gravetur serenitas vestra illis in singulis civitatibus unum saltem templum concedere, ubi libere, tuto et sine molestia vel impedimento, ex vetere sanctissimorum patrum ac ecclesiae instituto, Deum colere, officia divina celebrare, ac sacramentis salutaribus, animarum medicina, recreari possint. Qua quidem ratione serenitas vestra, non tam subditorum, quam aliorum regum et principum catholicorum studia, plurimum sibi devinciet, magnatoque clementiae et mansuetudinis laudem sibi comparabit. Nobis vero factura est rem adeo gratam, ut omnem simus daturi operam, quo possumus eam rem serenitati vestrae mutuis benevolentiae ac fraterni animi studiis cumulatissime compensare. Cui diuturnam incolumitatem et felicitatem conjunctam ex animo optamus, Datum Possovoniae in Hungaria, 24. Septembr. 1563.

E.

The queen's answer to the emperor.

*Elizabetha Dei gratia, Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae regina,
fidei defens. &c. sereniss, ac potentiss. D. Ferdinando electo
Romanorum imperatori, &c.*

LITERAE vestrae majestatis Possonii 24. Septembr. dat. magnam nobis voluptatem attulerunt, quod ex illis cognovimus gratum vestrae majestati studium nostrum fuisse, quo commotae sumus ut tantam superioris nostrae potestatis rationem haberemus quantam natura rei ferebat, quam a nobis eo tempore majestas vestra postulavit. Ex quo facto nostro vestra majestas intelligere potest quam propensa voluntate sumus ad concedenda omnia ea vestrae majestati quae ulla ratione a nobis concedi possunt. Permagni enim erat res momenti, tam benigne agere cum illis hominibus, qui tam insolenter palam contra leges nostras, contra quietem amantium et fidorum nostrorum subditorum reluctantes, sese, intentaverunt. Inter quos etiam fuerunt hii praecipui, qui, regnantibus patre et fratre nostro nobilissimis principibus, mente et manu, publice concionibus et scriptis, cum ipsi essent non privati homines, sed publici magistratus, eandem ipsam doctrinam aliis ultro afferebant, quam nunc tam obstinate rejiciunt. His tamen hominibus nos, ad respectum postulati vestrae majestatis, nostra quidem gratia, sed cum nostrorum sane non levi offensa, pepercimus.

Quod autem porro vestra majestas amplius adhuc pro illis intercedit, ut certa templa separatim singulis in civitatibus designentur, in quibus tuto et sine impedimento divina sua seorsim officia celebrent, haec quidem postulatio hujusmodi est, et cum tot implicita difficultatibus, ut illa, salva nostra republica, illaeso nostro honore, atque conscientia, concedere non queamus. Nos enim et nostri (Deo sint gratiae) non novas ullas, non alienas sectamur religiones, sed eam ipsam quam probat illustrissimorum patrum mens consentiens, et vox. Concedere vero templum diversis ritibus, praeterquam quod aperte pugnat cum nostri parlamenti [legibus] nihil aliud esset, quam serere religionem ex religione, distrahere mentes bonorum, alere studia factiosorum, religionem et rempub, perturbare in hoc jam quieto statu nostro: id quod esset re malum, exemplo pessimum, perniciosum plane, [nullo modo] tutum. Et propterea quemadmodum nos antea, partim ex insita quadam naturae nostrae clementia atque commiseratione, potissimum vero ad gratiam vestri postulati, paucorum hominum privatam insolentiam nonnihil connivendo, condonavimus, ita eorundem hominum prae fractas mentes, et consimilium vel pares vel projectiones animos, nimium indulgendo, favere atque alere nullo modo possumus.

Non dubitamus quin vestra majestas hanc animi nostri sententiam atque responsionem recte sit acceptura. Et dolemus quidem vehementer rogatum vestrum hujusmodi fuisse, cui satisfacere non possumus; cum in quavis alia re, quae cum regni nostri salute ad vestrae, majestatis voluntatem propensas nos et faciles ad quidquid libenter concedendum nos ipsae exhibebimus. Deus conservet majestatem vestram. Vindsoriae, anno Domini, 1563. regni vero nostri quinto.

F.

A discourse upon a motion in parliament for the queens declaring of the succession after her; viz. that the limitation of the succession of t he crown should be to the queens majesties service.

- “1. The encrease of fervent love to her majesty in al her subjectss, for so great a benefit of their assurance; which must needs be a great means of her highness surety.
- “2. That duty of good will and thankfulnes in him or her, that should by her majesties benefit be declared heir apparent. Whereby he should be highly bound to love her grace and care for her safety.
- “3. Such is a successor, as it were by adoption certainly limited, as is a child by nature. And children to a prince are in common presumption a defence and mean of safty; though some have proved unnatural,
- “4. The heir apparent certainly declared wil not hazzard his possibility certain, for any treacherous attempt. Where he that nourisheth uncertain hope is more likely to praetise her majesties danger.
- “5. If any other should attempt,against her majesties *crown*, she must needs be the stronger by the known successor, for safeguard of his own remainder.
- “6. The revenge likely to be sharper, and the escape harder, if any attempt against her majestyes safty, when her highness issue, or a declared successor, bound to her by such benefit, shalbe to revenge it; than if one unknown, and not so bound to her should succede. Whereby the limitation of a successor must needs be a more discouragement to such attempts; and so for her greater security.

“7. Such as maligne her salty, or were to advance their hope by end of her majesties life; having now nothing to withstand their desire, but her life only, should yet, by limitation of succession, have mo stays set betwixt her; and their hopes loose such opportunities. And so be withdrawn from doing any thing to her majesties danger.

“8. The heir apparent stil remaineth a subject; and punishable for treason.

“9. The known certainty of an heir apparent shal make him so open, that al his attempts shalbe seen and watched with al mens eyes. And so much less to be feared, than now, when we know not *who*, nor how many.

“10. If no remainders be declared, each shal have a watchful ey to the others doings. And so the more for her majesties sake.

“11. The dangerous encouragement of such as may take occasion of the uncertainty of succession, to frame to themselves a hope to obtain the crown.

“12. The animating of such as may conceive such hope, to some secret enterprize against her majesties safty. Which is now most dangerous in persons unknown, both in title, force, and number. And so harder to be provided against.

“13. The experience of attempts, practices, and conspiracies likely to have hazzarded her majesty's estate, being partly grounded upon advancing a successor, for want of a certain heir declared by law.

“14. The perillous encouragement of foreign princes to attempt against her majesties safty; upon consideration, that if her highness should so be taken away, then for want of a certain successor, they might make their prey with certain resistance.

“15. The greater terror that is brought to the enemy by strengthening her majesty with known successors, so much more salty must needs be to her royal person.

“16. The experience of the antlent policy of the wise Roman emperors, upon mere respect of their own salty, to strengthen themselves with elected Caesars.

“17. The experience of the kings of Romans in the estate of the German empire.

“18. The experience of the crownes of France and Scotland; where the succession is certain to noble families. And every of them no danger; but surety to the present possessors of the crown. Upon whom their own remainders depend.

“19. The experience of king Henry VIII. with al the remainders by him declared. Where neither king Edward to his father by any his attempts; nor queen Mary to king Edward by any her attempts; nor the queens majesty to king Edward, nor to queen Mary, by any her attempts; did ever bring danger or lack of surety; but rather the contrary. Neither that wise king Henry and his grave council, limiting those remainders, seem to imagine any danger, but surety therby to himself and to those in remainder after him.

“20. The safty and quiet of her majesties soul and conscience against the burthen of such harmes as may fal for want of such provision; wherewith God may be displeased, to her majesties peril in this life. Against whom no policy can defend.

“21. The exact provisions that may, and, her majesties assent being had, are by the whole parliament intended to be made for her majesties preservation and her issue; and for good and jealous watch to be had upon the successor. But for the attendants, council, places of abiding, governance, company, consultations, and al other things and doings; and also for such severe punishments, with al extremity upon al attempts, yea concelements that might tend to her danger, as her most excellent majesty shal have good cause upon such limitation of succession to conceive certain trust of her surety, and undoubted comfortable assurance, in the watchfulnes of al her subjects; and in the exquisite provisions of law, and orders against al the attempts that might by any conjecture be feared; and to repose her self joyfully under the chearful prolonging of her happy days; upon this evident knowledg, that her majesty is the dearest jewel that this realm can have. For saving wherof they are and shalbe, by our most earnest care, heed, endeavour, and prayer. This reason and promise to be principally and most affectionatly urged and faithfully performed.

“Note, that al that is said. of preservation of her majesty is also meant and spoken of her issue and successors, no otherwise meant, but in lack of issue of her highness body.”

G.

Lady Anne Boleyn to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; for his grant of the benefice of Sundridge to Mr. Barlow.

MY lord, in my most humble wise I thank your grace for the gift of this benefice for Mr. Barlo. Howbeit this standeth to none effect. For it is made for Tonbridge. And I would have it (if your pleasure were so) for Sondridg. For Tonbridge is in my lord my fathers gift by avouson that he hath; and it is not yet void. And I do trust your grace do graunt him Sondrig. And considering the pains that he hath taken, I do think that it shal be very wel bestowed. And in so doing I rekyn my self moch bound to your grace for al those that hath takyn pain in the kings matter.

It shalbe my daily study to immagyn al the ways that I can devyse to do them service and pleasure. And thus I make an end: sending you again the letter that you sent me, thanking your grace most hartily for the payn that you take for to write to me: assuring you, that next the kings letter, there is nothing that can rejoyce me so much: with the hand of her that is most bound to be

Your most humble and obedient servant,
Anne Boleyn.

Then by a postscript she added;

My lord, I beseech your grace to remember the parson of Honelayn for my sake shortly.

This parson of Honylane was Tho. Garrard, who was an active man, and a great spreader of Luther's books; and burnt afterwards at a stake for his religion anno 1540.

Cox, bishop of Eld, to Bullinger; upon occasion of his answer to the pope's bull against the queen.

Colendissimo in Christo fratri, mihique dilectissimo, D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinae ecclesiae ministro meritissimo, Tiguri.

VEHEMENTER me delectarunt tuae literae, frater in Christo charissime; eas vero recepi non ante mensem Junii fere expletum. Recepi etiam una duos libellos: alterum contra Jo. Brentii testamentum, hominis multiplici errore dementati. Huic ejus errori subinde serpenti viam tempestive obstruxisti. Alter est defensio munitissima contra terrificam illam bullam, quavis bulla vaniorem. In qua ita authorem jugulasti, ut nullus supersit libere spiranti halitus. Multum tibi debemus omnes, quod nostra omnium causa adeo sit tibi cordi. Ego de hoc argumento jejune atque dilute ad te scripsi: at alter ex fratribus meis plenius et copiosius egit, quiet ipsius bullae copiam tibi fecit. Extorsi a tua pietate hanc bullae impugnationem, et nostri amor, et rei indignatio, et veritatis zelus ardentissimus. Hactenus vixisti in sanctissimis sacratissimisque divini verbi studiis, ut illud modis omnibus coleres et promoveres; huc ab ineunte aetate vocatus fuisti; hanc tuam vocationem strenue ornasti, in eaque usque ad terminure vitee dabit Dominus ut perseveres, ad conscientiae tranquillitatem, et piorum omnium expectationem avidissimam. Hinc est quod occasionem captes undecunque de religione Christiana benemerendi, et in pietatis hostes acriter animadvertendi. Hinc est quod tam tempestive Brentii morbo mederis, et bullae furorem compescis. Equidem diligentissime curabo, ut regina nostra et Graece et Latine doctissima, intelligat tuum erga ipsam studium et benevolentism; efficiamque ut tui libelli gustum capiat suavissimum. Quod autem commendas nobis rationem tractandi libellum tuum, cogitamus, ut quamprimum typis excudatur, et sub H. Bullingeri noraine prodeat; mittamque ad te quamprimum potero aliquod exemplaria. Henricus ille Buclerius, quo de scribis, nondum me invisit. Dabo operam, ut cum ad me accesserit, mea opera non indigeat. Server te Deus Opt. Max. frater in Christo dilectissime, idque multos annos ad ecclesiae utilitatem. Precamurque ut precibus tuis nos Domino commendes; maxime qui in ipsius vinea laboremus. Nova nulls tibi impertio; nam frater meus D. Hornus id praestitutum esse promittit.

Tuus in Domino, frater charissime,
Richardus episc. Eliensis.

I.

*A libellous letter out of Scotland of certain English papists;
 against some counsellots of queen Elizabeth.*

*To their loving friends sir John Littleton and sir Tho. Russel, the
 queen's majesties lieutenants in the county of Worcester, with al
 speed possible.*

AFTER our harty commendations; foreseeing by mature advice and consideration the present perils and imminent danger, wherinto the realm is like to fal, and that even at hand, if wisdom prevent not the same; and having a natural care and faithful affection towards our country, as besemeth al true Englishmen; we have thought good, as well to prevent the peril, as also to take care for the continual prosperous and peaceable government of this state, to signify unto you, what we, as wel by credible report of strangers, as also by the universal speech of our countrymen at home, understand to be the causes of these so sudden dangers like to ensue. The commonalty of this realm is thorowly persuaded, that the lord keeper, master secretary, Mr. Mildmay, and Mr. Sadler should so misgovern the state, and abuse our sovereign, that al or the most part of these dangers should arise from them, as procurers of the same: and that by them, and the paganical pretended bishops, now usurping in this realm, we should be thus stil drawn and continued in a religion of their devising, much worse than Turkerie.

Wherfore the commons, not alonely wishing to advertise the queen's majesty hereof, but also with speed to return to the catholic Christian faith, before they shalbe compelled to do the same, have sent us two books; the one, of their humble submission, and desire to return to the catholic faith; the other termed, *A detection of certain practises*, &c. the copy wherof we send you enclosed; the former we stay upon some considerations partly moving.

And forasmuch as we certainly find, that their doings herein carieth great reason, besides a necessity, and that they think not so much as evil towards the queen our sovereign Elizabeth; but only upon the Christian intent to

come home and avoid danger, uniting themselves to the church of God, and to al Christian princes; we think it our duties to be aiding in these enterprizes, carying both vertue and necessity, nothing against laws lawfully constituted. Yet forasmuch as no assembly can be made without danger of bloud and great wast, we have made stay of until such time as we shal have certain knowledge what effect wil first ensue upon publication hereof. For which cause we have determined to send into al shires of this realm. And forasmuch as we understand you are the queen's majesties lieutenants in her graces county of Worcester, we send you this, praying you to grant publication, and to have the continual care that every true Englishman ought to have. So shal you greatly please God, and faithfully serve the queen's majesty and your country. At Edenburgh, the xxxth of May.

THE END OF VOL. I. PART II.

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